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[Soviet Union] Summit 5/31/90 [OA 8313]

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

#7533

September 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Public Statements for Mexico Summit

Attached are suggested public statements for use during Mexican President Salinas' State Visit.

J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

TAB 1 - Arrival statement
TAB 2 - State dinner toast
TAB 3 - Departure statement

TAB I

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT WHITE HOUSE ARRIVAL CEREMONY

President Salinas and Mrs. Salinas, Secretaries Solana and Baker, Ambassadors Petricioli and Negroponte, members of the delegation and friends:

Less than one year ago, two Presidents-elect met in Houston, Texas. There they began discussions about ~~what for each constitutes a major presidential responsibility --~~ defining, strengthening and improving the Mexican-U.S. relationship.

Mr. President, you and I went to Houston certain of the importance of the ~~discussions~~ responsibilities we were about to undertake. ~~But~~ I do not think either of us envisioned the depth and degree of understanding that would grow between us as we examined one of the broadest and most complex bilateral ~~agendas~~ relationships in the world.

Our discussions gave birth to what has come to be known as "the spirit of Houston", our joint commitment to establishing a framework of mutual understanding and cooperation that transcends any given problem. In the past year, the "spirit of Houston" has proven its durability and vitality.

Mexico and the United States have worked together in negotiating a solution to the debt question, in developing

greater cooperation in the war against drugs, in improving opportunities for bilateral trade and investment, in protecting our precious environment, and in strengthening the understanding between our two peoples.

The sum of these efforts was already in evidence when President Salinas and I met ~~last July~~ in Paris, ~~-- a greatly improved, genuinely stronger bilateral relationship.~~

Now, as I welcome President Salinas to our capital for his first State visit, I believe we are about to see additional evidence of how Mexico and the United States ~~understand one another,~~ work together toward common ends and ~~generate concrete~~ positive results.

We have a full agenda to discuss. As major trading partners, we need to explore ways to make our commerce grow larger. As members of the Organization of American States, we need to discuss how democracy can be restored to Panama and free and fair elections held in Nicaragua. The plague of drugs and narco-trafficking teaches us that what threatens one nation in our hemisphere threatens us all. Strong bilateral

cooperation is a fundamental element in making multilateral responses effective. Fortunately, in our U.S.-Mexico bilateral relationship, I believe we share the good will and mutual commitment necessary to confront these challenges in a spirit of candor, mutual respect and genuine friendship.

[Last night in remarks I made to the Mexican people (Note: use if Mexican TV presentation is approved), I spoke of the need to recognize the "permanent importance" of the U.S.-Mexican relationship. Mr. President, I would like to refer to that phrase once again as I welcome you to the White House. I mean quite simply that U.S.-Mexican affairs will always be a top priority for the United States.] As rich and vital as our relations are now in 1989, they are certain to become more so in the decades ahead. As I stand here with you today, I see your visit as a key link in that process. You can be assured that my government will lend its fullest efforts to ensuring that your visit is successful in helping to turn the "spirit of Houston" into reality.

Welcome to the United States of America!

TAB II

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL TOAST FOR STATE DINNER

President and Mrs. Salinas, honored guests:

The United States has no more important relationship than that of our historic friendship with Mexico.

We share a 2,000 mile border, billions of dollars of two-way commerce, and cultures and traditions that overlap and enrich one another through shared values.

These are the great resources of our relationship, not only for us, but for our hemisphere and the world we live in. But of course resources can only make a difference when they are effectively and intelligently applied to resolving problems and seizing opportunities.

Can we increase our bilateral trade to achieve rates of economic growth that match the growth of our populations? Can we join together in defeating the narco-traffickers who would despoil our youth? Can we expand the dynamism beyond our border -- where our two societies, governments and economies benefit from the experience, for example, of 100 years of joint engineering projects by the International Boundary and Water Commission and where we invent new forms of cooperation every year? ~~Can we expand~~ that dynamism deeper ~~into the hearts of our countries?~~

Mr. President, your visit convinces me more firmly than ever that the answer to these questions is very simple. Yes, we can. Si, podemos.

From its earliest days, your Administration has made it clear that Mexico sees our relationship as one of mutual respect based on mutual interests. You have helped us build a foundation of trust and cooperation through objective analysis of where we, as equal partners, must devote our resources and our efforts.

Having made so much progress thus far in such a short time, who can doubt that we will be able to accomplish a great deal more? Where investment opportunities can be enhanced we have said, "Let's work together!" Where the environment along our border can be improved, we have said, "Let's work together!" Our concerns so often are one and the same. For you, as for me, the war against drugs is a national priority. You have your strategy, we have ours. But these strategies are compatible. They ensure that we are fighting a common enemy and that we are joined together in a battle for the future well-being of our two societies. And we say again, "Let's work togther!"

Mr. President, you have studied in the United States and you know us well. And as a Texan I have lived side by side with Mexico, and I think I know Mexico well. I believe that this element of understanding and personal friendship is the secret to ~~all that~~ what we have been able to accomplish thus far and the key to what we can attempt in the future.

I therefore raise my glass to you in a toast to understanding. Mexico surely will continue to prosper under your dynamic and determined leadership. And a vibrant, prosperous Mexico just as surely is the best, most effective friend the United States could possibly enjoy.

TAB III

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS UPON SALINAS' DEPARTURE

President Salinas, honored guests:

As you leave the White House, I feel a sense of satisfaction over the success of your visit. At the same time, my feeling is one of continuity -- of staying in touch, rather that saying good-bye. We first met in Houston, then in Paris, now in Washington. From the very first, our governments have acted to support and reinforce our personal commitments to improving our bilateral relationship. You and I, all our colleagues, and the publics which we serve, clearly understand the importance of this relationship in the world today.

We have already been able to achieve great things together as two nations which are both neighbors and friends. We have concluded a series of important agreements, commitments, and accomplishments. The prospects for enhanced bilateral trade and investment, environmental and cultural cooperation, are excellent. Our commitment to the war against drugs and support for democracy in our hemisphere is strengthened. (Note: A detailed iteration of accomplishments is in order here, but it is too early to project the exact language describing what those accomplishments will be. Refer to 100 years of U.S.-Mexican border cooperation marked by the presidents' commemoration of the International Boundary and Water Commission centennial.)

Yet the true contribution of your visit is not simply in what we have done, but in what we will continue to do. That counts most of all. The philosophy of enduring friendship for the United States which your administration espouses is a great gift and a continuous challenge. It is a gift and challenge to which we intend to respond with respect and enthusiasm -- by working to make the relations between our two great nations even closer and more productive than they are today.

This, I think, is your visit's greatest accomplishment -- the free, open, and ongoing dialogue you offer us with the Mexican government and the Mexican people.

Mr. President, thank you for your leadership, and thank you for your friendship.

Let me bid you farewell by saying hasta luego rather than good-bye. I hope we will see much of each other in the coming months and years.

Peggy

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011501

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 23, 1990

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: More Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet President Gorbachev

Attached please find suggested toasts for the state dinner and return dinner and draft remarks for the signing ceremony.

J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachements:
As stated.

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By RMM NARA, Date 10/19/04

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011403

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 22, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet President Gorbachev.

Attached please find a draft arrival statement and draft after-dinner remarks for the visit of President Gorbachev.

J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachements:
As stated.

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
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By Rac NARA, Date 10/19/04

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PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AFTER STATE DINNER

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. We are happy to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests -- many of whom have longstanding ties to the Soviet Union and its people.

Whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people around the world pause to watch. The world looks on to see whether the leaders of the U.S. and USSR can work together; whether our discussions result in building a safer world; whether our work helps realize the dreams of peace and freedom cherished around the world. I can tell you that President Gorbachev and I had very good discussions today. We worked hard fully aware of the hopes and dreams that so many hold for this summit.

While all U.S.-Soviet summits are important, this one comes at a particularly critical time in history. The great changes we are witnessing in Europe have unleashed the tremendous forces of freedom. These forces cannot be denied or appeased: no one

is satisfied with a little freedom. The peoples of Europe must move forward with peaceful democratization or they will fall back into sterile confrontation. No one realizes that more than our distinguished guest, who has been instrumental in fostering many of the historic changes that we now see transforming Europe.

I think he would agree with me when I say that, as far as the cause of democracy has come in the last year, the greatest challenges may still be before us. The drive for national self-determination must be heeded, while protecting the rights of minority populations. We must ensure that all nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. There must be room at the table of nations for a unified Germany, peaceful, sovereign and prosperous in a secure and stable Europe. There must be room at the table for the peoples of the Baltic nations, having freely exercised their right of self-determination. And let me say that President Gorbachev and I talked about this today in detail and in candor.

Freedom in the voting booth must be matched by freedom in the work place. Only when all kinds of intrusive governmental controls are eliminated will the creative energies and economic potential of free peoples be released. As I said in welcoming

President Gorbachev, the United States is ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of both economic and political democracy. As we work to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to jointly encourage resolution of regional problems, President Gorbachev and I both recognize that as great powers we will continue to have conflicting interests. With today's satellite communications, our distant worlds have become one, but we sometimes still see things differently. Even if we agree on our goals, we may disagree on how to get there. If we are not surprised by our differences, we will not be alarmed. While we will not resolve all our differences this week, we hope at least to gain a better understanding of them.

So we are pleased by the results of our meetings today. We are not daunted by the tasks at hand, nor overconfident about completing them. We are ready to move into a new era of friendship based on realism and respect.

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT SOVIET EMBASSY DINNER

-- Barbara and I would like to thank President and Mrs. Gorbachev and the entire Soviet Embassy for this wonderful meal.

-- With the effort to pack as much substance as possible into President Gorbachev's four days in Washington, it is a rare delight to sit and enjoy a relaxed conversation with our gracious host.

-- JOKE LINE: Of course, since your President is not a man to waste words, even in this relaxed environment I was forced to pay close attention between the caviar and the first course.

-- As we pause to digest a hearty -- and delicious -- Russian dinner, it seems appropriate to digest the proceedings of the last three days.

-- Let us take a moment to appreciate the enormity of this occasion.

-- We agreed this afternoon on the principles of a strategic arms agreement, which will be the first of its kind to actually reduce strategic systems.

-- We agreed to substantially reduce our chemical weapons stocks, a trail-blazing agreement we hope will quickly lead to a multilateral treaty banning chemical weapons.

-- We agreed to a number of agreements that will promote contacts between our two peoples: expanded undergraduate university exchanges, and consulates in Kiev and New York.

-- We have agreed to a maritime border between our two countries in the Bering Sea.

(add economic/commercial agreements if signed)

-- I am very pleased with these results. We have accomplished much that is good for our two countries.

-- But beyond signing these agreements, this summit has provided us an opportunity to exchange views candidly on the entire spectrum of our relationship.

-- Mr. President, I have found our discussions to be enormously useful. I look forward to further exchanges tomorrow at Camp David.

-- So ladies and gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast to our hosts, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, and Ambassador and Mrs. Bessmertnykh, for their kind hospitality, and to the growing cooperation of the American and Soviet peoples, and the peace and prosperity which that cooperation will bring.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT BUSH AT SIGNING CEREMONY

OF U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS

EAST RM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A little over six months ago on the wind-swept island of Malta, President Gorbachev and I put forward an agenda of work to be completed by this Washington Summit. We challenged our experts to negotiate concrete agreements on a broad range of issues that would substantially enhance cooperation between our two countries. I am happy to say today that a great deal of hard work has been done since then. We have been successful in reaching accord on almost all of the Malta agenda.

We are about to sign agreements in many areas of our relationship and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today. The achievements we record today range from concrete understandings on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons to a number of specific agreements that will enhance the lives of U.S. and Soviet citizens. Let me cite just a few examples:

-- We are signing today protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long and arduous negotiations, we have agreed in these protocols on unprecedented on-site verification improvements for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. I am hopeful that our Congress will act expeditiously to bring these Treaties into effect.

-- I am personally pleased to sign today a trailblazing bilateral agreement which will lead for the first time to a substantial reduction in U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stocks. I hope this agreement will encourage other nations so that we can move ahead with a global ban of chemical weapons.

-- We are also announcing today in a joint statement agreement on the major issues involved in the strategic arms negotiations. This too has been a long and difficult negotiation. Having reached compromises on the major weapons systems covered by the START Treaty, President Gorbachev and I are now charging our negotiating teams with the responsibility to conclude as quickly as possible a START treaty that can be effectively verified.

-- We are also signing today a joint U.S.-Soviet commercial agreement. As you know, the Supreme Soviet recently passed a new emigration bill which codifies free emigration. In view of this bill, and the record numbers of Soviet citizens who have emigrated in the past year, I have decided to grant a one-year waiver of the Jackson/Vanik amendment and extend most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union. The commercial agreement that we are signing will provide a framework within which U.S. firms can expand economic ties to the Soviet Union. I believe this is a good agreement which advances American interests and can promote economic change in the Soviet Union. I believe this agreement will be a catalyst for expanded trade between our two countries.

-- There are a number of other agreements which we will initial or announce today which represent a great deal of work both within the government and by private citizens groups.

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- We are issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment and signing a customs agreement to help us fight the scourge of the international drug trade. These symbolize our new interest in working together with the Soviet Union to solve transnational problems.

- We have agreed today on opening consulates in New York and Kiev as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

- We are signing an agreement today realizing our Malta objective of expanding student undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for youth of both countries to see first hand and study the culture, politics and economics of each other's country. This is an investment in the future that will benefit both our peoples.

These are just a selection of the agreements we record today. I am proud of what we have accomplished. I believe these are good agreements which will be in the interests of both countries. I congratulate all those in the government and outside who have had a role in these achievements. All Americans can take pride in a job well done. Thank you.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011501

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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AFTER DINNER REMARKS
MAY 31

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E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By Rml NARA, Date 10/19/04

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~~150~~ 130 State dinner
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maxillofacial surgery Sch. Dental Medicine, SUNY-Stony Brook. Served with AUS, 1966-68. Decorated Army Commendation medal. Diplomate Am. Bd. Oral and Maxillofacial Surgery. Fellow Internat. Assn. Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeons; mem. Am., N.Y. State (chmn. advanced and continuing edn. com.) socs. oral and maxillofacial surgeons, Am. Assn. Dental Schs., ADA, N.Y. State 10th Dist. (bd. dels.) dental socs., Alpha Omega, Phi Epsilon Pi. Club: Masons. Contbr. articles to profl. jours. Research on effect of surg. correction of facial deformities on speech. Office: 131 Fulton Ave Hempstead NY 11550

GOODSTEIN, SANDERS ABRAHAM, scrap iron company executive; b. N.Y.C., Oct. 3, 1981; s. Samuel G. and Katie (Lipson) G.; m. Rose Laro, June 29, 1942; children: Peter, Esther, Jack, Rachel. Student, Wayne State U., 1934-36; AB, U. Mich., 1938, MBA, 1939, JD, 1946; postgrad., Harvard, 1943. Bar: Mich., 1946. Sec. Laro Coal & Iron Co., Flint, Mich., 1946-60, pres., 1960—; owner, operator Paterson Mfg. Co., Flint, 1953—; gen. ptnr. Indianhead Co., Pontiac, Mich., 1955-70, pres., 1965-70; sec. Amatac Corp., Erie, Pa., until 1969; chmn. bd. Gen. Foundry & Mfg. Co., Flint., Mich., 1968—, pres. 1970—; pres. Lacron Steel Co., Providence, 1975—, ETL Corp., Flint, 1983—; mem. corp. body Mich. Blue Shield, 1970-76. Served to lt. comdr.USNR, 1942-46. Mem. Fed. Bar Assn., Am. Bar Assn., Bar Mich., Am. Pub. Works Assn., Am. Foundrymen's Soc., Order of Coif, Beta Gamma Sigma, Phi Kappa Phi. Jewish. Home: 2602 Parkside Dr Flint MI 48503 Office: G-4296 W Pierson Rd Flint MI 48504

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among its benefits a $5,000 prize and a series of sponsored recitals. Over the next few years, he became significantly more visible in his performances with orchestras, though he never entirely left chamber music behind. Of his playing of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 25 in C (K. 503) at Lincoln Center's Mostly Mozart Festival on August 1, 1980, Peter G. Davis of the *New York Times* (August 3, 1980) wrote: "His performance explored just about every facet of the work with a patrician elegance, polished musicianship and eloquence of expression that had a listener hanging on every phrase. This was Mozart-playing of rare beauty, combining a clarity of perception and breadth of feeling that struck the happiest possible balance." His performance of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 23 in A (K. 488) at the following year's Mostly Mozart Festival, on August 14, 1981, was welcomed by the same critic as one of "rare sensitivity, technical accomplishment and perceptive insight."

Goode also achieved increasing prominence as a concerto specialist through his work with Orpheus, a conductorless, twenty-six-member chamber orchestra based in New York, with which he first performed as a founding member in 1972. Reviewing his January 14, 1984 performance of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 18 in B-flat (K. 456) with the group, Bernard Holland of the *New York Times* (January 16, 1984) observed: "Mr. Goode's piano playing evoked Mozart's natural grace so purely that we began to forget not only about him but about his instrument. This kind of performance serves music wonderfully."

Goode's work in the recording studio received its own recognition. His recording in 1982 of the Brahms Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano, op. 120, made for the RCA Victor label with his longtime Marlboro colleague Richard Stoltzman, won a Grammy Award that year for "Best Chamber Music Performance." Around that time, Nonesuch Records released Goode's interpretations of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 17 in G Major (K. 453) and Piano Concerto no. 23 in A Major (K. 488). In 1985, Nonesuch issued his performances of George Perle's *Serenade no. 3* for piano and chamber orchestra, *Ballade* for piano, and *Concertino* for piano, winds and timpani.

In 1983 Richard Goode resumed his performances with the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center, but his solo and joint recitals became increasingly ambitious at the same time, overshadowing his other work with their scope and intent. His recitals with the American soprano Bethany Beardslee during 1981, presenting all-Brahms and all-Schumann evenings in successive months, were followed by evenings devoted to Berg and Schoenberg in subsequent seasons, and the two later recorded a set of Brahms *lieder* together.

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Richard Goode lives on Manhattan's Upper East Side with his wife, Marcia Weinfeld, a violinist whom he met during an engagement with the National Arts Center Orchestra in Ottawa, Canada, in 1982. They were married in 1987. Goode's interests include art, especially painting, and his major hobby is book collecting.

References: Hi Fi/Mus Am 31:4+ O '81; N Y Times II p23+ N 18 '79; Ovation p18+ Ja '87; Who's Who in America, 1988–89



Gorbachev, Raisa

(gōr-bä-chof´ rī-ēs´ ə)

Jan. 5, 1932(?)– Wife of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Address: c/o Central Committee of the Communist Party, Staraya Ploshchad 4, Moscow, USSR

Selected in a 1987 international poll of newspaper editors as one of the world's ten most important women, Raisa Gorbachev, the self-assured and stylish wife of Mikhail Gorbachev, the general sec-

retary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, is the antithesis of the plain and almost anonymous wives of earlier Soviet leaders. Although news about Mrs. Gorbachev's activities is still tightly controlled at home, Soviet officials seem to have no qualms about foreign media coverage of the well-educated and personable "first lady." The author of a pioneering sociological study, she was a university professor until her husband's election to the post of general secretary in 1985. Mrs. Gorbachev's high visibility abroad and the influence she is said to have on her husband have given rise to considerable criticism in the Soviet Union, where the wives of political leaders traditionally play insignificant public roles. Western observers, who have often compared Raisa Gorbachev's importance to that of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, have interpreted the apparent change in policy as "an intentional effort to provide a new role model for Soviet women," according to the *New York Times*'s Philip Taubman. When asked about her role during a trip to Iceland in 1986, Mrs. Gorbachev said simply, as quoted in the *New York Times* (October 12, 1986), "We have a division of labor. He's working and I'm looking around. Then I'll tell him about everything I see."

According to most Western sources, Raisa Gorbachev was born Raisa Maksimovna Titorenko in the Siberian town of Rubtsovsk on January 5, 1932. (Her official biography gives 1934 as her year of birth.) It is rumored that her father, Maxim, a railway worker, was an associate of Lenin's in several economic experiments in the 1920s. Little is known about her childhood, although Zhores A. Medvedev, in his book *Gorbachev* (1986), reveals that she was reared in Stavropol, in the North Caucasus. When she was in her late teens, Raisa Maksimovna won a place at the top academic institution in the Soviet Union, Moscow M. V. Lomonosov State University, where she studied Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It was while she was an undergraduate there that she met Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, a fellow student who lived in the same student hostel. They were married shortly before her graduation from the university, in 1955.

Returning to Stavropol, where her husband was first secretary of the Stavropol city Komsomol, or Young Communist League, Raisa Gorbachev worked as a schoolteacher until the birth of her daughter, Irina. At some point in the early 1960s, she resumed her studies, aiming for the Soviet equivalent of a doctorate. On the acceptance of her doctoral thesis, which was entitled "Emergence of New Characteristics in the Daily Lives of the Collective Farm Peasantry (Based on Sociological Investigations in the Stavropol Region)," in 1967, she received an advanced degree from the V. I. Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow.

The research methods Raisa Gorbachev employed in preparing her thesis were at the time unusual in the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of her thesis adviser, the philosopher G. V. Osipov, an innovator in Soviet sociological research, she drew on a variety of sources, including published statistics and Communist party reports, official documents, articles in scientific publications, oral accounts of traditional customs and attitudes, and perhaps most important, weeks of field investigations at five collective farms, to provide a detailed analysis of rural living conditions that was not only of scholarly value but also directly useful to her husband in his career as a regional administrator. Among other things, she found that one of the biggest obstacles to social progress in the region was the persistence of traditional attitudes toward women and their roles. By pointing out the customary division of labor in the country, where women performed most of the heavy physical work, she alerted Communist party officials to a fundamental contrast in the relationship of the sexes between urban and rural populations. As Christian Schmidt-Hauer observed in his book *Gorbachev—the Path to Power* (1987), "Clearly, the quality of this thesis was well above the usual level, and points to a degree of enlightened thinking in both the author and her husband, who supported her research. . . . [Raisa Gorbachev] was, in effect, a pioneer in sociology, a field hardly recognized in the Soviet Union. That is why [she] is called a 'philosopher' and not a sociologist."

Meanwhile, Mikhail Gorbachev had risen rapidly through the ranks of the Communist party hierarchy in the Stavropol region, becoming first secretary of the Stavropol territory party committee in April 1970. As regional party chief, one of his duties was to welcome the distinguished party officials who occasionally visited the mineral spas in the area. One of the most frequent visitors was Yuri Andropov, then the chairman of the KGB. The powerful and influential Andropov is said to have been much impressed by Raisa Gorbachev. Andropov and Mikhail A. Suslov, a former Stavropol party chief who served as Leonid I. Brezhnev's ideology minister, were instrumental in promoting Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of agriculture secretary on the Central Committee of the Communist party in 1978. Shortly thereafter, the Gorbachevs moved to Moscow, and Raisa accepted an appointment as a lecturer on the faculty of philosophy at Moscow State University.

Mikhail Gorbachev advanced to full membership in the Politburo, the Central Committee's policy-making organ, in 1980. When his mentor, Yuri Andropov, was elected general secretary following Brezhnev's death in 1982, Gorbachev took on increasingly important assignments as he helped to implement the ailing Andropov's bold reform program. His rise in influence continued after Konstantin U. Chernenko succeeded Andropov as general secretary in February 1984. Even at this early stage of his national political career, Gorbachev displayed a public relations flair unusual in a Soviet official. For example, in a marked break with tradition, he decided to take his wife along when he led a Soviet delegation on a visit to Great Britain in December 1984. Demonstrating intelligence, a sense of humor, and sophistication, the Gorbachevs were an instant media sensation. The style-

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conscious Raisa Gorbachev, in particular, charmed British reporters, who immediately dubbed her "Soviet realism's answer to Princess Diana."

With journalists and photographers dogging her every step, Mrs. Gorbachev made the rounds of London's tourist attractions and shops, from the exclusive Cartier, where she reportedly purchased a pair of earrings, to Marks & Spencer, the downmarket department store chain. On private tours of some of Great Britain's historical and cultural sites, she showed a keen interest in and surprising knowledge of English literature that endeared her to her hosts. "She was very happy, very jolly, very easy," Graham Sawyer, the manager of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon, which Mrs. Gorbachev visited, told a reporter for *People* (December 2, 1985). "We spoke through her interpreter, but she somehow managed to give the impression, because of her personality, that you were having a conversation with her." Indeed she was so well liked by the British press corps that on her departure the photographers chipped in to buy her a bouquet.

On March 11, 1985, within hours of the elderly Chernenko's death, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected general secretary in an emergency meeting of the Central Committee. The youngest Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin succeeded Lenin in 1924, Gorbachev departed radically from the style of his immediate predecessors. To the surprise of his fellow citizens, he made frequent visits to various cities and towns around the country, taking special pains to talk with people on the streets and in factories and other places of work. Raisa Gorbachev, who resigned her teaching post on her husband's election to the top Soviet leadership post, often accompanied the general secretary on these trips, although she was rarely mentioned in press accounts. In May 1985 *Pravda* printed on its front page a photograph that showed Mrs. Gorbachev escorting Sonia Gandhi, the wife of the visiting Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, on a tour of Moscow's museums and art galleries but failed to identify her in the caption as the general secretary's spouse. Virtually ignored by the Soviet press, she was nevertheless making quite an impression on Western diplomats and correspondents stationed in Moscow. "She's an intellect without the defects of most intellects: she isn't arrogant," one Westerner observed, as quoted in *Newsweek* (June 3, 1985). "Russian women always have to be in the background. But Mrs. Gorbachev has overcome this with a remarkable degree of sensitivity—and with style."

Raisa Gorbachev's "style" was perhaps most evident on state trips abroad. During an official visit to Paris in October 1985, for instance, the wit, charm, and lively curiosity she displayed while on a tour of the city with Danielle Mitterand, President François Mitterand's wife, delighted the French. As a reporter for *Paris-Match* put it, "The image of the Soviet Union has changed by virtue of a woman's face." Another journalist, writing in the conservative daily *Le Figaro*, pronounced her "Nancy Reagan's great rival."

Mrs. Gorbachev and Mrs. Reagan met for the first time just a month later, during their husbands' initial summit meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. With a news blackout imposed on the discussions between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, media coverage of their wives' activities reached a near frenzy. Raisa Gorbachev's busy schedule included visits to Geneva municipal government offices, a farm, a watch museum, and the University of Geneva, where she engaged the rector in a conversation about the relationship between philosophy and physics and impressed the librarian with her knowledge of the library's Lenin collection. She also met twice with Nancy Reagan at private, reciprocal teas at the Maison de Saussure, the Reagans' temporary residence in Geneva, and at the Soviet embassy. According to Mrs. Reagan, who reportedly found her Soviet counterpart to be somewhat "pedantic and inflexible" and "a dogmatic Marxist," the two women discussed "our husbands and the meeting and what we both hoped would come out of it."

Soviet journalists ignored the tea parties, but covered more substantive events, such as the laying of the cornerstone of the Museum of the Red Cross, by Mrs. Gorbachev, Mrs. Reagan, and Ursula Furgler, the wife of Swiss president Kurt Furgler, in a series of special televised reports. "These were evidence both of Gorbachev's interest in her political role—her performance seemed to signal an increasing participation in social decision-making by Soviet women—and of her potential influence on the party leader," Christian Schmidt-Hauer wrote in *Gorbachev—the Path to Power*. "Almost certainly, Gorbachev wishes to revive that long-buried Leninist tradition by which women played a role in public life." American Kremlinologists agreed. "I think Gorbachev is putting her on television primarily for the Soviet audience . . . ," Jerry Hough, a professor of political science at Duke University and the author of several books about Soviet government and politics explained, as quoted in the *People* magazine article. "I suspect that over the next ten years the Soviet Union is going to be integrated into the West, and my guess is that she's part of it."

Although her public engagements were few in comparison with those of the wife of a Western political leader, Raisa Gorbachev assumed an increasingly public role as her husband consolidated his authority. To many seasoned observers of the Soviet political scene, her presence at certain functions took on a special significance. Her appearance at a fashion show at the Chinese embassy in the summer of 1986, for example, was widely interpreted as a sign of improving relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. More important, in August 1986 she was named a member of the newly formed Soviet Cultural Fund, an organization devoted to the promotion and development of the arts, the restoration of buildings of historical interest, and an increased cultural dialogue with the West. A few months later, she was elected to the fund's eleven-member

presidium, or governing body. She has since served as its secretary.

In October 1986 Raisa Gorbachev unexpectedly accompanied her husband to Reykjavik, Iceland, for the second of his summit meetings with President Reagan. Nancy Reagan, who had been advised that Mrs. Gorbachev would remain behind in Moscow, had arranged a full schedule in the United States and did not attend the conference. Having the media spotlight to herself, Mrs. Gorbachev made the most of her visit. As she toured the sites, she impressed her hosts with her familiarity with Icelandic culture and frequently pointed out the ties between the Soviet and Icelandic peoples. She also made a point of visiting the junior high school students who had sent letters to Gorbachev and Reagan expressing their fear of nuclear war, telling them, as quoted in the *New York Times* (October 12, 1986), "I don't doubt that our efforts, all efforts will end the nuclear threat. We must not give up. I believe that these discussions between the two will make the world safer for the youth. . . . They must come up with peace."

Raisa Gorbachev followed her public relations coup in Iceland with equally triumphant trips to India, where, according to the *Washington Post* (November 28, 1986), she was "greeted almost like a queen," and to Eastern Europe. During their visit to Czechoslovakia in April 1987, she and her husband strolled the streets of Prague, often stopping to shake hands and chat with hundreds of well-wishers. The following month, in Rumania, she gave a speech in which she discussed in some detail the active role to be played by women in the restructuring of the Soviet Union's economic and social life.

As more than one Western reporter has noted, many Russians, especially young people, take considerable pride in Mrs. Gorbachev's popularity abroad and admire her as a role model. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union remains a basically male-dominated society where women have yet to achieve in fact the equality they have by law, and older, more conservative citizens are said to be very critical of her high public profile, her alleged regal style (she has been nicknamed "the Czarina" by her detractors), and her perceived extravagance. According to rumor, an underground videotape showing Raisa Gorbachev purchasing jewelry in London with an American Express gold card and wearing expensive clothes was widely circulated in Moscow in 1986, but Westerners living in the city have to date been unable to locate a copy of the clandestine tape. Some Muscovites who claim to have seen it have speculated that it was deliberately released by Mikhail Gorbachev's political enemies. Of perhaps greater concern to the Soviet government were the rumors that the general secretary's wife was interfering in political decisions, such as the dismissal of Boris N. Yeltsin, the Moscow party leader who was removed from office shortly after he publicly criticized Raisa Gorbachev's behavior in a controversial speech to the Central Committee on October 21, 1987.

The prospect of a superpower summit meeting in Washington, D.C., in December 1987 heightened public interest in the Gorbachevs in the United States. Less than a month before the summit, Raisa Gorbachev opened an exhibit of American paintings in Moscow. Walking through the exhibit with the American industrialist and art collector Armand Hammer (and a group of Western reporters), she spoke freely about her hopes for the meeting between her husband and the American president and expressed her appreciation for the hundreds of letters the Gorbachevs had received from Americans, some of whom had extended personal invitations to visit their homes. "The show gave Mrs. Gorbachev the perfect backdrop for her own exhibition of the open gregarious style she and her husband have displayed in previous trips to the West," Gary Lee observed in the *Washington Post* (November 17, 1987). "Stylish as ever . . . she attracted as much attention as the art."

From the minute the Gorbachevs' plane touched down outside Washington, D.C., on the evening of December 7, 1987, it was clear to reporters that Raisa Gorbachev, mindful of her negative image at home, was determined to keep a relatively low profile. She stayed in the background during the official welcoming ceremony and generally avoided reporters during a whirlwind introductory tour of the city with Helena Shultz, the wife of the secretary of state. To the exasperation of the press corps, her public schedule was not even announced.

Perhaps because of the dearth of information, the alleged strain in relations between Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan, which was said to have begun in Reykjavik, became prime grist for the media's mill, particularly after Mrs. Gorbachev delayed in responding to Mrs. Reagan's invitation to tea and a tour of the White House, then asked to have the engagement rescheduled so that she could join her husband at a meeting with American publishers and editors. According to the reporters who accompanied the two women on the subsequent tour of the White House, Mrs. Gorbachev occasionally seemed to be lecturing her hostess. Her description of the White House as more of "a museum of American history" than "a regular house" was variously interpreted as "sour grapes" or simply "ungraceful." "Perhaps *glasnost* ["openness"] and graciousness don't go on the same G page in the Russian dictionary," one Reagan staffer remarked, as quoted in the *New York Times* (December 4, 1987). The "little cold war," as a reporter for *Time* (June 6, 1988) put it, between Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan was equally evident during the fourth superpower summit meeting, in Moscow in late May 1988. In an attempt to downplay the widely reported friction between the two women, Elaine Crispin, Mrs. Reagan's press secretary, told reporters, "There is no feud. But the two are from different worlds."

As a writer for *Newsweek* (December 14, 1987), among others, pointed out, the highly publicized "style wars" between the two wives "may have had less to do with womanly competition than with Soviet politics." Raisa Go
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Despite her restricted schedule during her visit to Washington, Raisa Gorbachev made a generally favorable impression on the Americans she met at two glittering state dinners, at a reception at the Soviet Embassy for several hundred intellectuals and artists, and at a morning tea at the home of Pamela Harriman, the widow of W. Averell Harriman, a former United States ambassador to the Soviet Union. At Mrs. Harriman's she was introduced to several prominent American women, including Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Hanna Holborn Gray, the president of the University of Chicago, and Senators Nancy Landon Kassebaum and Barbara A. Mikulski. "She was intelligent, capable, quite lively and controlled, combining that with a certain deliberateness about what she wanted to convey . . . ," Hanna Gray told Donnie Radcliffe of the *Washington Post* (December 13, 1987). "We gave her the opportunity to tell us the things she wanted to say."

Raisa Gorbachev, whose youthful looks belie her chronological age, stands five feet, two and a half inches tall and has short, curly auburn hair and brown eyes. She is said to keep trim by working out regularly to American exercise videotapes. Always fashionably dressed, she favors clothes designed by Tamara Mokeyeva and Viyacheslav Zaitsev. Her patronage has made the latter an international celebrity. Mrs. Gorbachev has been described by her friends as a shrewd observer of people and situations. To Westerners, she seems to combine the "'steel magnolia' demeanor of former American First Lady Rosalynn Carter with the well-informed activist persona of the late Eleanor Roosevelt," as Trude B. Feldman noted in *McCall's* (March 1988).

In her spare time, Mrs. Gorbachev reads widely. She is said to be especially fond of nineteenth-century English literature, and she and her husband often read Dostoevsky together. The two also enjoy going to the ballet and the theatre and listening to classical music. "I am very lucky with Mikhail," Raisa Gorbachev has said, as quoted in *People* (December 2, 1985). "We are really friends—or, if you prefer, we have a great complicity." The Gorbachevs are rumored to have two children, although only one, Irina, who is a physician and the mother of their two granddaughters, has appeared in public with them. The couple share a five-room apartment near the Kremlin and a lakeside dacha outside Moscow. In 1987 Mrs. Gorbachev received an international image award from American fashion designers "for her outstanding activities and contribution to promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between cultural circles of the USSR and other countries."

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Grappelli, Stéphane

(grə-pel'ē stā fān')

Jan. 26, 1908- French jazz violinist. Address: 87 rue de Dunkerque, 75009 Paris, France

More than half a century has passed since the violinist Stéphane Grappelli made his first jazz recordings as a member of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France. Initially overshadowed by Django Reinhardt, the quintet's Belgian-born gypsy guitarist, he gradually achieved international renown in his own right for his dazzling style of playing, which has been described as "fluid yet structured, flamboyant yet tasteful, lyrical yet hardheaded," with an "insouciant swing" and a "distinctively wry tone—a blend of honeyed café elegance and the earthiness of the blues." One of only a handful of pioneering musicians who successfully adapted the violin to jazz, Grappelli is also among the first

among its benefits a $5,000 prize and a series of sponsored recitals. Over the next few years, he became significantly more visible in his performances with orchestras, though he never entirely left chamber music behind. Of his playing of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 25 in C (K. 503) at Lincoln Center's Mostly Mozart Festival on August 1, 1980, Peter G. Davis of the *New York Times* (August 3, 1980) wrote: "His performance explored just about every facet of the work with a patrician elegance, polished musicianship and eloquence of expression that had a listener hanging on every phrase. This was Mozart-playing of rare beauty, combining a clarity of perception and breadth of feeling that struck the happiest possible balance." His performance of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 23 in A (K. 488) at the following year's Mostly Mozart Festival, on August 14, 1981, was welcomed by the same critic as one of "rare sensitivity, technical accomplishment and perceptive insight."

Goode also achieved increasing prominence as a concerto specialist through his work with Orpheus, a conductorless, twenty-six-member chamber orchestra based in New York, with which he first performed as a founding member in 1972. Reviewing his January 14, 1984 performance of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 18 in B-flat (K. 456) with the group, Bernard Holland of the *New York Times* (January 16, 1984) observed: "Mr. Goode's piano playing evoked Mozart's natural grace so purely that we began to forget not only about him but about his instrument. This kind of performance serves music wonderfully."

Goode's work in the recording studio received its own recognition. His recording in 1982 of the Brahms Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano, op. 120, made for the RCA Victor label with his longtime Marlboro colleague Richard Stoltzman, won a Grammy Award that year for "Best Chamber Music Performance." Around that time, Nonesuch Records released Goode's interpretations of the Mozart Piano Concerto no. 17 in G Major (K. 453) and Piano Concerto no. 23 in A Major (K. 488). In 1985, Nonesuch issued his performances of George Perle's *Serenade no. 3* for piano and chamber orchestra, *Ballade* for piano, and *Concertino* for piano, winds and timpani.

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Richard Goode lives on Manhattan's Upper East Side with his wife, Marcia Weinfeld, a violinist whom he met during an engagement with the National Arts Center Orchestra in Ottawa, Canada, in 1982. They were married in 1987. Goode's interests include art, especially painting, and his major hobby is book collecting.

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Gorbachev, Raisa

(gōr-bä-chof´ rī-ēs´ ə)

Jan. 5, 1932(?)- Wife of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Address: c/o Central Committee of the Communist Party, Staraya Ploshchad 4, Moscow, USSR

Selected in a 1987 international poll of newspaper editors as one of the world's ten most important women, Raisa Gorbachev, the self-assured and stylish wife of Mikhail Gorbachev, the general sec-

retary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, is the antithesis of the plain and almost anonymous wives of earlier Soviet leaders. Although news about Mrs. Gorbachev's activities is still tightly controlled at home, Soviet officials seem to have no qualms about foreign media coverage of the well-educated and personable "first lady." The author of a pioneering sociological study, she was a university professor until her husband's election to the post of general secretary in 1985. Mrs. Gorbachev's high visibility abroad and the influence she is said to have on her husband have given rise to considerable criticism in the Soviet Union, where the wives of political leaders traditionally play insignificant public roles. Western observers, who have often compared Raisa Gorbachev's importance to that of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, have interpreted the apparent change in policy as "an intentional effort to provide a new role model for Soviet women," according to the *New York Times*'s Philip Taubman. When asked about her role during a trip to Iceland in 1986, Mrs. Gorbachev said simply, as quoted in the *New York Times* (October 12, 1986), "We have a division of labor. He's working and I'm looking around. Then I'll tell him about everything I see."

According to most Western sources, Raisa Gorbachev was born Raisa Maksimovna Titorenko in the Siberian town of Rubtsovsk on January 5, 1932. (Her official biography gives 1934 as her year of birth.) It is rumored that her father, Maxim, a railway worker, was an associate of Lenin's in several economic experiments in the 1920s. Little is known about her childhood, although Zhores A. Medvedev, in his book *Gorbachev* (1986), reveals that she was reared in Stavropol, in the North Caucasus. When she was in her late teens, Raisa Maksimovna won a place at the top academic institution in the Soviet Union, Moscow M. V. Lomonosov State University, where she studied Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It was while she was an undergraduate there that she met Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, a fellow student who lived in the same student hostel. They were married shortly before her graduation from the university, in 1955.

Returning to Stavropol, where her husband was first secretary of the Stavropol city Komsomol, or Young Communist League, Raisa Gorbachev worked as a schoolteacher until the birth of her daughter, Irina. At some point in the early 1960s, she resumed her studies, aiming for the Soviet equivalent of a doctorate. On the acceptance of her doctoral thesis, which was entitled "Emergence of New Characteristics in the Daily Lives of the Collective Farm Peasantry (Based on Sociological Investigations in the Stavropol Region)," in 1967, she received an advanced degree from the V. I. Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow.

The research methods Raisa Gorbachev employed in preparing her thesis were at the time unusual in the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of her thesis adviser, the philosopher G. V. Osipov, an innovator in Soviet sociological research, she drew on a variety of sources, including published statistics and Communist party reports, official documents, articles in scientific publications, oral accounts of traditional customs and attitudes, and perhaps most important, weeks of field investigations at five collective farms, to provide a detailed analysis of rural living conditions that was not only of scholarly value but also directly useful to her husband in his career as a regional administrator. Among other things, she found that one of the biggest obstacles to social progress in the region was the persistence of traditional attitudes toward women and their roles. By pointing out the customary division of labor in the country, where women performed most of the heavy physical work, she alerted Communist party officials to a fundamental contrast in the relationship of the sexes between urban and rural populations. As Christian Schmidt-Hauer observed in his book *Gorbachev—the Path to Power* (1987), "Clearly, the quality of this thesis was well above the usual level, and points to a degree of enlightened thinking in both the author and her husband, who supported her research. . . . [Raisa Gorbachev] was, in effect, a pioneer in sociology, a field hardly recognized in the Soviet Union. That is why [she] is called a 'philosopher' and not a sociologist."

Meanwhile, Mikhail Gorbachev had risen rapidly through the ranks of the Communist party hierarchy in the Stavropol region, becoming first secretary of the Stavropol territory party committee in April 1970. As regional party chief, one of his duties was to welcome the distinguished party officials who occasionally visited the mineral spas in the area. One of the most frequent visitors was Yuri Andropov, then the chairman of the KGB. The powerful and influential Andropov is said to have been much impressed by Raisa Gorbachev. Andropov and Mikhail A. Suslov, a former Stavropol party chief who served as Leonid I. Brezhnev's ideology minister, were instrumental in promoting Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of agriculture secretary on the Central Committee of the Communist party in 1978. Shortly thereafter, the Gorbachevs moved to Moscow, and Raisa accepted an appointment as a lecturer on the faculty of philosophy at Moscow State University.

Mikhail Gorbachev advanced to full membership in the Politburo, the Central Committee's policy-making organ, in 1980. When his mentor, Yuri Andropov, was elected general secretary following Brezhnev's death in 1982, Gorbachev took on increasingly important assignments as he helped to implement the ailing Andropov's bold reform program. His rise in influence continued after Konstantin U. Chernenko succeeded Andropov as general secretary in February 1984. Even at this early stage of his national political career, Gorbachev displayed a public relations flair unusual in a Soviet official. For example, in a marked break with tradition, he decided to take his wife along when he led a Soviet delegation on a visit to Great Britain in December 1984. Demonstrating intelligence, a sense of humor, and sophistication, the Gorbachevs were an instant media sensation. The style-

conscious Raisa Gorbachev, in particular, charmed British reporters, who immediately dubbed her "Soviet realism's answer to Princess Diana."

With journalists and photographers dogging her every step, Mrs. Gorbachev made the rounds of London's tourist attractions and shops, from the exclusive Cartier, where she reportedly purchased a pair of earrings, to Marks & Spencer, the downmarket department store chain. On private tours of some of Great Britain's historical and cultural sites, she showed a keen interest in and surprising knowledge of English literature that endeared her to her hosts. "She was very happy, very jolly, very easy," Graham Sawyer, the manager of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon, which Mrs. Gorbachev visited, told a reporter for *People* (December 2, 1985). "We spoke through her interpreter, but she somehow managed to give the impression, because of her personality, that you were having a conversation with her." Indeed she was so well liked by the British press corps that on her departure the photographers chipped in to buy her a bouquet.

On March 11, 1985, within hours of the elderly Chernenko's death, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected general secretary in an emergency meeting of the Central Committee. The youngest Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin succeeded Lenin in 1924, Gorbachev departed radically from the style of his immediate predecessors. To the surprise of his fellow citizens, he made frequent visits to various cities and towns around the country, taking special pains to talk with people on the streets and in factories and other places of work. Raisa Gorbachev, who resigned her teaching post on her husband's election to the top Soviet leadership post, often accompanied the general secretary on these trips, although she was rarely mentioned in press accounts. In May 1985 *Pravda* printed on its front page a photograph that showed Mrs. Gorbachev escorting Sonia Gandhi, the wife of the visiting Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, on a tour of Moscow's museums and art galleries but failed to identify her in the caption as the general secretary's spouse. Virtually ignored by the Soviet press, she was nevertheless making quite an impression on Western diplomats and correspondents stationed in Moscow. "She's an intellect without the defects of most intellects: she isn't arrogant," one Westerner observed, as quoted in *Newsweek* (June 3, 1985). "Russian women always have to be in the background. But Mrs. Gorbachev has overcome this with a remarkable degree of sensitivity—and with style."

Raisa Gorbachev's "style" was perhaps most evident on state trips abroad. During an official visit to Paris in October 1985, for instance, the wit, charm, and lively curiosity she displayed while on a tour of the city with Danielle Mitterand, President François Mitterand's wife, delighted the French. As a reporter for *Paris-Match* put it, "The image of the Soviet Union has changed by virtue of a woman's face." Another journalist, writing in the conservative daily *Le Figaro*, pronounced her "Nancy Reagan's great rival."

Mrs. Gorbachev and Mrs. Reagan met for the first time just a month later, during their husbands' initial summit meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. With a news blackout imposed on the discussions between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, media coverage of their wives' activities reached a near frenzy. Raisa Gorbachev's busy schedule included visits to Geneva municipal government offices, a farm, a watch museum, and the University of Geneva, where she engaged the rector in a conversation about the relationship between philosophy and physics and impressed the librarian with her knowledge of the library's Lenin collection. She also met twice with Nancy Reagan at private, reciprocal teas at the Maison de Saussure, the Reagans' temporary residence in Geneva, and at the Soviet embassy. According to Mrs. Reagan, who reportedly found her Soviet counterpart to be somewhat "pedantic and inflexible" and "a dogmatic Marxist," the two women discussed "our husbands and the meeting and what we both hoped would come out of it."

Soviet journalists ignored the tea parties, but covered more substantive events, such as the laying of the cornerstone of the Museum of the Red Cross, by Mrs. Gorbachev, Mrs. Reagan, and Ursula Furgler, the wife of Swiss president Kurt Furgler, in a series of special televised reports. "These were evidence both of Gorbachev's interest in her political role—her performance seemed to signal an increasing participation in social decision-making by Soviet women—and of her potential influence on the party leader," Christian Schmidt-Hauer wrote in *Gorbachev—the Path to Power*. "Almost certainly, Gorbachev wishes to revive that long-buried Leninist tradition by which women played a role in public life." American Kremlinologists agreed. "I think Gorbachev is putting her on television primarily for the Soviet audience . . . ," Jerry Hough, a professor of political science at Duke University and the author of several books about Soviet government and politics explained, as quoted in the *People* magazine article. "I suspect that over the next ten years the Soviet Union is going to be integrated into the West, and my guess is that she's part of it."

Although her public engagements were few in comparison with those of the wife of a Western political leader, Raisa Gorbachev assumed an increasingly public role as her husband consolidated his authority. To many seasoned observers of the Soviet political scene, her presence at certain functions took on a special significance. Her appearance at a fashion show at the Chinese embassy in the summer of 1986, for example, was widely interpreted as a sign of improving relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. More important, in August 1986 she was named a member of the newly formed Soviet Cultural Fund, an organization devoted to the promotion and development of the arts, the restoration of buildings of historical interest, and an increased cultural dialogue with the West. A few months later, she was elected to the fund's eleven-member

presidium, or governing body. She has since served as its secretary.

In October 1986 Raisa Gorbachev unexpectedly accompanied her husband to Reykjavik, Iceland, for the second of his summit meetings with President Reagan. Nancy Reagan, who had been advised that Mrs. Gorbachev would remain behind in Moscow, had arranged a full schedule in the United States and did not attend the conference. Having the media spotlight to herself, Mrs. Gorbachev made the most of her visit. As she toured the sites, she impressed her hosts with her familiarity with Icelandic culture and frequently pointed out the ties between the Soviet and Icelandic peoples. She also made a point of visiting the junior high school students who had sent letters to Gorbachev and Reagan expressing their fear of nuclear war, telling them, as quoted in the *New York Times* (October 12, 1986), "I don't doubt that our efforts, all efforts will end the nuclear threat. We must not give up. I believe that these discussions between the two will make the world safer for the youth. . . . They must come up with peace."

Raisa Gorbachev followed her public relations coup in Iceland with equally triumphant trips to India, where, according to the *Washington Post* (November 28, 1986), she was "greeted almost like a queen," and to Eastern Europe. During their visit to Czechoslovakia in April 1987, she and her husband strolled the streets of Prague, often stopping to shake hands and chat with hundreds of well-wishers. The following month, in Rumania, she gave a speech in which she discussed in some detail the active role to be played by women in the restructuring of the Soviet Union's economic and social life.

As more than one Western reporter has noted, many Russians, especially young people, take considerable pride in Mrs. Gorbachev's popularity abroad and admire her as a role model. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union remains a basically male-dominated society where women have yet to achieve in fact the equality they have by law, and older, more conservative citizens are said to be very critical of her high public profile, her alleged regal style (she has been nicknamed "the Czarina" by her detractors), and her perceived extravagance. According to rumor, an underground videotape showing Raisa Gorbachev purchasing jewelry in London with an American Express gold card and wearing expensive clothes was widely circulated in Moscow in 1986, but Westerners living in the city have to date been unable to locate a copy of the clandestine tape. Some Muscovites who claim to have seen it have speculated that it was deliberately released by Mikhail Gorbachev's political enemies. Of perhaps greater concern to the Soviet government were the rumors that the general secretary's wife was interfering in political decisions, such as the dismissal of Boris N. Yeltsin, the Moscow party leader who was removed from office shortly after he publicly criticized Raisa Gorbachev's behavior in a controversial speech to the Central Committee on October 21, 1987.

The prospect of a superpower summit meeting in Washington, D.C., in December 1987 heightened public interest in the Gorbachevs in the United States. Less than a month before the summit, Raisa Gorbachev opened an exhibit of American paintings in Moscow. Walking through the exhibit with the American industrialist and art collector Armand Hammer (and a group of Western reporters), she spoke freely about her hopes for the meeting between her husband and the American president and expressed her appreciation for the hundreds of letters the Gorbachevs had received from Americans, some of whom had extended personal invitations to visit their homes. "The show gave Mrs. Gorbachev the perfect backdrop for her own exhibition of the open gregarious style she and her husband have displayed in previous trips to the West," Gary Lee observed in the *Washington Post* (November 17, 1987). "Stylish as ever . . . she attracted as much attention as the art."

From the minute the Gorbachevs' plane touched down outside Washington, D.C., on the evening of December 7, 1987, it was clear to reporters that Raisa Gorbachev, mindful of her negative image at home, was determined to keep a relatively low profile. She stayed in the background during the official welcoming ceremony and generally avoided reporters during a whirlwind introductory tour of the city with Helena Shultz, the wife of the secretary of state. To the exasperation of the press corps, her public schedule was not even announced.

Perhaps because of the dearth of information, the alleged strain in relations between Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan, which was said to have begun in Reykjavik, became prime grist for the media's mill, particularly after Mrs. Gorbachev delayed in responding to Mrs. Reagan's invitation to tea and a tour of the White House, then asked to have the engagement rescheduled so that she could join her husband at a meeting with American publishers and editors. According to the reporters who accompanied the two women on the subsequent tour of the White House, Mrs. Gorbachev occasionally seemed to be lecturing her hostess. Her description of the White House as more of "a museum of American history" than "a regular house" was variously interpreted as "sour grapes" or simply "ungraceful." "Perhaps *glasnost* ["openness"] and graciousness don't go on the same G page in the Russian dictionary," one Reagan staffer remarked, as quoted in the *New York Times* (December 4, 1987). The "little cold war," as a reporter for *Time* (June 6, 1988) put it, between Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan was equally evident during the fourth superpower summit meeting, in Moscow in late May 1988. In an attempt to downplay the widely reported friction between the two women, Elaine Crispin, Mrs. Reagan's press secretary, told reporters, "There is no feud. But the two are from different worlds."

As a writer for *Newsweek* (December 14, 1987), among others, pointed out, the highly publicized "style wars" between the two wives "may have had less to do with womanly competition than with So-

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viet politics." Raisa Gorbachev, the writer went on to explain, "may have lost the chance to make new friends abroad, but was undoubtedly more concerned about making new enemies back home." The importance attached to improving Mrs. Gorbachev's image among her fellow citizens became clear to Americans, when, before a rebroadcast in the Soviet Union of an NBC-TV interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet officials deleted his assertion that he discusses "everything" with his wife.

Despite her restricted schedule during her visit to Washington, Raisa Gorbachev made a generally favorable impression on the Americans she met at two glittering state dinners, at a reception at the Soviet Embassy for several hundred intellectuals and artists, and at a morning tea at the home of Pamela Harriman, the widow of W. Averell Harriman, a former United States ambassador to the Soviet Union. At Mrs. Harriman's she was introduced to several prominent American women, including Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Hanna Holborn Gray, the president of the University of Chicago, and Senators Nancy Landon Kassebaum and Barbara A. Mikulski. "She was intelligent, capable, quite lively and controlled, combining that with a certain deliberateness about what she wanted to convey . . . ," Hanna Gray told Donnie Radcliffe of the *Washington Post* (December 13, 1987). "We gave her the opportunity to tell us the things she wanted to say."

Raisa Gorbachev, whose youthful looks belie her chronological age, stands five feet, two and a half inches tall and has short, curly auburn hair and brown eyes. She is said to keep trim by working out regularly to American exercise videotapes. Always fashionably dressed, she favors clothes designed by Tamara Mokeyeva and Viyacheslav Zaitsev. Her patronage has made the latter an international celebrity. Mrs. Gorbachev has been described by her friends as a shrewd observer of people and situations. To Westerners, she seems to combine the "'steel magnolia' demeanor of former American First Lady Rosalynn Carter with the well-informed activist persona of the late Eleanor Roosevelt," as Trude B. Feldman noted in *McCall's* (March 1988).

In her spare time, Mrs. Gorbachev reads widely. She is said to be especially fond of nineteenth-century English literature, and she and her husband often read Dostoevsky together. The two also enjoy going to the ballet and the theatre and listening to classical music. "I am very lucky with Mikhail," Raisa Gorbachev has said, as quoted in *People* (December 2, 1985). "We are really friends—or, if you prefer, we have a great complicity." The Gorbachevs are rumored to have two children, although only one, Irina, who is a physician and the mother of their two granddaughters, has appeared in public with them. The couple share a five-room apartment near the Kremlin and a lakeside dacha outside Moscow. In 1987 Mrs. Gorbachev received an international image award from American fashion designers "for her outstanding activities and contribution to promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between cultural circles of the USSR and other countries."

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Grappelli, Stéphane

(grə-pel´ē stā fān´)

Jan. 26, 1908– French jazz violinist. Address: 87 rue de Dunkerque, 75009 Paris, France

More than half a century has passed since the violinist Stéphane Grappelli made his first jazz recordings as a member of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France. Initially overshadowed by Django Reinhardt, the quintet's Belgian-born gypsy guitarist, he gradually achieved international renown in his own right for his dazzling style of playing, which has been described as "fluid yet structured, flamboyant yet tasteful, lyrical yet hardheaded," with an "insouciant swing" and a "distinctively wry tone—a blend of honeyed café elegance and the earthiness of the blues." One of only a handful of pioneering musicians who successfully adapted the violin to jazz, Grappelli is also among the first

Thoroughly Modern Raisa

A New Style for Soviet Women

The Globe and Mail

By Lawrence Martin

The leader of the Soviet Union might be advised to start hiding his wife. Mikhail Gorbachev's difficulties lie not only in the perception among many of his countrymen that he is too modern. There is also the problem of Thoroughly Modern Raisa—too progressive, too elegant, and too visible for the Soviet Union.

Stories about her profligate presence have been around for some time. An underground film ridiculing her high spending and television ubiquity was reportedly in circulation in 1985. Its message was that Raisa should start dressing down and using rubles instead of credit cards.

Now there is evidence to suggest that the Raisa problem was central to the Boris Yeltsin affair. Just before the Moscow party chief's recent demotion, Yeltsin denounced all of God's Soviet creation—and took special aim at Mrs. Gorbachev. With the general secretary sternly looking on, the man reputed to be the leading reformer in the land assailed Raisa for being present at all high party meetings and for being all over the TV screen.

There are two camps of Soviet opinion on Mrs. Gorbachev. One view—generally of the younger set—says that she is bringing Soviet women into the 20th century. These admirers like her distinguished presence, her doctoral degree; her non-clumsy stride, her effort to play a prominent role in the country's affairs.

"It is simply a delight," says Moscow's top fashion designer, Vyacheslav Zaitsev [a sample of whose work appears in this month's cover montage], "that a woman has appeared who is the wife of the country's leader and also nice to look at. . . .She is very creative."

It was apparent before her husband took power that Raisa would be no ordinary "first babushka" of the Kremlin. On a visit to London in 1984, she and Mikhail were supposed to lay an obligatory wreath in Highgate at the cemetery housing the remains of Karl Marx. Raisa had the visit scrubbed in favor of a trip to the Tower of London to see the crown jewels.

At a dinner with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, she marveled at the prime minister's diamond and sapphire earrings. Mrs. Thatcher indicated she had more weighty things to discuss, but Raisa pried long enough to learn that the earrings were from Cartier. The next day, so the story goes, she was in Cartier putting the very same pair on her credit card.

Such is the stuff that a whole other set of Soviet citizens find hard to bear. The conservatives seem to think she is some kind of a vamp. They prefer the old-style wives of Soviet leaders who peeled potatoes, ate potatoes, and were never seen in public.

On women in general, the Soviet Union is determinedly old-fashioned. The Western image of Soviet women as dumpy provincials is unfair. They are attractive and dress as well as their means permit. But there is no real feminism here. Career prospects in many areas are what they were for North American women in the 1950s, and style allows very little show of skin.

Fashion designer Zaitsev, asked about the new short skirts, says he does not believe in them. But it is a good bet that Mrs. Gorbachev does.

How much effect Boris Yeltsin's apparent admonition of her had on his ensuing fall from grace is unknown, but his message has not been heeded. Raisa Gorbachev was back on television recently, looking exquisite and talking at greater length than ever.

"Women," Mikhail Gorbachev told an international women's congress last year, "want to see and feel that their society values their work, their abilities, and needs their worldly wisdom." He meant Soviet women, too. ■



"I'd have thought criticism of 'perestroika' would have come under the heading of 'glasnost.' "

Langdon/Punch/London

From the independent "Globe and Mail" of Toronto.

Current Biography Yearbook 1985

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On October 8, 1985, the eleven-member Philadelphia Investigating Commission began its inquiry into the MOVE disaster and Goode's role in dealing with it, amid criticism that the investigation by the panel, which had been appointed by the mayor himself, was like "the palace guard investigating the king." Several city officials, testifying before the commission, blamed the MOVE debacle on the long delay by the city administration in taking action against the radical group. In his own testimony, Goode staunchly defended his position, but his charges that his senior subordinates had misled and misinformed him and had disregarded his instructions were disputed by Police Commissioner Gregory J. Sambor and other officials.

Meanwhile, in response to a long-standing federal investigation into alleged police corruption in Philadelphia, Goode announced a program in September 1985 for upgrading the standards of the city's police department. Its provisions included appointment of a special prosecutor, a requirement for all senior police officers seeking promotion to take polygraph tests, a strengthening of the department's internal-affairs unit, and an upgrading of educational standards for members of the police department.

W. Wilson Goode has been married since 1960 to the former Velma Helen Williams, an administrative aide at the University of Pennsylvania. Their children are Muriel, who works for a law firm; W. Wilson Jr., a student at the University of Pennsylvania; and Natasha, who attends public school. Goode, who is five feet eight inches tall, has been described as a meticulous, sober man who maintains a tight rein on his emotions. He has few hobbies, rarely watches television, and never goes on vacation. Still a deeply religious man, he serves as a church deacon and fervently believes everything he does is with God's guidance. In his speaking style he shows occasional flashes of the oldtime gospel preacher.

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Gorbachev, Mikhail (Sergeyevich)

(gōr-bä-chof')

Mar. 2, 1931- General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Address: b. Central Committee of the Communist Party, Staraya Ploshchad 4, Moscow, USSR



Mikhail Gorbachev's election, on March 11, 1985, to succeed the late Konstantin U. Chernenko as general secretary of the Communist party marks a new epoch in the history of the Soviet Union. Articulate, well-educated, and confident, Gorbachev "typifies the style and substance of the upcoming generation in Moscow," according to Serge Schmemann in the *New York Times Magazine* (March 3, 1985). The youngest Soviet leader since Joseph Stalin succeeded Lenin in 1924, Gorbachev served for twenty-two years as a party official in the southern district of Stavropol before his appointment as agriculture secretary on the Central Committee of the Communist party in 1978, and he soon became part of the Kremlin's inner circle. Since his election, he has continued the program of economic and social reform begun by his mentor, Yuri Andropov, and while maintaining a tough stance toward the United States, he has indicated a desire to pursue a course of peaceful coexistence in the spirit of the détente of the 1970s.

As is often the case with Soviet leaders, relatively little is known of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's early life. A native of the fertile agricultural area of southern Russia, just north of the Caucasus mountains, he was born on March 2, 1931 into a family of peasants in the village of Privolnoye, in the Krasnogvardeisky district of Stravropol territory, where he was educated in local schools. Although he was only eleven when the Germans occupied Stavropol during World War II, the experience left a deep impression on him. From 1946 to 1950 he worked summers at a machine and tractor station as an assistant combine harvester operator in the grain fields of the collective farms of his home area.

At Moscow State University, where he entered law school in 1950, apparently under the sponsor-

ship of the Stavropol regional Communist party organization, Gorbachev invested more energy in politics than in his studies. According to a former schoolmate, who was quoted in *Time* (March 25, 1985), he was only an average student who "didn't have a lot of original ideas" but "made an effort to be everybody's buddy." Apparently Gorbachev never intended to practice law, which was not a particularly prestigious field of study in the Soviet Union at that time, but regarded the law primarily as preparation for party work. After joining the Communist party in 1952, he became active in the Young Communist League, or Komsomol.

Accounts differ about Gorbachev's political views in the last difficult years of Stalin's regime. According to some observers, he supported Stalin's "anti-cosmopolitan" line, while others maintain that he criticized the dictator's repressive regime long before Nikita Khrushchev's famous 1956 speech made it safe to do so. Whatever the case, Gorbachev's devotion to politics was obviously paramount, and as soon as he obtained his law degree in 1955, he returned to Stavropol to immerse himself in party work.

At first, Gorbachev worked with the Komsomol, the traditional training ground for Soviet party officials. From 1956 to 1958 he was first secretary of the Stavropol city Komsomol organization, and for the next four years he served the Komsomol committee for the Stavropol territory, first as deputy chief of the propaganda department, then as second secretary, and later as first secretary. In March 1962 he moved to the more demanding job of party organizer for the territorial production board of collective and state farms, and in December of that year he became head of the department of party organizations of the Stavropol territory Communist party committee. In 1963 Gorbachev became chief of the agricultural department for the entire Stavropol region, an important post for one so young. At the same time he took courses in farm economics at the Stavropol Agricultural Institute, from which he obtained a diploma in agronomy in 1967.

Rising steadily in the Communist hierarchy, Gorbachev became in September 1966 first secretary of the party committee for the city of Stavropol. In August 1968 he was chosen second secretary of the Stavropol territory party committee, and in April 1970 he was named its first secretary, becoming at thirty-nine one of the youngest provincial party chiefs in the USSR. Gorbachev helped to reorganize his district's vast and productive grain farms, improving living conditions for the workers, expanding the size of private plots, and allowing the collectives a greater voice in planning.

His innovations apparently were effective, since recognition by the authorities in Moscow soon followed. In 1970 Gorbachev became a deputy to the Soviet of the Union within the bicameral Supreme Soviet—the formal legislative body of the USSR—and he was named to its conservation and youth affairs commissions, becoming chairman of the latter in 1974. Within the national party organization, he became a member of the powerful Central Committee in 1971. He served as a delegate to a number of party congresses in the USSR and was sent on trips abroad, heading party delegations to Belgium in 1972, to West Germany in 1975, and to France in 1976.

No matter how able, even the most promising Soviet party officials need mentors to get ahead, and Gorbachev was particularly successful in attracting the favor of powerful men. His first important mentor was Mikhail A. Suslov, a former Stavropol party chief who served as Leonid I. Brezhnev's ideology minister. Gorbachev also gained the backing of the Suslov faction in the Kremlin, which included KGB chairman Yuri Andropov, and the agriculture secretary, Fyodor Kulakov. After Kulakov died of a heart attack, Gorbachev was brought to Moscow in November 1978 to replace him on the ten-member secretariat of the party's Central Committee, giving him "a swift leg up in the Soviet succession ladder," as his biographer Thomas G. Butson noted in his book *Gorbachev* (1985).

But Gorbachev's new position was "as dangerous as it was enticing," in the words of the London *Observer* (November 11, 1984), because the limited amount of arable land and uncertain climate, combined with problems involving collective management, had long made agriculture the Achilles' heel of the Soviet economy. Despite their strenuous efforts, many party leaders, among them Nikita S. Khrushchev, had met with failures in that area.

As agriculture secretary, Gorbachev tried to revive Soviet agriculture by supervising Brezhnev's massive program of farm investment as well as promoting innovations of his own, such as transferring control over agricultural production from the ministries in Moscow to regional agro-industrial authorities, and using the "brigade system" under which groups of workers were assigned to farm specific plots of land and rewarded according to the results. But Gorbachev fared little better than his predecessors. In fact, during his tenure in agriculture, harvests were so poor that the government stopped publishing crop statistics and had to spend billions to buy grain abroad. Yet the crop failures had little effect on the "Teflon Commissar," as Gorbachev was dubbed in *Newsweek* (March 25, 1985). Continuing to advance his career under the patronage of Suslov and Andropov, he became a candidate, or nonvoting, member of the Politburo in November 1979, and was advanced to full membership in October 1980, the youngest member of the Central Committee's policy-making organ.

Gorbachev's early years in the Politburo were troubled ones for the Soviet leadership. As the elderly Brezhnev grew increasingly infirm, the government drifted, and corruption became widespread. After Brezhnev died in 1982, the reformers within the Kremlin succeeded in electing Yuri Andropov as general secretary, and he immediately launched a broad-ranging program of reform. As Andropov's right-hand man, Gorbachev helped to carry out his mentor's bold reform initiatives, including a purge of corrupt and incompetent

party officials that resulted in the removal of one-fifth of the regional party secretaries, one-third of their staffs, and thousands of local managers and party workers. Gorbachev also supervised Andropov's "five ministries" program, inaugurated in January 1984, which introduced a measure of decentralization and technological innovation in a small number of industries and granted managers greater flexibility in establishing goals.

As Andropov's health worsened, Gorbachev became increasingly conspicuous both inside and outside the walls of the Kremlin, acting as the ailing leader's liaison with the party hierarchy, making major speeches, and attending important diplomatic functions. In May 1983 he led a Soviet delegation on a highly publicized trip to Canada. Many observers believed that Andropov was grooming Gorbachev for the succession. But he died too soon to guarantee a chosen successor, and the mossbacked old guard, apparently convinced that younger leaders were too inexperienced to take over power, elected the elderly Konstantin U. Chernenko, a Brezhnev loyalist, as general secretary in February 1984.

It soon became evident to Kremlinologists that Gorbachev had emerged from the succession struggle in a very strong position. Although he had some opposition within the Kremlin, notably from the party secretary for defense industry administration, Grigory Romanov, who was considered his chief rival, Gorbachev began to act as the unofficial "second secretary" in charge of the key areas of ideology, economics, and party organization. In April 1984 he became chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Supreme Soviet. Loyally supporting Chernenko, Gorbachev gradually assumed more and more of the ailing chairman's public leadership functions. As one informed observer noted in *Time* (March 25, 1985), "Gorbachev was smart not to push Chernenko out. He just waited for the old man to drop."

When Gorbachev led a Soviet delegation on an exchange visit to the British Houses of Parliament in December 1984, accompanied by his chic wife, he demonstrated a sense of humor, mercurial intelligence, and sophisticated style that made him an instant media sensation. Even Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, whose anti-Communism is beyond question, was much impressed with him and remarked, "I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together."

Following his nomination by the veteran foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, Gorbachev was elected general secretary in an emergency meeting of the Central Committee, on March 11, 1985, only a few hours after the official announcement of Chernenko's death. The speed of the succession confirmed conjectures that it had been arranged long in advance. In making his acceptance speech on the same day, Gorbachev emphasized the need for rapid economic development as the most important goal and called for "further perfection and development of democracy" and "socialist self-government." With reference to the resumption of Geneva arms limitation talks, scheduled for the following day, Gorbachev pledged to maintain the "defense capacity of the motherland" but asserted that his nation was not striving to "acquire unilateral advantages" over the United States and the NATO powers and promised to follow the "Leninist course" of "peaceful coexistence."

The new general secretary moved confidently and vigorously ahead with Andropov's program of reform. His first order of business was to consolidate his power after years of drift and diffusion. Vacancies on the Politburo allowed him in April 1985 to appoint three Andropov protégés, Yegor K. Ligachev, Nikolai I. Ryzhkov, and Victor M. Chebrikov, thus giving himself a substantial majority on the thirteen-member ruling body. Furthermore, Gorbachev had ample time to prepare for the twenty-seventh party congress, scheduled for late 1985 or early 1986, which under his direction was to adopt a new party program and five-year plan as well as elect new members to the Central Committee. Finally, he could count on old age to remove the last members of the monolithic old guard who had long resisted change in the Soviet system.

At the lower levels of party organization, Gorbachev renewed the drive to remove corrupt and incompetent functionaries. Several officials concerned with production of energy, an area vital to Soviet economic recovery, were "retired" after denunciations in the press, and a number of provincial party chiefs along with dozens of local officials were dismissed in what some observers described as a purge.

Building an effective party organization was essential to Gorbachev's primary concern, economic revitalization. In recent years, the Soviet economy had shown alarming signs of weakness: a drop in oil production, the nation's chief export commodity; a disappointing increase of only 2 percent in gross national product, well below those of China and the United States; and continued poor performance in agriculture. The Soviet leadership was clearly worried that the continued economic crisis threatened national security. "We cannot remain a major power in world affairs unless we put our domestic house in order," Gorbachev had warned in a speech to the Central Committee in December 1984.

Like his patron, Andropov, Gorbachev did not intend to dismantle the system of centralized planning but wanted merely to make it more efficient. His program involved enforcing greater worker discipline, including a campaign against alcoholism, while rewarding better efforts with cash bonuses and consumer goods. At the management level, he wanted to introduce greater independence and use incentive schemes to increase productivity. He was also enthusiastic about modernizing the Soviet economy by introducing new technology. Having spoken favorably of Hungary's more market-oriented socialist economy, he stressed in speeches the need for "intensification," a Soviet code word for introducing market principles into a planned economy.

On foreign policy issues, Western observers predicted that Gorbachev would be less innovative because of the collective nature of Kremlin policy-making and his relative lack of experience in that area. Yet he demonstrated what Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times* (April 9, 1985) called a "knack for diplomatic theater" by announcing on Easter Sunday that the Soviet Union would observe a six-month moratorium on deployment of its SS-20 medium-range nuclear missiles. Critics pointed out that the Soviet Union had virtually completed the deployment anyway and was already testing a new version of the missile. Nevertheless, Gorbachev's political showmanship reinforced the perception that he would be a formidable diplomatic adversary.

A major point in Gorbachev's foreign policy and defense views was his opposition to the proposed Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars" plan, of the United States, which he regarded as a dangeous militarization of space. He accused the Americans of violating the guidelines for the Geneva arms talks by refusing to negotiate simultaneously on the space program and on strategic and medium-range nuclear weaponry. In view of the Soviet Union's failure to block deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983, Gorbachev's emphasis on the Star Wars plan has been seen by Western observers as an effort to drive a wedge between the United States and its NATO allies, many of whom are uneasy about the American space initiative.

Although Gorbachev has denounced the United States as "the forward edge of the war menace to mankind," he has also referred to superpower confrontation as "an anomaly," and at Moscow trade talks in May 1985 he told United States Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige that it was "high time to defrost the potential for Soviet-American cooperation." Many analysts believe that Gorbachev's domestic problems are too pressing for him to take any assertive action that might threaten the current uneasy state of détente.

Gorbachev has announced his resolve to cement ties with other Communist countries, especially China. His statement in his inaugural speech that he intended to "expand cooperation with socialist states" and to "enhance the role and influence of socialism in world affairs" was seen by Western observers as an assertion of continued Soviet dominance within the Communist bloc. In May he signed two economic agreements with visiting Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and discussed with him, among other matters, the possible threat to India and the USSR posed by Pakistani aid to Afghan rebels fighting Soviet-backed troops. He has indicated willingness to accept a political settlement with the Afghan rebels, and a possible rapprochement with Israel, with which the Soviet Union had broken relations in 1967.

In June 1985, rejecting a draft economic five-year plan, Gorbachev called for less emphasis on construction of new factories and more on improving the quality of consumer products. He demanded the retooling and renovation of existing industrial plants, elimination of waste and incompetence, and more efficient state supervision of the economy, and he strongly criticized some of the holdover officials from the Brezhnev era for having allowed the economy to stagnate during the 1970s.

In a major shakeup, in July, Gorbachev consolidated his own authority, permitting his chief rival, Grigory V. Romanov, to retire on "health grounds" from the party Secretariat and Politburo. He named the veteran statesman Andrei A. Gromyko, who had been foreign minister for twenty-eight years, to the largely ceremonial but prestigious presidency of the USSR and placed the foreign affairs portfolio into the hands of his close associate Eduard Shevardnadze, who had been Communist party chief in the Soviet Republic of Georgia. He also reorganized the military, replacing the commander of Warsaw Pact forces and other high-ranking officers.

As a prelude to summit talks between Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan scheduled to be held in November 1985 at Geneva, Gorbachev announced a unilateral five-month moratorium on Soviet nuclear tests effective August 6, 1985 and offered to extend the freeze on testing if the United States were to take similar action. But American officials contended that the Soviet Union had already completed its 1985 testing program and that the move was in effect a Soviet propaganda ploy. The Reagan administration also dismissed Gorbachev's endorsement, in September, of a plan for a Central European zone free of chemical weapons because such a ban could not be easily verified.

In a meeting, in September, with eight United States senators headed by Democrat Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, Gorbachev offered "radical proposals" to reduce offensive nuclear arms on condition that the Reagan administration would agree to bar development and deployment of the "Star Wars" missile defense project. Then, in early October, he was well received in Paris, where he affirmed a Soviet proposal, made earlier at the Geneva arms talks, for a 50 percent reduction in American and Soviet strategic weapons. He failed however, to win support for his offer to hold separate arms-reduction talks with France and Great Britain.

Drafts for a new Communist party program, the first in twenty-five years, and two new economic development plans, were presented by Gorbachev at a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee in mid-October 1985. Replacing the excessively ambitious document introduced by Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1961, the political program indicated that the Soviet Union was still in the stage of "developed socialism," which precedes communism, and warned against "going ahead too fast" while emphasizing the need to consider "the level of society's material and spiritual maturity." The economic plans called for increased labor productivity that could nearly double the national income within fifteen years.

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Experts on Soviet affairs have warned against confusing Gorbachev's more open style with a more liberal political philosophy. He has been described, like his mentor, Andropov, as an "intellectual authoritarian." Although he has indicated an unusual willingness to consult public opinion and a more relaxed attitude toward censorship, Gorbachev is not expected to be especially tolerant of dissidents. As Andrei Gromyko said of Gorbachev in his nomination speech, "Comrades, this man has a nice smile, but he's got iron teeth."

Nevertheless, analysts also note the absence of evidence in Gorbachev's career of the "killer instinct" often found in Soviet leaders. They point out that he rose through the ranks as a result of his own ability and the help of powerful patrons, rather than by means of military prowess or bloody purges. Too young to experience personally the full impact of Stalinism or of World War II, he came of age in an era of expanding Soviet power. As a result, he has a self-confidence and freedom from paranoia noticeably lacking in the old guard. In any case, many observers agree that after a long period of uncertain leadership, the Soviet Union has a strong, effective, charismatic man at its helm. After a meeting with Gorbachev, Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr., heading a United States congressional delegation to Moscow, told Celestine Bohlen of the *Washington Post* (April 11, 1985): "He's a master of words, a master of the art of politics and diplomacy. . . . He's hard, he's tough, he's strong."

Mikhail Gorbachev's wife, Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva, whom he met when they were both university students, is an unusual asset for a Soviet leader. The attractive, poised, and stylish Mrs. Gorbachev holds a doctor of philosophy degree and teaches Marxist-Leninist theory at Moscow State University. The Gorbachevs are said to have two children, although only one, their daughter Irina, who is a physician and mother of their granddaughter Oksana, has appeared in public with them. The couple have an apartment near the Kremlin and a lakeside dacha outside Moscow. Gorbachev enjoys hiking and listening to classical music, and he has read widely in world literature. He and his wife regularly attend the ballet and the theatre, and they have taken motoring vacations in Italy and France.

Gorbachev is a somewhat bald, stocky man, five feet ten inches tall, who bears a resemblance to the American actor Rod Steiger. He dresses in well-cut but conservative dark suits. A prominent strawberry-colored birthmark on his pate is usually airbrushed out of official photographs. Observers describe him as a soft-spoken, mild-mannered man who is very direct without being abrasive. Westerners used to the dour demeanor that often characterizes Soviet politicians are particularly struck by his expressive face, sense of humor, and ready smile. He reportedly puts in a six-day-a-week, twelve-hour-a-day work schedule. Among his many decorations are three Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor.

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Greene, Harold H(erman)

Feb. 6, 1923- Federal judge. Address: b. United States District Court for the District of Columbia, United States Court House, Third and Constitution Aves., Washington, D.C. 20001

On August 5, 1983, Judge Harold H. Greene of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia gave final approval to a consent decree breaking up the largest corporation in the world—the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The settlement, which concluded a 1974 antitrust suit filed by the United States Department of Justice to end the regulated monopoly that AT&T had exercised for decades over the American telephone network, was attributed in large part to Greene's skills as a trial judge and to his gift for synthesizing highly complex issues. In a remarkable display of judicial activism, Greene assumed responsibility for modifying and administering the terms of the settlement in accordance with what he perceived to be the public interest. Earlier in a distinguished judicial career that spans twenty-five years, Greene helped to restructure the criminal court system of Washington, D.C. and played a major role in drafting the groundbreaking civil rights legislation of the 1960s.

HERITAGE TALKING POINTS

A Checklist on Vital National Issues

The Bush-Gorbachev Washington Summit

May 30 - June 2, 1990

Maintaining the Momentum of Change

By Leon Aron and Jay P. Kosminsky

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May 25, 1990

MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM OF CHANGE

The Bush-Gorbachev Summit

Washington, D.C., May 30 - June 2, 1990

By Leon Aron and Jay P. Kosminsky

INTRODUCTION

The Washington summit meeting on May 30 - June 2 between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev occurs at a crucial juncture in the history of the twentieth century. Communism, a global ideology responsible during this century for killing, starving, and jailing more people than any other political, religious, or social movement in history, appears to be gravely weakened. Unlike the detente summits of the 1970s, when the Soviet Union was on the rise and the U.S. in decline, George Bush comes to the 1990 summit as the leader of an unquestionably ascendant power, optimistic, prosperous and, most important, able to deal from a position of strength.

By its unflagging commitment over the past four decades to containing Soviet expansion in Europe and around the globe, the U.S. and its Western allies have created the conditions for the collapse of the Soviet empire and the failure of communism within the Soviet Union. This herculean effort was capped during the 1980s by Ronald Reagan's renewal of American power and global leadership, and the rebirth of democratic and free market ideals which it spawned. Denied new ground for expansion, communism in the Soviet Union is collapsing beneath the weight of its own bureaucratic inertia and internal contradictions. Economically, politically, morally, and ideologically bankrupt, the Soviet system is sliding inexorably toward its own ruin.

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To be present at the creation of a new, post-communist world order is a great honor for Bush. Yet it also imposes a great responsibility. As the Soviet Union retreats from Eastern Europe and the Soviet people openly rebel against the communist system, the challenge for Bush is to sustain the momentum of change, to ensure that this historical transition to the post-communist era takes place in a peaceful and orderly fashion, and to help draft the blueprint for a new international order that preserves and advances America's interests. In this first summit of the century's last decade, Bush can cap the achievements of the long, victorious struggle against communism and start the world heading toward what can become, with the right policies, a second "American Century."

At the Washington summit, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

- **Withdraw all his forces from Eastern Europe quickly and participate in the creation of a new European security system based on the sovereign rights of all countries to choose their allies and control military activities on their territory.**
- **Follow through on his nascent political and economic reforms with dramatic moves toward genuine democracy and the creation of a free market economy in the Soviet Union.**
- **Commit himself firmly to a non-coercive, negotiated settlement with the national republics of the Soviet Union, including the Baltic states.**
- **End his military support for such brutal Third World regimes as those in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Cuba, Ethiopia, and Vietnam.**
- **Downplay the current Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in favor of a Defense and Space Treaty which will help the U.S. and Soviet Union move cooperatively toward the deployment of strategic defenses.**

Bush is negotiating from a position of strength and has political leverage over Gorbachev to advance his agenda. In short, Bush has many things which Gorbachev wants. The Soviets desire greater participation in such international economic organizations as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, and they are seeking trade concessions from the U.S. as well in the form of Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status. Bush should tie U.S. concessions on these points to movement by the Soviet Union toward the U.S. agenda. He should also tell Gorbachev that concessions already granted, such as plans to relax high-technology trade restrictions through the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls, are reversible if the Soviet Union returns to an expansionist foreign policy and brutal repression at home.

THE ROAD TO WASHINGTON

The road to the Washington summit of 1990 has been a long one. The Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Washington is the nineteenth since President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin first met in 1943 to chart the post-World War II international order. The milestones of U.S.-Soviet summits over the past 47 years are:

♦ **Tehran, November 28 - December 1, 1943. Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin.**

Issues:

1) Agreement on the invasion of Nazi-occupied France by Britain, Canada, and the U.S. The date was set for May 1944 and later moved to June 1944.

2) The post-war Polish-German and Soviet-Polish borders.

♦ **Yalta, February 4-11, 1945. Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin.**

Issues:

1) Allied administration of a defeated Germany, including zones of occupation.

2) Agreement on Poland's new eastern borders.

3) The "Declaration on Liberated Europe," which called for free elections in Eastern Europe.

4) The Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan ninety days after Germany's surrender.

5) Creation of the United Nations.

♦ **Potsdam, Germany, July 17 - August 2, 1945. Winston Churchill, President Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin** (Midway through the summit, Churchill was replaced by Clement Atlee, the Labor leader who defeated Churchill in the July 25, 1945, British elections).

Issues:

1) The administration of occupation zones in Germany.

2) A new German-Polish border.

3) German war reparations.

4) The surrender ultimatum to Japan.

5) Forms of government in Eastern Europe.

♦ **Geneva, July 18-23, 1955. Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolai Bulganin, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden, President Dwight Eisenhower, and French Premier Edgar Faure.**

Issues:

1) German reunification.

2) Withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from Europe.

3) Nuclear and conventional disarmament.

4) An "Open Skies" proposal by the U.S. to allow spy flights over the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

♦ **Camp David, Maryland, September 25-27, 1959. Dwight Eisenhower and Soviet Communist Party First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev.**

Issues:

1) The status of Berlin.

2) A future "Big Four" summit of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States to discuss lowering tensions in East-West relations.

♦ **Paris, May 16-17, 1960. French President Charles de Gaulle, Dwight Eisenhower, Nikita Khrushchev, and British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan.**

Issue:

Intended as a discussion of ways to reduce East-West tensions, the conference broke up when Khrushchev walked out after Eisenhower refused to "apologize" for sending a U-2 spy plane into Soviet airspace. It had been shot down by the Soviets on May 1, 1960.

♦ **Vienna, June 3-4, 1961. President John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev.**

Issue:

The status of Berlin.

♦ **Glassboro, New Jersey, June 23-25, 1967. President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers Aleksei Kosygin.**

Issues:

1) The Arab-Israeli conflict.

2) Soviet support for the communist insurgency in South Vietnam.

♦ **Moscow, May 22-28, 1972. President Richard Nixon and Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.**

Issues:

1) Signing the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), limiting long-range nuclear arms.

2) Signing the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, limiting strategic defenses.

3) A trade agreement. [1]

♦ **Washington, Camp David, Maryland, and San Clemente, California, June 16-25, 1973. Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev.**

Issues:

1) Strategic arms control.

2) Trade and technical cooperation.

♦ **Moscow, June 27 - July 3, 1974. Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev.**

Issues:

1) Limits on underground nuclear testing.

2) Extension of the SALT treaty from a five-year agreement to a permanent one.

♦ **Vladivostok, U.S.S.R., November 23-24, 1974. Leonid Brezhnev and President Gerald Ford.**

Issues:

1) Tentative agreement on limiting strategic nuclear weapons through 1985.

2) Future of strategic arms control.

♦ **Vienna, June 16-18, 1979. Leonid Brezhnev and President Jimmy Carter.**

Issue:

Signing of SALT II.

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1 The Soviet Union abrogated the agreement in 1975 after the U.S. Congress made it conditional on freedom of emigration from the U.S.S.R. (the Jackson-Vanik Amendment).

♦ **Geneva, November 19-21, 1985. Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan.**

Issues:

1) Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

2) Human rights.

3) Progress toward agreement on a 50 percent reduction in long-range strategic weapons.

4) Progress toward limiting Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) in Europe.

♦ **Reykjavik, Iceland, October 11-12, 1986. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.**

Issue:

Whether to restrict the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program as a pre-condition for deep reduction of strategic forces.

♦ **Washington, December 8-10, 1987. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.**

Issues:

1) Signing of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

2) Strategic arms reduction and SDI.

3) Human rights.

4) Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

5) Regional conflicts.

♦ **Moscow, May 29 - June 2, 1988. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.**

Issues:

1) Strategic arms reductions.

2) Regional conflicts.

3) Soviet political reforms.

♦ **New York, December 8, 1988. President-elect George Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Ronald Reagan.**[2]

Issue:

A U.S. response to troop cuts announced by Gorbachev in a December 7 speech to the United Nations.

♦ **Malta, December 2-3, 1989. George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev.**

Issues:

1) Regional conflicts.

2) Accelerate treaty on conventional forces in Europe.

3) Agreement on concluding a chemical weapons treaty.

4) Acceleration of strategic arms talks.

5) Trade agreement negotiations.

THE ENDING OF AN ERA

The Washington summit completes a twenty-year cycle in U.S-Soviet relations. The cycle began in 1970 with the preparation for the first visit of a U.S. President to Soviet Union, which took place two years later. At this time, the Nixon-Kissinger team was desperately trying to extricate the U.S. from the Vietnam War and sought Soviet help in exchange for conferring on Moscow the prize it valued most: equal "superpower" status with the U.S.

In all subsequent summits of the 1970s, the "correlation of forces," to use the Soviet term, reflected rising Soviet and diminishing U.S. power. The Soviet Union was confident in its future, undertaking the largest military build-up in history, and it was marching from success to success in such Third World countries as Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua, South Yemen, and Vietnam. By contrast, the U.S. was devastated by the Watergate scandal, shell-shocked by the 1973-1974 Arab oil embargo and skyrocketing oil prices, and shaken by inflation and recession. In foreign affairs, the defeat of America in Vietnam spawned what has been called the "post-Vietnam syndrome": retreat, indecisiveness, and loss of national purpose. The U.S. situation began to improve dramatically in the 1980s. The new President, Ronald Reagan, instilled the American people with optimism and a sense of purpose. The economy began to grow. America began to rearm, resisting Soviet expansion in the Third World, and imposing a high price on Soviet adventurism. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, went through several leadership changes. Its economy began to stagnate, and it became mired in the costly and stalemated war in Afghanistan. Its population grew tired, dispirited, and cynical. Both at home and abroad, the U.S. began its ascent while the Soviet Union was left behind.

2 Gorbachev's visit was interrupted by an earthquake in Armenia. Only one luncheon meeting took place.

This month's Washington summit completes this cycle. George Bush represents a free, prosperous, growing, and optimistic America. Mikhail Gorbachev leaves behind him in the Soviet Union what the main Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* calls a "bankrupt, impoverished country, which is in a state of near-disintegration,"[3] a country whose economy is depressed and shrinking, torn by deep political and national strife and deeply pessimistic about its future. In contrast to the 1970s, the world today increasingly recognizes the American way as the "wave of the future." Respect is growing throughout the globe for such ideas as limiting the power of the state, and fostering individual liberty, the initiative of private entrepreneurship, and the free market.

At the same time, the ideas associated with the Soviet Union and socialism – the omnipresent and intrusive state, a government-controlled economy, restrictions on individual economic initiative in the name of a higher "collective good" – all seem to be headed toward what Ronald Reagan called, in his famous June 8, 1982, speech to the British Parliament, the "trash heap of history." A leading Soviet political observer and philosopher, Igor Kliamkin, on April 29, 1990, wrote in the Soviet weekly *Moscow News*: "People do not have much of a choice today. They can either prefer a society of high organization and economic efficiency, which is known as capitalism, or a society of poverty and confusion which until recently was known as socialism." Or as *Izvestia* put it on April 23, 1990, "private property and hired labor have always been the most powerful stimulus of the progress of humankind," and "economic liberty is the only real basis of all other liberties."

REAGAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOVIET REFORM

This summit takes place against a backdrop of revolutionary change in Eastern Europe and significant shifts in the Soviet Union. If the U.S is to play a role in continuing this revolutionary advance, it is necessary to understand the forces which have brought such tremendous success. Undoubtedly the Soviet economic crisis played a major role. Clearly, too, Gorbachev deserves credit for recognizing that the Soviet Union is a deeply sick society which needs radical treatment. Yet to attribute Soviet change to these factors alone would be to oversimplify.

For example, when Gorbachev took over the post of the General Secretary of the Communist Party in March 1985, the economy was in better shape than it was in the early 1930s after Stalin's disastrous collectivization of agriculture, or in the late 1940s when the country lay devastated by World War II. Yet in both cases terror, propaganda, and the alleged "Western threat" were employed successfully to frighten the Soviet people into submission and to preserve the communist system. When Soviet rulers did try reforming the economic system, as Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin did in 1965, their actions amounted to little more than tinkering.

3 V. Kisilev, "Ot aprelia do aprelia" ("From April to April") *Izvestia*, April 23, 1990.

One of the key reasons why Gorbachev's reforms have gone much further than those of his predecessors was a reevaluation by the Soviet leadership of some of the cornerstones of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. Previous Soviet leaders believed deeply in the Communist Party's totalitarian control over political life, the mass media, and the economy; in enormous Soviet defense expenditures; in continued absolute control over Eastern Europe; and in the dominant rôle of military force in Soviet foreign policy.

What prompted this soul-searching by the Soviet ruling class? What caused it to doubt its most sacred articles of faith? It is impossible to answer these questions without recalling Reagan's two-term presidency. For it was Reagan's policies that exposed the inherent weakness of Soviet communism. For example, Reagan:

♦ **Turned the tables on the Soviets in military competition.** Reagan not only matched the Soviet military build-up which Moscow launched in the late 1960s, he shifted the U.S.-Soviet competition into areas which put Moscow at a disadvantage. By proposing the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in 1983, Reagan forced the Soviets to compete with the futuristic technologies in which the Soviets were behind the U.S.

The 1983 deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe following the deployment in Eastern Europe of Soviet SS-20 missiles was another serious blow to the Soviet leadership. NATO was able to place Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe despite a massive Soviet disinformation campaign. Instead of intimidating Western Europe into submission and "de-coupling" the U.S. from its European allies, the Soviet missiles strengthened Western resolve to resist Soviet nuclear blackmail and solidified NATO unity in the face of the Soviet threat.

The Soviet leadership also was shaken by America's resurgent military strength. Military power had been Moscow's only claim to superpower status and the only arena in which the Soviet Union could hope to compete successfully with the United States. Faced with an economically and militarily strong America, Soviet rulers began to lose confidence in the ultimate triumph of their system. A dialogue between two leading Soviet political observers, recorded in the popular Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of August 16, 1989, reveals the impact of the U.S. military revival on Soviet thinking:

> **Igor Kliamkin:** "Brezhnev built his entire foreign policy on military parity [with the United States]. As long as this parity could be achieved, [Brezhnev] did not have to change anything inside the country. But after Brezhnev's death, we found that the [U.S.] "Euromissiles" were superior to ours in accuracy, and that we could not achieve such accuracy .... This caused a change in thinking, which led to domestic reforms."
>
> **Andranik Migranian:** "All our history supports this pattern. For example, the defeat of Russia in the Crimean

War [1853-56]: the threat that this defeat posed to Russia's status led to modernization....If we win by old means, the thinking that prevails is that nothing needs to be changed."

♦ **Restored U.S. economic strength.** The founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin, predicted in 1916 that so-called "imperialism [would be] the final stage of capitalism." In Soviet eyes, this prediction appeared to be coming true in the 1970s. During this time the U.S. suffered from double-digit inflation in the wake of skyrocketing oil prices. Jimmy Carter said America was plagued by a "national malaise." The U.S. was humiliated by the Iranian hostage crisis. All these things seemed to indicate to Soviet ideologues that "the tide of history" was on their side.

By 1984, however, Reagan restored America's economic health by cutting taxes and creating a political climate that encouraged free market initiative and investment. Moreover, as the Soviet Union entered its worst economic depression since World War II, the U.S. began the longest period of sustained peacetime economic growth in American history. The effect of renewed U.S. economic vigor was an ideological crisis in Moscow. In the minds of the Soviet leaders, the U.S. economic expansion may have cast doubts about the most sacred tenet of Soviet ideology: the "inevitable triumph" of socialism over capitalism, as predicted by Lenin.

♦ **Helped squeeze the Soviet economy by lowering oil prices.** Oil and natural gas account for 80 percent of Soviet trade with the West.[4] Oil is by far Moscow's most important hard-currency earning commodity. According to Soviet sources, the Soviet Union earned $176 billion during the period of skyrocketing oil prices between 1974 and 1984.[5]

The political implications of this oil windfall were immense. First, oil dollars bought the Soviet Union bread, consumer goods, and even a slight but steady increase in the standard of living that helped keep the population quiescent as Moscow sank billions of rubles into the military buildup of the 1970s. Under these circumstances, there was no need either to modernize the Soviet economy or loosen the straightjacket of the police state. As a Soviet commentator put it, "[In the 1970s] we tried to build a society on oil dollars in which one could have everything except the opportunity of political participation."[6]

4 *Izvestia*, October 10, 1987.

5 V. Katasonov, "Ne neftiu edinoy." ("Not by oil alone.") *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, March 1, 1989.

6 *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, March 1, 1989.

Second, oil dollars helped the Soviet Union pay for the maintenance of its Eastern European empire. Moscow provided its puppet regimes there with between $11 billion and $15 billion a year in economic aid.

Third, oil profits helped finance the rapid expansion of the Soviet Third World empire by allowing Moscow to funnel tens of billions of dollars worth of military and economic aid to such new Third World clients as Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Grenada, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and South Yemen. All this was on top of continuing aid to such expensive old clients as Cuba, Syria, and Vietnam.

By deregulating U.S. oil and gas prices, Reagan helped stabilize and then bring down global oil prices after almost a decade of unconstrained growth. Oil prices sank from roughly $47 per barrel in 1981 to $26 per barrel in 1985 (in 1985 dollars). As a result, the Soviet Union lost 40 billion rubles, or $62.4 billion, between 1986 and 1989.[7]

The political repercussions of collapsing oil prices were profound for the Soviet Union. The loss of oil revenues exacerbated the problems of a stagnating economy, and made it much more difficult to fund client regimes in Eastern Europe and the Third World. It is no accident that a reformer such as Gorbachev was elevated to lead the Soviet Union at about the time the falling oil prices undermined the already-shaky Soviet economy.

♦ **Imposed a high price in gold and blood for Soviet expansionism in the Third World.** The Reagan Administration gave military, economic, and diplomatic support to indigenous anti-communist resistance movements in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua. Reagan also helped Honduras and El Salvador resist Cuban-sponsored communist insurgencies, and he liberated Grenada from a communist dictatorship.

The Reagan Doctrine, which called for effective U.S. support for anti-communist liberation movements, demolished the myth of Soviet invincibility. Severe damage was done to Soviet international prestige, a great part of which had been based on the perception that Soviet expansionism was inevitable and, in some quarters, even legitimate. But most important, the success of the Reagan Doctrine sowed doubt in the mind of the Soviet rulers, who began asking themselves if communism really was the wave of the future.

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7 *Op. cit.*.

WHAT HAS GORBACHEV CHANGED? WHAT HAS HE NOT CHANGED?

Springing from the seeds of doubt and soul-searching planted during Reagan's eight years in office, Gorbachev's reforms changed the Soviet Union in many ways. Before Bush sits down with Gorbachev, he should take stock not only of what has changed in the past five years of Gorbachev's rule, but also of what has not changed.

SOVIET DOMESTIC POLICY

What Has Changed	What Has Not Changed
♦ The repeal of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution, which guarantees the Communist Party's political monopoly.	♦ The absence of a legitimate government, elected freely and fairly in direct multi-party elections.
♦ Multi-candidate local elections, which ended party control over the city.	♦ Continued illegal occupation of the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.
♦ Dramatic expansion of the bounds on public discourse, known as *glasnost.*	♦ No legal foundation for independent political activity.
♦ An end to the jamming of Western radio signals, including the U.S.-funded Radio Liberty.	♦ No institutionalized freedom of speech.
♦ A reduction of anti-American and anti-Western propaganda in the Soviet mass media.	♦ No cuts in the number of secret police.
♦ An elimination of restrictions on the sale of some Western periodicals in the Soviet Union and on subscriptions by Soviet citizens to Western publications.	♦ Over 100 confirmed prisoners of conscience remain in Soviet jails and uncounted others remain in punitive psychiatric wards.
♦ Removal of many restrictions on travel and emigration.	♦ State control over the Soviet economy.
♦ Relaxation of state control over religion and de-facto legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, outlawed since 1947.	♦ The prohibition on hired labor for private enterprises.
♦ Emergence of private enterprises in sales, services, and food production.	♦ No private ownership of the "means of production."
	♦ No price reform which would allow the market, and not government ministries, to set prices.
	♦ No convertible ruble which could be exchanged for foreign currencies.
	♦ No free wholesale market.
	♦ No radical land reform, which would allow farmers to sell and inherit farm land.

Soviet Foreign Policy

What Has Changed	What Has Not Changed
♦ An end to Moscow's political control over Eastern Europe.	♦ Continued buildup of strategic nuclear forces aimed at the U.S. and its allies.
♦ The beginning of Soviet troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe.	♦ The presence of about 550,000 Soviet troops in Eastern Europe.
♦ Cuts in defense spending in 1989 of 4-5 percent.	♦ Soviet military support for the Marxist regime in Angola.
♦ The pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.	♦ Soviet aid to Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.
♦ The destruction of the Berlin Wall.	♦ Massive military assistance to the communist regime in Afghanistan.
♦ Acquiescence to preliminary steps toward German unification.	♦ Soviet economic and military aid to Cuba.
♦ A cutoff of direct arms shipments to Nicaragua and non-interference with the transfer of power to a non-communist government there.	♦ The flow of Soviet arms to such terrorism-sponsoring states as Iran, Iraq, Libya, South Yemen, and Syria.
	♦ A refusal to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel.
	♦ Soviet espionage efforts with an increasing emphasis on technological and industrial targets.
	♦ Soviet disinformation campaigns, aimed at discrediting the U.S. and the West, estimated to cost $4 billion in 1989.
	♦ Continuing Soviet obstruction of U.S. efforts at the United Nations to promote freedom and democracy.

IS THERE STILL A SOVIET MILITARY THREAT?

For the first time since Khrushchev was the leader of the Soviet Union, U.S. intelligence services have reported a significant drop in Soviet military spending and production. According to the Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency, Soviet military spending dropped last year by between 4 and 5 percent. More important, spending

on weapons dropped by 6 to 7 percent. Tank production was cut in half last year, from a post-war high of 3,500 in 1988 to 1,700 in 1989. Field artillery production dropped by about a quarter, from 2,500 to 1,850, but still outpaces U.S. artillery production by a ratio of about 10 to 1.[8]

Yet there was no slowdown in production of nuclear-armed strategic missiles capable of reaching the U.S. and its allies. New weapons included the production of two land-based mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), the SS-24 and SS-25, along with a more powerful and accurate version of the most formidable missile in the Soviet arsenal, the ten-warhead land-based SS-18. Production of short-range missiles such as the 75-mile range SS-21 actually increased from 650 in 1988 to 700 in 1989. Over the past five years, Moscow has produced about 3,050 short-range missiles while the U.S. has produced none.

The Soviet Navy also had a banner year in 1989, with no slowdown in production rates for submarines and surface combat ships such as cruisers and destroyers, although training time at sea decreased for the Soviet Navy as a whole. The first large-deck Soviet aircraft carrier, *Tblisi*, (formerly called the *Brezhnev*), began its trial runs last year.

Reductions in Soviet military capability have reduced the threat to allies in Europe and, for the first time in the post-World War II era, have made feasible a NATO defense against a Soviet attack without resort to nuclear weapons.[9]

Three factors are contributing to this decline in Soviet power:

1) Gorbachev's unilateral withdrawal of tanks and some other military equipment from Eastern Europe, which has reduced Soviet combat power there by about ten percent;

2) The newly-gained independence of such countries as Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland, which effectively has removed the armies of these countries from Soviet control, and

3) The beginning of Soviet withdrawals from Czechoslovakia and Hungary under agreements to remove all Soviet forces from these countries by mid-1991.

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8 See testimony of John L. Helgerson, Deputy Director for Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, to U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, April 20, 1980; See also, "The Soviet Economy Stumbles Badly in 1990," Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency paper to U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, April 20, 1990; other data from testimony of Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz before the House Armed Services Committee, February 28, 1990.

9 According to Congressman Les Aspin, who referred to a classified report to Congress from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. See Peter Almond, "Declining threat leaves NATO with response time to spare," *Washington Times*, March 14, 1990, p. 17.

Of course, Gorbachev, or more likely a successor, still could reverse course and embark on another major military buildup. This could be manifested in a slowdown in conventional arms negotiations. Or Moscow could take more severe steps, such as reneging on agreements to withdraw its forces from Czechoslovakia and Hungary, reintroducing tanks and other military equipment recently withdrawn from Eastern Europe, or even attempting to reimpose political and military control over parts of Eastern Europe. While such measures would be dangerous and perhaps bloody, they cannot be ruled out. Disquieting reports from Moscow suggest that the Soviet military is beginning to balk at Gorbachev's attempts to reduce size. This may be evident in Soviet backtracking on arms control concessions, Gorbachev's harsh reaction to the Lithuanian drive for independence, and an apparent slowdown in the pace of Soviet withdrawals from Eastern Europe.

WHAT BUSH SHOULD ASK OF GORBACHEV: A SUMMIT AGENDA

Gorbachev has many problems. Republics are trying to secede from the Soviet Union; the economy is suffering a crisis of catastrophic proportions; and political opposition to Gorbachev's rule is growing. What America wants of Gorbachev is only one factor among many influencing the Soviet decision-making process. Bush therefore will have to pick and choose carefully which issues he wishes to raise with Gorbachev at the summit. He should convey clearly to Gorbachev precisely what it is he wants from him. Afterward, he should lay out what the U.S. is prepared to do if Moscow takes America's interests into account, and the consequences if it does not.

The main U.S. objective at the summit is to expand, deepen, and accelerate the process of change that would strengthen the security of the U.S. and its allies and advance the cause of democracy in the world. In accordance with this strategic objective, Bush should ensure that his discussions with Gorbachev focus on six areas critical to U.S. national interests. They are:

1) Conventional Arms Reductions, German Unity, and the Future of Europe

The main threat to Europe's peace since the end of the World War II has been Soviet military power. The East European revolutions of 1989 and the political and economic crisis of the Soviet Union have set in motion the collapse of the Soviet empire and the retreat of Soviet power from Europe. Change in Europe is moving in a direction favorable to the U.S. and its allies. Bush comes to the Washington summit negotiating from a position of strength over the future of Europe.

The United States and the Soviet Union are engaged or are about to be engaged in several negotiations which together will determine the future security structure of Europe. These include: the Vienna-based Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations aimed at ending Moscow's overwhelming advantage in tanks, artillery, aircraft, and other equipment stationed in Europe; the ongoing "two plus four" talks over Germany, designed to work out the internal mechanisms and external security arrangements of German unification; the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which could convene later this year to discuss human rights and security issues in Europe; and the Short-range Nuclear Force (SNF) negotiations, which could convene shortly to discuss reductions in short-range nuclear missiles and perhaps other nuclear weapons based in Europe.

In these negotiations, Moscow has sought variously to dissolve NATO, denuclearize Europe, take Germany out of the Atlantic Alliance and weaken it through undue restrictions on the German army. If successful, Moscow's efforts would create a power vacuum in Central Europe which would leave the area open to Soviet military – and therefore political – influence even as Soviet forces are withdrawn from it. It is precisely such influence which the U.S. and its allies have sought to deny Moscow for the past forty years.

U.S. Objectives

♦ The rollback of Soviet military power in Europe and the withdrawal of Soviet forces to within their own borders.

♦ A new European security system based on the freedom and sovereignty of all European states and a balance of military power that would prevent the resurrection of a Soviet or any other military threat to peace and freedom on the continent.

♦ The preservation of democratic gains in Eastern Europe.

♦ A united and democratic Germany, free to choose its allies and provide adequately for its conventional and nuclear defense in cooperation with its allies.

♦ Withdrawal of most U.S. ground forces from Europe and subsequent reduction in the costs and risks of the U.S. military presence on the continent, provided that the Soviet threat is substantially reduced.

What Bush should tell Gorbachev

In summit discussions on conventional arms control, German unity, and the future of Europe, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓

Speed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. Since the end of World War II, the Soviet military presence in Eastern Europe has posed the greatest danger to European and world peace. The revolutions of 1989 have freed Eastern Europe from Soviet control, and it now looks as if Soviet forces soon will be on their way out of Czechoslovakia and Hungary entirely. The next step is to get the 350,000 or so Soviet troops in East Germany, the spearhead of the Red Army, back into Soviet territory. For the U.S. and its European allies, a Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe is the most comprehensive test of Gorbachev's new thinking. Until such a withdrawal is completed, doubts about Gorbachev's commitment to peace will remain, tainting all aspects of U.S.-Soviet relations.

According to Pentagon sources, U.S. allies are considering a "transition period" of up to seven years during which Soviet forces would remain in a united Germany. Germany even apparently is willing to pay Moscow to station them there. Bush should look for a commitment from Gorbachev to withdraw his forces from Eastern Europe within two years. If NATO is going to pay Moscow, it should be to help with the financial burden of withdrawing and demobilizing hundreds of thousands of Red Army troops, and not to subsidize their continued presence on foreign territory.

Accept the need for a balance of power in Central Europe. Even if Moscow removes all its forces from Eastern Europe, it will remain the most powerful state on the European continent because of its nuclear striking power and its ability to mobilize a huge army. Adequate Western military power in Central Europe, essentially Germany, will be needed to continue to counter Soviet power and limit Soviet influence in Europe. To assure a balance of power in Europe, Bush should stress three principles to Gorbachev:

Principle #1. *United Germany must be fully sovereign and have the right to choose its allies.* Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze proposed on May 6, 1990, that the wartime occupying powers of Germany – Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. – retain some residual rights in Germany even after unification takes place. Bush and Kohl rightly rejected this proposal in Washington on May 17, recognizing that it was an attempt by Moscow to gain a veto over united Germany's membership in NATO, the size of its armed forces, and its ability to station U.S. nuclear weapons on its territory. Only a fully sovereign Germany will be able to choose its allies – presumably NATO – and with their assistance assure its defense against what will remain into the foreseeable future, a tremendously powerful Soviet Union.

Principle #2. *NATO will retain the option of deploying U.S. nuclear weapons in Central Europe.* Without these, Germany, and such other allies as the Netherlands, will be open to Soviet nuclear blackmail in wartime. Central Europe should not become a "nuclear-free zone." Bush already consented on May 4 to negotiate limits, perhaps to zero, on all ground-based nuclear weapons including missiles and artillery. Some NATO nuclear capacity will be needed in Europe, however, to reassure allies of America's ultimate commitment to their defense.

Principle #3 *Germany cannot be singled out for conventional military force cuts.* Germany should not be asked to reduce its conventional forces beyond the general constraints placed on all NATO and Warsaw Pact militaries by a CFE treaty. Doing so would leave Germany insecure and resentful. Bush asserted on April 20 that there should be no discriminatory limitations on German sovereignty, including singling Germany out for special limitations on the size of its armed forces. He should reiterate this position to Gorbachev.

Make military stability in Europe irreversible. To ensure that the demise of Soviet military superiority is irreversible, a CFE treaty must include a "sufficiency rule" limiting the Soviet Union, along with all other signatories, to no more than roughly 30 percent of the military equipment in the area covered by the agreement, which is

from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. It also will mean that all military equipment removed under the agreement will have to be destroyed, although a small percentage might be converted to civilian use under international supervision to ensure that it is made militarily unusable.

Recognize that NATO is not negotiable. Bush should make it clear that the U.S. will participate in no plans, either through the "two plus four" negotiations on German unification or under the auspices of a CSCE agreement, to dissolve or transform NATO. Various schemes for weakening NATO have been proposed by Moscow, including Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's offer on May 6, at the opening of the "two plus four" negotiations, to keep a united Germany in both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Shevardnadze's proposal would debilitate NATO by effectively removing its most powerful European member, West Germany. NATO is a voluntary alliance of free states, dedicated to maintaining peace by deterring Soviet power. Its future is a matter for its members to decide. By the same token, the future of the Warsaw Pact is a matter for its members to decide. If the newly-liberated states of the former Soviet East European empire decide to leave the Pact, as is likely in coming months and years, the organization will dissolve.

Agree that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is not workable as a collective security organization. CSCE is a 35-nation organization which includes all European countries except Albania as well as the U.S., Canada, and the Soviet Union. Gorbachev and many Europeans, including the opposition Social Democrats in Germany, are proposing an expanded role for CSCE, going beyond its current mandate of addressing such issues as arms control and human rights. They want to turn CSCE into a standing body responsible for guaranteeing peace in Europe, eventually to supersede NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Since CSCE operates by consensus, however, its actions would be subject to veto by the Soviet Union or any other power, thereby rendering it entirely ineffective in a peacekeeping role, and leaving Europe vulnerable to its most powerful state – the Soviet Union. Bush should proceed with plans to hold a CSCE conference after the "two plus four" talks have been completed, and to expand CSCE's role in ratifying and helping to verify such arms control agreements as a CFE Treaty. However, he should reject the idea of CSCE as a collective security organization. He should also make clear U.S. opposition to proposals made on April 6 in Washington by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to expand CSCE's role in such areas as technology-sharing and establishment of a European Development Bank.

✓ **Accept U.S. diplomatic cover for the Soviet retreat from Europe.** Bush should agree to help Gorbachev save face as he pulls his forces out of Eastern Europe. He could offer to comply with the proposal made on February 9 in Potsdam by Genscher to refrain from stationing any U.S. or other foreign NATO forces in what is now East Germany. He could also offer a somewhat expanded role for CSCE in such areas as arms control verification. And he could promise to help provide civilian housing for demobilized Soviet forces returning to the Soviet Union if Gorbachev agreed to withdraw them within two years. Face-saving devices for Gorbachev, however, do not include concessions on any issues vital to U.S. or allied security, such as the future, shape, and character of NATO.

2) Soviet Political and Economic Reform

The U.S. is interested in the transformation of the Soviet Union into a democratic and free-market state that will pose less of a threat to the security of the U.S. and its allies, and that will show greater respect for freedom and human dignity. While Gorbachev has made many reforms since he came to power in March 1985, he has not yet fundamentally transformed the Soviet political or economic system.

U.S. Objective

♦ **A peaceful Soviet transition to a multiparty democracy and a free market economic system.**

What Bush should tell Gorbachev

In summit discussions of Soviet domestic issues, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓ **Take immediate steps towards the creation of a legitimate national government that people would trust and that could carry through radical economic and political reforms.** As constituted today, the Soviet Union's national legislature, the Congress of People's Deputies, and its permanent working body, the Supreme Soviet, cannot be called democratically legitimate. One-third of the Congress's members (including President Gorbachev) were not elected. Instead, they were appointed by such so-called "social organizations" as the Committee of World War II Veterans, the Communist Youth League (*Komsomol*), and even the Stamp Collectors' Society, which are controlled by the Communist Party.

Moreover, in many places where multi-candidate elections did take place, they were not fair because the Communist Party manipulated the nominating process.

Create laws guaranteeing freedom of independent political activity and freedom of speech. Political parties still have no legal status in the Soviet Union. The official platform of the Communist Party states only that the Party "does not exclude the possibility" of the emergence of other political parties.[11] Moreover, the same "platform" states that the Communist Party is "ready for a political dialogue" only with those parties which are "for the renewal of the socialist society."[12] In the absence of laws guaranteeing political freedom, further democratization of the Soviet Union is impossible. Furthermore, the Soviet Union still lacks laws protecting freedom of speech. A relaxed "Law on Mass Media," promised two years ago, has failed to materialize. The absence of any law guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press makes the policy of *glasnost* reversible.

Open up the secret police to *glasnost* and drastically reduce its numbers. If Gorbachev is serious about his commitment to democracy and the rule of law, there is no need for a 600,000-strong secret police (the KGB). Bush should encourage Gorbachev to curtail radically KGB activities by prohibiting surveillance of Soviet citizens, including phone-tapping and opening of mail, and to institute effective legislative oversight of the KGB's activities. Also, the KGB should be instructed to confine its activities to such tasks as fighting organized crime and illegal drug trafficking, while its force should be reduced to no more than one-tenth of its present size.

Order immediately the release of Soviet prisoners of conscience. At least 100 individuals incarcerated in the Soviet Union are considered political prisoners by such human rights groups as Amnesty International. Among these are those who, like Leningrad scientist Mikhail Kazachkov, were convicted of "high treason" for attempting to leave the Soviet Union. Others are conscientious objectors who refused to serve in the Soviet army. Still others are nationalist activists.

Proceed immediately with a radical economic reform. Bush should underscore the urgent need to make a radical economic reforms by reminding Gorbachev that the Soviet Union has little time to set the Soviet economy on the right path. In the last six months, the Soviet economic crisis has worsened into something very close to a national

11 *Izvestia*, April 23, 1990.
12 Ibid.

catastrophe. According to Soviet economists, industrial production dropped at least 5 to 6 percent in the first three months of this year. According to a CIA estimate, if the present trend continues, the Soviet economy could shrink by as much as 20 percent in the next two years. During the first quarter of this year, inflation skyrocketed as the free-market price of meat grew by 16 percent, of vegetables by 13 percent, and of fruits by 20 percent.[13]

Already ranked 77th in the world in terms of per capita consumption,[14] the Soviet Union is sinking deeper into poverty. Ninety-five million Soviet citizens, or nearly one-third of the population, live below the poverty line, which was recently raised by a special commission of the Supreme Soviet from 75 rubles per person per month to 120 rubles[15] – or $8 by the market rate of exchange.

The longer systemic economic reform is postponed, the greater the turmoil and the greater the probability that an anti-democratic, anti-Western, and anti-free market mass movement could emerge. If this were to occur, the Soviet Union could become more dangerous to the West than it is now.

Bush should express deep disappointment about the postponement of radical economic reform postponement of radical economic reform. He should encourage Gorbachev to take the steps to introduce a free market system into the Soviet Union. These should include:

Reducing state control of the economy. According to a member of Gorbachev's Presidential Council, economist Stanislav Shatalin, after five years of reforms, "We have strengthened the old mechanism of control... [by] leaving the ministries all the material resources and thus creating even more monstrous monopolies."[16]

Introducing price reform. Until prices are dictated by the laws of supply and demand, and not set arbitrarily by government ministries, the Soviet Union will never succeed in cutting waste, increasing productivity and motivating people to work harder.

Allowing the sale and inheritance of farmland. The Soviet agricultural system is inefficient and wasteful, incapable of

13 Egor Gaidar, "Chto novogo v ekonomike?" ("What's new in the economy?") *Pravda*, April 29, 1990.

14 V.Radaev and O. Shkaratan, "Vozvrashenie k istokam." ("Return to the source.") *Izvestia*, February 16, 1990.

15 *Moscow News*, March 11, 1990.

16 *Izvestia*, April 21, 1990.

feeding the country despite annual state subsidies of over 100 billion rubles. A major obstacle to the revival of Soviet agriculture is the peasants' lack of confidence in the permanence of the reforms. Until laws have been passed permitting inheritance and the sale of land, farmers will not believe that the land is theirs to cultivate.

Repealing the prohibition on hired labor for private enterprises. Private entrepreneurs in the Soviet Union are prohibited from hiring workers and can only form partnerships, or "cooperatives," with those they hire. Although the law against hired labor is often ignored, it remains a key obstacle to the growth of a Soviet free market.

Allowing private ownership of the "means of production." Private enterprises are limited mostly to production and sale of food, clothing and providing services. Private enterprises are prohibited from manufacturing tools, machines and technology. Allowing private ownership of the "means of production" is necessary for a truly radical overhaul of the Soviet economy.

Freeing the wholesale market. Moscow's economic ministries continue to control raw materials, set prices, and distribute products. Under such circumstances, private enterprises are forced to pay enormous bribes to government officials. The cost of such bribes is then added to the price of goods, making them too expensive for many Soviet consumers. These high prices create a popular backlash against private enterprise and the free market in general.

3) The Dissolving Soviet Empire

The Eastern European revolutions of 1989 already have jumped the border into the Soviet Union. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are embarked on a path of independence, and revolutionary fervor is growing in such other republics as Byelorussia, Georgia, and Ukraine. Lenin called what now is the Soviet Union a "prisonhouse of nationalities." Now these nations are expressing their desire to be free. Only through negotiation and the growth of democratic processes can a just and peaceful path to self-determination be found. Bush should ask Gorbachev to understand that the use of brute force against independence movements will be self-defeating, and that the U.S. will retaliate if the Soviet leadership chooses a forceful, rather than peaceful, solution to its nationalities crisis.

U.S. Objective

♦ **A peaceful, negotiated decolonization of the Soviet domestic empire.**

What Bush should tell Gorbachev

In summit discussion of the Soviet nationalities crisis Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓ **Avoid the use of force against democratic movements inside the Soviet Union.** The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are determined to gain independence from Moscow. Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia already have declared their independence. Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldavia may follow before the end of the year. The eventual configuration of the Soviet Union is impossible to predict; some national republics may become totally independent while others may stay in varying degrees of association with Russia. The only hope for a peaceful resolution of this crisis lies in Gorbachev's recognition that Moscow's future relationship with breakaway republics should be resolved through negotiation, not force.

✓ **Lift economic and political pressure on Lithuania immediately and begin to negotiate in good faith with the freely and democratically elected government of Lithuania.**

✓ **Understand that the U.S. considers the Lithuanian crisis a test case for Gorbachev's nationalities policy.** Following the March 11 declaration of independence by the Lithuanian parliament, Moscow has been trying to force the Lithuanians to back down by imposing economic pressure, such as a cutting off oil supplies. Gorbachev should be told that a negotiated solution to the Lithuanian crisis is the only outcome which will allow continued improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations and the economic benefits which Moscow hopes to derive from them.

✓ **Understand that the U.S. will continue to provide moral support for forces in the Soviet Union working for peaceful and democratic choice.**

✓ **Recognize that the U.S. seeks no military advantage in the decolonization of the Soviet domestic empire.**

✓ **Understand that the U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union in 1940.**

✓ **Be aware that the U.S. may raise the issue of national determination for the peoples of the Soviet Union at future sessions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).**

✓ **Be advised that the U.S. may request membership status at future CSCE conferences for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.**

✓ **Understand that a Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty will in no way legitimize the presence of Soviet troops in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.** The U.S. may wish to include the subject of the Soviet troops in those republics in future conventional arms control talks.

4) The Third World and Multinational Organizations

Continued Soviet assistance to Third World clients is a major obstacle to normalizing U.S.-Soviet relations. Bush should use the summit to press Gorbachev to cut Moscow's support for anti-democratic, anti-Western regimes and instead join forces with the U.S. in encouraging democracy, freedom and free market economies in the Third World and in such multinational organizations as the United Nations.

U.S. Objectives

- **The reduction and eventual elimination of Soviet support for violent, anti-democratic, anti-Western regimes in the Third World.**
- **Transition from U.S-Soviet confrontation to cooperation in the Third World.**
- **The peaceful transition of Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Nicaragua to democracy.**
- **A negotiated solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.**
- **The end of state-sponsored terrorism.**
- **Soviet support for U.S. efforts at the United Nations to bring democracy, freedom, and free markets to the world community.**

What Bush should tell Gorbachev

In summit discussion of Third World issues, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓ **End Soviet military assistance to Third World clients.** While pleading poverty and seeking Western economic assistance, Moscow spends $10 billion on arms, ammunition, and equipment for its Third World clients. The lion's share of this amount is spent on assisting such violent, anti-Western communist regimes as Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, and Ethiopia. Gorbachev should not expect large-scale Western help until the Soviet Union begins to help itself by drastically reducing assistance to its Third World clients.

✓ **End the Cold War in the Third World.** Many Third World dictators have oppressed and impoverished their peoples while playing the U.S. and the Soviet Union against each other. Opportunistic Third World leaders appealed for and received generous economic and military assistance from one or both of the superpowers, which they used to secure their own personal power rather than to make democratic and economic reforms. It is time for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to reap "a peace dividend" in the Third World. They could do this by working together to build democracies and free market economies.

✓ **Stop propping up the Castro dictatorship.** The fall of Fidel Castro's dictatorship is only a matter of time. Moscow's $6 billion in annual aid to Cuba sustains an illegitimate and economically bankrupt regime. The longer Moscow keeps Castro afloat, the greater the chance that a popular revolution will be violent, as happened in Romania in December 1989.

✓ **Stop supplying arms to Cuba.** The U.S. considers Central America vital to its national security. Cuba uses Soviet weapons and ammunition drawn from its annual $1.5 billion in military aid to undermine such fragile Central American democracies as El Salvador. For example, the arms factory in Camaguey, Cuba, built by the Soviets last year, produces AK-47 assault automatic rifles, mortars and land mines, some of which have been found in the hands of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) communist guerrillas in El Salvador.

✓ **Withdraw billions of dollars worth of weapons that the Soviets poured into Nicaragua and begin working for peace.** The Soviet bloc provided the Sandinistas with an estimated $3 billion worth of military assistance between 1979 and 1989. The presence of such a huge arsenal poses a serious danger to the fledgling Nicaraguan democracy of Violeta Chammoro. If the new Nicaraguan government requests it, the Soviet Union should cover the costs of removing these weapons from Nicaragua and join the U.S. in providing much needed economic aid.

Stop military assistance to the Marxist regime in Angola. The Angolan regime currently is conducting a military offensive against the anti-communist resistance movement, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). This offensive is the largest government operation in the fifteen-year civil war. Not only does the Soviet Union foot the bill by spending an estimated $1 billion a year to aid the Marxist government, but also Soviet military advisors are reportedly directing government troops on the battlefront.

Terminate immediately all Soviet assistance to the brutal dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam. Soviet military assistance to Ethiopia props up one of the world's bloodiest regimes. Last year Moscow supplied an estimated $800 million worth of arms, ammunition and equipment to Ethiopia.

Quit pouring $300 million worth of military aid each month into Afghanistan. Moscow continues to funnel arms, ammunition and equipment into Afghanistan at a rate of $250 million to $300 million per month. At least 300 Soviet military advisors remain to plan military operations, train government troops, maintain military equipment and launch Soviet-made SCUD missiles at rebel positions. The Soviet KGB continues to supervise the Afghan secret police, the backbone of the communist Najibullah regime. Massive Soviet aid merely postpones Najibullah's downfall and prolongs the sufferings of the Afghan people. Moscow should allow the Afghans, like the Eastern Europeans, to regain their self-determination through free elections. Further, Bush should avoid the trap of "negative symmetry," which would entail a cutoff of arms to both the communists and the Afghan freedom fighters, because this would leave the Najibullah regime in power with military superiority, and thereby discourage a peaceful settlement.

Reduce arms supplies to Iran, Iraq, Libya, South Yemen and Syria. Soviet arms supplied to these countries are intended in part for use against Israel, the only democracy in the region, and against innocent victims of terrorism around the world. The flow of Soviet military hardware to the so-called "rejectionist," anti-Israel Arab states is a major obstacle to the peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. These arms sustain the illusion of a possible Arab military victory over Israel. Further, the current transfers of Soviet arms to Iran, at a time when six Americans and ten other Westerners are held hostage by pro-Iranian Shiite terrorist groups in Lebanon, is a hostile act against the U.S. and its allies.

Re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel. If Moscow desires a role in the Arab-Israeli peace process, then it must be on an equal legal footing with both sides, and thus should open full diplomatic relations with Israel.

Denounce and withhold Soviet support from radical Palestinians. To prove that it is serious about peace, Moscow should publicly denounce Palestinian terrorism against Israel and moderate Arab states, cease support for radical Palestinian groups, and press Iraq, Libya, South Yemen, and Syria to end their support of Palestinian groups engaged in terrorism.

Take additional cooperative steps at the U.N. Bush should express satisfaction with improvements in Soviet policies at the U.N. Example: Assistant Secretary of State John Bolton and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky co-authored a November 15, 1989, U.N. resolution, calling on all states to "adhere to the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms," and to comply with their obligations under the U.N. Charter. Another example: Moscow abstained in the September 1989 vote to expel Israel from the General Assembly, in contrast to previous years when it had voted with the Arab bloc to expel Israel.

However, Moscow continues its traditional policies of opposing U.S. efforts to promote human rights and democracy. For example, the Soviets voted on March 6, 1990, against the U.N. Human Rights Commission's resolution condemning human rights violations in Cuba. The U.S. supported this resolution. Another example: At the last U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization General Conference in Rome in November 1989, the Soviet Union refused to support Western efforts to correct administrative abuses and political biases in the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Gorbachev still has much work to do to improve his country's abysmal record at the U.N. Further steps he could take include:

Putting an end to double standards in the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Moscow continues to oppose any attempt to investigate human rights abuses by its clients in the Third World.

Becoming a contributing member of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. So far, the Soviet Union has not contributed a single kopeck to helping refugees around the world, most of whom have been driven out of their homes by Moscow's clients and allies.

Supporting U.S. efforts to repeal the infamous November 10, 1975, U.N. General Assembly resolution equating Zionism to racism.

5) Asia

Moscow remains committed to Gorbachev's December 7, 1988, pledge to reduce its troop strength in the Asian U.S.S.R. by 200,000 and to its obligation to remove 400 intermediate-range missiles from the region, under the terms of the 1987 INF Treaty. Most troop reductions, however, have come from the Sino-Soviet border and have not reduced the overall military threat to Japan or South Korea. Moscow continues to modernize its Pacific forces, including the deployment of new MiG-29 *Fulcrum* fighters in the eastern reaches of the Soviet Union and the addition of new Sovremeny and Udaloy destroyers and Akula submarines with the Pacific fleet. This buildup is occurring at a time when the U.S. is uncertain about the future of its Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base in the Philippines, and when the U.S. has announced that it will withdraw about 15,000 military personnel from Asia within the next three years.[17] Further, Moscow last year provided several hundred million dollars in military aid to the Vietnamese-backed regime in Cambodia, where Vietnam still stations up to 5,000 troops.[18]

U.S. Objectives

- **Obtain Soviet commitment to further reduce its military forces in Asia, particularly ground and air forces threatening Japan.**
- **End Soviet military support for the Vietnamese-backed government of Cambodia.**
- **Have Moscow play a constructive role in bringing peace to the Korean peninsula.**

What Bush should say to Gorbachev

In Soviet discussions on Asia, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓ **Reciprocate the reduction of naval forces.** The U.S. is in the process of cutting back on the size of its Navy in the Pacific. The U.S.S.R. should do likewise.

✓ **Cooperate in reducing Indo-Pakistani tensions.** The recent flareup in tensions over the disputed territory of Kashmir could precipitate another Indo-Pakistani war. Washington and Moscow each should publicly urge India and Pakistan to refrain from provocative action that could trigger such a war.

17 See testimony of Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz before the Senate Armed Services Committee, April 26, 1990.

18 Heritage Foundation discussions with Pentagon officials.

✓ **Understand that the U.S. remains unalterably committed to deterring a North Korean attack against South Korea.** The U.S. will keep combat forces in South Korea and match Soviet efforts to modernize the North Korean armed forces with U.S. military aid to the South.

✓ **End all military aid to the government of Cambodia.** Soviet military advisors train the Cambodian communist regime's security forces, and Moscow provides substantial military aid directly, or indirectly through Vietnam. All such assistance should be terminated. Also, Bush should let Gorbachev know that the U.S. will continue to back forces opposing the Cambodian regime.

✓ **Condition the estimated $3 billion in annual Soviet aid to Hanoi on economic and political reform and the full withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia.**

✓ **The U.S. will not tolerate any Soviet military support for the Communist rebels in the Philippines and will act in concert with the Philippine government to interdict any such aid.** Although the Communist Party of the Philipines (C.P.P.) has sought Soviet military support since the mid-1980s, Moscow has not yet given siginificant material support to the C.P.P.

6) Strategic Arms Control

Agreement on a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) at the summit could be a public relations success for Bush. But obtaining a START Treaty is not nearly as important to U.S. interests as many think. START will reduce each side's strategic arsenals by 30 percent. These reductions will, by themselves, neither improve nor hurt U.S. security. U.S. security, however, could be hurt if the treaty could not be adequately verified. The Senate will have to scrutinize the verifiability of a START Treaty once it has been signed and officially submitted for ratification. U.S. nuclear security will rest ultimately not on whether a START Treaty is signed and ratified, but whether the U.S. deploys strategic defenses (SDI). Arms control alone can never be a substitute for deterrence.

U.S. Objectives

- **Downplay START.**
- **Shift the focus of U.S.-Soviet strategic nuclear arms talks from Start to the Defense and Space Treaty (DST).**

What Bush should tell Gorbachev

In summit discussions of strategic arms control, Bush should ask Gorbachev to:

✓ **Understand that the U.S. will not sign a START Treaty until all verification details have been worked out to U.S. satisfaction.** While the major outlines of a START agreement now are in place, details remain to be worked out, including precisely how mobile missile deployments will be verified and how many of these weapons will be permitted. These details are critical, because they could make the difference between a treaty which is relatively harmless to U.S. security and one which is damaging.

✓ **Shift the focus of strategic arms negotiations from offensive strategic forces to strategic defenses.** Now that a START agreement is near, the U.S. should focus more on getting Soviet agreement on a Defense and Space Treaty (DST). DST negotiations have been underway in Geneva for almost five years. Bush should ask Gorbachev to accelerate the DST negtiations and to agree to the deployment of strategic defenses. Recent articles in such Soviet journals as the December issue of *Military Review* indicate that important Soviet military thinkers and policy makers are arguing that the Soviet Union should abandon its oppostion to strategic defenses. These Soviet supporters of SDI favor an agreement at the DST talks that would combine START cuts in offensive arms with deployments of strategic defenses. A DST treaty could create a more stable and safe nuclear balance in which the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would be well-protected against accidental or limited attacks by nuclear-armed ballistic missiles.

✓ **Accept that the U.S. remains committed to SDI.** Bush should reiterate the pledge made during his presidential campaign to deploy SDI when it is ready, whether or not Moscow agrees. But he should also convey his preferences for deploying defenses in cooperation with Moscow in a way that will benefit the safety of U.S. and Soviet citizens.

PROVIDING INCENTIVES AND DISINCENTIVES TO GORBACHEV

Bush will be bargaining with Gorbachev from a position of strength. The catastrophic failure of the Soviet economy leaves Gorbachev in desperate need of Western economic and technical support. Bush needs little from Gorbachev, while Gorbachev needs much from him and his Western allies. Bush should convey to Gorbachev that nothing further will be granted without continued momentum toward reform in Soviet foreign and domestic policy.

Incentives for Progress

Incentives Bush can hold out as potential rewards for further cooperative behavior include:

♦ ♦ **Membership in the GATT.** The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a Geneva-based, 97-member international organization devoted to promoting global free trade. Moscow was granted observer status in GATT on May 17 after the U.S. agreed to drop its objections. This status will enable Moscow to attend monthly meetings of the GATT council, and participate in the organization's standing committees, such as the Committee on Trade and Development. Full membership in the GATT would bring lower tariff rates on Soviet exports to other member countries; the right to vote on GATT issues; and the right to attend multilateral negotiations, such as the current Uruguay Round, which is devoted to liberalizing global trade.

♦ ♦ **Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status.** Under the 1974 Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act, a country with a non-market economy that restricts the right of its citizens to emigrate is ineligible for Most-Favored-Nation status (MFN) unless the President grants a waiver. Such waivers must be renewed annually, with the consent of Congress.

Most-Favored-Nation status, which Bush might promise Moscow at the summit, entails no preferential treatment for Soviet goods. It merely allows Soviet exports to qualify for the same import tariffs as other U.S. trading partners. The Soviet Union now pays tariffs ten times higher than most countries trading with the U.S. Since the Soviets have very little that anyone in the U.S. would want to buy, granting MFN status to Moscow is unlikely to increase U.S. trade with the Soviet Union to more than $5 billion a year. U.S. trade with the Soviet Union amounted to only $3.417 billion in 1989. By comparison, U.S.-Mexican trade last year totaled $44 billion.

♦ ♦ **Membership in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank.** Gorbachev will try to obtain a U.S. commitment at the summit to help the Soviet Union gain membership in such international financial organizations as the World Bank and the IMF. Such membership today would be injurious to the security of the U.S. and its allies. For example, the

Soviet Union may use membership in the World Bank for further expansion of the Third World by rewarding its clients with loans. Or it could try to resuscitate its own moribund economy with infusions of Western cash, thereby further postponing necessary economic reforms.

♦ ♦ **Following through the economic promises made at Malta.** At the December 2-3, 1989, Malta summit Bush promised Gorbachev U.S. cooperation and assistance in a number of areas. Among them were: Expanding U.S.-Soviet economic cooperation in the fields of finance, agriculture, statistics, small business development and setting up stock exchanges; Negotiating an investment treaty which would protect American investors in the Soviet Union; Lifting U.S. restrictions on export credits and guarantees.

If Gorbachev wants these and other concessions from the U.S., he will have to continue to work for them. For example, Bush should:

♦ ♦ **Tie membership in GATT to Soviet economic reforms.** Full Soviet membership in the GATT should be contingent upon the establishment of market prices, the creation of a ruble convertible on the international currency market, and a full accounting of the Soviet budget, including military spending, and the opening of the Soviet economy to foreign competition.

♦ ♦ **Tie Most-Favored-Nation status to the peaceful resolution of the Lithuanian crisis and to continued high levels of emigration.** This emigration should continue at or above the 1989 level of 190,000, and the right to emigration should be institutionalized by adopting legislation that would permit unrestricted emigration and travel. Bush should not grant MFN to Moscow if it continues its economic crackdown on Lithuania or mounts similar economic or military pressure on the other Baltic states.

♦ ♦ **Link the further relaxation of restrictions on high-technology exports to the Soviet Union to a total withdrawal Soviet troops from Eastern Europe; to the end of Soviet military support for anti-Western regimes in the Third World; and to real declines in Soviet military capabilities.** The Soviet military seeks to expand its strength by obtaining "force multipliers," sophisticated military technologies that enable it to do more with less. The U.S. should continue to work within COCOM to deny Moscow such technologies until the Soviet military threat to COCOM members is eliminated.

♦ ♦ **Link U.S. support for Soviet membership in the IMF, the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank to the following steps in Soviet domestic and foreign policies:**

> Compliance with the international agreements that uphold the political and economic rights of individuals and peoples, including the right to self-determination as spelled out in Article VII of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act;

Complete disclosure of the basic financial information required of all IMF members, including precise data on the Soviet budget, budget deficit, military expenditures, gold holdings, Soviet debts to the West, and the terms for repayment of those debts;

Soviet financial contributions to the World Bank, which could amount to as much as $500 million annually;

A cutoff of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia, Libya, Syria and other anti-Western dictatorships.

♦ ♦ **Offer to help Gorbachev to remove his troops from Eastern Europe.** Gorbachev is complaining that he cannot quickly withdraw Soviet forces from Eastern Europe because of the economic hardship of transporting, demobilizing, and housing hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers. Bush should offer to help integrate these soldiers into the Soviet non-military economy, for example, by helping to build some housing for them, if Gorbachev agrees to withdraw them all within two years.

Disincentives Against Reversing Reforms

In addition to these incentives, Bush also should tell Gorbachev that recent U.S. concessions to Moscow are not irreversible. He should firmly and unambiguously spell out the consequences of a slow-down, halt, or reversal in what the U.S. considers positive momentum in Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

Bush should promise as retaliation for a reversal of Soviet policy:

♦ ♦ **A return to a confrontational policy against Moscow.** Gorbachev should be told that U.S.-Soviet relations will be badly damaged if Moscow uses violence against Soviet independence and democratic movements, attempts to recover its political or military role in Eastern Europe, or steps up military aid to Third World clients.

If the Soviets reverse course, Bush should tell Gorbachev that the U.S. will:

♦ ♦ **Reverse the May 2, 1990, decision to relax COCOM restrictions on high technology sales to the Soviet Union.**

♦ ♦ **Oppose full Soviet membership in the GATT.**

♦ ♦ **Terminate bilateral scientific and cultural exchanges.**

♦ ♦ **Accelerate U.S. military modernization programs and restore the U.S. military budget to levels at or above those at the height of the Reagan buildup.**

CONCLUSION

Since the wartime summits of Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, the U.S.-Soviet relationship has gone through cycles of confrontation and cooperation. It appeared at times as if Moscow held the upper hand in superpower relations. It seemed then that the Soviet Union was a power on the rise, on its way to military equality and perhaps superiority, over America. Soviet clients were winning battles all over the globe: in Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua. The Soviet empire reached its high-water mark in 1979 as Soviet tanks rolled into Afghanistan.

Ronald Reagan's presidency reversed this seemingly inexorable march toward ascendancy. The U.S. rebuilt its military and economic strength in the 1980s, fought back the global wave of Soviet expansion, and fostered a democratic revolution inside the Soviet bloc. Reagan's effort broke the back of Soviet communism. Shackled by an inefficient centralized economy and stunned by the power of the democratic idea, Moscow began losing its grip internally and throughout its empire.

Bush has continued the Reagan revolution in global affairs, and as a result the Soviet empire has begun to break apart. Bush comes to the 1990 Washington Summit as the confident leader of a victorious NATO alliance, squaring off against perhaps the last communist dictator of the Soviet Union. He is dealing from a position of strength.

Much has changed in the Soviet Union. Some democratic reforms have been made and the Soviet constitution has been revised to end the communist party's monopoly on political power. Minor economic reforms have been put in place to allow private enterprise in some service sectors of the economy. Most travel and emigration restrictions have been removed. Moscow has relinquished political control over Eastern Europe and has begun to withdraw its forces from its former client states there. Virtually all Soviet military forces are out of Afghanistan.

But much has not changed. Gorbachev remains an unelected leader in charge of a dictatorial Communist Party. The state controls most of the Soviet economy. Gorbachev is denying self-determination to the national republics of the U.S.S.R., including the Baltic states. Moscow continues its support of communist regimes abroad, including Afghanistan, to the tune of about $15 billion a year. And the Soviet military continues to modernize its strategic nuclear forces aimed at the U.S. and its allies.

Bush's objective at the summit should be to maintain the momentum of revolutionary change. Gorbachev is facing many pressures from reform and reactionary wings of the Communist

party, from new parties and political organizations springing up around the Soviet Union, from restless nationalities, and from the Soviet Army. Bush's task is to persuade Gorbachev to take into account U.S. preferences and interests. Bush should use this meeting with Gorbachev to inform him of these interests and to advance them by providing incentives for further positive change and disincentives against a reversal of Soviet reform.

Bush should also press Gorbachev to abandon Eastern Europe entirely. He should convey to Gorbachev his support for peaceful and democratic self-determination for the imprisoned nationalities of the Soviet Union, and tell Gorbachev that continued economic and political support from America and its allies will depend on Gorbachev's commitment to a peaceful resolution of the nationalities crisis. He should demand an end to Soviet support for its client regimes in Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, and Ethiopia. He should stress that U.S. economic aid to the Soviet Union will be tied to major structural reform of the Soviet economy, including the legalization of private property, and to continued progress toward genuine democracy. Moreover, Bush should downplay the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), which have become the focus of the media's attention at the summit, and focus more on such critical matters as the Defense and Space Talks (DST). Finally, Bush should remind Gorbachev of his commitment to deploy strategic defenses and his hope that strategic defense can be deployed cooperatively with the Soviet Union.

Success at this summit will not be measured by whether Bush and Gorbachev initial a START agreement, but by whether Bush is able to convince Gorbachev that continued progress on Soviet domestic and foreign policy is necessary before U.S.-Soviet relations will further improve. Gorbachev currently is facing many pressures from the Communist Party, new political forces within the Soviet Union, and the Soviet military. Bush needs to make his own voice heard above the din. He should convey to Gorbachev precisely what the U.S. expects from him, what the consequences will be if he fails to deliver, and the tremendous potential for U.S.-Soviet cooperation if Gorbachev is willing to lead his own country down a more humane, peaceful, and democratic path.



WELLESLEY COLLEGE
WELLESLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

Dear Peggy,

I would appreciate if you could direct this letter to the appropriate person in the Office of the First lady. Due to the continuous media coverage, I feel that Mrs. Bush and her staff would like a more encompassing explanation of the commencement speaker selection process, and the overwhelming respect and support which many members of the Class of 1990 hold for her.

Also, thank you for all your hard work on the speech. Mrs. Bush's address will definitely make it a truly special day.

Sincerely,

Laura Young

new ideas —
glasnost
perestroika
democratizia

perestroika

cultural chatter → reduces activity
power of ideas
subject of concern

fire in minds

Hoop/trad

Nixon story

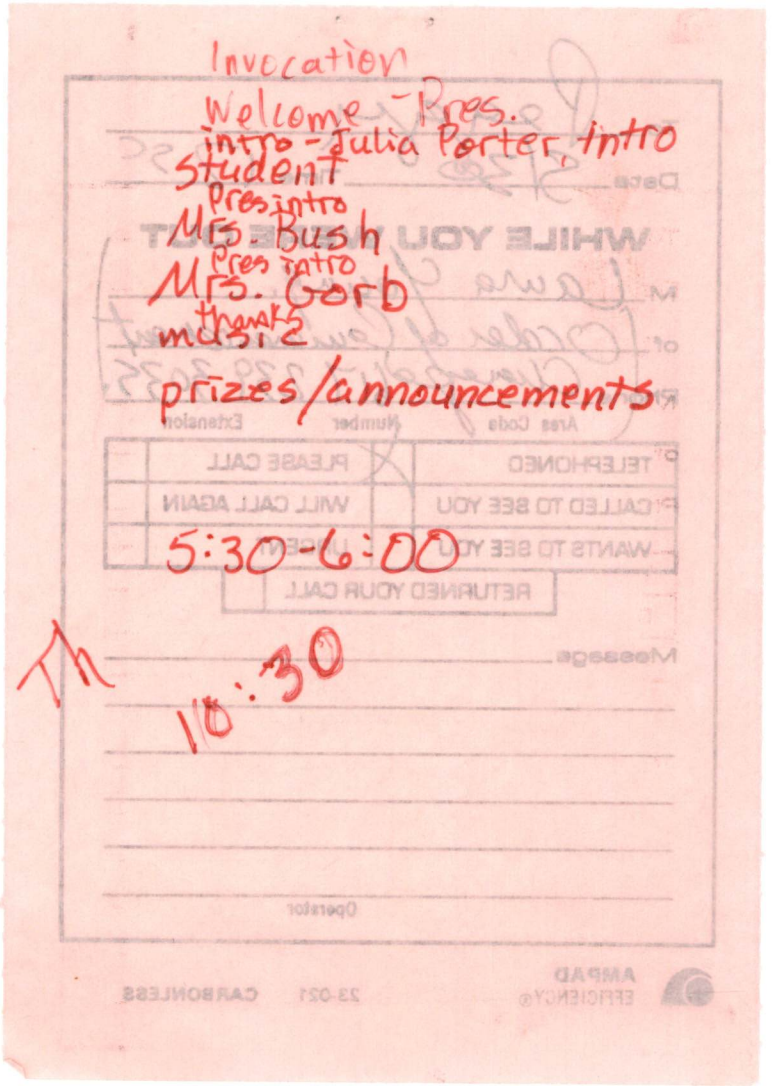
land of pass

ideas to have consequences

Possessed = anti-new

new stage + he's putting
fire in the minds
of men

fire's not in wdps of
Mdp, it's in the minds
of men.


Invocation
Welcome - Pres.
intro - Julia Porter, intro
Student
Pres intro
Mrs. Bush
Pres intro
Mrs. Gorb
thanks
music
prizes/announcements
5:30-6:00
Th
10:30

LEXINGTON HERALD-LEADER

CITY/STATE

Section B
★ Saturday, May 5, 1990



Photo by Tim Sharp

The wind almost blew Barbara Bush's hat off at commencement at Southeast Community College.

First lady's speech short, spirited in Harlan County

By Lee Mueller
Eastern Kentucky bureau

CUMBERLAND — The elements were against her almost all the way, but first lady Barbara Bush made it to Harlan County yesterday for graduation at Southeast Community College.

Braving high winds, crooked roads, a thunderstorm and then sweltering heat, Bush delivered a short, spirited commencement address to 131 graduates.

It was, Southeast President W. Bruce Ayers said, "a day we will always remember."

More than 2,500 people came to see the president's wife as the University of Kentucky's campus in southeast Harlan County celebrated its 25th anniversary.

All got to see her, but because a driving rainstorm drove ceremonies inside, only a handful wound up hearing her.

High winds that prompted tornado watches in parts of Kentucky grounded the first lady's helicopter ride from a Wise, Va., airport to the Cumberland campus.

Instead, Bush wound up spending about two hours in a small red Oldsmobile, crossing Big Black Mountain on a road that Ayers said could only be described as treacherous.

Inside Southeast's Falkenstine Hall, Bush met privately with an 8-year-old Cub Scout whose name is George Michael Bush. George is a second grader at Cumberland Elementary School and has cancer. The visit was arranged the boy's teacher, Deronda Garland, a first

(Turn to BUSH, B2)

Bush

From Page B1

lady spokeswoman said. "He looked great," Barbara Bush said of the child.

A few minutes later, the first lady, wearing a black academic robe, led a parade of faculty and students to a temporary stage in the school's parking lot.

At 6:20 p.m., thunder rolled across the valley between Pine and Big Black mountains as she sat down on the stage.

Umbrellas went up as the Harlan Boys Choir sang "I Love America" in a light rain.

At 6:45 p.m., a full-scale storm struck. Spectators scurried for cover and Bush, holding on to her mortarboard, left under Ayers' umbrella.

Size and security permitted only the graduates, faculty, Bush, U.S. Rep. Harold Rogers and reporters inside a multipurpose room called the Little Theater in the college's Falkenstine Hall.

The first thing Bush said was, "Open those doors." Spectators came and stood in the doorways.

Then Bush said, "I'm going to take my hat off. Why don't you?" Wet hats were removed, and Bush also removed her black academic gown.

Wearing a black-flecked white blouse and a red skirt, she then began a speech that extolled Southeast for its efforts to educate mountain residents.

A White House staff member said Bush decided to speak at Southeast's graduating after reading an invitation from Kathy Guyn, chairwoman of the school's biological sciences department.

From about 200 requests for graduation speeches, Bush selected four colleges and two high schools. Southeast was the only two-year college selected, Guyn said.

Southeast Community College has 1,700 students, serving Bell, Harlan and Letcher counties in southeast Kentucky. It is one of 14 community colleges that are part of the UK system.

Bush is to speak this spring at the graduation at Wellesley College in Massachusetts and some students have objected to honoring a woman who gained recognition through the achievements of her husband.

Rogers said Bush mentioned the Wellesley incident on the way to Cumberland yesterday. But there was no similar response last night on the Harlan County campus.

"I totally disagreed with that (Wellesley's reaction)," said student Cookie Boggs, 25, of Lynch. "I think they were expressing some kind of jealousy."

"I feel like 99 percent of the people in our area consider it an honor just for her to be coming here."

Nearby, two 20-year-old graduates from Harlan agreed and grinned at each other.

"I know I'll remember this," said Darby Fee.

"For the rest of my life," said Tracey Johnson.

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 PM

Friends, distinguished guests -- and, especially, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev: Barbara and I are delighted to welcome you to the White House -- to share "bread and salt" with us on this special evening. //

We're now nearing the end of a momentous day -- the first of four in this Washington Summit. [[Tomorrow, Mr. President, comes the moment so many have been waiting for -- a day when expectation will be at fever pitch. // That's right, tomorrow // Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev go to Wellesley College.]]

And here in the White House, Mr. President, we will meet again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a new relationship. Agreements on everything from arms control -- strategic and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new consulates, and expanded contacts between the people of America and the Soviet Union. //

These agreements are a <u>beginning</u> -- a foundation we can build on. Proof that differences can be **resolved** -- even while others **remain.** And let me assure President Gorbachev -- whatever

deep differences divided us in the past, the United States and the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. //

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for **creating within the Soviet Union a consensus for change.** / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum -- continue moving forward until it arrives at its **final, democratic destination.** //

There is an old saying in your country: **"Russia is the land of possibilities."** / We've seen this past year that ours is a **world of possibilities.** That **our time** is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can **transform history** -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

And to the **possibilities now open to us -- to the prospect of progress, and lasting peace.** //

# # #

(Lange/Cawley)
May 31, 1990
4:15 P.M.
[SUMMIT.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-SUMMIT TELEVISED ADDRESS
THE OVAL OFFICE
TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1990
[TIME]

My fellow Americans:

There are moments in the lives of nations when the pace of change is so great, the press of challenges so compelling, that reality outruns imagination. As though the force of the future is leaving the present in history's dust.

This is such a moment -- for America, and for the community of nations around the world.

The world stage is still a familiar one. But the script is suddenly being re-written. Old assumptions are being shattered. And dogma and doctrine are being scattered like ashes on the winds of change.

And so it is that great nations find themselves standing on the world stage at a decisive moment, unequalled in modern history.

Last year, in the Revolution of '89 we saw young men and women join hands above the Berlin wall. We saw heroes in every hemisphere, of every race, finally free. We saw tyrants and iron-fisted dictators fall, as ballots rendered bullets useless.

As millions from Managua to Warsaw to Soweto found their voice, we saw flashes of individual brilliance and heard a chorus

like thunder. Entire nations found themselves transformed by the power of an idea -- and the soul of the world was transfixed with the force of a word: **Freedom.**

For millions now the long dark night is ending, and a long day's work begins. Ours is an era when all is possible. An age when all \\ may yet be free.

Change comes, and challenges us. Freedom comes, and lights a candle that no man, no government can long suppress.

But if this is a time of great turmoil for nations around the world, America is today what she has always been. A nation of unlimited imagination. Confident in her convictions -- sure of her principles and policies. A nation of quiet strength. Faith. And freedom.

In this remarkable age, we bear witness as the world confirms the wisdom of our forefathers. They understood the power and prosperity that limited government brings about. So they fought for a social order that gave free rein to ambition, unleashed the power of the individual, and made room for dreams.

We Americans rose, in fact, as a nation of upstarts who didn't know their place. We prospered because our forefathers knew that leadership's best role, and greatest security, is not in consolidating power, but in empowering the individual.

That liberty is a right that evolves from the people, not a privilege granted by government.

And that the truest kindness the state can offer the people, is to govern with a gentle hand.

If there is a natural evolution in the progress of nations, it springs from the rights of man. And if the world's emerging democracies need anything, it is our help in turning away from bloody revolution, toward more peaceful evolution.

Nations make choices. At times they are hard and painful. Some may be deferred. Some may be denied. But some choices are inevitable. The cry for freedom is one of them.

Our challenge now is to help the world's nations in their natural evolution toward new democratic freedoms. To chart a shared course for the Americas, North and South. To see Europe as a common house. The world as our common home. Security as our common cause. And prosperity as our shared purpose.

Tonight I want to outline the United States' role in the world by focusing on four critical issues: Our relations with the Soviet Union; our recent decision regarding China; the future of democracy in Eastern Europe; and developments in this hemisphere.

First, the Soviet Union. As you know, I've just completed a working summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe we've achieved new candor. New clarity. New stability in U.S.-Soviet relations.

The time has long passed when our two nations could paper over differences -- or when summits could be applauded simply for their symbolic importance. We are now grappling with the most fundamental causes of the cold war.

VOLUME 3

B to Birling

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

BERING SEA CONTROVERSY, an international dispute over the territorial status of the Bering Sea, chiefly between the United States and Britain. In 1867 the Russians ceded the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea, along with Alaska, to the United States. These islands had long been the summer breeding grounds of a valuable seal herd that migrated south in the winter. By acquiring the Pribilofs, the United States gained control of fur-sealing operations on the islands and three miles at sea, and it restricted the killing to male seals. As sealing became more profitable, however, pelagic, or open-sea, sealing was increasingly practiced in the Bering Sea by several nations, notably Canada. This involved the indiscriminate slaughtering of females and thus threatened the herd with extinction.

The Alaska Commercial Company, which had the United States sealing monopoly, objected to this practice, and in 1886 the United States seized and condemned three Canadian pelagic sealers. Britain protested, and when several more vessels were subsequently seized, the question became a matter of serious diplomacy. In 1889, Congress proclaimed U.S. control over the Bering Sea, in effect declaring it a *mare clausum* (closed sea). Britain objected to this as contrary to established international law, and the matter was referred to an international court of arbitration. In 1893 this tribunal decided against the United States: the Bering Sea was held to be part of the high seas and damages were to be assessed against the United States for the seized vessels. This specific aspect of the Anglo-American controversy was settled in 1898 when Congress appropriated $473,151 to pay for the seized Canadian ships.

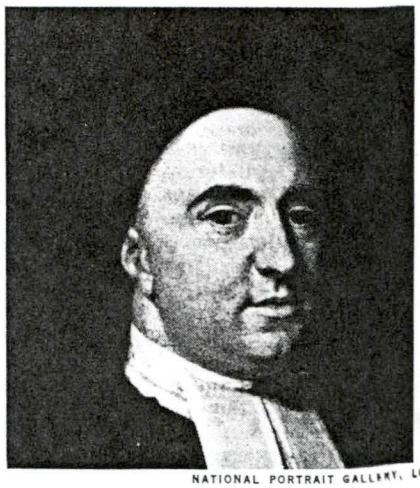
Although the 1893 arbitration decision contained certain restrictions on pelagic sealing, these restrictions proved ineffective, and the problem of preserving the fast-dwindling seal herd was unresolved. Finally, in 1911, the North Pacific Sealing Convention was signed by Britain, Russia, Japan, and the United States. This accord forbade pelagic sealing completely, and the United States, having jurisdiction over land-sealing in the Pribilofs, agreed to pay Japan and Britain an annual percentage of the proceeds from its sealing activities. Under strict supervision the seal herd was built up again.

BERING STRAIT, bēr'ing, is a passage between Alaska and Siberia connecting the Chukchi Sea of the Arctic Ocean and the Bering Sea, an arm of the Pacific Ocean. Between Cape Prince of Wales, on the Seward Peninsula of Alaska, and Cape Dezhnev, on the Chukchi Peninsula of Siberia, the strait is 55 miles (88 km) across—the narrowest distance between the continents of North America and Asia. In the middle, and separated by the International Date Line, lie the Diomede Islands, less than 3 miles (5 km) apart: the larger, Big Diomede (Ratmanov) Island, belongs to Russia, and the smaller, Little Diomede Island, belongs to the United States. With Fairway Rock, lying to the south in American waters, these islands are the remains of a land bridge that once connected the two continents.

The strait has a maximum depth of 170 feet (52 meters) and is frozen over between October and June. It was discovered by the Russian navigator Semen Dezhnev in 1648 and was later named for Vitus Bering, who, on St. Diomede's Day, Aug. 16, 1728, discovered islands there.

BERKELEY, bärk'lē, **George** (1685–1753), Irish philosopher and bishop, who opposed the philosophic views of John Locke (q.v.). Berkeley was born near Kilkenny, Ireland, on March 12, 1685. Though Anglican in religion and of English stock, he always regarded himself as a true Irishman. In 1699 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree in 1704. He was ordained a deacon in 1709 and was married in 1728.

Berkeley remained connected with Trinity until 1724, when he became dean of Derry. At Derry he had for the first time sufficient means to set on foot a strange project that he had long contemplated. He planned to establish a college in the Bermudas for the education and religious enlightenment of American Indians. A college so placed in those days could hardly have succeeded; however, he obtained a royal charter and a promise from Parliament of £20,000, and in 1728 he set out for America. He went first to Rhode Island to wait for his money to be paid; but Sir Robert Walpole, who distrusted his plan, permitted and perhaps encouraged delay, and the scheme was finally abandoned in 1731.



NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

GEORGE BERKELEY, the 18th century Irish philosopher, from a portrait painted by J. Simbert, dated 1725.

For the last 20 years of his life, Berkeley was bishop of Cloyne, near Cork, in which period he wrote on the religious and economic problems of Ireland, besides discharging his episcopal duties. He died on Jan. 14, 1753, while on a brief visit to Oxford, England, where his son George was entering Christ Church College.

Writings. The works on which Berkeley's fame rests were produced while he was very young. In his subtle *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709) he deliberately stopped short of his ultimate conclusions, apparently with the idea that his novel opinions should be presented only by stages to the public. His greatest work, the *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, was published in 1710, and in 1713 he aimed at a wider audience by presenting the same doctrine in more elegant and popular form in the *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous*. Important among his later writings are *De motu* (1721), a Latin essay on the philosophy of science; *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1732), a long dialogue mainly directed against

McGroarty/Dooley
May 30, 1990
10:00 am
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev.** //

Mr. President, just over a year ago, I said that the United States wanted to move **beyond containment** in its relations with the Soviet Union -- toward a new era, an era of enduring cooperation. / When we last met in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, differences remain, of course -- but in the short six months since the Malta Summit, we've made significant progress.

I want this Summit to take us farther still, and I know that is President Gorbachev's hope as well. //

We've seen a world of change this past year. / Now, on the horizon -- we see what, just one short year ago, seemed a distant dream: in Eastern Europe, behind the barriers of brick and barbed wire that cruelly divided East from West -- the dawn of **self-determination and democracy.** In Germany, where the Wall once stood -- a great nation moves toward unity, in peace and freedom. And on the most heavily militarized continent on earth -- at long last, we see the prospect of **a Europe whole and free.**

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you for the process of change you've brought to your country -- and for the Soviet Union's change in policies toward the other countries of the world. //

As we begin this Summit, let me recall the words of an old Russian proverb: "To live as neighbors -- we must speak together." / Real security can come only when we work in concert: with other countries -- not against them. I believe we **can** work together at this historic moment to help further the process of building a new Europe -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened -- and no nation's threatened. / Let me be clear: the security we seek is **inclusive** -- not **exclusive**. **The Soviet Union will be -- must be -- part of Europe's future.**

Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts, and building peace and stability. In **Nicaragua**, we have shown that we can work together to promote peaceful change. In **Angola**, our support for an early resolution of that country's tragic conflict -- a resolution acceptable to the Angolan people -- is now paying off. **Let us expand this new spirit of cooperation** -- not merely to resolve disputes between us, but to build a solid foundation for peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. //

In that same spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov.** / ~~Twelve~~ Fourteen years ago,

Sakharov wrote: "I am convinced that **guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over** are also **guarantees of international security, economic and social progress**."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free.** //

In the past 12 months, freedom has made great gains. Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And within the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.

We in the U.S. applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the spirited debate in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We know about the difficult economic reforms that are necessary to breathe new life back into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- **we want to see perestroika succeed.** //

Mr. President, I believe -- as you do -- that increased frredom and opportunity is the correct course. I believe you understand that there is **no other way forward -- no turning back.** That **ultimately, the path toward true perestroika and the road to freedom and democracy are one and the same.** ///

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreement in several important areas -- each one, proof that when mutual respect prevails, **progress is possible.** //

But the agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the **differences that remain.** / Lithuania is one such

issue. We are encouraged that a dialogue has begun between the Soviet leaders and Lithuania's representatives -- and we want to see that process go forward -- **so that Lithuania and the other Baltic states can realize their basic right to national self-determination. //**

Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. / We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But **we <u>can</u> <u>and</u> <u>will</u> take a significant step forward -- toward a <u>new relationship based on realism and respect</u>. //**

This Summit will be a <u>working summit</u> in the strictest sense of the term. **One where we mark the real progress we have made by signing new agreements -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //**

In the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends **<u>not</u> on the <u>agreements we will sign</u> -- but on the <u>progress we make</u> in overcoming decades of division and discord, <u>to build a world of peace -- in freedom</u>. //**

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to the White House. God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

# # #

Davis/Dooley
Title: Summit
Date: May 25, 1990
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM
Friday, June 1, 6 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House,\\ America's house,\\ our home.\\

In just one day, you and I have worked hard to bridge forty-five years of differences. While some differences remain, our discussions have been held in the spirit of respect, candor and growing goodwill.

Of course, some believe that the weight of history condemns our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to eternal Cold War.

Well, together, you and I have faced the challenge of that history.

And together, you and I have challenged history itself.\\ **We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited too long already -- the Cold War must end.\\ Let us proclaim its end tonight.** ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.))\\\\

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

President Gorbachev and I first worked together a little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will build bridges between our peoples. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is starting to pay off. We've reached agreement on much of the Malta agenda -- to promote peace, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together, against the scourge of drugs, and for our common environment.

((Of course, much of that Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months\\ -- and in the last two days. We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.))

But let me turn to the great deeds we have achieved this week. We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas so important to the people of both countries, and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

*** ((First, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to the confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

*** ((Second, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stockpiles. This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading **to a global ban on chemical weapons.**))\\\

There are many other agreements we will initial or announce today -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for young Americans and Soviets to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans

and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.

I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today: Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

McNally/Dooley
May 29, 1990
Draft Two (E:GORBY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RETURN DINNER TOAST TO PRES. GORBACHEV
EMBASSY OF THE SOVIET UNION
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990, 7:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Gorbachev, distinguished representatives of the Soviet delegation and Embassy -- Barbara and I would like to thank you for this splendid dinner, for your wonderful hospitality, and for your gracious remarks. \\\

(Yesterday we welcomed the Gorbachevs back to Washington, still filled with memories of the things we shared in Malta: Friendship. Co-operation. Seasick pills...) \\\

(But today has been quite a day. If only one word could be used to describe this day in our history, that word would probably be "peace." Today millions have watched around the world as peace has broken out between the Soviet Union and the United States, between East and West, between Barbara Bush and Wellesley...) \\\

(But I well remember the last time I was in the Soviet Embassy, in 1987. That was the day Mr. Gorbachev and I were riding in his limousine, when suddenly it stopped, we got out, and he plunged into the crowd on Connecticut Avenue! \\\ When his picture appeared in all the papers the next day, I was described as an "unidentified onlooker." \\\ It was at that moment I realized he had taken to heart everything I taught him about "charisma.") \\\\

It is fitting that here in America, the week began with our observance of Memorial Day, a day for not only remembrance of

those who gave their "last full measure of devotion," but also for recommitment to the ideal that they "shall not have died in vain." Because here in America, the week has now ended with a new memorial -- a living memorial -- marked by historic agreements on both nuclear and chemical arms. These agreements have been shaped by a remembrance of shared interests -- and a recommitment to forging a "just and lasting peace." And they stand as a memorial not to the past, but to the future, a memorial to wars that need never be fought, to the hardship and suffering that need never be endured.

We agreed this afternoon on the principles of new agreements on strategic arms and chemical weapons -- trail-blazing agreements that mark the first step towards banishing the century's most terrible weapons from the face of the Earth and the history of humankind.

But true peace takes more than just the laying down of arms. It also requires the reaching out of hands. And today we agreed to a number of new accords that will promote contacts between our two peoples: Expanded college exchanges, and new consulates in Kiev and New York.

And these trail-blazing efforts are also going to require some new trails. You know, Americans and Soviets have often tended to think of our two countries as being on opposite sides of almost everything -- including opposite sides of the world. For what became too many long, cold years, we overlooked the fact that we share an important northern border -- that we are, in

fact, next-door neighbors across the Bering Sea. But today, we have also signed agreements to open a maritime border between our two nations. **And I see a day when Alaska and Siberia -- long regarded as the "last frontiers" of our respective countries -- will be known not as destinations, but as jumping off points.**

Mr. President, I don't speak Russian, but I did learn that the name of your hometown, out in the northern Caucasus -- Privolnoye [pre-VOLE-noy-eh] -- can mean "free" ~~or~~ and "spacious." And it reminded me of the new breeze, the new spirit of freedom, we have seen sweep across Europe and around the globe. I sensed it last summer, speaking in front of the shipyard gates to the people of Gdansk. I told them: **"Because Americans are so free to dream -- we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free."** Today, that kinship is quickly becoming a shared spirit, a spirit that inspires millions -- here in our nation, in your own, and around the world.

So ladies and gentlemen, I invite all of you to join me in a toast -- to our gracious hosts -- to President and Mrs. Gorbachev -- to lasting friendship -- and to the spirit of freedom.

# # #

Mollah Nasreddin stories

Galina Rappaport
Harriman Inst.
Col Univ.
212/854-8452
chief librarian

(Smith/Garmey)
May 25, 1990
3:30 p.m.
Draft two
ALA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-STATE DINNER
THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1990
STATE DINING ROOM

617 661-4580

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. And to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests. I especially wish to thank Frederica von Stade for showing -- as a Russian composer once wrote -- "Whoever walks with song in his heart shall never lose his way." //

"Russian Gershwin" Irving Berlin

Isaak Dunaevsky "Merry Folk" Russian Operetta Film music.

Mr. President, whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people everywhere wait -- hopeful, and expectant. Asking whether the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will **find** a way to build a freer, more peaceful world. I can say that you and I had very good talks today. Working hard -- determined always -- to uphold the dreams of millions around the globe.

Every summit between our nations can be important. Each summit is shaped by history. This meeting can **alter** history. Over the past year, changes in Europe have unleashed the forces of freedom. Our distinguished guest, President Gorbachev, has been a catalyst of change. I salute him. And join him in confronting the even-**greater** challenges which still lie ahead.

For instance, we must heed the desire for national self-determination -- while protecting the rights of minority

5/28/92 Leon Aron 546-4400

populations. And ensure that **all** Nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. We must, and will, welcome a united Germany -- peaceful and prosperous in a stable Europe. And there must be room around the table of nations for the Baltic republics, who seek freedom that is political and intellectual, economic and religious.

All of this, and more, we talked about today. As I said in welcoming President Gorbachev, the United States stands ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of democracy. We want to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to help resolve regional problems. We may often disagree on means. But increasingly we agree on ends.

So let us keep on talking, and learning, so that we can be again what we were in World War II -- not enemies, but friends. And in that spirit, let me close with an old Russian story about a traveler walking to another village. And who, coming upon a woodsman, asked how far he had to go.

The woodsman said he didn't know. Whereupon the traveler, angered, started down the road. At that point the woodsman called out to him, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes." // The traveler then asked why he didn't tell him that in the first place. Because, the woodsman answered, "I didn't know your stride." //

Mr. President, today we learned more about each other and our hopes for our nations and the world. So let us travel

however far -- and in whatever ways -- to built a world of peace for ourselves and for our children.

That's what our meetings focused on today. And what -- together -- we can, and must, achieve: The peace which spans the generations. The kind of peace which lasts.

To Frederica von Stade, thank you for proving the words of the old Russian proverb: "Song is the soul of people." President and Mrs. Gorbachev, thank you for being our guests. And God bless the peoples of our two beloved lands.

# # # #

It is better to have 100 friends than $100.
An old friend is better than 2 mules
Well begun is have done
2 hands R better than 1.
As you saw, you shall roa.

Irving Berlin - "Russian Lullaby"

Rock a bye, my baby
Somewhere maybe,
A land that's free,
For you + me,
A Russian Lullaby

Irving Berlin Music Corp.
212/730-0040

Alma Law
914 723-
5410

~~Alan Ber-~~
~~67 25~~-
~~9810~~

~~Folk~~

~~(914) 723-5412~~

The devil is not so black as he is painted.
To be the first robin of spring
Make hay while the sun shines.
A bird in the hand is worth 2 in the bush.

P.D. — Please offer corrections / edits / improvements! Thanks E.

McNally/Dooley
May 25, 1990
Draft One (E:GORBY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RETURN DINNER TOAST TO PRES. GORBACHEV
EMBASSY OF THE SOVIET UNION
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990, 7:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Gorbachev, distinguished representatives of the Soviet delegation and Embassy -- Barbara and I would like to thank you for this splendid meal, your wonderful hospitality, and your gracious toast. \\\

speak before

(It's been quite a day. On the way in, a reporter asked President Gorbachev and me how one bears up under the pressure of an event where expectations are so high, the media spotlight so bright. I said: "We don't know. We haven't had a chance to ask our wives since they got back from **Wellesley**.") \\\

(Now I'm wondering if Mrs. Gorbachev decided on the seating for tonight's dinner. The place-card at my seat says: "Barbara Bush's husband.") \\\

(But I well remember the last time I was in the Soviet Embassy, in 1987. That was the day Mr. Gorbachev and I were riding in his limousine, when suddenly it stopped, we got out, and he plunged into the crowd on Connecticut Avenue! \\\ When his picture appeared in all the papers the next day, I was described as an "unidentified onlooker." \\\ It was at that moment I realized he had taken to heart everything I taught him about "charisma.") \\\\

It is fitting that here in America, the week began with our observance of Memorial Day, a day for not only remembrance, but also reconciliation. Because here in America, the week has now

ended with a new memorial -- a living memorial -- marked by historic agreements on both nuclear and chemical arms. These agreements have been shaped by a remembrance of shared interests -- and a reconciliation to facing differences that remain. **And they stand as a memorial not to the past, but to the future, a memorial to wars that need never be fought, to lives that need never be lost.**

We agreed this afternoon on the principles of new agreements on strategic arms and chemical weapons -- trail-blazing agreements that mark the first step towards banishing the century's most terrible weapons from the face of the Earth and the history of humankind.

But true peace takes more than just the laying down of arms. It also requires the reaching out of hands. And today we agreed to a number of new accords that will promote contacts between our two peoples: Expanded college exchanges, and new consulates in Kiev and New York.

And these trail-blazing efforts are also going to require some new trails. You know, Americans and Soviets have often tended to think of our two countries as being on opposite sides of everything -- including opposites of the world. For what became too many long, cold years, we overlooked the fact that we share a long, cold border -- that we are, in fact, next-door neighbors across the Bering Sea. But today, we have also signed agreements to open a maritime border between our two nations. **And I see a day when Alaska and Siberia -- long regarded as the**

"last frontiers" of our respective countries -- will be known not as destinations, but as jumping off points.

Mr. President, I don't speak Russian, but I did learn that the name of your hometown, out in the northern Caucasus -- Privolnoye -- means "free" or "spacious." And it reminded me of the new breeze, the new spirit of freedom, we have seen sweep across Europe and around the globe. I sensed it last summer, talking with the workers before the shipyard gates in Gdansk. I told them: **"Because Americans are so free to dream -- we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free."** Today, that kinship is quickly becoming a shared spirit, a spirit that inspires millions -- here in our nation, in your own, and around the world.

So ladies and gentlemen, I invite all of you to join me in a toast -- to our gracious hosts -- to President and Mrs. Gorbachev -- to lasting friendship --and to the spirit of freedom.

# # #

Davis/Dooley
Title: Summit
Date: May 25, 1990
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, ((Time))

A little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta, President Gorbachev and I agreed on an agenda to be completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will build bridges between our peoples. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work has paid off. We've reached agreement on almost all of the Malta agenda -- to reduce strategic nuclear and chemical weapons, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together, against the scourge of drugs, and for our common environment.

Later today, President Gorbachev and I will record bilateral understandings in joint statements.

*** ((But first, I will join him in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to the confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

*** Second, I will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stockpiles. This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on

an even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading **to a global ban on chemical weapons.**\\\

*** Third, we are also announcing today ((,in a joint statement,)) agreement on the main issues concerning strategic arms. Of course, this has been a long and difficult negotiation. But today we can announce our compromise on the major weapons systems covered by the START Treaty. ((Details?))

President Gorbachev and I are also charging our negotiating teams to conclude a START Treaty as quickly as possible. But let me add that any such Treaty **must include adequate verification.**

There are many other agreements we will initial or announce today -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade. Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for young Americans and Soviets to experience first hand each other's culture and politics.

You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. Because of them, Mikhail, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.

I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today: Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.tst]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE DINNER IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 31, 1990
XX:00 PM

Friends, distinguished guests -- and, especially, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev: Barbara and I are delighted to share this special evening with all of you. //

We're now nearing the end of a momentous day -- the first of four in this Washington Summit. [[Tomorrow, Mr. President, comes the moment so many have been waiting for -- a day when expectation will be at fever pitch. // That's right, tomorrow // Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev go to Wellesley College.]]

And here in the White House, Mr. President, we will meet again -- this time to sign our names to a series of agreements that signify the progress our two nations have made in forging a new relationship. Agreements on everything from arms control -- strategic and chemical weapons -- to the opening of new consulates, and expanded contacts between the people of America and the Soviet Union. //

These agreements are a <u>beginning</u> -- a foundation we can build on. Proof that differences can be **resolved** -- even while others **remain**. And let me assure President Gorbachev -- whatever deep differences divided us in the past, the United States and

the American people approach every issue with a sincere belief that our two nations can find common ground. //

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for the course you've chosen -- for the political and economic reforms you've introduced -- and for **creating within the Soviet Union a consensus for change**. / As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, we want to see perestroika succeed -- we want to see this transition now underway in the Soviet Union maintain its momentum -- continue moving forward until it arrives at its **final, democratic destination.** //

There is an old saying in your country: **"Russia is the land of possibilities."** / We've seen this past year that ours is a **world of possibilities.** That **our time** is a time of historic change -- a time when men and nations can **transform history** -- can turn possibility into progress. / Into peace. //

So let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Gorbachev;

To the growing friendship between the American and Soviet people;

And to the **possibilities now open to us -- to the prospect of progress, and lasting peace.** //

# # #

State Draft
Denise Dunbar
6831

to paraphrase an

Your country is a country of

use for U.S.

Nick Petro
State Dept.
647-6731

McNally/Dooley
May 29, 1990
Draft Two (E:GORBY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RETURN DINNER TOAST TO PRES. GORBACHEV
EMBASSY OF THE SOVIET UNION
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1990, 7:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Gorbachev, distinguished representatives of the Soviet delegation and Embassy -- Barbara and I would like to thank you for this splendid dinner, for your wonderful hospitality, and for your gracious remarks. \\\

(Yesterday we welcomed the Gorbachevs back to Washington, still filled with memories of the things we shared in Malta: Friendship. Co-operation. Seasick pills...) \\\

(But today has been quite a day. If only one word could be used to describe this day in our history, that word would probably be "peace." Today millions have watched around the world as peace has broken out between the Soviet Union and the United States, between East and West, between Barbara Bush and Wellesley...) \\\

(But I well remember the last time I was in the Soviet Embassy, in 1987. That was the day Mr. Gorbachev and I were riding in his limousine, when suddenly it stopped, we got out, and he plunged into the crowd on Connecticut Avenue! \\\ When his picture appeared in all the papers the next day, I was described as an "unidentified onlooker." \\\ It was at that moment I realized he had taken to heart everything I taught him about "charisma.") \\\\

It is fitting that here in America, the week began with our observance of Memorial Day, a day for not only remembrance of

those who gave their "last full measure of devotion," but also for recommitment to the ideal that they "shall not have died in vain." Because here in America, the week has now ended with a new memorial -- a living memorial -- marked by historic agreements on both nuclear and chemical arms. These agreements have been shaped by a remembrance of shared interests -- and a recommitment to forging a "just and lasting peace." **And they stand as a memorial not to the past, but to the future, a memorial to wars that need never be fought, to the hardship and suffering that need never be endured.**

We agreed this afternoon on the principles of new agreements on strategic arms and chemical weapons -- trail-blazing agreements that mark the first step towards banishing the century's most terrible weapons from the face of the Earth and the history of humankind.

But true peace takes more than just the laying down of arms. It also requires the reaching out of hands. And today we agreed to a number of new accords that will promote contacts between our two peoples: Expanded college exchanges, and new consulates in Kiev and New York.

And these trail-blazing efforts are also going to require some new trails. You know, Americans and Soviets have often tended to think of our two countries as being on opposite sides of almost everything -- including opposite sides of the world. For what became too many long, cold years, we overlooked the fact that we share an important northern border -- that we are, in

fact, next-door neighbors across the Bering Sea. But today, we have also signed agreements to open a maritime border between our two nations. **And I see a day when Alaska and Siberia -- long regarded as the "last frontiers" of our respective countries -- will be known not as destinations, but as jumping off points.**

Mr. President, I don't speak Russian, but I did learn that the name of your hometown, out in the northern Caucasus -- Privolnoye [pre-VOLE-noy-eh] -- can mean "free" or "spacious." And it reminded me of the new breeze, the new spirit of freedom, we have seen sweep across Europe and around the globe. I sensed it last summer, speaking in front of the shipyard gates to the people of Gdansk. I told them: **"Because Americans are so free to dream -- we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free."** Today, that kinship is quickly becoming a shared spirit, a spirit that inspires millions -- here in our nation, in your own, and around the world.

So ladies and gentlemen, I invite all of you to join me in a toast -- to our gracious hosts -- to President and Mrs. Gorbachev -- to lasting friendship -- and to the spirit of freedom.

# # #

Peggy.
This is draft
CW has w/ d's
from NSC. hostages
- Jim 5:30 pm

McGroarty/Dooley
May 29, 1990
1:30 pm
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev.** //

Mr. President, just over a year ago, I said that the United States wanted to move **beyond containment** in its relations with the Soviet Union -- toward a new era, an era of enduring cooperation. / When we last met in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, differences remain, of course -- but in the short six months since the Malta Summit, we've made great progress.

I want this Summit to take us farther still, and I know that is President Gorbachev's hope as well. //

We've seen a world of change this past year. / Now, on the horizon -- we see what, just one short year ago, seemed a distant dream: in Eastern Europe, behind the barriers of brick and barbed wire that for so long cruelly divided East from West -- the dawn of self-determination and democracy. In Germany, where the Wall once stood -- a great nation moves toward unity, in peace and freedom. And on the most heavily militarized continent on earth -- at long last, we see **a Europe whole and free.** //

Mr. President, you deserve great credit for your part in these transforming events. I salute you for the process of change you've brought to your country -- and for its change in policies toward the other countries of the world. //

As we begin this Summit, let me recall the words of an old Russian proverb: "To live as neighbors -- we must speak together." / Real security can come only when we work in concert: with other countries -- not against them. I believe we **can** work together at this historic moment to complete the process of building a new Europe -- one in which every nation's security is strengthened -- and no nation's threatened. {The security we seek is inclusive -- not exclusive.} The Soviet Union will be -- must be -- part of Europe's future. //

Around the world, we need to strengthen our cooperation in solving regional conflicts, and building peace and stability. In **Nicaragua**, we have shown that we can work together to promote peaceful change. In **Angola**, our support for an early resolution of that country's tragic conflict -- a resolution acceptable to the Angolan people -- is now paying off. **Let us expand this new spirit of cooperation** -- not merely to resolve disputes between us but to lay down the foundations of peace, prosperity, and stability around the world. //

In that same spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov.** / Twelve years ago, Sakharov wrote: "I am convinced that guaranteed political and

civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free.** //

In the past 12 months, freedom has made great gains. Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And in the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.

We in the U.S. applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the spirited debate in the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We know about the difficult economic reforms that are necessary to breathe new life back into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- **we want to see perestroika succeed.** //

Mr. President, I believe -- as you do -- that the course you've chosen is correct. I believe you understand that there is **no other way forward -- no turning back.** That **ultimately, the path toward true perestroika and the road to freedom and democracy are one and the same.** ///

Mr. President, since our meeting in Malta, we have reached agreement in several important areas. At this Summit, we will sign an agreement on **deep reductions in chemical weapons** -- a strong first step towards the global ban that remains my ultimate goal. / We will sign a protocol on **nuclear testing** -- and an **agreement to reduce nuclear weapons:** a landmark agreement -- not

simply to limit but to reduce inter-continental ballistic missiles by a full one-third. //

Now, in order to keep moving forward we must maintain a clear sense of perspective. The agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. Lithuania is one such issue. We are encouraged that a dialogue has begun between the Soviet leaders and Lithuania's representatives -- and we want to see that process go forward **so that Lithuania and the other Baltic states can realize their basic right to national self-determination. //**

Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But **we can and will take a significant step forward -- toward a new relationship based on realism and respect. //**

This Summit will be a working summit in the strictest sense of the term. **One where we mark the real progress we have made by signing new agreements -- and where we address the differences that divide us in a spirit of candor -- in an open and honest search for common ground. //**

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends **not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make in overcoming decades of division and discord, to build a world of peace -- in freedom. //**

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. / God bless the United

States of America -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley
May 25, 1990
3:30 pm
[SUMMIT.arr]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OF THE U.S.S.R.
THE SOUTH LAWN
MAY 31, 1990
10:00 AM

Friends, distinguished guests: welcome, all of you. / It is my great honor to welcome to the White House the President of the Soviet Union -- **Mikhail Gorbachev.** //

Mr. President, when we met last in Malta, we agreed to accelerate our efforts on a full range of issues. Today, of course, differences remain -- but in the short time since the Malta Summit -- not quite six months -- we've made **great progress.** //

We've reached agreement in several important areas. On chemical weapons. At this Summit, we will sign an agreement **which will lead to deep reductions in our chemical weapons arsenals** -- and create momentum for the global ban on chemical weapons that I have made my goal. // At this Summit, we will sign a **protocol on nuclear testing.** After nearly two decades of disagreement on nuclear testing -- we've broken the stalemate, and agreed on unprecedented on-site inspections.

And finally, at this Summit we will sign an agreement in principle to reduce strategic nuclear weapons. A landmark agreement in arms control. For the first time ever, an agreement **not simply to limit -- but to reduce -- inter-continental nuclear**

arsenals. We will cut our arsenals by a full **one-third** -- with special emphasis on the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons -- the large multi-warhead land-based systems.

This is a framework -- not a treaty in final form. Let me pledge right now that we will redouble our efforts, and complete work on a START Treaty -- including adequate verification measures -- as soon as possible.

In addition to these major agreements, there are others -- on **maritime borders** in the Bering Sea. Agreements to **open consulates** in Kiev and New York City. To **expand student exchanges** -- so that, for young Americans and Soviets, the foreign becomes the familiar -- and a new generation builds the friendships that, in turn, build the trust **that leads to peace.** // Each agreement is important in its own right -- but taken together, they are another sign that our relationship **has entered a new stage.** //

Now, in order to keep moving forward we must maintain a clear sense of perspective. The agreements we've reached cannot cause us to lose sight of the differences that remain. / Over the next four days, we will not solve all the world's problems. We won't resolve all the outstanding issues that divide us. But **we can and will take a significant step forward -- toward a new relationship based on realism and respect.** //

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In that spirit, Mr. President, let me quote the words of one of your nation's great minds -- one of the world's great men, in this or any age: **Andrei Sakharov.** / Twelve years ago, Sakharov **wrote:**

"I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress."

Sakharov knew that **lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom -- that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free. //**

In the past 12 months, freedom has made great gains. Deep, decades-old divisions have begun to heal. Millions have taken the first steps toward freedom and democracy. / And in the Soviet Union -- a profound process of change is gathering speed.

We in the United States applaud the new course the Soviet Union has chosen. We see the significant changes which have taken place in your country. The spirited debate within the Congress of Peoples' Deputies -- in the Soviet press -- among the Soviet people. We also know about the difficult economic transformation that is necessary to breathe new life back into the Soviet economy. And as I've said many times before -- **we want to see perestroika succeed. //**

Mr. President, I believe you understand the course you've chosen is correct. I believe you understand that there is **no**

other way forward -- no turning back. That ultimately, the path toward true perestroika and the road to freedom and democracy are one and the same. ///

Mr. President, we meet at a time of change -- a time when powerful forces are at work, reshaping the world we've known -- placing in our hands a historic opportunity to overcome division and discord. To build a world of peace -- in freedom. //

And in the deepest sense, the success of this Summit depends not on the agreements we will sign -- but on the progress we make in moving toward this new world. Toward the great dream that unites the people of our two nations and men and women everywhere. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. / God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

# # #

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. His remarks were translated into Russian by an interpreter. The address was broadcast live on television. Following the broadcast, the President and the General Secretary met with U.S. and Soviet officials to discuss arms reduction and bilateral issues.

Toasts at the State Dinner for General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union
December 8, 1987

The President. Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we've always paid each other the compliment of candor. So, let us continue to do so. By now, Mr. General Secretary, you may have concluded that while we have fundamental disagreements about how human communities should govern themselves, it's possible, all the same, for us to work together.

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, let us look back together at the developments of the past 2 years and the significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves involved in a dramatic march of events that has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world. Since you and I first met in Geneva in November 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved toward a new period in the history of our relations. The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade—the first ever to mandate actual reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We're making significant progress in other important areas of arms reduction, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

But our relationship—the United States and the Soviet Union—is not founded just on arms control but reaches across a broad spectrum of issues. A relationship that addresses the basic problems of self-determination in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights. There are differences here, but ones that require frankness and candor. In bilateral matters, we also need hard and honest debate.

A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that our two countries would be the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political and economic philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state and of man to his creator lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

Certainly we will not settle those issues this week. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of those issues and of a responsibility that is binding on us both. I speak of a responsibility we dare not compromise or shirk. I speak of the responsibility to settle our differences in peace. Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we've accomplished much, and our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is more work to be done, and time and history are marching on.

So, I offer a toast, a commitment on behalf of the American people of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev: To your health. *Za vashe zdorovye.*

The General Secretary. I take power into my hands now, while the President is busy. [*Laughter*] Esteemed Mr. President, es-

teemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, comrades: Last summer it took a daring American girl by the name of Lynn Cox a mere 2 hours to swim the distance separating our two countries. On television we saw how sincere and cordial the meeting was between our people and the Americans when she stepped onto the Soviet shore. By her courage she showed how close to each other our two peoples live.

Without minimizing the great political and ideological distances between us, we want to seek and find avenues of rapprochement in areas where this is of vital importance for our two countries and for all humankind. That is precisely what we are here for. In my 1986 New Year's Eve address on American television, I spoke of our hopes for a better future. By that time, Mr. President, you and I had already had 2 days of face-to-face talks in Geneva. This enabled me to tell Americans in my New Year address that the winter of our discontent may one day come to an end. Today, following Reykjavik and the extensive preparatory work that has made our meeting in Washington possible, it can be said that the winter is on the wane.

A boundless world stretches far and wide beyond the walls of this house. And you and I, if you will, are accountable to it and to the peoples of our two countries, to our allies and friends and to all our contemporaries. The Russian word, *perestroika,* can be applied to the process now underway all over the world of rethinking the realities of a nuclear and space age. It must now be clear to all that the problems of today's world will not be solved through old approaches. The goal we are setting today is to build a nuclear-free world. The road leading to it is difficult and thorny, but with new thinking it is attainable. As you can see, here, too, changes are necessary—changes in the minds and changes in actions.

The great age of geographical discoveries amounted to more than one caravel or one newly found continent. Our journey toward a nuclear-free world cannot amount to reaching one or two islands named INF and shorter range INF. It is my hope that we shall promptly move further ahead toward the goal of reducing and then eliminating strategic offensive arms which make up the main and decisive portion of the nuclear arsenal.

As the clock of life brings us closer and closer to the 21st century, we are duty bound to remember that each one of us, within the limits of our capability and ability, personifies the link between the transient and the eternal. As our famous poet Afanasiy Fet, said, "Although man is not eternal, what is human is eternal." It is in the name of eternal humanity that we have today performed our momentous deed.

And my first salute is to that event. It will be cherished by our two peoples. So, I address these words of congratulation to the Soviet and American people whose will is embodied in the agreement. I want to emphasize that this is the fruit of the efforts not only of us both but also of our allies and representatives of all countries and all public movements whose effort and contribution rightfully make them parties to this historic event.

It would be fair today to pay tribute to the efforts of those who were directly involved in preparing the treaty. May I wish good health to you, Mr. President, and to Mrs. Reagan; happiness and well-being to all those present here tonight; peace and prosperity to the peoples of our two countries.

Note: The President spoke at 9:34 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters.

on that particular question right now, as to when and how.

Q. How did you like Raisa Gorbachev?

The President. Oh, well, she seems very pleasant, and we just had a little moment here. Maybe I shouldn't give this away, but I will. His schedule was very busy today, and our meeting ran over here in the Oval Office. And I kept—finally, as I told him, I said, I've been told that I'm to take him over to the Diplomatic Entrance there to meet his wife who was with Nancy, and then so they could go on with their schedule. And then when we got there, we found out that Nancy and Raisa were having coffee together, and they were late. [*Laughter*] So, when we stood down there in the Dip Room waiting for them to come down, I suggested something to him, and we both did it—that when finally they came around and through the door, he and I were both looking at our watches. [*Laughter*] We got a laugh.

Note: The interview began at 2 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants in the interview included Philip Geyelin, Georgie Ann Geyer, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., and Joseph B. Wattenberg. A tape was not available for verification of the content of the interview.

Toast at a Dinner Hosted by Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev

December 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary, Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, and ladies and gentlemen: We're coming to the end of the second full day of your visit to our land. It's been an eventful 2 days. But now that you've seen our Nation's Capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and New Hampshire—[*laughter*]—campaigning for my job.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness for anecdotes. So, if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the people of the Soviet Union. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young man then, stationed in our Embassy in Moscow during World War II. He was there when news of victory, V-E Day reached that city, and he said Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness and joy.

Our Embassy's chancery was just across from the Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the celebration, the crowd spotted them, lifted them onto their shoulders, and carried them on to Red Square. But the young diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new found hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Well, Mr. General Secretary, we've accomplished much so far in this summit—a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. But I'm convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

We have prided ourselves, Mr. General Secretary, on our realism, that we've come to this summit without illusions, with no attempts to gloss over the deep differences that divide us, differences that reach to the core values upon which our political systems are based. But we said, even so, we can make progress; even so, we can find areas of agreement and cooperation.

But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that pre-

cedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls, the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev, you've declared that in your own country there is a need for greater *glasnost,* or openness, and the world watches expectantly and with great hopes to see this promise fulfilled. For in talking of openness and promising truth, you've called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

Thomas Jefferson, one of our nation's great founders and philosophers, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we're born to freedom and that the need for liberty is as basic as the need for food. And he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew that lasting peace would only come when individual souls have the freedom they crave. What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season of spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land and spoke of the hopes of your people for a better life in a world of peace. These are hopes shared by the people of every nation, hopes for an end to war; hopes, especially in this season, for the right to worship according to the dictates of the conscience.

There's an old Russian saying: "Every man is the blacksmith of his own happiness." And like all folk sayings, it contains a profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future. We can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders, in memory of that day when the Red Army embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass. Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, thank you. And Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at Russian: *Za vashe zdorovye* [*To your health*].

Note: The President spoke at 7:40 p.m. at the Soviet Embassy. Earlier, the President and the General Secretary met privately and then with U.S. and Soviet officials in the Oval Office at the White House to discuss regional issues and arms reductions.

Joint Statement on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting
December 10, 1987

Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met in Washington on December 7–10, 1987.

Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Vice President George Bush; Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci; Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr.; Acting Assistant to the President Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell; Counselor of the Department of State Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Paul H. Nitze; Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Ambassador Edward L. Rowny; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.; Ambassador of the U.S. to the USSR Jack F. Matlock; and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne L. Ridgway.

Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard A. Shevardnadze; Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Cen-

The American Treasury

1455-1955

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CLIFTON FADIMAN

ASSISTED BY CHARLES VAN DOREN



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New York

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ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, 1831

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Society, Manners and Politics, 1834

consists in their being able to com-
epair.

VILLE, *Democracy in America,* 1835

Sometimes the progress of man is so rapid that the desert reappears behind him. The woods stoop to give him a passage, and spring up again when he is past. It is not uncommon, in crossing the new states of the West, to meet with deserted dwellings in the midst of the wilds; the traveller frequently discovers the vestiges of a log house in the most solitary retreat, which bear witness to the power, and no less to the inconstancy, of man. . . .

I remember that in crossing one of the woodland districts that still cover the state . . . I reached the shores of a lake which was embosomed in forests coeval with the world. . . .

I was far from supposing that this spot had ever been inhabited, so completely did Nature seem to be left to herself; but when I reached the center of the isle, I thought that I discovered some traces of man. I then proceeded to examine the surrounding objects with care, and I soon perceived that a European had undoubtedly been led to seek a refuge in this place. . . . The logs which he had hastily hewn . . . had sprouted afresh; the very props were intertwined with living verdure. . . . I stood for some time in silent admiration for the resources of Nature and the littleness of Man; and when I was obliged to leave that enchanting solitude, I exclaimed with sadness, "Are ruins, then, already here?"

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Ibid.* John Gunther comments that "the history of the West has been in large part a race between man and his own ruins."

The time will . . . come when one hundred and fifty million men will be living in North America, equal in condition, all belonging to one family, owing their origin to the same cause, and, preserving the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, the same opinions, propagated under the same forms. The rest is uncertain, but this is certain; and it is a fact new to the world, a fact that the imagination strives in vain to grasp.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Ibid.*

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend toward the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and while the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and

they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles that nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are thus gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Ibid.*

The great advantage of the Americans is that they have arrived at a state of democracy without having to endure a democratic revolution; and that they are born equal, instead of becoming so.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Ibid.*

It is by the enjoyment of a dangerous freedom that the Americans learn the art of rendering the danger of freedom less formidable.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Ibid.*

Connecticut, the little yellow spot [on the map] that makes the clock-peddler, the schoolmaster, and the senator. The first, gives you time; the second, tells you what to do with it; and the third makes your law and your civilization.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, address at Fourth of July Celebration in Paris, 1835

While the republics of North America are new, the ideas of the people are old. While these republics were colonies, they contained an old people, living under old institutions, in a new country. Now they are a mixed people, infant as a nation, with a constant accession of minds from old countries, living in a new country, under institutions newly combined out of old elements. It is a case so singular, that the old world may well have patience for some time, to see what will arise. . . . The Americans have no national character as yet.

HARRIET MARTINEAU, *Society in America,* 1836

(Smith/Garmey)
May 25, 1990
10 A.M.
ALA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POST-STATE DINNER
THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1990
STATE DINING ROOM

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. And to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests. I especially wish to thank Frederica von Stade for showing -- as a Russian composer once wrote -- "Whoever walks with song in his heart shall never lose his way." //

Mr. President, whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people everywhere wait -- hopeful, and expectant. Asking whether the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will **find** a way to build a freer, more peaceful world. I can say that you and I had very good talks today. Working hard -- determined always -- to uphold the dreams of millions around the globe.

All American-Soviet summits are important. This meeting can be vital. Each summit is shaped by history. This meeting can **alter** history. Over the past year, changes in Europe have unleashed the forces of freedom. Our distinguished guest has been a catalyst of change. I salute him. And join him in confronting the even-**greater** challenges which still lie ahead.

For instance, we must heed the desire for national self-determination -- while protecting the rights of minority populations. And ensure that **all** Nations, large and small, can

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live in peace with freedom. We must, and will, welcome a united Germany -- peaceful and prosperous in a stable Europe. And insist for **every** people -- like the Baltic republics' -- freedom that is political and intellectual, economic and religious.

All of this, and more, we talked about today. As I said in welcoming President Gorbachev, the United States stands ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of democracy. We want to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to help resolve regional problems. We may often disagree on means. But increasingly we agree on ends.

So let us keep on talking, and learning, so that we can be again what we were in World War II -- not enemies, but friends. And in that spirit, let me close with an old Russian story about a traveler walking to another village. And who, coming upon a woodsman, asked how far he had to go.

The woodsman said he didn't know. Whereupon the traveler, angered, started down the road. At that point the woodsman called out to him, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes." // The traveler then asked why he didn't tell him that in the first place. Because, the woodsman answered, "I didn't know your stride." //

Mr. President, today we learned more about each other's stride. So let us travel however far -- and in whatever ways -- to built a world of peace for ourselves and for our children.

They, like all the children of the world, deserve a peace built on self-respect and dignity. That's what our meetings

focused on today. And what -- together -- we can, and must, achieve: The peace which spans the generations. The kind of peace which lasts.

To Frederica von Stade, thank you for proving the words of the old Russian proverb: "Song is the soul of people." President and Mrs. Gorbachev, thank you for being our guests. And God bless the peoples of our two beloved lands.

# # # #

To all here who have worked so hard to make this vision a reality: Thank you, and congratulations—above all to Ambassadors Glitman and Obukhov. To quote another Russian proverb—as you can see, I'm becoming quite an expert—[*laughter*]—in Russian proverbs: "The harvest comes more from sweat than from the dew."

So, I'm going to propose to General Secretary Gorbachev that we issue one last instruction to you: Get some well-deserved rest. [*Laughter*]

The General Secretary. We're not going to do that. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, now, Mr. General Secretary, would you like to say a few words before we sign the treaty?

The General Secretary. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, succeeding generations will hand down their verdict on the importance of the event which we are about to witness. But I will venture to say that what we are going to do, the signing of the first-ever agreement eliminating nuclear weapons, has a universal significance for mankind, both from the standpoint of world politics and from the standpoint of humanism.

For everyone, and above all, for our two great powers, the treaty whose text is on this table offers a big chance at last to get onto the road leading away from the threat of catastrophe. It is our duty to take full advantage of that chance and move together toward a nuclear-free world, which holds out for our children and grandchildren and for their children and grandchildren the promise of a fulfilling and happy life without fear and without a senseless waste of resources on weapons of destruction.

We can be proud of planting this sapling, which may one day grow into a mighty tree of peace. But it is probably still too early to bestow laurels upon each other. As the great American poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "The reward of a thing well done is to have done it."

So, let us reward ourselves by getting down to business. We have covered a 7-year-long road, replete with intense work and debate. One last step towards this table, and the treaty will be signed.

May December 8, 1987, become a date that will be inscribed in the history books, a date that will mark the watershed separating the era of a mounting risk of nuclear war from the era of a demilitarization of human life.

Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman, U.S. Negotiator on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces, and Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, Deputy Head of the Soviet Nuclear and Space Arms delegation. Following their remarks, the President and the General Secretary signed the treaty and the accompanying protocols.

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles

December 8, 1987

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Conscious that nuclear war would have devastating consequences for all mankind,

Guided by the objective of strengthening strategic stability,

Convinced that the measures set forth in this Treaty will help to reduce the risk of outbreak of war and strengthen international peace and security, and

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

In accordance with the provisions of this

history -
Walt Whitman's May 31

~~June 1 Hetty Green died~~

~~May 30, 1498 Columbus set out fr Sp on 3rd voyage~~

5/30 1922 Lincoln Mem dedicated Gettysburg 2nd Inaug

5/30 1958 Unknown soldiers fr WW II + Kor buried @ Arlington

Toasts of the President and General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union at the State Dinner in Moscow
May 30, 1988

The General Secretary. Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, I welcome you in the Moscow Kremlin. For five centuries, it has been the site of events that constituted milestones in the life of our state. Decisions crucial to the fate of our nation were made here. The very environment around us is a call for responsibility to our times and contemporaries, to the present and to the future.

It is here that we wish to emphasize the importance of the newly discovered truth that it is no longer possible to settle international disputes by force of arms. Our awareness of the realities of the present-day world has led us to that conclusion. I like the notion of realism, and I also like the fact that you, Mr. President, have lately been uttering it more and more often.

Normal and, indeed, durable Soviet-American relations, which so powerfully affect the world's political climate, are only conceivable within the framework of realism. Thanks to realism, for all our differences, we have succeeded in arriving at a joint conclusion which, though very simple, is of historic importance: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Other conclusions follow with inexorable logic. One of them is whether there is any need for weaponry which cannot be used without destroying ourselves and, indeed, all of mankind. I believe the realization of this became Reykjavik's pivotal idea.

Our Warsaw treaty allies firmly adhere to this position. This is our powerful support in all matters related to nuclear disarmament. They have given the Soviet leadership a clear mandate to negotiate radical nuclear arms limitations and reductions with the United States. My talks with leaders of Socialist countries and with authoritative representatives of other nations make it clear to me that there is a common desire to overcome military confrontation and to end the race in both nuclear and conventional arms.

To this, it should be added that a realistic approach is making a way for itself in all directions and on all continents. And the idea of resolving today's problems solely by political means is gaining increasing authority. There is an everbroadening desire of the most diverse political and social forces for dialog, for exchanges, for better knowledge of each other, and for mutual understanding. If this is indeed so, if this is the will of the peoples, an effort is needed to ensure that the stocks of the ferment of realistic policies keep growing and never run out. For that, it is essential to understand each other better, to take into account the specific features of life in various countries, the historical conditions that shape them, and the choice made by their peoples.

I recall the words you once spoke, Mr. President, and I quote: "The only way to resolve differences is to understand them." How very true. Let me just add that seeking to resolve differences should not mean an end to being different. The diversity of the world is a powerful wellspring of mutual enrichment, both spiritual and material.

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades, the word *"perestroika"* does not sound anachronistic, even within these ancient walls, for renewal of society, humanization of life, and elevated ideals are at all times and everywhere in the interests of the people and of each individual. And when this happens, especially in a great country, it is important to understand the meaning of what it is going through. It is this desire to understand the Soviet Union that we are now seeing abroad. And we regard this as a good sign because we do want to be understood correctly. This is also important for civilized international relations. Everyone who wants to do business with us will find it useful to know how Soviet people see themselves.

We see ourselves even more convinced that our Socialist choice was correct, and we cannot conceive of our country developing without socialism based on any other fundamental values. Our program is more democracy, more *glasnost,* more social justice with full prosperity and high moral standards. Our goal is maximum freedom for man, for the individual, and for society. Internationally, we see ourselves as part of an integral civilization, where each has the right to a social and political choice, to a worthy and equal place within the community of nations.

On issues of peace and progress, we believe in the primacy of universal human values and regard the preservation of peace as the top priority. And that is why we advocate the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security as a condition for the survival of mankind. Linked with this is also our desire to revive and enhance the role of the United Nations on the basis of the original goals, which the Soviet Union and the United States, together with their allies, enshrined in the charter of that organization. Its very name is symbolic: the United Nations—united in their determination to prevent new tragedies of war, to banish war from international relations, and to affirm just principles securing a worthy life for any nation, whether large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor.

We want to build contacts among people in all forums, to expand and improve the quality of information, and to develop ties in the spheres of science, culture, education, sports, and any other human endeavor. But this should be done without interfering in domestic affairs, without sermonizing or imposing one's views and ways, without turning family or personal problems into a pretext for confrontation between states. In short, our time offers great scope for action in the humanitarian field. Nations should understand each other better, know the truth about each other, and free themselves from bias and prejudice.

As far as we know, most Americans, just like us, want to get rid of the demon of nuclear war; but they, just like us, just like all people on Earth, are becoming increasingly concerned over the risks of environmental disaster. Such a risk can only be averted if we act together. Increasingly urgent is the truly global problem of the economic state of the world—in the North and South, in the West and East of this planet. The economic foundation of civilization will be destroyed unless a way is found to put an end to the squandering of funds and resources for war and destruction, unless the problem of debt is settled and world finances are stabilized, unless the world market becomes truly worldwide by incorporating all states and nations on an equal footing.

It is across this spectrum of issues that we approach international affairs and, of course, our relations with the United States of America. We are motivated by an awareness of the realities and imperatives of the nuclear and space age, the age of sweeping technological revolution when the human race has turned out to be both omnipotent and mortal. It was this awareness that engendered the new thinking, which has made possible a conceptual and practical breakthrough in relations between us as well.

Mr. President, this meeting, while taking stock of a fundamentally important period in Soviet-American relations, has to consolidate our achievements and give new impetus for the future. Never before have nuclear missiles been destroyed. Now we have an unprecedented treaty, and our two countries will be performing for the first time ever this overture of nuclear disarmament. The performance has to be flawless.

The Soviet Union and the United States are acting as guarantors of the Afghan political settlement. This, too, is a precedent of tremendous importance. As guarantors, our two countries face a very responsible period, and we hope they both will go through it in a befitting manner. The whole world is watching to see how we are going to act in this situation.

Our main task continues to be the working out of an agreement on 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive arms while observing the ABM treaty. In our talks today, you and I devoted a lot of attention, and with good cause, to discussing the entire range of these problems. Mr. President, we are expected to ensure that the Moscow summit open up new horizons in the Soviet-American dialog, in relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., for the benefit of our two nations and the entire world. This is worth any effort and any amount of good will.

To cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, to their better mutual knowledge and mutual understanding. I wish good health and happiness to you, Mr. President, to Mrs. Nancy Reagan, and to all our distinguished guests.

The President. I want to thank you again for the hospitality that we've encountered this evening and at every turn since our arrival in Moscow. We appreciate deeply the personal effort that you, Mrs. Gorbachev, and all of your associates have expended on our behalf.

Today has been a busy day. I want to thank you for the opportunity to meet with so many divergent members of Soviet society. As you know, I traveled to Danilov and met there with the clergy at that ancient monastery, and later in the day had most interesting exchanges with other members of Soviet society at Spaso House. These meetings only confirmed, Mr. General Secretary, the feelings of admiration and warmth that Americans harbor toward the peoples of the Soviet Union. As wartime allies, we came to know you in a special way. But in a broader sense, the American people, like the rest of the world, admire the saga of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The clearing of the forest, the struggle to build a society, the evolution into a modern state, and the struggle against Hitler's armies. There are other ways, too, that we know you: "Happy or sad, my beloved, you are beautiful," says one of your folk songs, "as beautiful as a Russian song, as beautiful as a Russian soul."

As expressed in the great music, architecture, art—we need only look about us this evening—and literature that over many centuries you've given the world, we have beheld the beauty and majesty of your peoples' national experience. And without belittling the serious business before us, all of the fundamental issues that separate our governments, I hope you'll permit me tonight to say that in the eyes of the American people, your people truly are, as the folk song suggests, a people of heart and mind, a people, to use our vernacular, with soul. And that's why we believe there's common ground between our two peoples and why it is our duty to find common ground for our two governments.

Over the next 3 days, General Secretary Gorbachev and I will review what has been accomplished over the past 3 years and what our two nations might accomplish together in the months to come. We have a great deal to discuss on both accounts. What we have achieved is a good beginning. We have taken the first step toward deep reductions of our nuclear arsenals. We have taken the first step toward dealing with the reality that much of the tension and mistrust between our two countries arises from very different concepts of the fundamental rights and role of the individual in society. We have taken the first step to build that network of personal relationships and understanding between societies, between people, that are crucial to dispelling dangerous misconceptions and stereotypes.

These are good first steps, Mr. General Secretary, and we can both take pride in them, but as I said, they are just a start. Nuclear arsenals remain too large. The fighting continues needlessly, tragically in too many regions of the globe. The vision of freedom and cooperation enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act remains unrealized. The American and Soviet peoples are getting to know each other better, but not well enough. Mr. General Secretary, you and I are meeting now for the fourth time in 3 years—a good deal more often than our predecessors. And this has allowed our relationship to differ from theirs in more than a quantitative state or sense.

We have established the kind of working relationship I think we both had in mind when we first met in Geneva. We've been candid about our differences, but sincere in sharing a common objective and working hard together to draw closer to it. It's easy to disagree and much harder to find areas where we can agree. We and our two governments have both gotten into the habit of looking for those areas. We found more than we expected.

I intend to pursue the search for common ground during the months left to me as President. When I pass the job on to my successor, I intend to tell him it is a search that must be continued. Based on the achievements of the last few years, I will also tell him it is a search that can succeed.

Once again, Mr. General Secretary, I want to extend my thanks for your hospitality. I also hope you'll permit me to mention that, as you have been a gracious host, we've tried to be gracious guests by bringing along some small expressions of our gratitude. There's one gift in particular that I wanted to mention not only in view of my former profession but because it has, I think, something important to say to us about what is underway this week in Moscow. It is a film, not as well known as some but an American classic. It is a powerfully acted and directed story of family and romantic love, of devotion to the land and dedication to higher principle. It is also fun, it has humor. There's a renegade goose, a mischievous young boy, a noisy neighbor, a love-struck teenager in love with a gallant soldier, an adolescent struggling for manhood, a loving, highly principled wife, and a gentle but strong father. It's about the good and sometimes difficult things that happen between man and wife, and parent and child. The film also has sweep and majesty and power and pathos. For you see, it takes place against the backdrop of our American epic, the Civil War. And because the family is of the Quaker religion and renounces violence, each of its characters must, in his or her own way, face this war and the moral dilemma it poses. The film shows not just the tragedy of war, but the problems of pacifism, the nobility of patriotism, as well as the love of peace.

I promise not to spoil its outcome for you, but I hope you'll permit me to describe one scene. Just as the invading armies come into southern Indiana, one of our States, the Quaker farmer is approached by two of his neighbors. One is also a Quaker who earlier in the story, when times were peaceful, denounces violence and vows never to lift his hand in anger. But now that the enemy has burned his barn, he's on his way to battle and criticizes his fellow Quaker for not joining him in renouncing his religious beliefs. The other visitor, also on his way to battle, is the intruding but friendly neighbor. Yet it is this neighbor, although a nonbeliever, who says he's proud of the Quaker farmer's decision not to fight. In the face of the tragedy of war, he's grateful, as he says, that somebody's holding out for a better way of settling things.

It seems to me, Mr. General Secretary, that in pursuing these summit meetings we, too, have been holding out for a better way of settling things. And by the way, the film's title is more than a little appropriate. It's called "Friendly Persuasion."

So, Mr. General Secretary, allow me to raise a glass to the work that has been done, to the work that remains to be done, and let us also toast the art of friendly persuasion, the hope of peace with freedom, the hope of holding out for a better way of settling things. Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The General Secretary spoke at 7:37 p.m. in St. Vladimir's Hall at the Grand Kremlin Palace. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Leaders of the Cultural and Art Community in Moscow

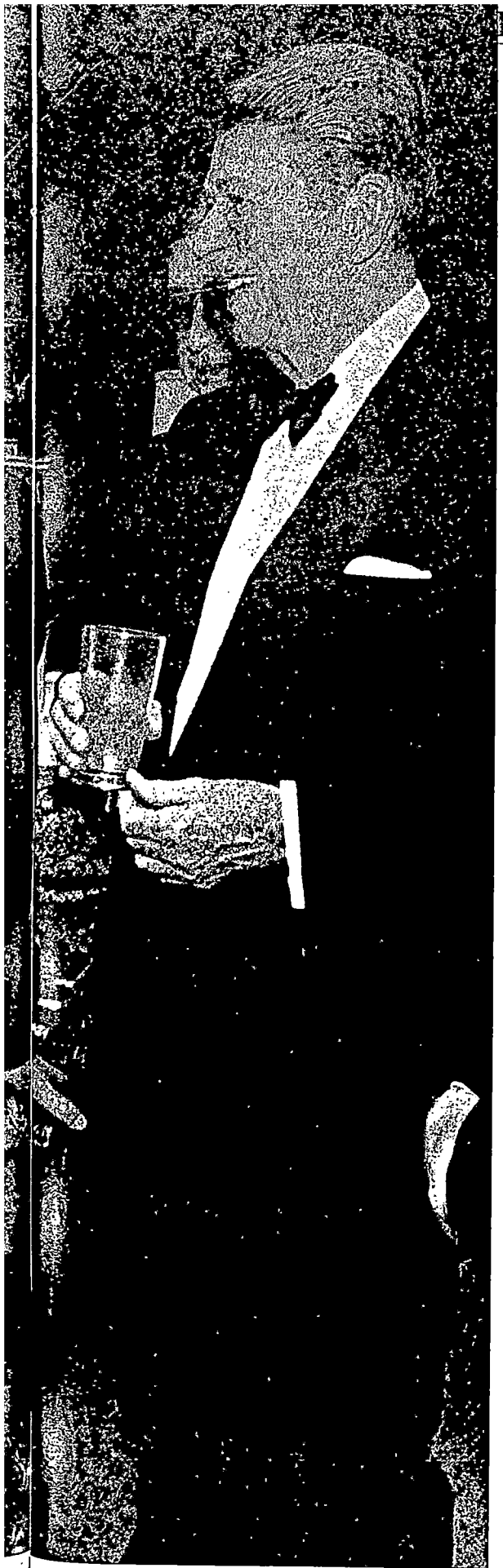
May 31, 1988

As Henry VIII said to each of his six wives, I won't keep you long. [*Laughter*] But thank you Vladimir Vasilievich. It's with some humility that I come here today. You here—writers, artists, dramatists, musicians of this vast country—are heirs to the seminal figures in many of the arts as they have developed in the 20th century Europe and America. I'm thinking of such giants as Kandinsky, Stravinsky, Stanislavsky, Dostoyevsky, to name a few, men whose vision transformed all of ours.

I've been very impressed with what I've heard just now. For my contribution to this dialog I thought I would deal here briefly with the question whose answer might open up some new insights for all of us. You see, I've been told that many of you were puzzled that a former actor could become the leader of a great nation, particularly the United States. What does acting have to do with politics and statecraft? Whatever possessed the American people to entrust this high office to me? You might feel reassured to know you aren't the first to ask that question. Back in Washington, just about every member of the political opposition has been asking it for the last 8 years, and they're not the first. It's been happening ever since. Almost a quarter of a century ago, I announced that I was going to run for what turned out to be the first public office



'The Last Chance We Have'



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

Glass in hand, head thrown back, laughing heartily, he was like a gentleman enjoying his own well-told joke. America's Dinner Guest, fawned over like the latest catch on Washington's social A list. To the movers and shakers mellowed by candlelight and champagne, Mikhail Gorbachev seemed so smooth, so debonair, so . . . *"sweet,"* gushed U.S. Information Agency Director Charles Wick.

With a grin and a wink, the Kremlin boss flattered one capitalist tycoon at his table, General Motors chairman Roger Smith, declaring that the Soviet economy should be run more efficiently—"just like GM!" To be sure, Gorbachev allowed, "changing the Soviet Union is very difficult." He paused. The smile faded. The chitchat ceased. "And this," he said with grim conviction, "is the last chance we have."

Mikhail Gorbachev is not a sweet man. He is a hard man in a great hurry. He believes that he is to his country what Ronald Reagan likes to say that America is to the world: the last, best hope. Gorbachev cannot wait for the inevitable victory of the proletariat. He knows that if the arms race spirals on—especially into outer space—the Soviet Union will enter the next century as little more than a Third World backwater, starving its people to fatten its rockets.

Ronald Reagan, too, is running short of time. In the year remaining, real arms control could redeem his faltering presidency, confound his critics. Yet Reagan has his own vision of the future, of a mythic shield, high in space. Last week the leaders groped for a way to keep Reagan's dream from becoming Gorbachev's nightmare. They settled for a finesse and uplifting words. Come springtime in Moscow, will they be laughing again?

EVAN THOMAS

Mellow moment: The Gorbachevs and Reagans at the White House

Behind All the Smiles

The summit was tougher than it looked on TV, but the two leaders did inch ahead on arms control

"My first name is Ron."
"Mine is Mikhail."
"When we're working in private session, we can call each other that."

On the first day of the Washington summit, a White House spin master leaked word to the press that Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev were calling each other by their first names. The story contributed to an air of purposeful friendliness surrounding the summit. Behind closed doors, however, the two leaders continued to address each other quite formally in their working sessions, according to a senior U.S. official. "At all the meetings I attended," said the official, "it was always '*Gospodin Prezidyent*' [Mr. President] and 'Mr. General Secretary'." At the end, more spin was applied to the summit. Gorbachev called it "a major event in world politics," while Reagan said that he and the Soviet leader had established "an entirely different relationship" with each other. The atmosphere in Washington was heady indeed, especially for the charismatic Gorbachev, but behind the public affability, the talks were tough and often unyielding. Reagan and Gorbachev made a little progress, postponed action on some big problems and promised to meet again in Moscow next year.

'We will deploy': The main goal in Moscow will be to reach agreement on a 50 percent reduction of long-range nuclear weapons. Negotiators completed the outline of that deal last week, although reams of fine print remain unwritten. The principal obstacle, however, will again be Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the program known as Star Wars. Last week the superpowers deliberately fudged the SDI question, agreeing to disagree. The resolution they left for later. Reagan portrayed the maneuver as a victory; he said it "resolves" the SDI issue, allowing the United States to "go forward with our research and development." He added: "And then, after a certain point . . . we will deploy." The Soviets didn't see it that way; there was no sign that they would accept the deployment of weapons in space. By finessing the question, Reagan and Gorbachev put off the day of reckoning on Star Wars, and for each it was a gamble. Reagan bet that SDI would survive on its accumulated momentum, while the Soviets calculated that it would





'A PR genius': Gorbachev works the crowd in downtown Washington



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK



YURI LYZUNOV—TASS

A sense of history: Swapping pens after signing the treaty

die at the hands of Congress or a new administration.

In public, the mood of the summit was decisive and uplifting. The most important piece of business was to sign the treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). The ceremony went off with a suitable sense of history—it was the first treaty to eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons—but the solemn occasion was leavened by good-natured banter. When Reagan quoted his favorite Russian proverb, *Doveryai no proveryai* (Trust but verify), Gorbachev interrupted teasingly: "You repeat that at every meeting." "I like it," Reagan replied with a smile. Public opinion in both countries seemed to smile on the INF treaty. The signing ceremony was shown on a giant television screen on Kalinin Prospekt in Moscow and was followed respectfully in the Soviet news media. In a NEWSWEEK Poll, 73 percent of the Americans surveyed expressed support for the treaty (page 22), a reaction that could give pause to some right-wing opponents of Senate ratification (page 29). The poll also showed that the summit enhanced the rep-



BILL FITZ-PATRICK—THE WHITE HOUSE

Good humor: Teasing their wives about running late

utations of both Reagan and Gorbachev.

Far more energetic and visible than the president, Gorbachev seemed to strike all the grace notes. He sang along with pianist Van Cliburn at a White House banquet. He cajoled groups of influential Americans. He persuaded congressional leaders that he was one of them—"a political animal," as Rep. Tony Coelho of California put it. At one photo opportunity, Gorbachev and the president gently teased their wives for tardiness, pointing to their wristwatches when a tour of the White House ran late. On the final day of his visit, Gorbachev brought his motorcade to a screeching halt, jumped out of his ZIL limousine and plunged into an enthusiastic crowd in downtown Washington. "Hello, I'm glad to be in America," he said. "The guy is a PR genius," marveled one woman who saw him working the crowd.

Gorbachev admitted to one regret: that his three-day visit to the United States did not permit him to see much of the country or the people. He told one audience that he hoped to come back—"if the Politburo and God are well disposed." Gorbachev also showed, however, that he could be very tough whenever he felt the need. He gave no ground to President Reagan on issues such as human rights and Afghanistan. He sternly lectured a group of editors and publishers (page 21). And in a final news conference, he wore out his welcome with some American journalists by delivering a 75-minute monologue before anyone was allowed to ask a question. "Once you get past the very engaging show," said a White House political operative, "an extremely doctrinaire guy remains."

'Knock 'em dead': When Gorbachev arrived, Reagan was ready for him. Just before 10 a.m. on Tuesday, the president's valet helped him into his white scarf and heavy winter overcoat. Nancy Reagan stepped up to her husband, kissed him and deftly wiped the lipstick off his mouth. "Knock 'em dead," she whispered. Outside, the Reagans presided over an elaborate arrival ceremony, complete with an artillery salute and troops in both modern and Colonial dress. Reagan and Gorbachev quickly established eye contact and what seemed to be a good rapport. "I have often felt," the president said in his welcoming remarks, "that our people should have been better friends long ago." Gorbachev answered in kind, promising that "we are prepared to go all the way along our part of the road" toward "a nuclear-free world."

Things were less friendly in the first private session, held before the fireplace in the Oval Office. For weeks Reagan had it in mind to exhort Gorbachev about human rights and religion. Now he urged the general secretary to allow not only increased Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union but religious freedom for those who remain behind. Gorbachev did not take well to the lecture, at one point telling Reagan heatedly that they were not in a courtroom, that the president was not a prosecutor and that he himself was not a defendant. At another point, Gorbachev responded to Reagan's criticism of Moscow's restrictive emigration policies by saying that U.S. authorities block would-be immigrants from Mexico. Retorted Reagan: "There's a big difference between wanting in and wanting out." When other officials joined the two leaders, one noticed that Gorbachev seemed highly displeased. Later, Reagan remarked to an aide: "Well, we had a real go-round."

Still, the Americans were impressed by Gorbachev. "He's articulate as hell and incredibly well versed," said one White House aide. During meetings, Gorbachev

Raisa and Nancy: Superpower Struggle



WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

Rhinestones: *Sheer summitry*

"So silly, so silly." Nancy Reagan spent last week dismissing reports that the only thing she and Raisa Gorbacheva had in common was their mutual dislike. But the First Lady certainly didn't seem to enjoy taking her Soviet counterpart around the White House, for example. During the tour Mrs. Gorbachev annoyed her hostess by answering reporters' questions at length. "We have to move on," Mrs. Reagan said. Her guest didn't stop talking, and didn't budge. She did ask incisive questions about paintings and furniture. Mrs. Gorbachev clearly had done her homework—giving her an edge over Nancy Reagan, who could not, after seven years of living there, recall when the White House was built.

Mrs. Reagan described her guest as "very nice, bright, intelligent." But she forgot to declaw her friends, and they cattily criticized the Soviet woman's clothes and manner. Her black dress, with its satin belt, was too "cocktailish" for the White House tour; her black stockings, embellished with rhinestones and somewhat less than skintight, provoked snickers. Meanwhile, Mrs. Reagan wore glen plaid by day, Galanos by night—and anything but red. According



JEAN LOUIS ATLAN—SYGMA

Visit: *Harriman, Gorbachev*



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

'An entirely different relationship': The First Families say goodbye on a rainy Thursday afternoon

would refer frequently to one of several small, green spiral notebooks he carried with him, filled with handwritten notes on both sides of each page. Another U.S. official, who frequently works with Reagan, said almost wistfully: "He was filled with facts, and that was the biggest surprise to me. He was just full of information." Reagan's advisers also were impressed by Gorbachev's seriousness of purpose. He was strikingly attentive when others spoke, as though processing the information given him. He seemed to know exactly what he wanted. "It was clear to me that he'd given an awful lot of thought to this," said one American. "Even so, he was just as tough and doctrinaire as any Soviet I've met."

Early Tuesday afternoon, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the INF treaty—the emotional peak of the summit for the president. "He was really taken with it, the majesty of it," said an aide. Reagan's ebullience was infectious, and the two men shared their good humor, especially when Reagan addressed the verification issue with his well-worn Russian proverb. The humor wore off, however, during private talks that afternoon. Literally dozens of aides were ushered in and out of the Oval Office as the leaders toured the superpower horizon. "Lucky Roosevelt looked like a traffic cop," muttered one aide, referring to Selwa Roosevelt, the administration's chief of protocol.

Falling flat: As Gorbachev recited a litany of hard-line Soviet positions on various issues, Reagan tried to lighten the atmosphere with a joke that fell embarrassingly flat. The gist of it was that when American college students are asked what they want to do after graduation, they reply, "I don't know; I haven't decided," while Russian students answer the same question by saying: "I don't know; they haven't told me." Gorbachev gave the gag a good-natured laugh, but then remarked dryly: "Ambassador [Jack] Matlock has got to stop telling you stories like that." By the end of the meeting, Reagan struck onlookers as visibly deflated.

The mood improved dramatically that evening at the White

to high-ranking White House sources, Mrs. Reagan was determined not to wear her favorite color until the departure ceremony.

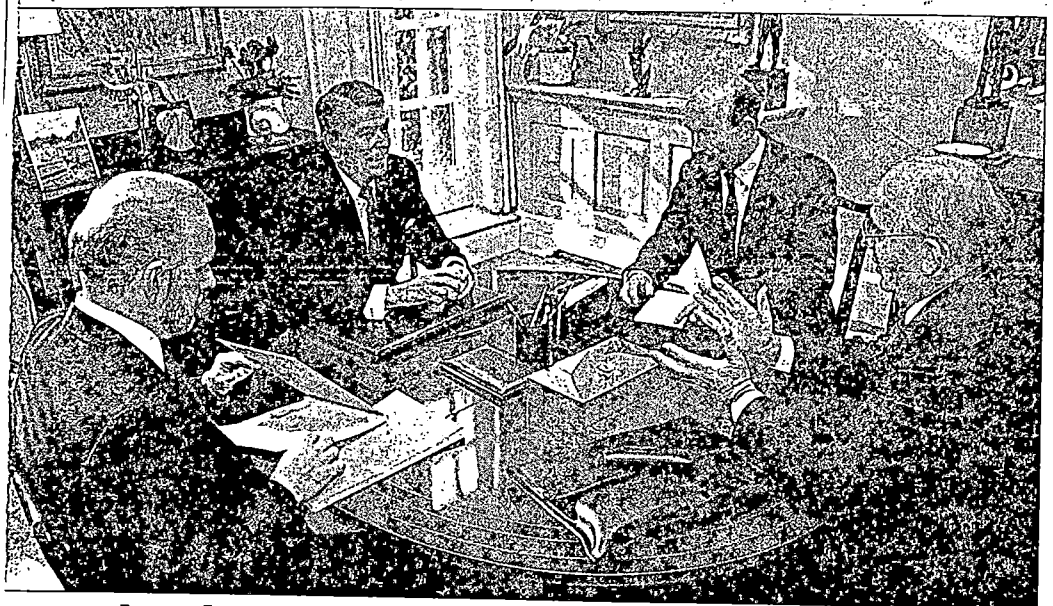
Mrs. Gorbachev did impress some Americans with her energy, particularly at a brief party given by Pamela Harriman, widow of the former ambassador to Moscow. But at other times she could be too forceful: "She dominates every conversation," said one insider. "Everyone was . . . wondering if they'd ever get a chance to say anything."

During Gorbachev's first year in office, his wife was a big hit—in the West, anyway. Now it seems she can't please anyone. "She has had a hard time finding her role and her style," says author Suzanne Massie, a visiting scholar at the Harvard Russian Research Center. "Here the First Lady is an established position. In the Soviet Union they have no such comparable image. So she is trying to carve out a position." Some Soviets don't approve of Raisa's celebrity status. They tagged her with the nickname "Czarina"—a problem the woman once called "Queen Nancy" should be able to understand.



WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

'She is trying to carve out a position': *In the White House*



BILL FITZ-PATRICK—THE WHITE HOUSE

In private: 'An antsy president and a jumpy general secretary'

House banquet, which came to a picture-perfect end with Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev and their party singing the syrupy ballad "Moscow Nights" to Cliburn's accompaniment. But there also was some serious dinner-table talk, notably between Gorbachev and Richard Perle, the former Pentagon official whose hawkish stand on defense issues has earned him the unkind nickname "Prince of Darkness." Never bashful, Perle asked Gorbachev whether anyone, even in the Kremlin leadership, really knows how much the Soviet Union spends on defense. "I know," said Gorbachev, "but it's a secret." "Are you sure you know?" asked Perle, alluding to the hidden costs of Soviet military spending. "I know everything," said Gorbachev with a smile. "I am chairman of the Defense Council, so you are talking to a military man." "Well," replied Perle, "let me give you my estimate of Soviet defense spending: 25 percent of your GNP." The figure was about 9 percentage points higher than the usual U.S. estimate, but Gorbachev made no response.

The next day the two sides got into what presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater called the "heavy lifting." First, Reagan took Gorbachev aside and spent 11 minutes with him in his study off the Oval Office, with only two interpreters present. The president asked his guest to autograph a baseball that former Yankee star Joe DiMaggio had brought to the banquet the night before. Reagan also tried to assure the Soviet leader that he was eager to get down to serious business.

After the negotiating began, Gorbachev laid out a familiar position on arms control. He wanted an agreement in the strategic arms reduction talks (START), preferably in time for the Moscow summit. He repeated Soviet objections to SDI. He asked the United States to join a moratorium on nuclear testing. He went on at length about the need to reduce conventional forces in Europe and to ban chemical weapons. Reagan repeated, at equal length, his determination to proceed with SDI. He reminded Gorbachev that he was ready to make a limited commitment not to withdraw from the 1972 antiballistic missile (ABM) treaty. Moscow wanted a 10-year period of no withdrawal; Washington offered seven years, and the issue seemed negotiable.

Loose ends: Two questions remained: What constraints does the treaty place on SDI tests? And what will happen at the end of the nonwithdrawal period? The Americans wanted the Soviets to accept a joint statement stipulating that at the end of the period both sides would be free to deploy defensive systems. The Soviets argued that the ABM treaty would automatically remain in force at that point, still requiring either side to give six months' notice of intent to pull out. In the meantime, the Reagan administration maintains that the treaty permits the testing of components in space. The Soviets disagree.

As one participant recalled it, Reagan asserted: "We are going forward with the research and development necessary to see if this is a workable concept. If it is, we're going to deploy it." By this account, Gorbachev replied: "Mr. President, do what you think you have to. If at the end you have a system you want to deploy, go ahead and deploy it. Who am I to tell you what to do? I think you're wasting money. I don't think [SDI] will work. [But] if that's what you want to do, go ahead." Gorbachev warned that if Reagan persisted with SDI, "we will compensate in another way." Among other things, he implied that Moscow might seek the ability to overwhelm any U.S. defense by building more missiles.

The experts in the room recognized that when Gorbachev told Reagan that he was free to "go ahead" with SDI, the Soviet leader was merely stating the obvious: the United States can always withdraw from the ABM treaty. Reagan, however, seemed to assume that the Soviets were finally giving in on SDI. Later his confusion was compounded when he saw a draft of the joint statement that was being

(Continued on page 22)

Step by Step: A Progress Report

Strategic Forces: The two sides agreed to a limit of 4,900 warheads on land- and sea-launched ballistic missiles and to verification procedures more intrusive than those the INF treaty calls for. The Soviets agreed to stop encrypting telemetry for flight tests of new missiles.

SDI: Both sides held to previous positions, but their formal statement sidestepped a confrontation like the one at Reykjavik.

Conventional Forces: NATO wants to focus on Soviet tanks and artillery, while the Soviets insist that reductions extend to tactical nuclear weapons, nuclear-capable aircraft and naval forces.

Regional Issues: Gorbachev stood by his offer to withdraw from Afghanistan within 12 months, but with a new twist: he will not agree to a date until the U.S. stops aid to the rebels. The two sides also discussed Soviet aid to Nicaragua and U.S. help to the contras, but with no result.

Human Rights: The summit communiqué said only that the discussion of human rights was "thorough and candid."

(Continued from page 20)

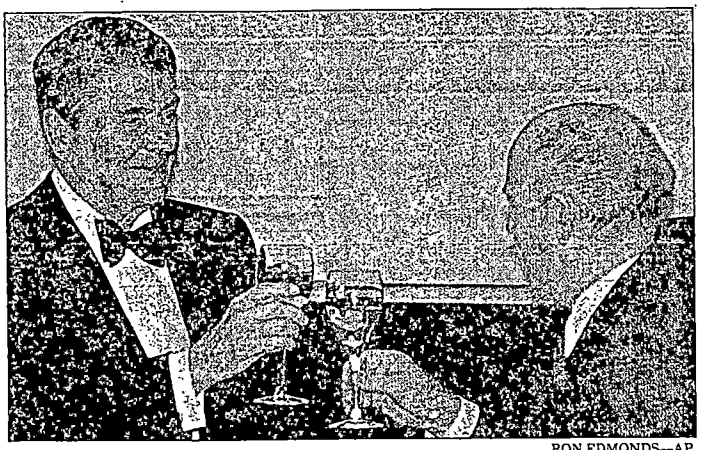
drawn up. In a masterpiece of compromise and obfuscation, it said the two countries would "observe the ABM treaty, as signed in 1972, while conducting their research, development and testing as required, which are permitted by the ABM treaty, and not to withdraw from the ABM treaty for a specified period of time." To stalemated negotiators, the beauty of the tangled passage was the way it papered over the continuing lack of agreement on Star Wars.

After their talks on Wednesday morning, expert working groups continued to discuss arms control and other issues. Gorbachev resumed his sessions with influential Americans, and that evening he and his wife gave a dinner party for the Reagans at the Soviet Embassy.

Meanwhile, the experts were soon at loggerheads. On human rights, the Soviets stonewalled. "We are ready for a dialogue," said one of them, "but we are not in a position to comply with American standards on human rights." The dialogue that the Soviets had in mind was based on the theory that the best defense is a good offense, harping on unemployment and homelessness in America and boasting about relative progress in the Soviet Union. Fyodor Burlatsky, chairman of a newly formed Soviet commission on human rights, argued: "If you compare the roads we have traveled—we from Stalin to Gorbachev and you from Roosevelt to Reagan—*we've* come a longer way."

The Soviets also gave no ground on Afghanistan; in fact, they didn't even send a Foreign Ministry official to the working group that dealt with the subject. One of their spokesmen at the meeting, economist Yevgeny Primakov, claimed that the conflict was "an American war" because of U.S. aid to the anticommunist insurgents. Gorbachev had restated his desire to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but he offered no new concessions on the terms for getting them out. "Publicly," said a U.S. official, "he was talking about withdrawal from Afghanistan. Privately, he was saying, 'I want you to agree to cut off aid first'." Reagan declined to take the bait.

As the end of the summit approached, arms-control issues were still up in the air. On START, both sides offered modest but useful concessions. The Soviets made verification easier by agreeing to ban the encryption of telemetry from missile-test flights. The Americans accepted the principle of limits on submarine-launched cruise missiles. Washington doubts that any such ceiling can be verified, however; therefore



RON EDMONDS—AP

'Better friends': A toast at the White House

High Marks: A Newsweek Poll

Buoyed by the summit, the president's overall approval rating rose to 62 percent. Most Americans think Gorbachev really wants peace, but they are split over verification.

Should the INF treaty be approved by the U.S. Senate?
73% Should be approved

Will American verification procedures ensure that the Soviet Union abides by the rules of the INF treaty?
37% Will
34% Will not

Which leader do you think came out of the summit looking better?
7% Reagan
23% Gorbachev
67% Equal

Does Gorbachev honestly want peaceful relations with the United States and other Western countries? Or is he simply creating a good public image to help gain an advantage for the Soviet Union?
50% Wants peace
39% Good image

As a result of the summit, what is your opinion of Gorbachev?
32% Better than before
1% Worse than before
64% About the same

What is your opinion of Mrs. Gorbachev?
18% Better than before
8% Worse than before
64% About the same

Do you think Mrs. Gorbachev tried to upstage Nancy Reagan or not?
33% Yes 47% No

How much will the summit improve relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union?
30% A lot
60% A little
7% Not much at all

Should Reagan and Gorbachev sign a strategic-arms reduction treaty next year in Moscow?
76% Should
13% Should not
11% Don't know



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

Two flags: *In Washington*

Should Reagan go to Moscow for a summit next year even if there is no final agreement on strategic-arms reduction and no significant progress on Afghanistan or Nicaragua?

Or is a summit meeting not that important and should Reagan not go to Moscow under these conditions?
75% Should go
20% Should not

Will reducing the number of nuclear arms make a conventional war involving the U.S. and the Soviet Union . . .
16% More likely
34% Less likely
44% No effect

Were American news organizations covering the summit . . .
13% Too easy on Gorbachev
3% Too hard
75% Covering Gorbachev fairly

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling relations with the Soviet Union?

	CURRENT	9/87
Approve	74%	55%

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of 507 adults by telephone on Dec. 11. The margin of error is plus or minus 6 percentage points. Some "don't know" and other answers omitted. The NEWSWEEK Poll, copyright 1987 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

SLCM limits will be set outside the overall total of 6,000 strategic warheads for each side. As the talks dragged on, the two teams found themselves deadlocked on a key question of "sublimits": how many of the 6,000 warheads may be carried by land- or sea-launched ballistic missiles (as opposed to bombers)? The United States had proposed a sublimit of 4,800 warheads, while the Soviets, who have more of the heavy land-based missiles, wanted 5,100.

SDI was an even more complicated cliffhanger for the working groups, headed by Paul Nitze and Soviet Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev. "The Soviets have told us a thousand times over that they won't give us a START agreement without words on SDI," said a senior U.S. negotiator. "And I believe them." But the two sides remained far apart until a Soviet negotiator, Aleksei Obukhov, proposed a way to skirt the impasse. "You know our position on this issue," he said to an American counterpart, Kenneth Adelman. "You are not going to accept it. I have heard your position so much I could scream. I'm not going to buy that, either. So let us find language that does not compromise either side's position. OK?" "Fair enough," replied Adelman. Draft language was worked out that fudged unresolved issues, including the length of a nonwithdrawal period and the type of SDI work that could be done under the ABM treaty.

Down to the wire: While Reagan and Gorbachev gathered for a final lunch, their experts struggled frantically with last details on START and SDI. At about 12:50 p.m., Howard Baker, the White House chief of staff, left the table to call national-security adviser Colin Powell for a progress report. The negotiators needed more time, said Powell. Baker reported back to the president, who said the negotiators had to be finished by 2 p.m. Ten minutes later Baker again called Powell, who said the experts were nearly finished. "Do whatever needs to be done," Baker told him. "I've got an antsy president and a jumpy general secretary on my hands."

By then START had fallen into place as the negotiators compromised on a sublimit of 4,900 ballistic warheads. "We can now see quite clearly the outlines of a START agreement," Secretary of State George Shultz said later. The last unresolved issue on SDI—what would happen after the period of nonwithdrawal ended—was settled when the Soviets made a tactical retreat. They accepted language acknowledging the real-life fact that "each side will be free to decide its own course of action." As the new wording was read to Reagan, he cast Powell a quizzical look. "It's fine, Mr. President," said Powell. "All right," replied Reagan, "that's fine."

Shultz said the Moscow meeting was tentatively scheduled for the second quarter of 1988. Soviet officials said May was the target month because of a party conference planned for June. Both sides thought that at least a general agreement on START could be ready in time for the next summit. "It's a big job to wrestle one of these [treaties] to the ground," said Shultz. "The detail is just endless. So we have a long, tough road ahead of us, but I think it's quite possible [to finish START in time]. It would be a huge accomplishment."

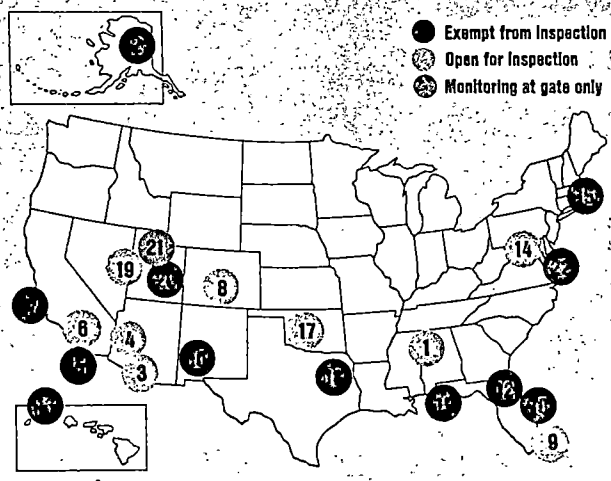
Shultz acknowledged, however, that START and SDI are forever linked. There can be no deal on one without at least an understanding on the other. The Soviets clearly look to Capitol Hill for help; already Congress has endorsed the "narrow," restrictive interpretation of the ABM treaty as the price of continued SDI funding. Then, too, Reagan will be out of office when the final decision is made on Star Wars. Congress, public opinion and a new president may combine to deal the program the death of a thousand cuts, slashing its budget to a life-support level at which it would be possible to continue research but not to deploy the system. The next SDI discussion does not necessarily have to be decisive; once START has been signed, the Soviets can hope to stave off Star Wars by threatening to reverse course and re-escalate the arms race.

"I think they're betting on the wrong horse with Congress," a senior Reagan adviser said of the Soviets. "I think SDI is going to prove so attractive and so productive that this and future congresses will continue the effort." That sounded overly optimistic, especially in terms of actually deploying SDI. But with some $10 billion already invested in the research project, it could prove to have a life of its own. With that in mind, Reagan might even be willing to accept another fudge on Star Wars at the Moscow summit, hoping that his pet project would survive in the long run. At the moment, the START agreement looks to both sides like an attractive bird in the hand, and more artful dodging on Star Wars may seem to be a reasonable cost of closing the deal.

RUSSELL WATSON *with* JOHN BARRY, ROBERT B. CULLEN, STEVEN STRASSER, MARGARET GARRARD WARNER *and* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Washington*

Open for Inspection

A memorandum of understanding to the INF treaty lists roughly 140 missile facilities on both sides that are covered under the agreement, more than 20 on U.S. soil.



1 Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala.

2 Poker Flats Research Range, Alaska

3 Fort Huachuca, Sierra Vista, Ariz.

4 Davis-Monthan AFB, Tucson, Ariz.

5 Air Force Plant 19, San Diego, Calif.

6 General Dynamics, Kearny Mesa Plant, San Diego, Calif.

7 Western Test Range, Calif.

8 Pueblo Army Depot Activity, Pueblo, Colo.

9 Complex 16, Cape Canaveral, Fla.

10 Eastern Test Range, Fla.

11 Eglin AFB, Valparaiso, Fla.

12 McDonnell Douglas, Titusville, Fla.

13 Barking Sands, Kauai, Hawaii

14 Martin Marietta, Middle River, Md.

15 Cape Cod, Mass.

16 White Sands Missile Range, N.M.

17 Fort Sill, Lawton, Okla.

18 Longhorn Army Ammunition Plant, Marshall, Texas

19 Dugway Proving Ground, Utah

20 Green River, Utah

21 Hercules Plant No. 1, Magna, Utah

22 Wallops Island, Va.

Roi Namur, Kwajalein, Marshall Islands (exempt)*

Wake Island (exempt)*

*NOT ON MAP.

IB OHLSSON—NEWSWEEK

Salvador, and activate the dormant Communists in Costa Rica — the activists in the [*labor*] unions and others they have trained militarily." Still, Chamorro believes that "the majority of U.S. Congressmen want democracy for Nicaragua, and all of Central America, they just don't understand how to get it."

Be Warned. The willingness of liberals in Congress to discount the Sandinista military buildup as just a defense against fear of "Yankee imperialist forces in the field" is not only a dangerous evasion, but it ignores the whole history of Communist revolution. Congressman Connie Mack (R.-Florida), a staunch supporter of the Democratic Resistance, told CONSERVATIVE DIGEST: "Daniel Ortega has assured the world that even if the Sandinistas are defeated in an election, they will never give up power — and 'power' to Communists is military power." Congressman Mack sees and says the truth:

"The argument that the Sandinista army is defensive in nature is ridiculous when you compare it to the other forces in Central America. Not only is the Sandinista military force larger than all other Central American forces combined, but it appears to indicate they are ready to move toward aggression. Ortega has no intention of working toward democracy: His desire to build a 600,000-man army from a population of 2.5 million people, and his refusal to recognize any electoral process that might result in his defeat by the Nicaraguan people, [*are*] clear indications he is insincere about peace and democracy."

Major Roger Miranda is reported to have chuckled when he heard Mikhail Gorbachev "talking about peace and disarmament" during the U.S./U.S.S.R. Summit in Washington. He knew that, as the smiling Gorbachev spoke, the Soviet Union was delivering to the Sandinistas the last of what amounted to $450 million in war matériel in 1987 alone. Since 1979, the value of the arms shipped to Nicaragua from the Communist Bloc has exceeded $2 billion.

Major Miranda has warned us that Daniel Ortega will build his army, that he will feign negotiations until the Resistance is disarmed, and that he will support Communist guerrillas to destabilize the Central American democracies. We have been amply warned. The question now is whether we have even a fraction of the moral and political courage that Major Miranda and the Nicaraguan Resistance have shown in trying to bring democracy to Nicaragua. If we lack vision and courage, the resulting betrayal and unjust peace will in time allow a Communist military buildup that will require our involvement in a major war on the American mainland.

THE INTESTINAL MUSE. "A highbrow," said British author and Member of Parliament A.P. Herbert, "is the kind of person who looks at a sausage and thinks of Picasso."

Party Hack Under Her Silk Babushka

Raisa Gorbachev came to town to the cheers of a national press that takes every opportunity it can find to sneer at Nancy Reagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Liddy Dole, and Margaret Thatcher. It now develops that Raisa's doctorate was in brainwashing peasants to get them to give up the "superstition" of their religion

BY ALAN STANG

CONSERVATIVE opinion notwithstanding, the honest observer must admit that Raisa Gorbachev is something of a phenomenon. Compared to the traditional wife of the traditional Soviet leader, she *is* "the Bo Derek of the steppes," as some liberal journalist has gushed. Of course, since the Soviet "Union" is an occultic nightmare wrapped in a press release inside the State Department, there are imponderables here as always.

For instance, we usually don't get to see an official Soviet wife until her husband has returned to the dead. Before then, we don't even know for sure that he *has* a wife; she appears for the first time when the deceased sleeps in his coffin. In a country that lives on mirrors and public relations, in which the K.G.B. arranges many marriages for public consumption, the question inevitably arises of whether the disheveled woman who shuffles forth really is the widow of thus and so-sky, or a performer from the Moscow Art Theater.

Assuming she is what they say she is, it would be unreasonable to expect her to scintillate at her husband's funeral. Still, we have never seen her before, and never shall again, so we have the right to draw conclusions; and the fact is that she resembles a farm animal, who may be more equal than the rest of us, but has all the appeal of an ox. Her hair looks like the creation of a mediocre restaurant, her ensemble like something the Salvation Army wouldn't accept.

As known diehards, we don't like to admit that Raisa looks a lot better than this, but we do. One might even find her attractive, if one happened to be (say) a fireplug. And we know all about her designer shopping trips to London. So, whether we like it or not, the putative Mrs. Gorbachev does represent a remarkable departure from

the norm. For that matter, so does Gorbachev himself. Told that President Calvin Coolidge had died, Dorothy Parker asked, "How can they tell?" Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev, by contrast, made Silent Cal look like Pee-Wee Herman.

A Perfect Fit. According to our national press, Mrs. Gorby is a blithe, chic, charming, intelligent and caring spirit, who has only a tenuous connection with Communism, and who by some trick of fate finds herself married to the Soviet "Union's" top ghoul. We are expected to believe that, were she an American, she would be managing editor of *Harper's Bazaar*. One is almost made to forget that Gorbachev himself is a disciple of Yuri Andropov. Yuri was of course the Soviet Ambassador to Hungary who called in the tanks on Budapest's teenagers in 1956, and who later was boss of the K.G.B. Andropov helped Gorbachev rise to power. Indeed, Gorbachev would not be where he is now were it not for Andropov's help. So it is perfectly reasonable to wonder whether the happy couple were joined not by God but by the K.G.B. They fit together so well.

Oh, one is prepared to credit an occasional perfect coincidence. Take Gary Hart's amazing return to the 1988 campaign. He restored the integrity of the headlines. Early in the campaign, we had Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. Then Snow White departed. Perhaps Ms. Schroeder's Easter Bunny suit no longer fit. Seven Dwarfs were fine, but those of us who do this for a living were in agreement that you couldn't do a thing with Six. Then Gary Hart returned and we again have an appropriate Seven. If Ms. Schroeder would only take the hint and return as Snow White!

When something so perfect happens, you wonder whether something you haven't been told is behind it. In Gary's case, a Presidential campaign is just a great way to meet girls. In Raisa's there is the matter of this little-known record of her professional training as a Communist propagandist. Indeed, there is no reason why it should have been all that secret. CONSERVATIVE DIGEST obtained a copy of the doctoral dissertation prepared by Raisa Gorbachev in April of 1967. She presented it at the Moscow Order of the Red Banner for Labor State Pedagogical Institute, which is a good measure of the independence of the work. Its title is, "Formation of New Features in Everyday Life of Kolkhoz Peasantry." We don't know why, but whoever translated it uses the pronoun "he," rather than "she," to refer to Raisa. Did she herself use the masculine pronoun in Russian? Did she actually write the paper that won her academic credentials? Either Dr. Ruth Westheimer or Senator Joe Biden should investigate.

Raisa's Doctorate. What does budding intellectual Raisa Gorbachev say? The translation we have lacks page numbers, so we have added our own. On page six, she says this: "In carrying out the study, the author was guided by the theoretical statutes of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the decisions handed down during party

congresses and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and also by documents of the Soviet Government."

In our country, this would be somewhat akin to an announcement by a doctoral candidate that she is guided by the principles of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Republican Party. Genuine intellectuals would laugh her out of town. Raisa's own words prove that as an academic she is a typical party hack.

At page sixteen, she speaks of "the retention in everyday life of remnants of the past, superstitions and ignorance. The negative value of these phenomena lies in the fact that a considerable portion of the children of kolkhoz members are placed under the care of many representatives of the older generation."

Every dictatorship tries to destroy the family, because it represents a competing loyalty. Nazi Germany forced young people into the Hitler Youth and League of German Maidens for that purpose. Communist-occupied China does so by sending young people to live permanently thousands of miles from home, perhaps never to see their parents again. Communist-occupied Russia implements its own version of the same thing, and here Mrs. Gorbachev expresses the Communist's typical hostility to family. She thinks it is not good for the Communist Party to have children cared for, say, by elderly people who remember pre-Communist Russia or the jolly days of Lenin and Stalin.

Indeed, starting at page twenty, Raisa says this: "It is also interesting to note that religious attributes such as icons are frequently encountered in families the members of which perform low-skill or unskilled labor. According to data obtained through our study, 16.6 percent of the kolkhoz families in Shvedins Village headed by office workers or kolkhoz intelligentsia possessed icons and among families headed by field crop growers or service personnel — 66.6 percent had icons."

So the Christian faith remains strong in Russia despite every effort of the Communist Party. But Raisa Gorbachev is determined to stamp out such "superstition."

Mrs. Gorbachev writes: "The social and cultural conditions which have developed in the rural areas as a result of socialist changes have provided the basis for the dissemination and acceptance in the everyday life of peasants of new socialist holidays and ceremonies. A large amount of vital material is employed in the dissertation in order to reveal how the new socialist holidays and traditions have taken firm root in the daily life of kolkhoz members and also how the various holiday rituals have developed definite common and individual traits. At the same time, religious holidays are still being observed in many peasant families in addition to Soviet holidays and new socialist ceremonies, funerals are being carried out on a religious basis and some members of families are engaging in prayer and attending churches. According to data obtained from a study of three of the kray's villages, approximately one half

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of the peasant families are observing religious holidays. Although undergoing change and further adaptation, the religious traditions and customs continue to be observed in the everyday life of many peasants."

Now *that* is serious. Comrade Raisa is determined to stop this praying and attending of church services and Christian burying of the dead. She thinks what is attracting all of this superstitious behavior is those wicked religious holidays.

The Soviet preoccupation with holidays is well known. Here we see the reason for that preoccupation. Holidays send important messages, and the Soviets mean to replace other messages with their own. For instance, the Gorbachevs arrived in Washington on December 7th, a day that will now live in infamy for two reasons.

With regard to the significant worship she describes in the Soviet "Union," Comrade Raisa writes: "The need for the further introduction of and improvements in socialist ceremonies and holidays — a most important element of domestic relationships among people and a means for overcoming old religious customs and traditions — is validated in the dissertation. The author makes some practical recommendations in this regard."

Notice Raisa's typical atheist condescension. Again, she proves herself to be a typical party hack.

The Apparatchik. Writing at page twenty-five of her thesis, Mrs. Gorbachev gives away just how phony her doctorate is and whom it is meant to please. Here are her words: "During the research process, the author carried out propaganda and organizational work in connection with implementing the recommendations which emerged as conclusions from the dissertation. The author repeatedly delivered lectures and led discussions among propagandists at seminars conducted by the CPSU Kray Committee. The materials of the dissertation were used in preparing for and conducting a seminar-conference for ideological workers and also for the aktiv of kray cultural workers. Over a period of 4 years, during the course of extended visits at kolkhozes selected as objects for direct study, the author furnished effective assistance in organizing leisure activities for the population, in introducing modern ceremonies and in developing measures for further improving the everyday living conditions for these villages."

This recalls the fact that, on page after page of his autobiography, Socialist dictator Mussolini boasts about how he concocted innumerable "benefits," including leisure activities, for the Italian people. Hitler of course was partial to boat rides. But what we have here are the boastings of a Communist apparatchik that she had been actively engaged in suppression of the Christian religion and its replacement by worship of the Communist state. How odd that we didn't hear a word about that from our liberal press when they were reporting this woman's every breath at the Washington Summit.

What we have here is Raisa herself saying that she is a Communist Party

propagandist and organizer of many years' standing. After she received her doctorate for this, she went on to teach Marxism-Leninism, and continues to do so today when she is not being received in our capital with high honors. In other words, the image of her that the mass media present us is a total forgery and a fraud. Although the doctoral defense CONSERVATIVE DIGEST has analyzed here originated with sources inside the Soviet "Union," it has long been available from the Library of Congress to the network news and big newspapers. As we go to press, they have not said a word about it. What we have been told about Camelot-ski is a fantasy, and the boys and girls doing the telling have reason to know it.

Why, then, do they do it? Some, of course, have ideological itches to scratch. Others have been carefully conditioned. Raisa is in fact an expert conditioner, with practical experience she wrote about in her doctoral thesis. Here is how she described conditioning the peasants:

"In evaluating all of these aspects, the author draws a conclusion concerning the need for accelerating the establishment of [*new*] social forms for everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside . . . ." (Page 10) "In the beginning of the chapter it is shown how, under the influence of the changes taking place in the kolkhoz villages, the process of recognition by the peasants of the need for intellectual improvement and mastering of various aspects of modern knowledge is accomplished. . . ." (Page 14) "Thus the collective farms and socialist social relationships have become the foundation for change in both the material and spiritual life of kolkhoz members . . . ." (Page 17) "The employment of women for household work and for performing unskilled or low-skill work and the removal of many of them from active social activities reflects on the character of the domestic and intra-family relationships, since they create, as shown in the dissertation using specific study data, obstacles not only in the [*anti-Christian*] spiritual movement of a female kolkhoz worker but also in overcoming the remnants of her economic inequality." (Pp. 27-28)

In short, Raisa Gorbachev is a specialist in changing people's minds by tinkering with their environments, also known as brainwashing. She is an apparatchik, a psychopolitical operator. The mass media that treat her otherwise will not hereafter have any excuse for doing so. Unless, of course, they share her ideological commitment as a professional propagandist for Communism.

TRUE BULL. "Contrary to public opinion," corrected the late Ernie Kovacs with a still little-known fact, "waving a red flag at a bull does not irritate him at all. Actually cows are the ones who get irritated when a red flag is waved at them. The reason a bull gets mad when a red flag is waved at him is because he dislikes being mistaken for a cow."

Some investment advisors on Wall Street consult the alignments of the sun, moon, and planets. Robert Prechter roots his analysis in interpretations of a numerological market theory based upon the rate at which rabbits reproduced in the 13th Century. But Mr. Prechter is now Wall Street's most respected guru

Ancient Secrets Of A Stock-Market Swami

BY GRAEME B. LITTLER, PH.D.

PRIOR TO the stock-market crash on October 19th, many Wall Street analysts and stock owners throughout America believed the Dow Jones Industrial Average was headed to 3600. Some were even more precise; they predicted that the index would peak sometime in 1988 at exactly 3686. How did they come up with that figure? From the theories of an arcane numerologist — a swami who believed numbers have magical powers. He was R.N. Elliott (1871-1948). The 3686 prediction, in fact, is directly connected to a number sequence said to have been "discovered" in the 13th Century, and was "calculated" by investment guru Robert Prechter, editor of *The Elliott Wave Theorist* newsletter. Not only is Prechter convinced that 13th Century number sequences will determine stock prices, but he has also connected these magical numbers to an extremely long bull market (*i.e.*, uptrend) that began in 1789 or earlier, and to a spiral shape that looks like a snail! This theory is so bizarre, and Prechter's predictions so widely cited in the investment community, that lay investors need to be advised.

Wall Street Mystics. To be fair to Mr. Prechter, there are many other investment advisors with highly unusual theories involving magic and hocus-pocus. Consider Arch Crawford, editor and publisher of the *Crawford Perspectives* newsletter. In his enlightening promotion and literature Mr. Crawford explains to potential investors: "In addition to technical analysis [i.e., *following price patterns*], we watch the astronomical alignments of the sun, moon, and planets. In a way, analyzing the effects of an eclipse is similar to analyzing price patterns on a chart." Hmmm . . . .

And this is no isolated example. Investment writer Harry Browne estimates that:

EXCLUSIVE



Look familiar? This is the magazine that Mrs. Gorbachev, wife of the Soviet leader, asked *LHJ*'s editor for

A new style First Lady

Pert, redheaded Raisa Gorbachev, wife of Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, is the first "First Lady" the Soviet Union has ever had. In the past, the frumpy wives of Kremlin leaders have always practically disappeared into the proletarian gray background. But in the past year, Raisa Gorbachev has stepped forward on the three-inch heels she favors and appears to enjoy standing front and center in the spotlight.

I met this fascinating woman, who has been the focus of so much speculation, at a gala reception in Moscow's Red Square. Although many American journalists, including Barbara Walters, have tried to interview Mrs. Gorbachev, I am the first American journalist with whom she has talked. We met at the opening of an exhibition of American porcelain, created by the Boehm Studio, of Trenton, New Jersey, known internationally for highly prized sculptures of animals, birds and flowers. The show was held at the Exhibition Pavilion for Nature *(continued)*



Myrna Blyth has a rare conversation under the lights of Soviet TV

Julie Summerford

By Myrna Blyth



designer Slava Zaitcev. Mrs. Gorbachev's auburn hair was short, curled and well styled; her nails were neatly manicured. She wore small dangling diamond earrings.

When Mrs. Gorbachev visited Great Britain a couple of years ago, soon after her husband first came to power, the British papers enthusiastically called her "the Bo Derek of the steppes" and declared she was "Soviet realism's answer to Princess Di." Not quite. But she looks a decade younger than her fifty-four years and has a gaminelike appeal.

During the opening ceremony, when Helen Boehm, head of the Boehm Studio, praised Mrs. Gorbachev's elegant appearance, Mrs. Gorbachev smiled at the crowd in response and said, "All ladies like to hear compliments." But Russia's First Lady is also able to deflect excess enthusiasm with considerable deftness. When some amateur photographers got too close, Mrs. Gorbachev muttered "Back off"—in English. And when a few guests called out questions, she murmured, again in English, "This is *not* a press conference." Obviously, when she wants to, she can understand and speak the language.

Though much more has been written about her than any of her predecessors, Mrs. Gorbachev remains somewhat mysterious. She is *believed* to be Mikhail Gorbachev's second wife. The Gorbachevs are *believed* to have two children, but only one, a daughter, Irina, a physician in her late twenties, has ever been photographed. Mrs. Gorbachev also says she has a granddaughter.

A college professor, she has a degree in philosophy from Moscow University (also her husband's alma mater), and she has taught Marxist-Leninist theory there. When she was in Great Britain, she impressed officials with her knowledge of British history and literature, special interests of hers. Her favorite English novel, she says, is *Vanity Fair*, a nineteenth-century novel of an ambitious and

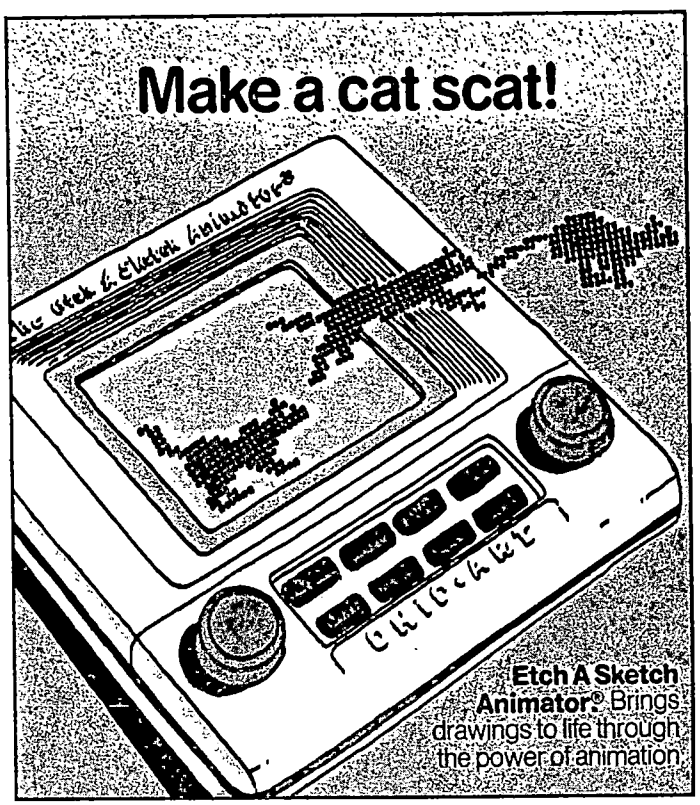
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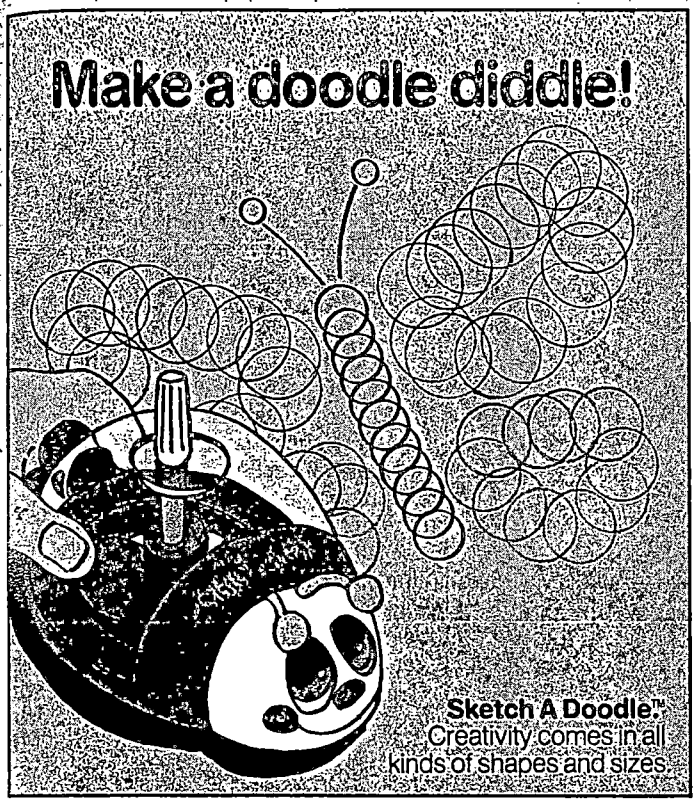
Conservation, a whitewashed former Russian Orthodox church in the very shadows of the Kremlin Wall. As a crowd of Americans in evening gowns and dinner jackets (along with a group of considerably less resplendent Soviet dignitaries) watched, Mrs. Gorbachev and Vassili Zacharov, minister of culture of the U.S.S.R., saluted Soviet-American cultural exchanges.

"Such exchanges are important to the friendship of our two countries," Mrs. Gorbachev said in Russian. She waited patiently, smiling slightly, while her words were translated for the American guests. Soviet television was filming this very special event. "And such exchanges are important to enrich the lives of the people of the Soviet Union," she continued emphatically, looking straight into the lights and the camera.

Mrs. Gorbachev, savvy political wife, was spreading her husband's message of *glasnost*—that a better, more open life was possible for the people of the Soviet Union. She knew her speech would be carried nationwide on the evening news, the most-watched of all news broadcasts, and she was not going to miss such an opportunity.

Surprisingly short (only about five foot two), Mrs. Gorbachev nonetheless has a commanding presence. With her trim figure, she couldn't be more different from Nina Khrushchev, that grandmotherly dumpling of a woman, the only other wife of a Soviet leader the American public ever really saw. That evening she was dressed in a smart brown and white silk tweed ensemble shot with glittery threads. Though it is rumored that she buys some of her clothes in Paris at Pierre Cardin and Yves St. Laurent, most of her chic wardrobe is the creation of top Soviet





go to school," she said. Mrs. Gorbachev herself serves on the board of the Cultural Fund, which promotes public support of the arts. This is considered her official post.

"We find our readers need help and support in balancing their lives between work and home," I answered.

She nodded almost before the interpreter had a chance to translate my words. She smiled at me and said, "Perhaps it would be a good idea for you to start a magazine like yours in the Soviet Union." The Americans who were eavesdropping on our animated conversation nodded in agreement.

"Well, I know whose picture I'd put on the first cover," I said. It was obvious to Mrs. Gorbachev and her interpreter whom I meant. They conferred for a moment. Mrs. Gorbachev nodded and smiled. "Well, we'll have to see about that," she said. Our conversation had brought her tour of the exhibition to a standstill. The crowd began to close in.

"After I've read your magazine, we'll have more interesting things to say to each other. I want to read your magazine," she said, shaking my hand firmly.

I promised to send her a copy the next day. I told her—before she was swept away by her protective plainclothesmen—that I hoped I'd have a chance to talk with her again about women, about the similarities and differences between our two countries. And about herself.

Like her husband, Mrs. Gorbachev is trying to change the facts of Soviet life. And neither of them is having a very easy time. Even in my short visit, I could see that the Soviet Union has enormous economic problems. Though able for the past twenty-five years to send men and women into space, it is still unable to move fresh fruits and vegetables from the countryside into the almost empty food stores of Moscow. An Italian diplomat who sat with me in the first-class section of the Aeroflot plane on the trip to Moscow (yes, the Soviet airline has a first class) told *(continued)*

ruthless woman who tries to make her way in society.

As the crowd clustered around, Helen Boehm escorted Mrs. Gorbachev through the exhibition, pausing in front of the porcelain American Bald Eagle, created especially for the show. Mrs. Gorbachev said she loved that the birds were modeled in flight. "They look so beautiful and real."

I was introduced to Mrs. Gorbachev as the editor of America's most respected women's magazine. Her brown eyes snapped with curiosity.

"And what is the name of your magazine?" she asked through the interpreter.

"*Ladies' Home Journal.*"

"That's interesting," she said. "Our biggest magazine is for working women." Then she quickly added, "Not that I think there is anything wrong with having a magazine for women who are at home. That's important, too." Again Mrs. Gorbachev sounded like a fast-thinking political wife, careful not to offend.

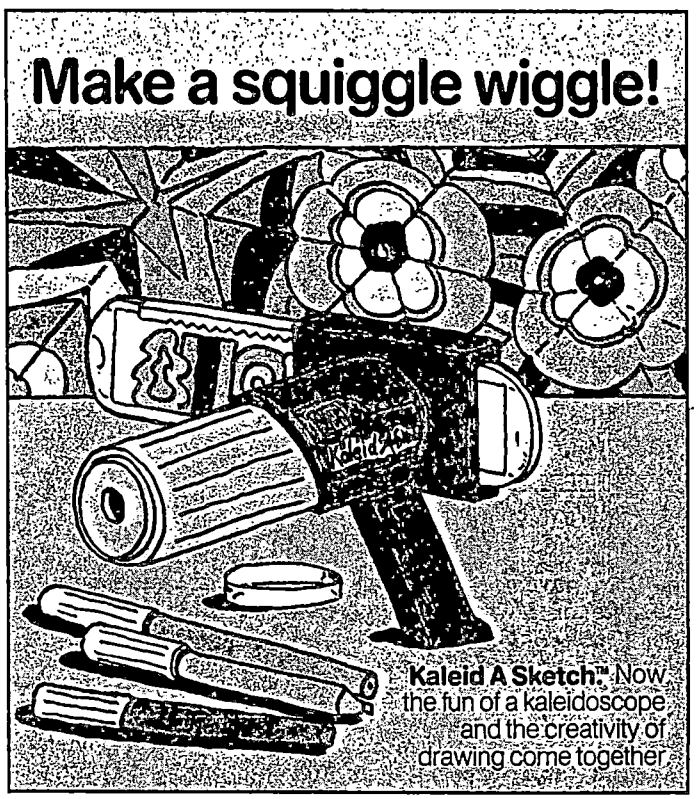
"*Ladies' Home Journal* is for women at home and for women who work," I explained. "It's about all the things that interest women today—their homes, their families, their work, themselves. It's full of information and interesting features." I paused to take a breath, and when I did, I had to smile. Here I was doing a commercial for *LHJ* five thousand miles from home—and directing it at the woman behind the man who rules what our own President has called "the Evil Empire." If only the *Journal*'s staff and publisher could see me now!

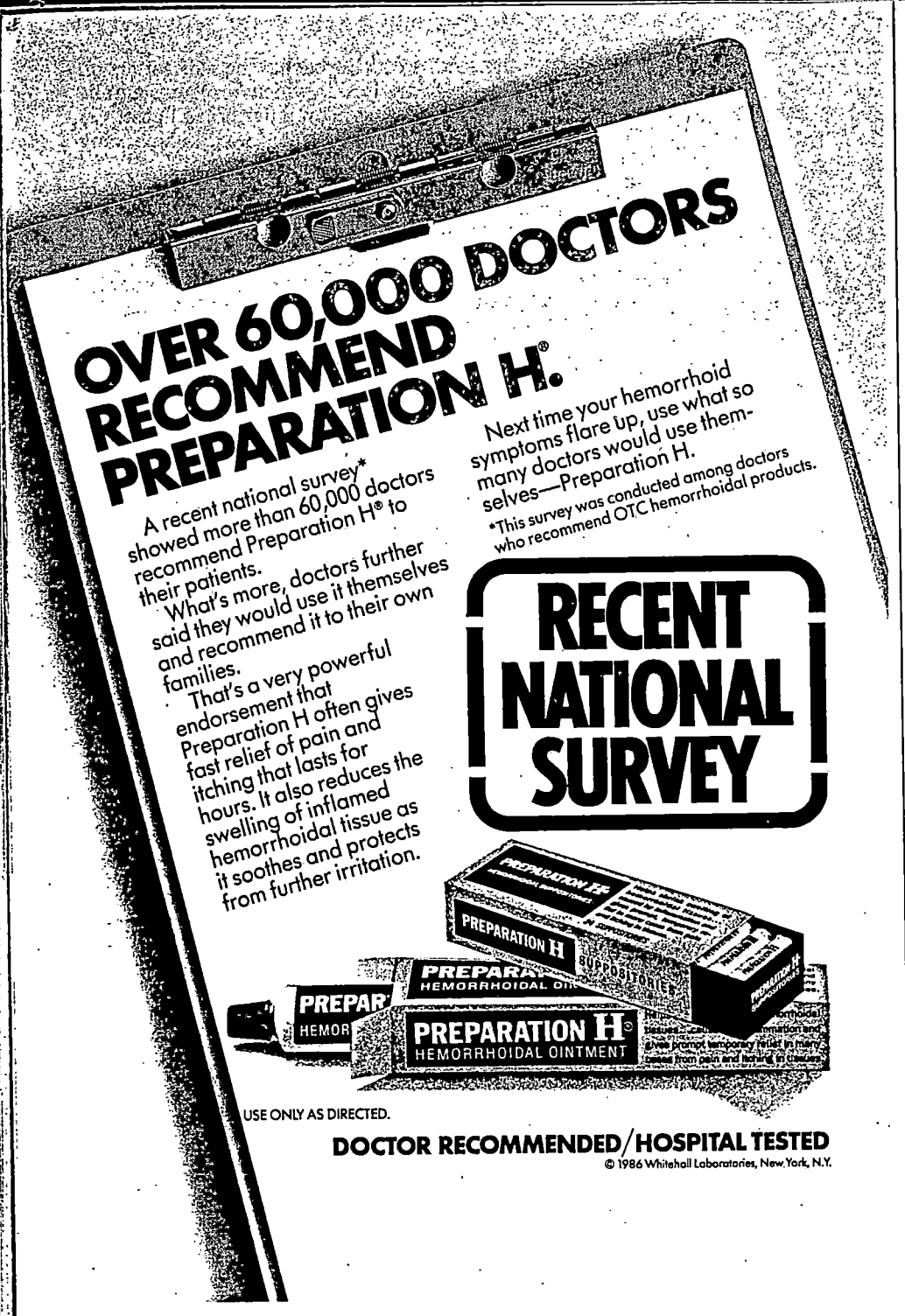
Mrs. Gorbachev was paying close attention. She was more interested than I had expected.

"How many of your readers work?" she asked.

"About seventy percent of our readers work at least part-time," I told her.

"Here, about ninety-two percent of our women work or





FIRST LADY
continued

me there have been no bananas in the markets of Moscow for more than two years. A typical Muscovite joke about the shortages: Two Americans are eating caviar, squeezing lemon juice over it and exclaiming enthusiastically, "Look at this caviar!" At the next table, two Russians are doing the same thing and exclaiming, "Look at these lemons!"

Russia's revolutionary society is also basically conservative and slow to change. It is especially stodgy and self-righteous when it comes to judging a woman like Mrs. Gorbachev. What do the Soviets think of her? "She pushes herself forward too much," an Intourist guide at my hotel told me, admitting that she was not taken by Mrs. Gorbachev's self-confident manner. "It is better for a woman to be shy, genteel, to stay in the background."

"I personally find her very intelligent," a Soviet woman journalist told me, "but I don't think we should write about her too much. Our readers wouldn't like it."

Another woman said, "Why should she get so much attention? She's not that important. She doesn't even have a special job."

When I asked Russian women who was the most admired woman in the Soviet Union, they had trouble answering. Finally, they would come up with the name of a singer or a ballerina—never Mrs. Gorbachev.

Unlike most Americans, most Russians know almost nothing about the private lives of their leaders. And many say they do not care to learn the more intimate details, claiming they are just not interested. Most do not even know where the Gorbachevs live.

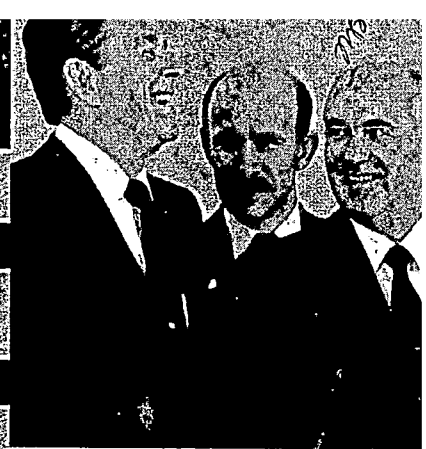
Yet one bit of gossip was circulating in Moscow when I was there: People say that there is an undercover video of Mrs. Gorbachev buying and wearing expensive jewelry and clothes. Some insiders claimed that there was footage of her in London making purchases with an American Express Gold Card. And it is said that the film had been shot either by a Western intelligence service or by the KGB, the Soviet secret service, in an attempt to discredit and undercut Mikhail Gorbachev and his reform program. Also, Mrs. Gorbachev purportedly wore four different outfits on the same day when French president François Mitterrand and his wife visited Moscow.

Westerners in the Soviet capital appear to be more understanding of the Soviets' new-style First Lady than are her own countrymen—and women. One embassy official told me that during the seventies, when Mikhail Gorbachev was a high Soviet official, he and his wife would often travel by themselves to Italy and the more liberal Eastern-bloc nations to see the way people lived in freer societies. "Obviously, they liked what they saw, and they wanted to bring some of that new freedom here."

Vladimir Pozner, the Soviet journalist and spokesman whose flawless English and gutsy style have made him a frequent guest on both the Phil Donahue and Ted Koppel TV shows, was also sympathetic to Raisa Gorbachev's problems. "You know, we Russians used to say, 'Look at our leaders' wives—so dowdy, so old-fashioned. We can't take them to meet the wives of Western leaders. It's terrible.' But nowadays the same people who used to complain are saying about Mrs. Gorbachev, 'Why is she always up there in front? Where does she get those clothes? Who's paying for her trip?' They're *still* complaining," he said.

Obviously Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of openness also means the openness to criticize his wife—something that has never happened before in the Soviet Union. But it's something an American wife would understand—especially an American wife named Nancy Reagan. **End**

REAGAN IN MOSCOW



JUNE 6, 1988 $2.00

TIME

Raisa

A new image for the Soviet Union's overworked, underappreciated women

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COVER STORIES

Heroines Of Soviet Labor

Equal under the law and ubiquitous in the workplace, women nonetheless face a hard life in a society dominated by men. Yet help may be on the way

■ Medical Administrator

"My career is very important to me"

As a practicing physician, Nina Dmitrievna Tegai, 43, specialized for 15 years in treating children with kidney diseases. Then she entered administrative work and now serves as one of the highest-ranking pediatricians in the Ministry of Health, a ten-hour-a-day job that leaves little time during the week with her husband Vladimir, a physicist, and their 14-year-old son. Fortunately, the family's three-room apartment is not far from her office in central Moscow. "We could live on my husband's salary, but it's not just a salary I work for," says Tegai, who earns $417 a month. "My career is very important to me. It means improving myself."

Professional demands on her schedule do not prevent Tegai, the daughter of a Moscow factory worker, from enjoying the good life, Soviet-style. She dresses fashionably; has a freezer, a coffee grinder and a food mixer in her kitchen; and spends most weekends with her family in a dacha near Moscow. Even so, she regrets not having planned a larger family. "I should have had two children," she says. "But when my son was born, he was sick and I had to spend a lot of time caring for him."



Photographs for TIME by Rudi Frey

"I spend most of my time in the kitchen or shopping. I spend hours looking for clothes and food. There are no kitchen appliances—mixers, graters, dishwashers, clothes dryers, appliances that make women's work easier. I get tired a lot. Really tired."

—A young Moscow woman

Life is tough for Soviet women. Really tough. Overworked and underappreciated, most of the Soviet Union's 149 million women fight an uphill battle simply to survive the daily grind—an endless race against time in the effort to juggle job, housework and child care. The average Soviet woman has few modern conveniences, gets little sympathy from the boss and virtually no household help from her husband. She nurtures only limited hope that the situation will change anytime soon. "I have a great admiration for the women of the Soviet Union," President Reagan told Soviet reporters on the eve of his trip to Moscow for this week's superpower summit. "I just wonder if they're getting the credit within your country that I think they deserve."

Nominally, Soviet women enjoy the same rights as men. The Bolshevik Revolution promised political and social equality for the sexes, and the constitution guarantees it. But while women today are better educated, healthier and more fully represented in the professions and on local government councils than their mothers' generation was, they remain second-class citizens. At work—women hold 51% of the jobs in the Soviet Union—they find themselves confined to low-paying positions and are noticeably absent from management posts. In the Communist Party, they make up 29% of the membership, but no woman sits in the ruling 13-member Politburo and less than a dozen in the 307-member Central Committee. Almost 60 years ago, Lenin described the woman's lot as "barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, crushing drudgery." Not much has changed.

The gap between ideal and reality is once again visible, as the Soviet Union projects a fresh image to the world in the person of Raisa Gorbachev, the wife of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Intelligent, urbane and outspoken, she leads a fast-paced, glamorous life that is as elusive to most Soviet women as the pomp of the royal family is to most Britons. Hailed abroad as the new Soviet woman, Mrs. Gorbachev is perceived as her country's first female superstar since the days of Alexandra Kollantai and Inessa Armand, both early feminists, and Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, more than a half-century ago.

Raisa Gorbachev enjoys opportunities that few Soviet women can imagine. She provides less a role model than a yardstick against which Soviet women measure their lives. "We envy her," says Rimma Raude, 37, an economist who emigrated from Kharkov to the U.S. a year ago. Mrs. Gorbachev's life-style serves both to highlight and deepen women's dissatisfaction, even as the rising expectations spawned by *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) have emboldened some women to speak out about their problems.

Few women would suggest that Raisa sets a realistic standard for the future. Quite the contrary. The hopes and dreams of most Soviet women in fact sound startlingly unemancipated to the Western ear. They rarely challenge the status quo, which entitles men to be waited on, first by their mothers, then by their wives and female employees. Nor do women question the concept that they should assume responsibility for all child-related matters, whether that involves family planning, child rearing or, if a marriage breaks up, child support. Says Tanya, a Moscow teacher who, like many of the women interviewed, requested anonymity: "We have no time to philosophize about our role when we have to worry about finding meat for dinner."

GHETTO LIFE

SOME SOVIET PROFESSIONS HAVE BECOME VIRTUAL FEMALE PRESERVES. WOMEN REPRESENT 75% OF ALL TEACHERS, 69% OF PHYSICIANS, 87% OF ECONOMISTS AND 91% OF ALL LIBRARIANS.

Life thus consists of a procession of countless lines, this one for meat, that one for vegetables, a third for milk. Each of those queues becomes two or more lines, as the consumer moves from the selection counter to the cashier to the pickup point. Because of food shortages, accumulating frozen and canned goods is virtually impossible, so shopping becomes a daily necessity. Women must then make their way home, toting unwieldy shopping bundles onto crowded buses and along often unpaved footpaths, to prepare meals for the family. Housecleaning, like cooking, is done largely without the help of modern appliances. Dishes are washed by hand. Clothing is generally laundered in tubs, then hung out to dry. Disposable diapers are unknown. Floors are scrubbed



Economist

"No one else shares the apartment"

From her job as a senior economist at a factory in Podolsk, 25 miles south of Moscow, Vera Vasilievna Belova, 31, has learned the theoretical basis of maximizing profit. She has brought the philosophy into day-to-day practice by journeying to Moscow's Cheryomushkinsky market to sell a pig shortly before the Russian Orthodox Easter, when chops and other parts from the butchered animal bring top ruble. Tending to her open-air counter amid other free-lance food purveyors, Belova wears a white butcher's coat. But the fashionable leather jacket beneath it attests to middle-class tastes, as do her lavender beret and matching eye shadow.

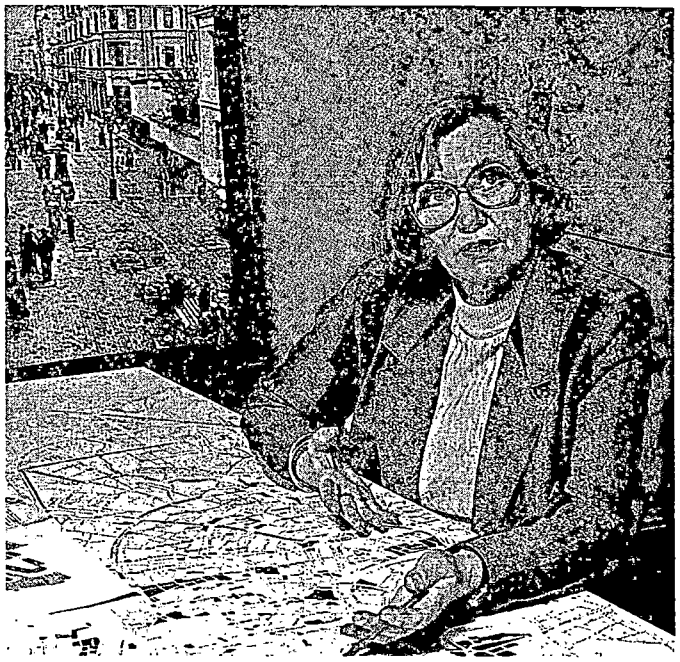
Married for ten years to a mechanic, Belova earns roughly $275 a month, about $100 less than her husband. They and their five-year-old daughter live in a small apartment in Podolsk. The crowded living conditions that still beset many Soviet families are reflected in her happy comment that "no one else shares the apartment with us." She is an unabashed defender of domestic values. Says she: "What Soviet women want most is for our homelife to be good."

Architect

"I prefer to have a dacha and travel"

The daughter and granddaughter of professional painters, Zoya Vasilievna Kharitonova, 50, developed an early interest in architecture. After graduating from an urban-design institute in 1960, she took a job drafting plans for inexpensive and mass-produced apartment housing in the Moscow area. More recently, she has turned to the field of urban renovation. Kharitonova was one of the principal designers in restoring the Arbat, a historic Moscow district that was recently converted to a pedestrian shopping area. "The inertia was so strong," Kharitonova says of bureaucratic resistance to the project. "Even now I find it difficult to believe we were able to get this done."

She and her husband Alexei, an actor, have been married more than 25 years and have a grown son. Kharitonova has traveled in Western Europe and likes to take camping trips in the Baltic States. "Our furniture is very modest, and I don't have fancy dresses," says Kharitonova. "I prefer to have a dacha and travel."



with brooms wrapped in damp cloths.

Small wonder that the typical Soviet woman is far less interested in redefining her role than in reordering her life. Primarily, she wants greater control over her time: longer maternity leaves, flexible work schedules, part-time jobs. She would like to have time-saving conveniences that most Western women take for granted: electric mixers, cars, supermarkets for one-stop shopping. In many rural areas, the wish list is more fundamental: central heating, running water, sewerage. And everywhere, women share the sentiment expressed by Anna, 28, a language student at Moscow State University: "Soviet women don't want equality. We want more time at home with our children."

Help may be on the way. Mikhail Gorbachev, perhaps prodded by his wife, is taking a more active interest in women's issues than any other Soviet leader since Lenin. His concern may be largely pragmatic. He knows that Soviet women, despite their subordinate status, generally control the household purse strings, taking charge of the husband's paycheck and handing him back a small weekly allowance. If Gorbachev is to introduce price reforms and alter spending habits, he will need the cooperation of women. He has already eased in some reforms that should make life easier. The average minimum wage has been raised from $317 to $336 monthly, a change that benefits women primarily. Salaries have improved for some lower-paid professionals, among them teachers and doctors, who are mostly women. Moreover, many factories have added on-site banks, shoe-repair shops and even commissaries from which weekly food packages can be ordered.

If Gorbachev can maintain his course, the next few years hold further promise. He has pledged to increase child allowances for low-income families and extend preschool child care. Plans to expand part-time employment options are particularly appealing to working women, most of whom want to hold on to their jobs but not full time. The Soviet Women's Committee, which submits to the government proposals on legislation affecting females, is seeking to increase the number of day-care centers (currently there are 3 million children without places) and build greater flexibility into work schedules. Some factories have begun to experiment with six-hour shifts. Says Zoya Pokhova, who heads the committee: "Our goal is that women with young children should have shorter work hours."

BIRTH CONTROL

SINCE THE 1960S, 7 MILLION ABORTIONS HAVE BEEN PERFORMED EACH YEAR IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN MOSCOW ALONE, THERE ARE 1,500 ABORTIONS A YEAR AMONG GIRLS UNDER THE AGE OF 18.

Soviet women are largely unconcerned about what shorter working hours will mean for their careers. While officials contend that females have equal opportunities, women live with no such illusions. True, fields that are still male preserves in the West have long been open to equal employment in the Soviet Union. Women are train conductors and engineers, garbage collectors and construction workers, but often they receive less pay than their male colleagues. "It's not written in any law that women's salaries for the same work will be lower, but that's what happens," says Elena Weinstein, 35, who worked as a translator at Moscow's Pedagogical Institute before immigrating to Israel last December.

The higher the posts, the more they are male dominated. Top openings are regularly reserved for active members of the Communist Party, an avocation that requires more time than most women can spare. Even within the party, women rarely rise far. In 1986 Alexandra Biryukova became the first woman in 25 years to be elevated to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Concedes Pokhova: "We have too few women at the decision-making level."

Many seem resigned to that situation. "Women are not suited for administrative positions overseeing men," says Maria Shaulov, 39, who was an architect in Leningrad before moving to New York City last October. Her view is typical even among the educated. "Somehow I feel that for a woman to be the boss is against the natural order."

In the Soviet Union the natural order is motherhood—and that is nothing less than a patriotic duty. World War II left an estimated 20 million Soviets dead, the overwhelming majority of them men between the ages of 18 and 40. As a result, women account for 53% of the population. In some parts of the country, they complain that they outnumber men by as much as 6 to 1. The imbalance helped give rise in 1944 to Operation Birthrate, under which women who had seven children were awarded the Glory of Motherhood medal. Bearing ten or more children earned the title of Mother Heroine.

In the past few years, the birthrate has slowly started to climb, but motherhood remains on a pedestal and women are the first to sing its praises. "Of course women are responsible for raising the children," says Economist Raude. "Who else would

be?" In a 1987 address before an international women's conference in Moscow, Gorbachev spoke of the gender's "inherent functions: those of mother, wife, the person who brings up children." Later that year, he referred in a television interview to women's "predestination, that is, as keeper of the home fires." While Western feminists shuddered, Soviet women welcomed Gorbachev's words as a sign of respect for the maternal role. "We live for our children," says Eva Berezena, 27, a ballerina at the Moscow Musical Theater. "It's the most important thing we have."

Berezena has only one child, and statistics suggest that at most she is likely to have only one more. The state tries to encourage women to press past the usual two-child rate, offering a one-time bonus of $167 for a third baby and early retirement from employment to those women who have more than five. Yet, for all the official exaltation of hearth and kin, the disincentives are far greater. Housing is cramped. Money is tight: another mouth to feed can be a serious burden. Bosses are inflexible, making it difficult to obtain time off to care for ill children, even though the law requires that a woman be paid whenever she must stay home with a sick child. Emigré Weinstein recalls that her boss offered her a higher salary if she promised never to stay home when her child got sick. "He also made me promise not to have any more children," she says.

What if the husband were to stay home instead? "It would not be bad," says Eda Vishnevetsky, 39, mother of three, with a shrug that suggests she has never before considered the possibility. Soviet men would probably blanch at the thought. "If she left her husband in charge," chimes in Eda's spouse Yefim, 39, "he might make some mistake even with the best of intentions."

Vishnevetsky, who moved his family from Kiev to New York City four months ago, is more enlightened than most Soviet males. To help his wife, who had a full-time accounting job in Kiev, he regularly did the laundry, including the diapers. "Two hours a day I did like this!" he says, rubbing his hands together. "I was like that little animal, the badger, who is always rubbing his paws together." Vishnevetsky also ventured into the kitchen, even teaching his daughters how to make a salad. "My contribution was smaller than my wife's," he says, "but still it was there." In many households, it is not. "It never enters my husband's mind to help me," says a middle-aged Muscovite. "Even when we're both exhausted, it's me who waits on him. He's never touched a vacuum cleaner or a pair of dirty socks in his life."

Male sloth, however, is not the main reason that 1 in every 3 Soviet marriages fails. Women—who, according to the weekly journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta,* initiate 7 out of every 10 divorces—cite their husbands' drinking as the primary source of friction. Thus many Soviets consider Gorbachev's antialcohol campaign his most significant profamily reform. "Before, when a woman struggled against her husband's alcoholism, it was considered to be her own private affair," says Yefim Vishnevetsky. "Now it is considered a public problem."

THE BIG LINEUP

OVER THE COURSE OF A WEEK, THE AVERAGE WOMAN SPENDS ALMOST THREE HOURS A DAY DOING HOUSEWORK AND STANDING IN LINES. THOSE TASKS EAT UP MORE THAN SIX HOURS OF HER WEEKEND.

Parental interference also puts a strain on marriages. The problem is almost unavoidable, given the Soviet Union's severe housing crunch. Young people know they stand a better chance of getting an apartment and moving away from their parents if they marry. Hence, they often tie the knot prematurely, move in with one set of parents or the other and make a quick application for housing. While their names languish for years on government waiting lists, they must endure the clash of generations in tiny apartments. Often, they wind up divorced before securing their own flat. A 1986 study published in the Soviet press cited housing as the most acute problem confronting young married people. That survey, of couples in Minsk, found that 50% of those sampled lived with parents, 32% in dormitories and less than 3% in their own apartments.

Given such statistics, it should be surprising that young women are eager to leap into marriage. While the wedding age is on the rise in the West, it is falling in the Soviet Union. Another 1986 study, this one prepared by Moscow State University's center for population studies, found that Soviets on average marry three years younger than they did 20 years ago. One in 4 Soviet females weds at 18; the husband is only a year older. There is family and peer pressure to marry early, and a shortage of young men is keenly felt. Moreover, girls know that society favors married women. "If you're not married by 20, people think there's something



■ Engineer

"There's not enough to buy"

At Moscow's Cheryomushkinsky market, Nadezhda Nickolaevna Rybkina, 37, spoons honey into an assortment of used glass jars brought from home. "My parents make this honey," she explains. "They are retired, but they have 15 hives, and my husband and I help them with the business." The rewards for Rybkina's family-based venture, a sideline from her regular job as an engineer at a factory that makes parts for gas pipelines, are substantial: on an eight-day selling trip to Moscow from her home in Konotop, 380 miles to the southwest, she hoped to gross about $3,300.

"We're hardworking people," she says. "I work weekdays in the factory, weekends in the country." She and her husband, who is head of the power-supply service in her plant, live with their 14-year-old son in a two-room apartment in Konotop. The family's income, not counting the occasional windfall from honey, is nearly $700 monthly. "We have quite enough money," says Rybkina. "But there's not enough to buy."

Physics Teacher

"We have to save for a year more"

As a high school physics teacher, Valentina Vladimirovna Mityushova, 33, takes home $367 a month, slightly more than her husband, who operates a bulldozer. Wives are the bigger breadwinners in roughly a third of all two-salary Soviet households. For the time being, however, Mityushova sees to it that living expenses for the couple and their two sons, 4 and 8, are covered by her salary alone. Her husband's wages are banked against the hoped-for purchase of a car. "We've been saving for two years and have more than 4,000 rubles [$6,680]," she says. "But we have to save for a year more."

One reason she is eager to get her own transportation is to put an end to the challenges of shopping near the tiny village of Lykino, 13 miles west of Moscow, where the family lives in a modern two-room apartment. As things are now, she must walk for 20 minutes at both ends of a 20-minute bus ride to reach her usual shop.



wrong with you," says Rimma Raude. "After you're married, you're treated with more respect."

Still, couples who have been married less than a year are swelling the divorce rosters. Many already have children on the way. One 1986 study published in the youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* indicates that 25% of marrying women are pregnant at the time of their nuptials; of the rest, one-third get pregnant within the next nine months. More than social pressure is at work here. Some 60% of young men and women, according to the sociology journal *Sotisologicheskoe Issledovaniye*, regularly engage in unprotected intercourse before marriage. For the vast majority of Soviet women, the main means of birth control is abortion; Western researchers estimate that there are three abortions for every live Soviet birth.

Women tell of having six, seven or eight abortions. They may be the lucky ones. The Soviet press reports that every sixth woman who aborts her first pregnancy is left infertile. Since anesthesia is usually not used during state-subsidized abortions, many women seek private arrangements. They may get their anesthesia, but the risk of complications is apparently greater than in a hospital. According to the monthly *Rabotnitsa* (Working Woman), one-third of all women who opt for private abortions die from the operation. Prospects for improvement on that front are remote. Beyond the 5¢ condoms that are widely available, other contraceptive means are largely unobtainable. Western birth-control pills are difficult to find, and Hungarian-made equivalents are in short supply. Women often complain about the lack of contraceptive options, yet they remain stoic. Asks Natalie Meyerson, 34, who emigrated from Moscow to Israel three months ago: "If the man does not want to be careful, what can you do?"

The relative inattention to women's health seems a contradiction, given the state's emphasis on childbearing. Yet gynecologic care is lacking. New mothers tell of unsanitary conditions and inadequate care. "I was at one of the best maternity hospitals in Moscow, but it was dirty," complains a 29-year-old woman. "The mothers all had caked breasts, and the toilet was filthy." Adds an employee of a maternity house in the capital: "Women in labor are treated like cattle. There's one midwife for every 15 women." Alexander Baranov, a Deputy Minister of Health, admitted in a recent newspaper interview that gynecologic clinics are no better, most of them lacking heat and plumbing. Yet the clinics are vital to the female population: 1 out of 3 Soviet women has gynecologic problems, and miscarriages are common.

Unhygienic conditions are coupled with a general ignorance about reproduction and its hazards. Sex education is rarely taught in school. Many a young woman panics when she sees her first menstrual blood, having no idea what it signifies. Her options for dealing with menstruation are unpleasant: thick, rough pads or cotton batting. That may soon change, however. Moscow is negotiating with an American firm to set up a joint venture for the production in the Soviet Union of up to 25 million tampons a year.

To Western eyes, the lot of a Soviet woman may seem outrageously unfair. Yet Soviet women find Western attitudes toward marriage and family alien, if not laughable. "Your ideas of independence are a luxury," says Tanya, the English teacher. A small minority speak longingly of organized action to press for women's rights but are afraid that officials would crack down on any such effort. Most, however, are too overwhelmed by the hardships of day-to-day living to squander energy on political and personal issues that for more than two decades have enlivened Western debate about the woman's role. "I've never heard a Soviet woman talk about fulfillment," says Student Anna. "We don't think in these terms."

Nor, apparently, does Raisa Gorbachev. For all the difference between her glamorous life-style and the drudgery endured by most Soviet women, the First Lady expresses attitudes that reflect popular aspirations. In a letter to TIME, she strikes a series of chords that show her to be in tune with her female compatriots. Selflessness. Self-sacrifice. Keepers of the hearth and home. From such broad themes, it is only a small step to the primary preoccupation: coping with life as it is, rather than dreaming how it might be. What does a woman want?

"An electric mixer," says Physics Teacher Valentina Mityushova.

"More food in the stores, more meat, fish and caviar," replies Nadezhda Rybkina, an engineer.

Says Anna: "A life without lines."

—By Jill Smolowe.

Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow, Sally B. Donnelly and Margot Hornblower/New York

LATCHKEY KIDS

WITH THE NUMBER OF SOVIET DIVORCES RUNNING TO ALMOST 1 MILLION ANNUALLY, CLOSE TO 600,000 CHILDREN JOIN THE SWELLING ROSTER OF SINGLE-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS EACH YEAR.

"My Wife Is a Very Independent Lady"

Educated, attractive and opinionated, Mikhail Gorbachev's closest adviser is a one-woman revolution

It is morning in Moscow, and a conspicuously important visitor, his face half hidden by a fedora, walks into one of the city's factories. He strides up to a worker and introduces himself: "I'm Mikhail Gorbachev."

"Oh!" the worker replies. "I didn't recognize you without your wife."

Not since Czar Nicholas wed Alexandra in 1894 have Russians encountered a ruler's wife with such presence, such personality, such promise as a subject of mild jokes and elevated eyebrows as Raisa Gorbachev. She is the first spouse of a Soviet leader to weigh less than he does, acid tongues have it in Moscow, and the first "Czarina," as some of her fellow citizens mock her, to appear in the Kremlin since the fall of the Romanovs. She is also the first Soviet First Lady to use an American Express card and, as a member of the board of the Culture Fund, the first since Lenin's wife to hold a prominent public position. Her frosty intellect, sharp tongue and relatively lavish habits are the talk of Moscow. Almost from the day in 1985 when her husband took over as General Secretary of the Communist Party, Raisa Gorbachev has been one of the most visible, most gossiped-about females in the country.

What a change! For decades, while Soviet leaders went about the business of state, their spouses remained virtually invisible. The wives of Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Chernenko rarely appeared in public. It was not known for sure that Yuri Andropov even had a wife until she showed up to mourn him at his 1984 funeral.

Now, suddenly, there is Mikhail and Raisa, a pair who can hold their own in the international journalistic sweepstakes vis-à-vis Ron and Nancy and, given the Gorbachevs' comparative youth (he is 57, she 56) and the Soviet political system, who will probably outlast George and Barbara or Mike and Kitty. The Western press trembles with anticipation.

Raisa. Even in this semienlightened age, prominent women are somehow reduced to first names: Maggie, Cory, Nancy. Yet, despite her visibility, Raisa Gorbachev remains a riddle inside an enigma wrapped in sable. Is she the witty, cosmopolitan muse of *glasnost,* as some Westerners who have met her suggest? Or is she a hard-line ideologue, as others report? At a dinner with the Reagans during the 1985 Geneva summit, Raisa launched into a lengthy and pedantic monologue on Soviet policy. After the Gorbachevs left, Nancy Reagan may have spoken for the other guests when she fumed, within hearing of then White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, "Who does that dame think she is?"



Family resemblance: Daughter Irina with her husband

There seem to be several Raisas. Most prominent these days is the "Nemesis of Nancy." The First Ladies' little cold war has been the stuff of tabloid headlines ever since Mrs. Gorbachev upstaged Mrs. Reagan by arriving unexpectedly at the 1986 Reykjavík summit (Nancy stayed home). "I missed you in Reykjavík," Raisa said when the two met in Washington last December. Nancy replied icily, "I was told women weren't invited."

At the Washington meeting, the U.S. First Lady was taken aback by her Soviet counterpart's relentless questioning about historical and cultural minutiae during a tour of the White House. "I'm afraid I'm not much help," admitted Nancy, who was recovering from breast-cancer surgery and mourning the recent death of her mother. "Their face-off was extraordinary," said one who saw the pair in action. "They didn't seem to understand each other." As a result, Nancy decided to tour Leningrad this week only if Raisa did not come along. Instead, Mrs. Reagan's official escort will be Soviet President Andrei Gromyko's wife Lidiya. Perhaps compatibility charts should have been drawn: Raisa, a Capricorn ("overexacting, rigid"), vs. Nancy, a Cancer ("touchy, unforgiving").

In any case, the American First Lady is ready to launch a counterattack. East Wing scouts have collected photographs of every site where the two women will meet, and Nancy has an eye on every detail—from where to sit to be out of the wind to the color of towels in the powder rooms. It should be a meeting to remember. How will Nancy's homework compare with Raisa's recent English lessons? Will Raisa's hair, which was formerly hennaed in the salon of Moscow's exclusive International Hotel, match the brilliance of Nancy's, which is touched up with Clairol's Moongold and Chestnut? Will the Soviet First Lady return to the gold-lamé sandals she wore in London in 1984? Will the American First Lady shock the world by wearing red, her favorite color, in Red Square?

The second popular caricature is "Wrap It Up" Raisa, the Soviet Lorelei Lee who, after admiring British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's diamond earrings on a 1984 trip to London, dropped into Cartier on New Bond Street to buy a pair ($1,780) for herself, paying with the American Express card. In Paris she asked Yves Saint Laurent for a bottle



DIRCK HALSTEAD

The General Secretary's lady: "That woman," he once joked, "costs me not only a lot of money but also a lot of worry"

of his perfume Opium ($175 an ounce) and received it free. In London she canceled a visit to the tomb of Karl Marx for a chance to see the crown jewels. She owns four fur coats and wore three of them in one day in Washington. Mikhail Gorbachev was once overheard quipping, "That woman costs me not only a lot of money but also a lot of worry." Seeing her in several outfits a day, some Soviet women, who often have to line up for food and clothing, are apt to scowl. "It's so insensitive," says a Moscow language instructor. "She ought to have more sense."

Next there is Raisa the Unknown. Considering that she is the wife of the leader of one of the world's superpowers, there are wide gaps in the public record, at home and abroad, about her early life. Only within the past few years has there been general agreement in the West on Raisa Maximovna Gorbachev's birth date, Jan. 5, 1932, and that she was born in the Siberian town of Rubtsovsk. Her father was a railroad engineer named Maxim Titorenko. That is about all there is to her official biography.

But speculation abhors a vacuum. Thus there have been reports that she is the niece of Gromyko (not true), that she is of Tatar descent and her actual patronymic is not Maximovna but the rather Asian-sounding Maksudovna ("I am absolutely Russian," she countered last year), that her father was a prominent official exiled to Siberia by Stalin (unlikely), that she has a brother-in-law who was a minor party official until he somehow embarrassed her husband (unconfirmed).

She does have a daughter named Irina, who is a doctor married to another doctor. His first name is Anatoli, but his

surname is not known. Raisa has two granddaughters, one named either Oksana or Xenia (probably the latter) and another whose name is undisclosed.

Who is the real Raisa? As with most members of the Soviet élite, the personality behind the public image remains elusive. In Soviet newspapers, she is still not identified by name when photographed with her husband. Yet at least she is pictured. That unprecedented visibility, says Jonathan Sanders, assistant director of Columbia University's Harriman Institute, has come as a "shock to the system." During Stalin's reign, not only were the wives of high officials invisible but also a few were sent to labor camps or forced into divorce at the dictator's whim. Such practices ended after Stalin's death, but the near total obscurity of the wives of the mighty remained. Gail Lapidus, a professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, suggests that "by appearing with his wife and allowing her to be seen as an active partner, Mikhail Gorbachev is normalizing and humanizing the image of the leadership in Moscow." In the new age, the General Secretary is allowed to be devoted to both the state and his wife. "He is saying it's time for women to step forward," explains Stephen F. Cohen, professor of politics at Princeton. "They have been asked to do too much and have not gotten their reward." In that sense, Raisa has emerged as an experiment in *glasnost*.

She is clearly qualified for the role. She graduated from high school with a gold medal for being top student in her class; Mikhail Gorbachev, at another school, came away with only the silver. In the 1950s, both attended Moscow State University and were neighbors in the school's cramped Stromynka Student Hostel. He pursued law. She studied Marxist-Leninist philosophy. He was a country boy, though self-possessed and confident. She was popular, witty and cultured. They met at a ballroom-dancing class, and he quickly set about whittling down her small army of suitors. Mikhail and Raisa were wed in 1954 but did not live together for six months, until married-student housing became available.

After graduation from Moscow State in 1955, Raisa joined Mikhail for what would be a 23-year stint in Stavropol, his home region in the Caucasus. Vladimir Maximov, a Soviet émigré in Paris, recalls Stavropol in the 1950s as an "overgrown village whose life centered entirely on a single street." It was 800 miles from Moscow, and much farther still in terms of sophistication. As Mikhail began his slow climb through the party apparat, Raisa busied herself teaching at a local school ("the best job in the world," she would later say) and, at the same time, worked toward the equivalent of a Ph.D. in sociology, which she received in 1967 from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute.

Her doctoral dissertation, on peasant conditions at collective farms in the Stavropol region, paid homage to the benefits brought by the October Revolution but pointed to some shortcomings in Soviet rural life: the poor quality of food and clothing, the nonexistence of domestic plumbing and heating and the almost complete absence of entertainment. Sidney Monas, professor of history at the University of Texas at Austin, describes Raisa's paper, a synopsis of which is available at the Library of Congress as well as the Lenin Library in Moscow, as "slightly better than average, not altogether unorthodox, but with some distinct liberal tendencies." She pioneered sociological survey methods at a time when sociology was not considered a proper field of study in the Soviet Union. For example, she found that the lower a peasant's education level, the more likely he was to own religious icons.

Though the dissertation was mildly contemptuous of peasant piety, Raisa professes tolerance for religion. "I am an atheist," she told a church group in Iceland in 1986. "But I know the church, and I respect all faiths. It is, after all, a personal matter." She does not necessarily reject spirituality; that would mean brushing aside much of Russian literature and art, subjects that are dear to her. After her husband's rise to power, she was said to have been instrumental in the rehabilitation of Nikolai Gumilyov, a poet executed by the Bolsheviks in 1921. Gumilyov's verses shimmer with images of cathedral domes and crucifixes.

Attractive, cultured and correctly attuned ideologically, Raisa Gorbachev was the model of the modern Soviet woman and an asset to her husband as he entertained Moscow dignitaries vacationing in the spas near Stavropol. Among them was Yuri Andropov, then chief of the KGB, who eventually became Mikhail's mentor. In 1978 Mikhail Gorbachev was promoted to Party Secretary for Agriculture, and the couple finally returned to Moscow. By 1985 Mikhail was General Secretary of the party and the leader of the Soviet Union. Spotting a photograph of Andropov in Washington last year, Raisa said, "We owe everything to him."

On her initial trip abroad as First Lady, Raisa jokingly said to Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, "Give me some advice. I'm a beginner at this job." She learned fast, and quickly became a hit in the West. In Washington, accompanied by Van Cliburn on the piano, she and her husband made White House guests smile by leading the Soviet delegation in a rendition of a sentimental Russian favorite, *Moscow Nights*.

Raisa's fashion tastes have received mixed reviews. Parisian critics, for example, have described her as "elegant but not chic." In fact, she appears to avoid flashy clothes. Much of her wardrobe is prepared by a team of designers led by Tamara Mokeyeva of the "experimental" atelier at the Dom Modeli in Moscow. Soviet clothing factories depend on the shop's designs to keep track of what's hot and what's not. But the cuts and colors remain conservative. According to one report, Mokeyeva has

War and Peace



When she discovered that TIME *was preparing a story on contemporary Soviet women, Raisa Gorbachev sent this unsolicited message.*

The more we learn about the life of the peoples of our countries today, their concerns and their aspirations, the sooner we will have a better understanding of one another.

I retain warm memories of the meetings I had with American women in Moscow and Washington in December 1987. What are my impressions as a result of those meetings? Quite a number of differences stand between us. But I feel that they in no way hinder discussions of any problems that are of concern to us: how to preserve peace, how to make the life of every individual on earth worthy of our times. We had many interesting discussions about the role of women in society and family, and about what should be done to make their participation in society harmonious with their indispensable role as keeper of the hearth and home.

In the heroic and dramatic history of my country, Soviet women have written many pages that our people are proud of and that are marked by striking selflessness and self-sacrifice, by boundless kindness and charity. How many personal tragedies were inflicted on women by World War II! Millions of them never experienced love, family happiness or the joys of motherhood. Our women know the price of war and peace. They are ardent and convinced champions of peace.

Today the Soviet woman is proud of her participation in *perestroika*, in the renewal of society. There are grounds for this. *Perestroika* is distinguished by a vigorous social policy. This is very important for improving people's everyday life and family life and for the upbringing of children. This policy provides women with greater opportunities to practice their chosen profession, to go about their favorite pursuits and—not least important—to take good care of themselves in order to remain an equal and desired loved one, wife and mother for many years to come.

I sincerely wish the readers of TIME, all American women and their families peaceful and clear skies over our planet, and happiness.

P. Gorbachev

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only praise for her First Lady: "She has natural charm. This is not something you can learn."

In the West, Raisa has earned high marks for her breadth of knowledge. At a private party given by Washington Hostess Pamela Harriman, the widow of Averell Harriman, who was U.S. Ambassador in Moscow from 1943 to 1946, Raisa discussed the U.S. Supreme Court with Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and brought up the inner workings of Congress with Senators Barbara Mikulski and Nancy Kassebaum. However, Mikulski later said that "Mrs. Gorbachev is like an East European professor who speaks in paragraphs. There is no free exchange with her."

The same trait was observed in early May by Arthur Mitchell, director of the Dance Theater of Harlem, during the company's Moscow tour. "She's charming, articulate and bright," said Mitchell after a 20-minute backstage chat with Raisa. "But you know when she asks a question that she has an opinion of her own and wants to see if you agree with her."

Her diligence can sometimes be charming. During a visit to Czechoslovakia in 1987, Raisa kept behind Mikhail and conscientiously repeated, "Thank you so much for coming," as they worked the crowd. In Prague she noticed that the General Secretary was about to overlook a young boy. "Mikhail Sergeyevich," she said in her high-pitched voice. Her husband turned around, greeted the child and invited him to Moscow. Her thoroughness can be irritating too. At a State Department lunch in Washington, Raisa upset Secretary of State George Shultz by having a brief conversation with each of the 180 people on the receiving line. Lunch was delayed for hours.

If such idiosyncrasies are generally overlooked in the West, her audience at home is more critical. Asked to give their opinion of Raisa Gorbachev, some Soviets roll their eyes and choose their words carefully. "I'm with her because I think women should take a more active role in our society," says a young woman named Anna in Moscow. "But she must use more common sense. She goes to a factory wearing furs. That's bad taste. She's showing off, and it doesn't help her husband's public image."

Others complain that she has no right to act like an official. "She misbehaves," says a Soviet translator. "She shouldn't lecture everyone she meets." Over tea and blini, the women in the dachas of the privileged grumble that she does not know her place, that she is reversing the traditional roles of the sexes. "She's a shrew," says one Muscovite. "She wears the pants in the family."



LANGEVIN—SYGMA

Watch out world: Mikhail and Raisa on tour in India

Challenging Ron and Nancy in the journalistic sweepstakes.

In a country where husbands usually have the last word on everything, the Gorbachevs appear to enjoy an unusually equal partnership. "I'm very lucky with Mikhail," Raisa confided to a dinner companion during her 1985 trip to Paris. "We are really friends—or, if you prefer, we have a great rapport." Mikhail seems to enjoy his wife's feistiness. After his British publisher asked him last April about the possibility of Raisa's writing a book, the General Secretary smiled and said, "My wife is a very independent lady. On this occasion, I will act as a messenger boy. She will make up her own mind."

Yet Gorbachev is clearly sensitive to opinion at home. When Soviet television broadcast his interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw last year, a question on whether Gorbachev discussed "Soviet affairs at the highest level" with his wife was deleted. The General Secretary's answer ("We discuss everything") was cut as well. In Washington last year she spontaneously crossed the street to talk to Western journalists, underlining a Gorbachevian openness; her KGB bodyguards promptly ordered the only Soviet journalist in the press group to leave.

Which Raisa will appear at the summit, the vivacious woman who chats up Western reporters abroad or the more modest one who stays in the background on her husband's tours of Soviet factories and collective farms? At a time when Gorbachev's reform efforts are still facing opposition from hard-liners, obstructionist bureaucrats and skeptical workers, the General Secretary is likely to tread softly. But he has not given up on pushing his wife forward, perhaps to demonstrate in the most personal terms that he is intent on improving the lot of women. Since 1987, for example, she has been a director of the Culture Fund, a potentially influential body in charge of historical preservation and one that is independent of the Ministry of Culture.

In spite of her academic achievements, many of Raisa's fellow citizens perceive her as having risen to prominence not so much through merit as through marriage, something of a throwback in an egalitarian society like the Soviet Union. "Raisa Maximovna ought to be more modest," says a young village woman. "If we knew she was a help to her husband on these trips and didn't just go along to enjoy herself, our whole impression of her would be different." Adds Luda Yevsukova, a Soviet émigré in Washington: "She's a normal woman who married well. She gets nice clothes, she travels to the West. She gets everything, her people get nothing. She'll never be popular, because of all her privileges."

One of Raisa's disadvantages is the lack of precedent. Lenin's wife Nadezhda Krupskaya was similarly well educated and strong willed. But she was a prominent revolutionary before she married and never played the part of First Lady. Contemporary examples elsewhere in the Communist world are uninspiring: in Rumania Nicolae Ceauşescu's widely reviled wife Elena; in China the disgraced Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's widow. Leonid Brezhnev's daughter Galina, once hailed as the East bloc's answer to Jacqueline Kennedy, later achieved notoriety by associating with shady characters.

Convincing Soviet citizens that Raisa will be different may be difficult. She is not about to play the dutiful housewife, puttering contentedly around the Gorbachev dacha alongside Rublevskoye Highway west of Moscow. In her doctoral dissertation she recorded these words from a cossack folk song: "Go play, young girl, while you are still free." Raisa will have her fun. And if Soviet public opinion or the exigencies of domestic politics force her to curb her activities at home, she will always be a hit on the road. All she has to do is switch on her strobe-light smile and, as she has so often before, drop one of the handful of phrases she knows in English: "See you later, alligator." ***—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan. Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow and Nancy Traver/Washington***