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4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 25, 1985

SECTION: Washington Whispers; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 62 words

BODY:

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

6TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Pg. 27

LENGTH: 574 words

HEADLINE: Prospects for a Thaw: Process Will Be Slow

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



8TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 21, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 588 words

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

BYLINE: By ART BUCHWALD

BODY:

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

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

"What should we watch for?"

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

"Why is Gorbachev getting such a good press?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE:

Column; Wire

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March 15, 1985, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; World News; A29

LENGTH: 758 words

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

BYLINE: By Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, March 14, 1985

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 861 words

HEADLINE: DEATH THINS RANKS OF SOVIET OLD GUARD

BYLINE: By Howard A. Tyner, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; GROUP; OFFICIAL; END

18TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1026 words

HEADLINE: BUSH, GORBACHEV TALK

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

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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an arms-control accord with the Russians."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; RELATION; UNITED STATES

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 1005 words

HEADLINE: SOVIETS: BUSH ENCOURAGED BY GORBACHEV TALK

BYLINE: By WILLIAM J. EATON, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

'Good Time to Move'

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

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

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

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

Kissinger Cautions



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Strong Impression'

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

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

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

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

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

(c) 1985 Los Angeles Times, March 14, 1985

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

Thatcher Optimistic

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

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

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

Armored Vehicle

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

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

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

Times reporter George Skelton in Washington contributed to this story.

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

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

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LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: NEWS SUMMARY;

BODY:

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1985 International

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE: Summary

SUBJECT: Terms not available

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March 12, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

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

LENGTH: 865 words

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

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

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 11

BODY:

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

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

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

'Looking Forward' to Meeting

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

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

'I Started Thinking About It'

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

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

'An Open Mind'

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

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

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

Other Commitments Cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Legitimate Agenda' Sought



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

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

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

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

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

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

GRAPHIC: photo of President Reagan (page A17)

SUBJECT: DEATHS; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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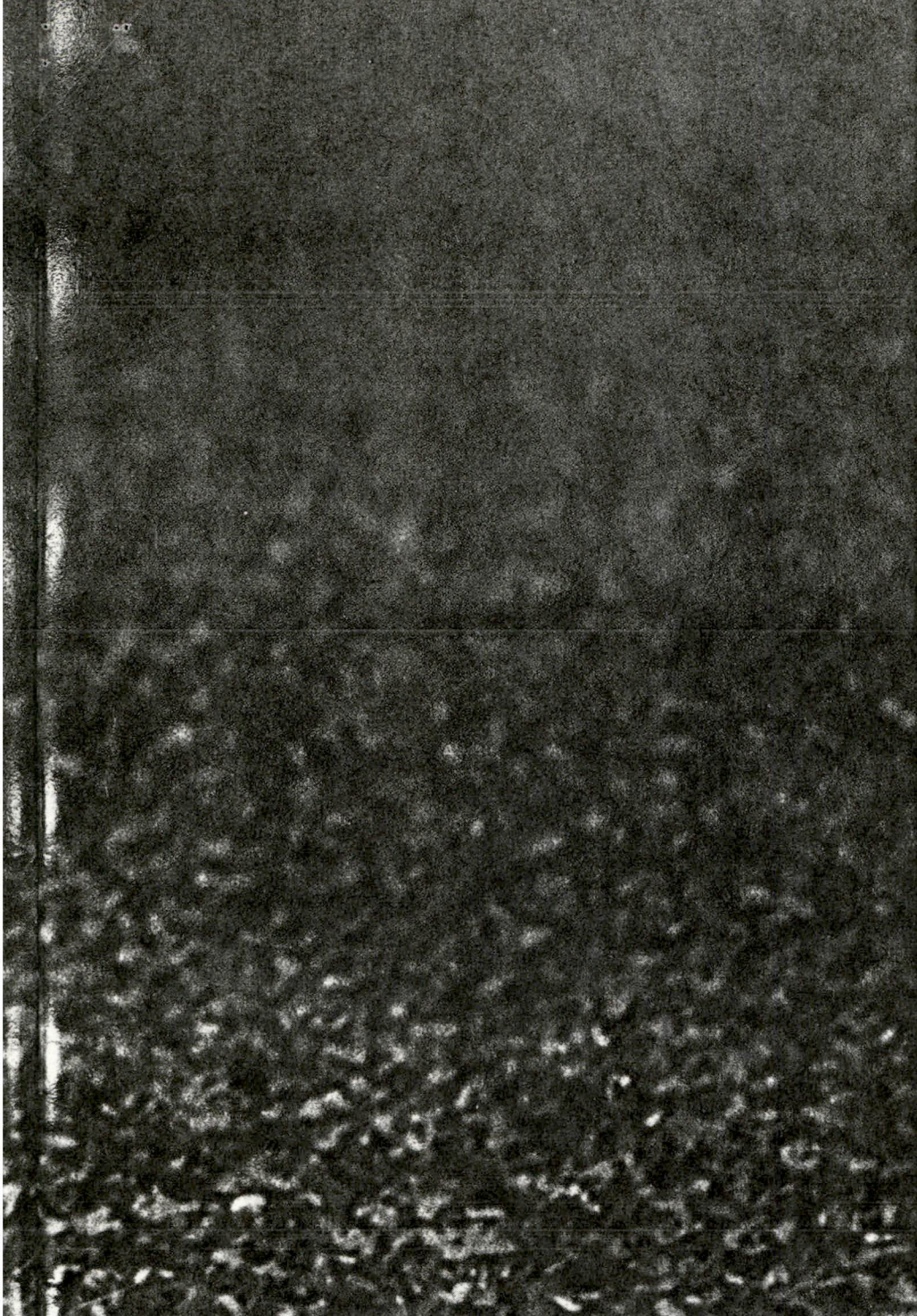
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TIME/DECEMBER 21, 1987



The Spirit Of Washington

With big smiles and some frustrations, détente makes a comeback



throughs on arms control—the thorny issue of Star Wars was set aside for another day—and there were heated exchanges on human rights, the exalted pronouncements uttered in the afterglow were more than mere hyperbole. Something extraordinary was taking place: four decades of often truculent cold-war rhetoric were giving way to dispassionate discourse and high-level rapport. Neither side was forgetting the vast ideological chasm that separates the superpowers, but they were learning to work around their differences, to stake out common ground on which to build a better understanding.

The centerpiece of the summit was the ceremonial signing of an intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty that eliminated an entire class of atomic weapons from Europe and the rest of the world. The product of six years of negotiation, the pact calls for the destruction of 1,752 Soviet and 859 American missiles and establishes rigorous on-site verification procedures that pave the way for more ambitious agreements in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) regarding longer-range weapons.

On that score, the negotiating teams were able to work out some new details concerning their goal of a 50% cut in strategic arms. By agreeing to set aside the issue of exactly how the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty would restrict the development of Reagan's proposed Strategic Defense Initiative, the two sides showed a willingness—at least for the moment—to make that dispute less of an obstacle to a START treaty. Such an agreement, if the SDI issue can continue to be finessed, is expected to form the basis for a fourth summit in Moscow late next spring.

Reagan saw the Washington summit as a vindication of his hard-line policies of the past seven years. By seeking to roll back Communist influence and reduce, rather than merely limit, the number of nuclear weapons on both sides, Reagan believes he has repudiated the flawed policies of his predecessors. Many of the claims he made in his televised speech Thursday night were overstated: the INF treaty is not the first to require reductions in the number of nuclear weapons (SALT II provided for limited cuts), the summit did not represent a victory for his SDI program, and he was not able to make human rights or regional issues anything more than a sideshow to the business of arms control.

In fact, though the President would wince at the thought, the summit was not so much a triumph of a Reagan revolution in foreign policy as it was a return of the principles of détente: a reduction of tensions between the two superpowers and a recognition that arms control is the focal point of relations between the two countries. During the long and twisted walk up to the summit, Fritz Ermarth, the chief Soviet expert on the National Security Council, cracked, "Détente is dirty work, but somebody's got to do it." Last week Reagan and Gor-



It will be remembered as the summit at which intimacy and symbolism overshadowed disputes about substance, and its spirit was captured during a private

moment between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on the morning after they signed their historic arms accord. The President led the Soviet leader to a little study next to the Oval Office and produced a baseball that Joe DiMaggio had hoped to have autographed by Gorbachev at the state dinner the night before. Reagan was not just fulfilling the old Yankee slugger's request. He had a metaphor in mind. Are we, he asked, going to play ball? Yes, Gorbachev firmly agreed. Then the two men rejoined their top aides in the

Oval Office for a critical hour-long bargaining session on ways to reduce their bloated arsenals of strategic weapons.

Gorbachev's dazzling visit to Washington for the summit of 1987 seemed to herald a new and more personable ball game in the 40-year struggle between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. At center stage stood the leaders of the world's two most powerful nations, smiling warmly, shaking hands, exchanging pens, trading one-liners. The Soviet visitor even burst into song at one point. When it was all over, Gorbachev called the three-day Washington summit a "major event in world politics," while Reagan grandiloquently declared that the meeting had "lit the sky with hope for all people of goodwill."

Even though there were no break-



Gorbaphoria reached a crescendo when the summit superstar stopped his motorcade for some impromptu flesh pressing. Exulted one pedestrian:

by. Gushed one thrilled bystander: "It was like the coming of the second Messiah or something." Now that's public relations.

bachev made it seem like good clean fun. Although the meager results on substantive issues hardly justified the excitement and euphoria that surrounded last week's summit, what really mattered—and captured the public imagination—was the personal accord and the images of friendliness that pervaded the event. In diplomacy, especially in the age of television, the perception that tensions have been reduced tends to mean that tensions have in fact been reduced. What happened in Washington last week is that the perceptions changed measurably—and for the better—on both sides. This was true for the delighted Washington bystanders who had their hands pumped by Gorbachev; it was true for the fur-hatted Muscovites who huddled under a giant TV screen on Kalinin Prospect to watch their leader's pomp-filled arrival ceremony at the White House; and it was true, above all, for the two men who faced each other across the negotiating table.

This time the two men seemed to hit it off personally from the first handshake to the last. In some of their public appearances, they traded quips like a well-rehearsed vaudeville team. At the White House treaty-signing ceremony, for example, Reagan repeated the Russian phrase *doveryai no proveryai* (trust but verify), only to be interrupted by Gorbachev's good-natured observation, "You repeat that at every meeting." When the laughter of the 250 assembled guests died down, Reagan flashed his off-center grin, gave Gorbachev a little bow and replied, "I like it." The audience exploded with

laughter again. Said Gorbachev just before his final departure: "I think we trust each other more."

Gorbachev had another interlocutor: the American people. From his Monday afternoon arrival at Washington's Andrews Air Force Base to his rainy Thursday night departure, the General Secretary seemed to be leading a full-court media blitz. He unfailingly turned on the charm in his public appearances, such as Tuesday night's state dinner at the White House, where he and Wife Raisa joined Pianist Van Cliburn in singing *Moscow Nights*. Later in the week he stopped his motorcade on Connecticut Avenue to hop out and press the flesh with passers-

by. Gushed one thrilled bystander: "It was like the coming of the second Messiah or something." Now that's public relations.

The Soviet leader invited several groups of influential Americans to the Soviet embassy to push his case for arms reductions, world peace and his internal reforms. By far the most important of these meetings was with nine congressional leaders, including four of the Senators who will ultimately decide whether to ratify the INF treaty. Most of the legislators came out of the 90-minute meeting impressed by Gorbachev's intelligence, candor and optimism. But many of them let the General Secretary know that some

positive Soviet actions were necessary to improve relations. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, a West Virginia Democrat, noted that a timetable for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan "would help" win Senate ratification for INF. Senate Democratic Whip Alan Cranston of California asked what could be done to speed the START talks along. "You know what needs doing," replied Gorbachev. He pointed out that the Soviet Union was now sending out "good vibes" and added, "We need good vibes from you."

Gorbachev later held separate meetings with intellectual and cultural leaders (including such luminaries as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Writer Norman Mailer and Composer Yoko Ono), media moguls and business executives. At times during these sessions, he seemed almost Reaganesque in his use of folksy anecdotes to make his points. He began his

Gorbachev and God

"Every flirtation with God," Lenin once said, "is unutterable villainess." So what was Gorbachev flirting with at his arrival ceremony when he muttered "May God help us" to George Shultz? Not much, at first blush. The expression is colloquial Russian and has no more religious content than an American's "Thank heaven." Yet Gorbachev uses such phrases so frequently (one in his 1985 TIME interview was deleted when reprinted in the Soviet Union) that some have wondered if he is a closet Christian. He has told Soviet town-folk that young people need to get off alcohol and "back to church." In his interview with Tom Brokaw, he made a point of mentioning next year's celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. Larry Speakes, the former White House spokesman, says in a forthcoming book that Gorbachev confided to Reagan in Geneva that he personally "might believe in God." Gorbachev's mother is a churchgoing Russian Orthodox.

Gorbachev, however, is in fact a devout atheist. "I was taken to church as a child," he said during a 1984 talk in Britain, "but I never felt the least desire to go back." In a 1986 speech in Tashkent, he called for a "firm and uncompromising struggle against religious phenomena." And despite the carefully restricted official latitude enjoyed by the Russian Orthodox Church, many Christian groups in the Soviet Union still face official harassment.



SEVIL—AP/WIDEWORLD

structed the reporters, like a scolding schoolmaster, to "think over this part of my talk." The outburst, like his brusque answers to most of the questions that followed, revealed that *glasnost* has definite limits.

Reagan, meanwhile, showed his own hard-line side in a postsummit address. Having kept a relatively low profile during most of the visit, he went on national television only two minutes after Gorbachev's blue-and-white Ilyushin Il-62 had roared off into rainy black skies. Speaking from the Oval Office, Reagan called the talks a "clear success," giving cause for "both hope and optimism." But his speech included many declarations of his fundamental opposition to Soviet policies and philosophy. To some extent, Reagan was merely reverting to old familiar themes out of habit. But with an eye to the ratification process, he was also shoring up his right flank against charges by increasingly jumpy conservatives that he has gone soft on the Soviets.

Reagan's desire not to stray too far from his conservative base also probably accounted for some of his caution in dealing with arms control at the summit. As he has pursued his visions of disarmament through strength, many Republican strategists—notably Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger—warned that the headlong rush to cut missiles was not being guided by any strategic vision of how the U.S. and its allies could best defend their vital interests. Yet another surprise "breakthrough" that discarded the carefully wrought strategies of deterrence could have been disconcerting.

As it was in Reykjavik last year, SDI remained the main stumbling block to a major breakthrough. The Soviets have long claimed that all but the most basic Star Wars research is precluded by the

1972 ABM treaty. The Reagan Administration, under its much disputed "broad" interpretation of that treaty, insists that more advanced research and certain types of tests in space are permitted. In addition, the Soviets seek a guarantee that neither side will withdraw from the ABM treaty to deploy a space-based antimissile system for at least ten years. Dealing with that impasse was the job of the working group that was set up on Tuesday under Paul Nitze, the President's chief arms-control adviser, and Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, the Soviet armed forces chief of staff.

Reagan outlined his position on SDI during his Wednesday-morning meeting with Gorbachev in the Oval Office. "We are going forward with the research and development necessary to see if this is a workable concept," said the President, "and if it is, we are going to deploy it." Gorbachev listened intently, looking Reagan hard in the eyes as he spoke. When Reagan finished, the Soviet leader replied: "Mr. President, do what you think you have to do. And if in the end you think you have a system you want to deploy, go ahead and deploy. Who am I to tell you what to do? I think you're wasting money. I don't think it will work. But if that's what you want to do, go ahead." He added ominously: "We are moving in another direction, and we preserve our option to do what we think is necessary and in our own national interest at that time. And we think we can do it less expensively and with greater effectiveness."

U.S. experts were unsure what he meant but offered several possible explanations: that the Soviets were working on their own defensive system (a fact that Gorbachev seemed to concede in his in-

ian: "It was like the coming of the second Messiah"

meeting with the intellectuals, for example, by reading a letter from an American teenager calling on the two leaders "to build a world of responsibility."

Gorbachev showed the blunt candor that has distinguished his domestic efforts at economic reform. In his talk with news executives, he referred to the Soviet Union as the "world's second ranking power." The remark, which surprised many Westerners in the audience, was consistent with the message he has been stressing at home: that the Soviet Union must squarely face up to the problems in its economic system. Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov later told *TIME* that it was the first time Gorbachev had put his country's runner-up status so bluntly. Quipped Gerasimov: "He conceded—to Japan."

But Gorbachev bared his teeth on several occasions, betraying a testiness that belied his appeals to sweet reason. The Soviet leader's performance at his farewell press conference, in fact, may have undone some of the political gains of the previous three days. After arriving 15 minutes late at the Soviet Union's new Mt. Alto embassy complex, he launched into a detailed 70-minute monologue summing up his talks with Reagan. Near the end of his statement, however, he suddenly delivered a diatribe against the press—the very group he most needed to win over to get his message across.

Chopping the air with his hands and jutting out his lower lip, Gorbachev charged that all journalists wanted to do was grill him on human rights, "as if we are agreeing to give interviews not just to try to search for the truth, to prod each other to serious thinking, but to drive the politician into a corner." He then in-

The Soviet boss during his 70-minute address at a farewell press conference

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL EVANS AND DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR





The Reagans await their guests' arrival



A young supporter gets a boost for détente



Glasnost in Arlington: Soviet Chief of Staff

interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw two weeks ago); that they might consider breaking the moratorium on antisatellite systems, which could cripple space-based SDI components; or that they might resort to abrogating existing treaties and rebuilding their nuclear arsenals.

American analysts were similarly baffled by another vague Gorbachev claim, made during his final press conference, that the Soviets possessed the means to identify the location and megatonnage of land- and sea-based nuclear weapons—even those deployed on submarines. If the Soviets could indeed pinpoint U.S. subs, they could neutralize a key leg of the U.S. nuclear triad. State Department and Pentagon experts were highly skeptical that the Soviets possessed such technology.

However obscure Gorbachev was about his secret hardware, he left no doubt that the SDI issue was no longer an obstacle to an agreement on strategic cuts. This was a considerable concession from the Soviets, whose insistence on nipping Star Wars in the bud had led them to link SDI restrictions to the tentative wide-ranging agreements reached at the Reykjavik summit last year. Yet the Soviets have long pursued a tactic of linking and unlinking and then relinking SDI to other agreements; the idea is sure to come back to haunt a START agreement before the two leaders can clink glasses again in Moscow next year.

The Nitze-Akhromeyev working group focused its efforts on drafting the language of its joint communiqué in such a way as to defer the SDI problem without undermining the valid-

ity of the ABM treaty. At the same time, it sought to reach agreement on the "subceilings" that would be placed on different types of strategic missiles and bombers within the framework of reducing each side's warheads by half. The group was still struggling with texts and numbers as Gorbachev and Reagan were ending their final working lunch in the Family Dining Room of the White House. Stretching out their meal while waiting for negotiators to finish, Gorbachev and Reagan lapsed into casual conversation. The two leaders got to talking about being politicians. Reagan told Gorbachev that he had watched his curbside handshaking interlude on TV, explaining that Ameri-

can politicians called that "working the crowds." Gorbachev laughed and won Reagan's hearty endorsement of his observation that leaders learned more when traveling in the provinces than in their own capitals. There was unintended irony in Gorbachev's remark, since for all his efforts to impress his views on Americans during this trip, he had shown little interest in learning about the country itself.

Finally, the arms-control group reached consensus and rejoined the leaders. Gorbachev was escorted to the map room to be briefed by Akhromeyev, while Reagan retired to the library, where Secretary of State George Shultz and Lieut. General Colin Powell, the National Security

Adviser, explained the language to him. Informed that the Joint Chiefs were satisfied with the text, Reagan approved it. Then he went to shake hands with Gorbachev before accompanying him to the South Lawn for the farewell ceremony.

The working group had refined instructions for the Soviet and U.S. negotiators in Geneva, who will seek to translate them into treaty language over the next few months. As originally agreed in Reykjavik, the plan calls for a 50% reduction in overall nuclear warheads, down to 6,000 for each side. Of those, the combined number of intercontinental ballistic missiles plus submarine-launched ballistic missiles was limited at 4,900. No more than 1,540 warheads can be on heavy multiwarhead missiles. They also agreed to a limit of 1,600 delivery systems (missile launchers, bombers, etc.). Verification procedures remain to be worked out, although U.S.

Nancy's Reflections

"I know there are all these stories about trouble between myself and Mrs. Gorbachev," Nancy Reagan said in a conversation with *TIME's* Hugh Sidey last Friday. "They started in Geneva, about the fashion war. Such stories are so trivial and silly. The real story is that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have gotten to this point, have signed a treaty, and there is a better, more open relationship.

"Mr. Gorbachev told me that he and Raisa were troubled by jet lag. I get jet lag when I go to California. He says he was drinking a lot of coffee. I don't drink coffee, but maybe I should start." The First Lady stressed that she was looking forward to her trip to Moscow. "I told Mr. Gorbachev that our son [Ron Jr.] had been there twice and had told us all about it and wanted us to go. I think the way the General Secretary had groups of Americans in to talk with him was a good thing. I wonder if we could have some Soviet groups in if we got to Moscow."

Mrs. Reagan praised the "good chemistry" between her husband and Gorbachev. "They can talk candidly now, and they do. They both understand there are big differences. But they know now the point beyond which they do not press the other. When they get there, they cool it. This has taken a long time happening. Ronnie held out for 'zero option' at first, then he walked out of Reykjavik, and now we are here. It's a beginning. If we go to Moscow in June, maybe we will make more progress. And, by golly, it was Ronnie who did it."



TERRY ARNOLD

Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev enters the Pentagon

officials feel their earlier breakthroughs on INF on-site inspections will take them a long way toward finding solutions.

On SDI, the language worked out was both tortured and mushy, just what was needed to defer the dispute to another day. Says Gerasimov: "It means we postponed our quarrels." The negotiators in Geneva were instructed to "work out an agreement that would commit the sides to 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." Behind the convoluted language lies a compro-

mise that allows the two leaders to take opposed positions on SDI. Does this mean the Soviets have accepted the inevitability of eventual SDI deployment? Hardly. They have given up on trying to get this President to accept any formula that explicitly limits SDI testing. Yet they see that Congress is applying its own budgetary constraints on Star Wars and has made it clear that it will not let the Administration break out of the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty.

Moreover, given the still preliminary state of the program, Reagan has little need to violate the narrow interpretation right away. Having won the President's commitment not to withdraw from the ABM treaty, the Soviets are content to wait and deal with the next President on the question of what the treaty means. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that they have totally delinked SDI from the question of strategic arms reductions. In his Friday press conference, Reagan flatly stated that Star Wars now offers "no impediment" to a START agreement. That view, however, was openly disputed by a senior arms-control adviser, who noted that the Soviets might well relink the issue before the Moscow summit.

The two sides made even less progress on the other issues under discussion. Reagan began the very first session with an hour-long lecture on human rights, pointing out that the U.S., a nation of immigrants, felt strongly about the right of people to travel and live where they pleased. He referred in particular to the cases of Jews who were not permitted to leave the Soviet Union. In the heated discussion that followed, Gorbachev angrily told the President, "I'm not on trial here, and you're not a judge to judge me." Gorbachev then

compared the Soviet Union's emigration curbs with America's restrictions on immigrants, notably from Mexico. Replied Reagan, quite rightly: "There's a big difference between wanting out and wanting in." Not surprisingly, the debate led nowhere.

Nor was there any movement on regional issues. There had been some hope that Gorbachev would announce a starting date for a promised Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, but he declined to do so unless Reagan cut off aid to the Afghan rebels. There was no agreement, either, on Nicaragua or the Persian Gulf. Commenting on the lack of progress in these areas, Administration officials pointed out that in private meetings Gorbachev was much tougher than the charming image he offered to the public. "What you have gained is a guy you can talk to," said one Reagan aide, "but when it comes to substantive changes, forget it."

That judgment seems excessive. The INF treaty offers proof that a man one can talk to is a man one can deal with—at least some of the time. In an upbeat press conference at week's end, Reagan said an "entirely different relationship" had now been established between himself and Gorbachev. To place too much significance on the wonders that can come from more amiable relations and personal rapport would be foolish and would dangerously ignore the vicissitudes of Soviet-American relations since World War II. Yet to dismiss the opportunity created by the vigorous Soviet leader who came calling last week would be equally foolish, and perhaps just as dangerous.

—By Thomas A. Sancton.

Reported by James O. Jackson with Gorbachev, Barrett Seaman and Strobe Talbott/Washington

Bon voyage: the leaders applaud the meeting that Reagan said "lit the sky with hope for all people of goodwill"

DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR



The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

Not Since Jefferson Dined Alone

Mikhail Gorbachev sat on Nancy Reagan's right. On her left was Richard Perle, former Pentagon hard-liner and Soviet nemesis. The President was flanked by Raisa Gorbachev and Jeane Kirkpatrick. And the State Dining Room was filled with the unlikeliest 125 people one could imagine supping together: Henry Kissinger and Meadowlark Lemon, great Globetrotters both; Claudette Colbert and Moscow's supreme propagandist, Alexander Yakovlev; Ted Graber, Nancy's interior designer, and Georgi Arbatov, the Kremlin's noted American expert; Joe DiMaggio and Pearl Bailey; David Rockefeller, Mary Lou Retton and Saul Bellow.

The centuries whispered to them. "I knew this was a special moment," Mrs. Reagan thought as she entered the State Dining Room with her husband and the Gorbachevs. "The people there were happy, uplifted," she later recalled. The dinner was the affirmation of the day's achievement and the gracious application of wine and warmth to see if the journey of peace could be pushed on down the road a bit.

History has traveled the alimentary canal forever. George Washington worried in his very first days as President in 1789 about how to hold official dinners, so important a part of stewardship did he consider the evening ritual. Power was dispensed in the evening at the table, reasoned John Adams, just as it was during the day.

"I've never seen a dinner take off like this one," marveled Graber. "I was stunned by how much that evening moved me," said former Democratic Party Chairman Robert Strauss, who sat across from Nancy and Gorbachev. "I've only felt it once before, at the dinner for Sadat and Begin."

Did the sense of destiny and the Strolling Strings soften the crusts of Gorbachev and his crew of Soviets who mingled below the portrait of Abraham Lincoln? At the end, when Pianist Van Cliburn played *Moscow Nights*, Strauss thought he saw a bit of mist in the eyes of the Gorbachevs as they sang along. It was surely the most startling music in the East Room since Harry Truman played *The Black Hawk Waltz*.

The new Librarian of Congress, James Billington, a historian of Russian culture who speaks the language, probed for a glimpse of the underlying vision that Gorbachev might hold. How would the Soviet government, he asked, officially commemorate the millennium of Christianity in Russia next year? Gorbachev deftly avoided the question by indicating that his nation's ecclesiastical authorities were making the preparations. How "Russian" was the man?

wondered Billington; then he queried him about Soviet writers. Gorbachev's reading was current, and included the so-called village writers, who have deplored the loss of rural values in Russia.

Congressman Dick Cheney asked what Gorbachev wanted his country to be in 20 years. He hoped, Gorbachev replied, to see a society more dynamic, more open and more democratic. Billington made a mental note that the translation was more appealing than the original Russian.

There was virtually no talk of children, homes or hobbies. The Soviet leader was at work. In his forceful way, Gorbachev left little doubt that he cast himself as a man of destiny, that his reforms would make or break the Soviet nation.

Looking straight at Cheney, he said, "This is the only opportunity we will have."

Gorbachev told Perle he had seen a new film, from Britain's Granada television and shown last week on PBS, that dramatized the Reykjavik summit. "The fellow who played you lost a lot of weight," laughed Gorbachev to the pleasantly padded Perle, who relished the notoriety.

Former CIA Director Richard Helms, barred from associating with powerful Communists for his entire career, gripped the Gorbachev hand and said, "I never expected to meet a General Secretary of the Communist Party." Gorbachev broke into a grin, and for that second, perhaps, was as amazed as Helms.

Reagan introduced Edward Teller, father of the hydrogen bomb and visionary of Star Wars, to Gorbachev, whose response was so minimal that Reagan thought he had not heard the name. "This is the famous Dr. Teller," said the President. "There are many Dr. Tellers," replied Gorbachev

coolly, seemingly haunted by his dissident H-bomb scientist Andrei Sakharov.

Billy Graham decided that Gorbachev had an "evangelical quality," but without God. And during the mellow Cliburn sing-along at evening's end, George Will leaned over to Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and whispered, "That song just cost you 200 ships."

Maybe. But nothing on that evening was certain except the world was changing and that small assembly of Soviets and Americans was witness to a rare act within the larger drama. As he went out into the night, Helms cast a glance at Lincoln with his chin in his hand. "I wonder what old Abe would think," Helms mused. Then he added his own yearning. "Maybe this time we can make it work."



Gorbachev, Mrs. Reagan and Richard Perle: "a special moment"



Raisa Gorbachev and the President joined in the mellow mood



The visitor and her guide near a portrait of Pat Nixon in the "museum"

Confrontation of the Superwives

Vivacious and voluble, Raisa upstages the First Lady



Piqued at Raisa Gorbachev's one-woman triumph at the Reykjavik summit, Nancy Reagan was known to consider the Soviet First Lady imperious and dogmatic.

Preparations for the Washington summit seemed to confirm that impression. Raisa had taken her time accepting an invitation to tea, insisting that the hour be changed. She was keeping her schedule a mystery, confounding efforts to plan ahead. So when the Soviets asked to bring five extra guests to Tuesday's state dinner, the word quickly came back: forget it.

But if the East Wing of the White House was waging cold war while the West Wing celebrated a thaw, the rest of Washington found Raisa Maximovna Gorbachev dazzling. Vivacious and voluble, she beamed her strobe-light smile, melting the eye glaze of receiving lines. She asked questions and delivered on-the-spot sermons and exhortations. She cracked jokes. And, rivaling her husband, she tamed the media like the tiger handler at the Gorky Park circus: with flourishes, grins and bows to the audience.

The U.S. was "lovely," announced the onetime lecturer on Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Moscow State University. At the National Gallery, when employees gathered to applaud her, she stopped to chat, noting that she was "glad to see so many of the staff are women." On a White House tour, she peppered Nancy Reagan with queries: Was that a 19th century chandelier? Did Jefferson live here? And, by the way, when was the White House built? The First Lady, already irritated by her visitor's magnetic gravi-

tation toward the television cameras, was stumped. An assistant curator came to the rescue with dates: between 1792 and 1800. "I'm not much help," Nancy Reagan confessed, in obvious exasperation.

The tour was an almost comical confrontation of the two superwives, each fighting to get her way with elaborate politesse. But as much as Nancy Reagan tugged at Raisa Gorbachev's elbow, trying to steer the diminutive (5 ft. 3 in.) Russian away from the cordoned-off journalists, she was outmaneuvered. A reporter asked Raisa whether she would be meeting ordinary Americans. Her flattering reply: "Meeting you, for me, is meeting Americans. This time our visit is too short. I hope next time will be longer." At one point she launched into a discussion of modern life: "In our age, all of us have to work. We have professional duties. We have family duties as well as social duties.



A wave for the cameras with Pamela Harriman

"All of us have to work. We have professional duties."

A person in the 20th century is at a loss to distribute his or her time."

Repeatedly, Nancy Reagan was asked about frosty relations. "I've answered that five times," she snapped and turned deliberately toward Raisa Gorbachev. Coolly correct, Raisa added, "Everything is all right. Mrs. Reagan gave the answer. She is the hostess, and that was her word." Another reporter asked if Raisa would like to live in the White House. Perhaps unaware that the Reagans' living quarters are upstairs, Raisa glanced at her opulent surroundings. "This is an official residence," she said. "I would say, humanly speaking, that a human being would like to live in a regular house." Smiling, she added, "This is a museum of American history."

After the visit, East Wing aides snickered at the black dress with rhinestone belt buckle that Raisa had worn to the late-morning coffee. "A bit cocktailish, don't you think?" one said. White House officials were also miffed that Raisa chose to set up a colloquy with prominent women at the home of Democratic Fund Raiser Pamela Harriman. Among the guests: Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, University of Chicago President Hanna Gray, Publisher Katharine Graham and Senators Barbara Mikulski and Nancy Kassebaum. Nonetheless, by the end of the summit, official patch-up stories were issuing from the White House. Raisa, it was said, had asked Nancy at the Soviets' Thursday dinner, "What is this about our not liking each other?" The First Lady described her Soviet counterpart as puzzled. "Such stories are so trivial and silly," Nancy Reagan said.

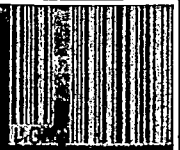
If the U.S. media made much of the tiff, Raisa's activities were given more sober coverage in the Soviet Union, where she is referred to as "Gorbachev's spouse." Despite recent criticism that Raisa has assumed too visible a role, Soviet television viewers were treated to a snippet of her singing *Moscow Nights* at the state dinner. TASS, the state news agency, published stories about her National Gallery visit and her meeting with a friendly group of Armenians at the Soviet embassy.

By chance, the Armenian gathering gave Raisa an opportunity to show off her unflappability. Informed of the unauthorized presence of a TIME correspondent, Raisa purred, "There is nothing to be concerned about. The American and Soviet press should work together to build peace." She put her arm around the correspondent and smiled as her personal photographer took their picture.

Raisa's campaign appearances revealed a convergence of the Gorbachev style: each talking but rarely listening, each lecturing and posturing, while gushing charm. "This is the first person I've ever met who talks more than I do," marveled Barbara Mikulski after her encounter with Raisa. So what's new in politics? —By Margot Hornblower. Reported by Nancy Traver/Washington

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THE EDUCATION OF
MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV



MAN
OF THE
YEAR

TIME

\$2.00

JANUARY 4, 1988

Caribbean Central
Am Action

~~Robt West~~
Peter B. Johnson
466-9464

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Михаил

Mikhail Gorbachev. The name, the beaming, birthmarked visage and the outstretched, crowd-caressing hand have become so familiar in the past 33 months that it is difficult to remember the man's predecessors. Vague images come to mind of stone-faced figures frozen in mid-frown atop the Lenin Mausoleum. Gargoyles in fur hats. Perhaps Gorbachev's most obvious accomplishment is that he has reinvented the idea of a Soviet leader. Virtually everything about his country and its place in world affairs seems less ponderous, less opaque than it did before he became General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

But one should not get carried away. The Soviet Union is still a one-party dictatorship, the economy is ramshackle, the bureaucracy is a menace, and what about human rights, Mr. General Secretary? Nonetheless, Soviet writers, artists and journalists have begun issuing the sort of critiques that used to earn a one-way ticket to Siberia. So has the boss. Take, for instance, this blast at Gosplan, the state planning committee: "They do what they want, and the situation they like best is . . . when everybody has to beg."

**MAN
OF THE
YEAR**

At home, expectations are rising. Some small-scale private enterprise is now legal, and state industries will soon have wide new freedoms. Even Gorbachev concedes that his regime's true test will be whether it can produce better food, clothing and shelter for its citizens. No leader has said that with such vigor and conviction since Nikita Khrushchev a quarter-century ago.

In the world at large, Gorbachev has helped nudge his country and Ronald Reagan's off the path to nuclear destruction. True, the treaty scrapping intermediate-range missiles that was signed at the Washington summit is only a small diminution of the arms race. But it is a beginning, made possible in part by Gorbachev's acceptance of verification procedures that no previous Soviet leader would countenance. The treaty just might lead to a more significant reduction in long-range nuclear weapons this year.

Or perhaps the reverie will end, as did the false dawn of the Khrushchev years. *Glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) may turn out to be less "irreversible" than Gorbachev proclaims them to be. Even so, his reforms can no longer be dismissed as a mere matter of style, of a telegenic new face in the Kremlin. Gorbachev is that, to be sure. Also a dedicated Communist. Also a ruthless political opportunist. In 1987 he became something more, a symbol of hope for a new kind of Soviet Union: more open, more concerned with the welfare of its citizens and less with the spread of its ideology and system abroad. For fanning that hope, Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev is TIME's Man of the Year for 1987.

But who is he? Where did he come from? How did he acquire his personality, his ideas, his power? In an unprecedented journalistic inquiry, TIME correspondents in the Soviet Union and beyond interviewed dozens of Gorbachev's colleagues, onetime schoolmates, the handful of foreigners he has known, and others who have encountered the former Stavropol farm boy on his rise to prominence. The magazine has also assembled the largest collection of official and family photographs of Gorbachev ever published. The result is a rare glimpse into the life and character of the year's most remarkable figure.

—By Donald Morrison



A. CHURICHEVYI. LEURON—FAS

Bucharest, 1987 WITH THE GUSTO OF A WESTERN POLITICIAN

Горбачев



IAN. THE SOVIET GENERAL SECRETARY PRESSES THE FLESH ON A MAY VISIT TO THE RUMANIAN CAPITAL, WITH WIFE RAISA JUST BEHIND HIS SHOULDER

The Education of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

An intimate biography of the private man

“The economy is a mess. We are behind in every area . . . We have forgotten how to work.”

At the Central Committee Plenum, Jan. 28, 1987

Officials of the Zavorovo state farm near Moscow had prepared carefully for the big day last August. They had even built a special staircase to spare their distinguished visitor the indignity of climbing down a hill to the potato fields below the main road. Mikhail Gorbachev would have none of it. Stepping out of his ZIL limousine, he gave the staircase a dismissive wave and scrambled down the steep incline in his neatly pressed gray business suit, leaving his surprised entourage to run after him in full view of television cameras.

At the bottom of the hill, Gorbachev asked the farmers, lined up beside their equipment like soldiers on parade, about the mood on the farm. “Good. Businesslike,” came the replies. Gorbachev was not satisfied. “I always hear the same answer,” he said. “[But] there are always problems.” For example, he asked, was everything available “except for vodka,” a teasing reference to his antialcoholism campaign. Well, no, one farmer mumbled. It was the season for making jams and jellies, and sugar was scarce. Gorbachev shot back: Do you know why? Moonshiners are buying up all the sugar to make home brew. “Let’s talk straight with one another,” said the leader. “Isn’t it time to bring the making of moonshine to an end? That sort of people belong back in the times when the dinosaurs lived.”

That exchange was typical of the Gorbachev style, a remarkably Western mix of charm and sermonizing. The effect was apparent during the December summit with Ronald Reagan. Alternately jovial and argumentative, combining sharp intelligence with a homey touch and playing to the camera in the most effective way—by seeming to ignore it—he came across as a Kremlin version of the Great Communicator. Add an attractive, strong-willed wife, and the picture of an American-style politician is complete.

Also misleading. In most of his views, Gorbachev is a thoroughly Soviet, obdurately Communist figure. When he speaks of “democracy,” as he incessantly does, he does not mean anything Thomas Jefferson would have recognized; he promotes freer discussion within the Communist Party only as a substitute for the political opposition he makes clear he will not tolerate. If he voices criticism of Soviet society, it is because that system has in his view strayed

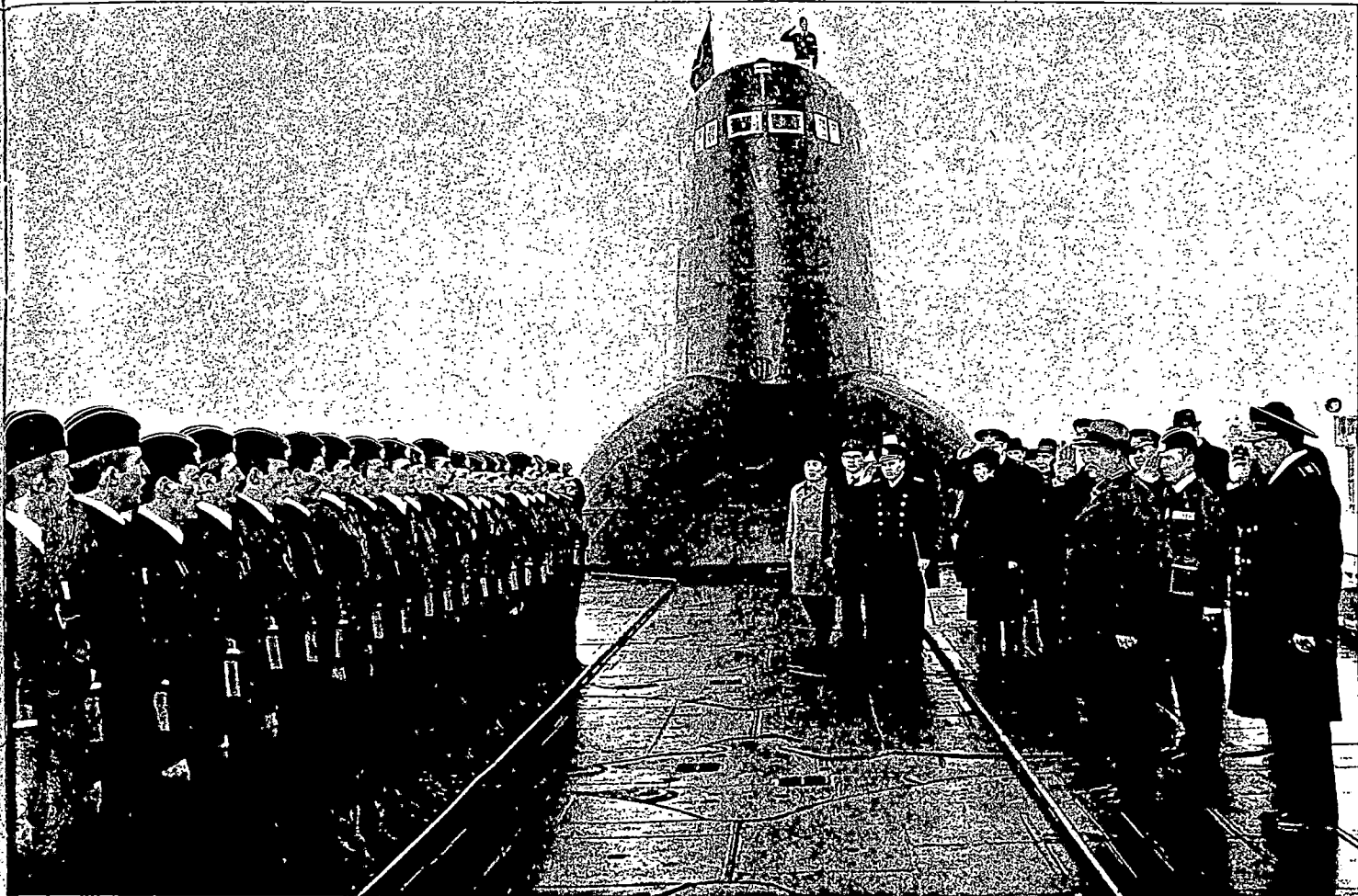
from the ideals of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state and Gorbachev’s idol. And though he argues frequently for a new relationship with the U.S., he seems to have an odd conception of America as a Dickensian hell ruled by the military-industrial complex.

The contradictions in his personality are enough to raise a question: Who exactly is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev? It is not an easy question to answer: unhappily, *glasnost* does not yet extend to the life of its author. One reason, no doubt, is his wariness about encouraging a “cult of personality”—the euphemism for glorification of an all-powerful leader, which reached sickening heights under Joseph Stalin in Gorbachev’s student days and is thus associated in Soviet minds with Stalin’s terror. Gorbachev has reacted to incipient hagiography in the Soviet press by being tight-lipped about his private life. Subordinates take their cue from the boss. A high official mentioned to a group of foreigners recently that he had known the General Secretary as a university student. “What was Gorbachev like in those days?” the man was asked. He paused reflectively, smiled and said, “I don’t remember.”

Gorbachev’s official biography is little more than a bare-bones list of Communist Party offices held, and it lacks some of the most elementary information. For example, it is not known for certain whether he has any siblings. Some Soviets say he has a brother who works in agriculture, but no one seems to know the man’s name or age. Reports of a sister cannot be confirmed.

From a variety of sources, however, TIME has pieced together a detailed, though still incomplete, picture of Gorbachev’s early days and his rise to command. The story begins in Privolnoye, a farming village (pop. 3,000) in the south of the Russian republic, 124 miles from the city of Stavropol. A one-story brick cottage with a small kitchen, three rooms and a pleasant garden plot still stands there: Gorbachev was born in that house on March 2, 1931.

It was a time of bloodshed and terror. Stalin’s drive to force Soviet peasants into collective farms was at its height. Those who resisted were deported or shot. Peasants destroyed animals rather than let them be confiscated by the collec-



V. KUZMIN/N. MALYSHEVA/CHURICHEV—TASS

Severomorsk, 1987 SALUTING CREW OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINE DURING TOUR OF A NAVAL BASE IN THE MURMANSK REGION



A. CHURICHEV/A. LIZUBOV—TASS

Moscow region, 1987 THE ONETIME COMBINE DRIVER CHECKS THE CROP AT A COLLECTIVE FARM



V. KUZMIN—TASS

Moscow, 1985 WITH GRANDDAUGHTER



Bucharest, 1987 FOLK DANCING WITH RUMANIAN ALLIES IN SQUARE OF VICTORY



Leningrad, 1987 A MASTER OF ORATORY PROVING THAT

His father wrote home from the front urging his mother to sell anything she could and buy the boy shoes because "Misha must go to school."

tives. That slaughter, along with the Soviet government's oppressive requisitions of grain from the newly formed collective farms, created a man-made famine that was raging when Gorbachev was born. Millions eventually died.

The Gorbachev family probably avoided the worst of the suffering: it was on the winning side. Mikhail's grandfather Andrei helped organize the Khleborob (bread producer) collective farm in the year of Gorbachev's birth. Andrei's son Sergei drove a combine for a nearby government machine-tractor station. But Mikhail could hardly have helped hearing tales of the disruption that continued during his infancy. As General Secretary, Gorbachev has defended the collectivization and even the repression of the kulaks (well-off peasants), who were deported or executed as class enemies. But perhaps because of boyhood memories, he has criticized the brutality shown to a less prosperous group, the so-called middle peasants. A classmate remembers that as a college student after Stalin's death, Gorbachev spoke of a middle-peasant relative who had been arrested and, the classmate assumes, shot.

Not long after the turmoil over collectivization died down in the mid-1930s, the Soviet Union was hit by the second trauma of Gorbachev's boyhood: the Nazi invasion. Mikhail was eleven years old when German tanks rumbled into nearby Stavropol at the start of what became the Stalingrad campaign. Hitler's troops stayed in the area for almost six months before being driven out by the Red Army. In all probability, though, the Nazis would not have bothered to occupy a village as small as Privolnoye, so Gorbachev seems to have escaped the worst rigors of the war. Only in 1950, when he traveled north to university in Moscow, did he apparently

become fully aware of the destruction visited on his homeland. He has said that on that 800-mile train ride, he saw "the ruined Stalingrad, Rostov, Kharkov and Voronezh. And how many such ruined cities there were . . . Everything lay in ruins: hundreds and thousands of cities, towns and villages, factories and mills."

Even earlier, though, the war touched young Mikhail. In Privolnoye, as in thousands of other villages and towns in the U.S.S.R., there is an eternal flame and a monument to those who lost their lives in what Soviets call the Great Patriotic War. The name Gorbachev appears on the memorial seven times, though it is not certain which of his relatives are meant. His father Sergei was conscripted and fought at the front for four years, during which "Misha" (the common Russian nickname for Mikhail) must have spent much time alone with his mother Maria Panteleyevna Gorbachev. In a recent interview on Soviet TV, she recalled that at one period during the war Gorbachev could not go to school for several months because he had no shoes. Sergei wrote home urging Maria Panteleyevna to sell anything she could and buy shoes because "Misha must go to school." Maria Panteleyevna, now well into her 70s and a widow (Sergei died in 1976), continues to live in Privolnoye.

Growing up in a farming village, Gorbachev was introduced early to hard work. As a young boy, he probably accompanied his combine-driver father into the fields. At 14 he was driving a combine himself after school and during the summers. It was a hot and sweaty job in that part of the Soviet Union, where summer temperatures reach well into the 90s, and the com-



Bratislava, 1987 A YOUNG CZECH FAN WITH PICTURE OF HERO

LAT RUSSIAN IS A LANGUAGE BEST SPOKEN WITH THE HANDS

bines had no cabins. After a few minutes the driver would be surrounded by a cloud of grain chaff and dust that made breathing difficult. In winter it was so cold that Gorbachev had to wrap himself in straw to keep from freezing. He stood it well enough to be awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor in 1949, a rare honor for an 18-year-old. The award, his impeccable political credentials—peasant background, father and grandfather Communist Party members—and the silver medal he received upon graduation from high school as second in his class all helped him win a place at Moscow State University in the fall of 1950.

Gorbachev was already showing wide-ranging intellectual curiosity. "I cannot even say for which subjects I felt a special interest in school," he told an Italian interviewer much later. "At the outset I wanted to enter the physics faculty [of Moscow State University]. I liked mathematics a lot, but I also liked history and literature. To this day I can recite by heart poetry that I learned at school." He lacked the entrance requirements to pursue science courses, so he decided to study law.

The choice was unconventional. Law in those Stalinist days had no prestige; it was even despised by many Soviets. The task of a lawyer was to find rationalizations for the state to crush its opponents. Nonetheless, Gorbachev's classes did expose him to a wider range of ideas than he would have encountered pursuing a science curriculum. Like all other Soviet students, Gorbachev was drilled in Marxism-Leninism, and learned minute details about the life of Stalin. But as a law student he took classes in the history of political ideas and studied the works of Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke and Machiavelli. Gorbachev also studied Latin. Several classes were taught by professors who had somehow

managed to survive from prerevolutionary days.

When he began his studies, the adulation of Stalin, "the greatest genius of all times and peoples," was at its height, and the earnest young provincial was not immune to it. "He, like everyone else at the time, was a Stalinist," says Zdenek Mlynar, a Czech who studied law at Moscow State University and later became a top party official in his homeland. But Gorbachev displayed a streak of hardheaded realism about Soviet life. He and Mlynar once watched a propaganda movie, *Cossacks of the Kuban*, picturing happy peasants at tables groaning with food. "It's not like that at all," grumbled Gorbachev, who remembered hunger in his home region. Mlynar adds that "when we were studying collective-farm law, Gorbachev explained to me how insignificant collective-farm legislation was in day-to-day life and how important, on the other hand, was brute force, which alone secured working discipline on the collective farms."

Fridrikh Neznansky, another fellow law student and now a Soviet émigré, recalls that Gorbachev even then displayed a veneration for Lenin going well beyond what was demanded of Soviet students. He was especially impressed, Neznansky says, by Lenin's doctrine of "one step forward, two steps back"—in other words, the ability to maneuver and to retreat if necessary while pursuing a goal. Tactical flexibility has been a hallmark of Gorbachev's career ever since. "In politics and ideology, we are seeking to revive the spirit of Leninism," Gorbachev writes in his recently published book, *Perestroika*. "Many decades of being mesmerized by dogma, by a rule-book approach, have had their effect. Today we want to introduce a genuinely creative spirit into our theoretical work." The first faint glimmerings of *glasnost* might also be

He heard from an indignant mother of six children how the manager of a state store had treated her rudely. The storekeeper was fired.

COURTESY HON. EUGENIE F. WHELAN, P.C.



Windsor, Ont., 1983 SNIFFING (NOT SWALLOWING) SAMPLES AT A DISTILLERY

The two friends talked and drank into the night. When they finally returned to Gorbachev's apartment, much the worse for wear, Raisa was furious.

discerned in Gorbachev's law-school attitudes. Mlynar remembers that students were taught to regard anyone who dissented from the Stalinist line as a criminal. Gorbachev, however, remarked to his Czech classmate: "But Lenin did not order the arrest of Martov [leader of the Mensheviks, a socialist splinter group]. He allowed him to leave the country."

Outside class, students led a grim existence. Gorbachev spent the first three of his student years in the shabby Stromynka student hostel, an 18th century former barracks that housed 10,000 young people packed eight or more to a room. There was a kitchen and a washroom on each floor, but no proper bathing facilities. Gorbachev and his roommates would head to a public bathhouse twice a month. They stored their personal belongings in suitcases under the beds. Many of the youths could not even afford tea. Instead, they drank "student tea," a concoction of hot water and sugar. The favorite diversion was foreign movies, most of them captured by the Red Army from German forces and shown in the "culture club" on the main floor. Johnny Weissmuller's Tarzan movies were most popular. After one such epic show, the Stromynka hostel would resound with jungle whoops by the students.

In this maelstrom, Gorbachev somehow found time and privacy for romance. Male and female students lived on the same floors, though they had separate sleeping and bathroom facilities. Gorbachev and his roommates drew up a

complicated schedule guaranteeing each of them one hour alone in the room every week to entertain a female guest. On the hall bulletin board, the periods of privacy were discreetly designated "cleaning hours."

One of the women down the hall from Gorbachev was Raisa Maximovna Titorenko, a bright, popular philosophy student a year younger than he. Mlynar recalls that Mikhail initially had a good deal of competition for her attention, but the two eventually began seeing each other regularly. They were married early in 1954. The couple celebrated the occasion modestly with 30 or so other students at a party in the corner of the dormitory eating hall, then went to Gorbachev's room for their wedding night. Gorbachev's roommates had arranged to stay away. The following day, however, they drifted back, and Raisa returned to her room. The couple did not live together until several months later, when they obtained married-student accommodations in the newly completed 34-story main building of Moscow State University.

Though Gorbachev was trained as a lawyer, he has never practiced; his main interest from his earliest days at Moscow State University was politics. Even before leaving Privolnoye, he had joined the Komsomol, the youth league that people ages 14 to 28 pass through in preparation for joining the Communist Party. Armed with a glowing recommendation from the Stavropol committee, he became a Komsomol organizer at the Moscow State University law school in 1952 and simultaneously, at 21, a member of the party proper. He was assigned to a working-class area of Moscow for propaganda activity and the handling of constituents' complaints, while continuing his Komsomol work at the university.

Those who knew Gorbachev as a young party activist agree that he was a true believer among cynical careerists. He had some reservations about particular policies, but when he spouted the Stalinist line of the moment, he did so with evident conviction. Lev Yudovich, who graduated two years ahead of Gorbachev, recalls having the young ideologue pointed out to him as someone to fear. There was reason to be wary of him: Neznansky asserts that when Gorbachev discovered that some fellow students had parents who were in political disgrace, he called for their expulsion from the Komsomol and perhaps from the university as well. Michel Tatu, a prominent French Kremlinologist and author of a forthcoming biography of Gorbachev, is convinced that he joined in the vicious anti-Semitic rhetoric of Stalin's last purge, launched just before the dictator's death in early 1953. Mlynar does not deny that, but he insists that Gorbachev steered clear of any individual persecutions.

By 1955, the year of Gorbachev's graduation, the Stalinist ice had broken in the Soviet Union. Nikita Khrushchev had taken over and was winding down the terror. Ghostly figures began drifting back into Moscow from the labor camps. But at the start of this period of ferment and change, Gorbachev removed himself and Raisa from the relative sophistication of Moscow and returned to the Stavropol area, where he was to stay for the next 23 years. According to Neznansky, the young graduate tried for a

position with the Moscow Komsomol apparatus but lost out to a classmate and had little choice but to return to the provinces if he wanted to continue a career in party politics. It may be too that Gorbachev felt an obligation to the Stavropol Krai (territory) authorities, who had apparently paid part of his university expenses, or that he was simply homesick.

In any event, the Stavropol period remains the most obscure of Gorbachev's life. It is known that he rose fast, from a minor job in the local Komsomol to its first secretary after less than a year, then through a variety of Komsomol and, later, party jobs. By 1962, when he was only 31, he was choosing party members for promotion throughout Stavropol Krai. Finally in 1970, at the age of 39, he became first secretary of the territory, a job equivalent to governor of an area roughly the size of South Carolina, with about 2.4 million people. Along the way, he became a specialist in farming, the main activity of the area. He took correspondence courses from Stavropol Agricultural Institute, and in 1967 added a degree in agriculture to his Moscow law degree. Soviet émigrés and Stavropol residents provide some intriguing glimpses of Gorbachev on his way up the party apparat.

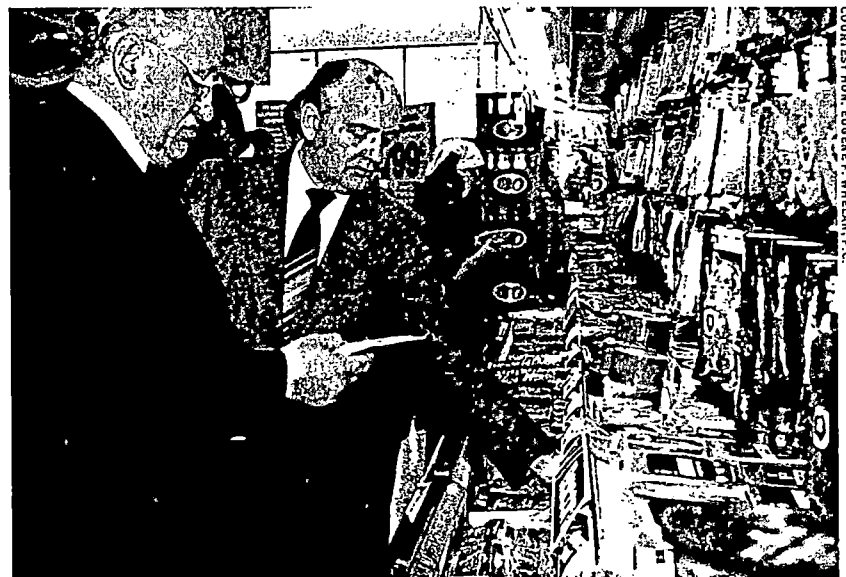
Gorbachev showed an avid interest in the press. Vladimir Maximov, a writer now living in Paris who worked for a Stavropol Komsomol newspaper in the 1950s, recalls that the young official often visited the paper's offices for a chat. "He would sit down with us in a casual manner," says Maximov. "We would uncork a bottle of wine [for all his antialcoholism campaigning, Gorbachev still enjoys an occasional drink] and usually talk politics. Khrushchev's report on the crimes of the Stalinist era had recently appeared. The entire country was still reeling from shock." Maximov and others of Gorbachev's generation, however, remember the late 1950s as an exciting time. Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956 briefly opened the way to a much freer atmosphere. It was a false dawn. Repression resumed a few years later. To this day, however, educated Soviets of Gorbachev's generation, whose political attitudes were formed then and who are now moving into positions of power, sometimes refer to themselves as "children of the 20th Congress."

Gorbachev's interest in the press continued throughout the Stavropol period. As party boss of the area, he often met with regional journalists for talks similar to those he now holds in Moscow with the national press. Unlike other party officials, he would stress that it was not enough for the journalists to write articles that were ideologically correct; they also had to be interesting. "Is anyone reading what you write?" he would ask.

Gorbachev remained open and accessible to his constituents. He usually set out on foot for his job each morning. Stavropolitans quickly learned that they could avoid having to make a formal appointment at Gorbachev's office on Lenin Square by buttonholing him on his walk up Dzerzhinsky Street and discussing their problems then. He also began in Stavropol Krai the walkabouts that were later to cause a national sensation when he continued the practice as General Secretary. On a visit to a village in the Izobilnynsky district, he heard from an indignant mother of six children how the manager of



Ottawa, Ont., 1983 A VISITOR FROM THE SOVIET POLITBURO TRIES HIS FIRST BITE OF LOBSTER



Niagara Falls, Ont., 1983 ADMIRING THE BACON IN A SUPERMARKET



Alberta, 1983 ON A CHOW LINE IN CANADIAN COWBOY COUNTRY DURING HIS TEN-DAY TOUR



Golssen, East Germany, 1966 EXCHANGING VIEWS AT A PUB WITH LOCAL PARTY MEMBERS ON ONE OF HIS FIRST TRIPS ABROAD.

He and his roommates drew up a schedule allowing each of them one hour alone in the room every week to entertain a female guest.

a state store had treated her rudely. The storekeeper was fired. Gorbachev showed some independence from Moscow when he was Stavropol party boss. Turned down for state financing of a permanent circus building, he solicited funds from local organizations and institutions and got the building put up anyway.

The Gorbachevs relieved the monotony of provincial life with several trips to Western Europe, Mikhail traveling as a member of party delegations visiting foreign Communists and Raisa once or twice accompanying him. On the first trip, in 1966, Gorbachev later recalled, the couple rented a Renault and spent several weeks driving 3,400 miles through the length and breadth of France, with a side trip to Italy.

Was Gorbachev getting restless with provincial posts? Perhaps. Mlynar, who was rising toward the top levels of the Czech Communist Party, visited his old classmate in 1967 and recalls that Gorbachev complained about excessive interference by Moscow in local affairs. Mlynar described the sweeping reforms that Alexander Dubček was then beginning in Czechoslovakia. He remembers Gorbachev saying, with a sigh, "Perhaps there are possibilities in Czechoslovakia because conditions are different." The Czech reforms, however, were crushed by Soviet tanks the following year, and Mlynar went into exile; he now lives in Austria. The two old friends talked and drank through that afternoon and deep into the night. When they finally returned to Gorbachev's apartment, much the worse for wear, Raisa was furious.

Just how Gorbachev rose out of provincial obscurity is still somewhat mysterious. As late as 1978, few outside Stavropol Krai had ever heard of him. The best answer seems to be that he attracted a number of powerful patrons. The first was Fyodor Kulakov, who as party boss in Stavropol first spotted Gorbachev as having great promise. After Kulakov became Agriculture Secretary for the entire Soviet Union, Gorbachev eventually succeeded him in Stavropol—and Kulakov apparently made sure his protégé became known in Moscow. In 1977 the

"Ipatovsky method," a new technique of harvesting grain quickly by using flying squads of combines, was judged a smashing success. The idea was probably Kulakov's, but it was first tried in the district of Ipatovskiy, in Stavropol Krai, under Gorbachev's supervision. The young regional politician was accorded the honor of an interview on the front page of *Pravda*, his first taste of national publicity.

Geography gave Gorbachev a mighty assist too. Christian Schmidt-Hauer, a West German journalist and biographer, observes that if Gorbachev had been party chief in, say, Murmansk in the far north, he would never have become General Secretary. But in Stavropol Krai, he was on hand to welcome top Moscow officials who came to the local spas at Mineralnye Vody and Kislovodsk for vacations and medical treatment. They found their host unusual in several respects. Says Soviet Historian Roy Medvedev: "A regional party first secretary who was intelligent and congenial would have been considered untypical. If Gorbachev had yelled, sworn, been a heavy drinker or a high liver with a rest house outside of town where officials could be entertained by pretty waitresses, that would have been considered normal behavior."

Gorbachev was not like that at all. He was a quiet and pleasant host with a reputation throughout the district for incorruptibility. Writer Maximov relates a story about a mutual friend, a poet, who asked Gorbachev as a young Komsomol official to help him buy a Volga sedan. Gorbachev obligingly used his influence to speed delivery. The poet promptly sold the car on the black market and returned to ask Gorbachev for help in buying another. Says Maximov: "Gorbachev did not usually lose his temper, but on that occasion he started shouting and threw the poet out of his office, ordering him never to show his face there again."

The young party chief's reputation pleased



Golssen, 1966 RECEIVING A PIONEER'S GIFT

two important spa guests: Mikhail Suslov, then the chief Soviet ideologist, and KGB Chief Yuri Andropov, both austere figures disgusted by the corruption of the Brezhnev era. When Kulakov died in 1978, he left vacant the position of Communist Party Central Committee Secretary in charge of agriculture. To fill it, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, presumably acting on the advice of Suslov and Andropov, chose a man he had evidently met only recently: Gorbachev. That meeting occurred on Sept. 19, 1978, at the tiny railroad station in Mineralnye Vody, where Brezhnev's train stopped for a brief time. In one of the more remarkable moments in Soviet history, four men who were all to serve as General Secretary found themselves on the same narrow station platform: Brezhnev; Andropov, who had come over from the nearby spa and in 1982 would succeed Brezhnev; Konstantin Chernenko, then Brezhnev's chief aide and in 1984 Andropov's successor; and Gorbachev, who would take over from Chernenko as General Secretary the following year. Less than a month after that gathering, Gorbachev was plucked out of Stavropol to become, at 47, a member of the national hierarchy, ranking 20th among all Soviet leaders.

How he leaped from there to No. 1 in only seven more years is another question still not fully answered. Certainly his rise was not attributable to any glittering success in agriculture. Quite the opposite: the grain harvest fell from a record 230 million tons in 1978, when Gorbachev was taking over the agriculture portfolio, to a calamitous total of perhaps only 155 million tons in 1981. Bad weather played a role. So did Brezhnev, who announced a grandiose reorganization of agriculture that seemed to create more problems than it solved. Still, it is remarkable that Gorbachev managed not only to escape blame but to advance his career amid the farming fiasco. Only a year after returning to Moscow, he became a candidate member of the Politburo. The following year, at 49, he was made a full member. Gorbachev was eight years younger than the next youngest Politburo mem-

ber and 21 years younger than the average age of his colleagues.

One reason Gorbachev's agriculture record was not held against him was simply that the Kremlin leadership found itself in desperate need of new blood. Brezhnev's health was faltering, and his 18-year regime was sinking into a twilight of stagnation and corruption. When Brezhnev died in 1982 and Andropov came into office with plans for reform, he immediately began grooming Gorbachev to become a key lieutenant in his clean-up campaign.

Gorbachev was already preparing himself for national leadership. While still in charge of farming, he gathered Soviet academic experts for a series of seminars held sometimes in the Central Committee offices, sometimes in a dacha outside Moscow. The sessions started with problems of agriculture but quickly developed into freewheeling discussions of what was wrong with the economy in general and how it might be fixed. Among the participants were Economist Abel Aganbegyan, who had been urging decentralization and a wider role for market incentives since the mid-1960s, and Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a leading sociologist. Zaslavskaya recalls one encounter with Gorbachev: "I sat next to him. It is incredible what power and drive emanate from him. One feels as if it were a strong field of energy. His vitality is extraordinary, and yet, although you feel this tension, he is a good listener and waits for you to finish."

The rising Kremlin star got a firsthand look at how far the Soviet economy had fallen behind the West's. When Gorbachev joined the national hierarchy, he was already well traveled by comparison with such other Soviet leaders as Andropov, who never set foot outside the Communist world, and Suslov, who reportedly once told a visa applicant that he saw no reason why anyone would want to journey beyond the U.S.S.R.

His grandparents once took him to church. He said, though, that he had no desire to go back.



Golssen, 1966 EVER INTERESTED IN AGRICULTURE, HE TOURS A PIG FARM

As a Politburo member, Gorbachev in 1983 headed a Soviet agricultural delegation on a visit to Canada and spent ten days poking around farms, processing plants and supermarkets. At one cattle ranch, he asked to see "some of the workers." The rancher replied that there were none; he ran the spread of several hundred acres with only his family and a handful of day laborers. A Canadian host who speaks Russian heard Gorbachev mutter under his breath, "We are not going to see this [in the Soviet Union] for another 50 years." Eugene Whelan, then Minister of Agriculture and Gorbachev's official host, was surprised on another occasion to hear the Soviet leader comment about the invasion of Afghanistan: "It was a mistake." (He was later to call Afghanistan a "bleeding wound," but in public he still justifies the invasion.) In the same year, however, Gorbachev served on a Politburo crisis-management subgroup that sought to justify the Soviet downing of a Korean Air Lines passenger jet by asserting that the plane had been on a spying mission for the U.S.

By the time a fatal kidney ailment cut short Andropov's tenure in early 1984, Gorbachev was already a candidate to succeed his former mentor. At Andropov's funeral, Gorbachev made a telling gesture of his closeness to the late General Secretary: he was the only Politburo member publicly to console Andropov's bereaved widow Tatyana. But the Old Guard made a final stand, choosing Chernenko instead. Gorbachev went along, and even agreed to make the nominating speech. He probably knew his turn would come soon enough. Ailing and 72, Chernenko was not going to last long. In fact, through much of his year in power Chernenko was so ill that Gorbachev, his principal deputy, in effect ran the country.

Even so, he had opposition. Grigori Romanov, the hard-line former Leningrad party boss who was once thought to be Gorbachev's chief rival, had apparently given up on winning the top job for himself. But at the Politburo session called immediately after Chernenko's death, Romanov reportedly tried a stop-Gorbachev maneuver, nominating Moscow Party Boss Viktor Grishin for General Secretary. By some accounts, however, KGB Chief Viktor Chebrikov hinted that his agency had compiled dossiers on corruption in the Moscow party apparatus that could be highly embarrassing to Grishin. (Chebrikov was then a candidate member of the Politburo; he has since moved up to full membership.) Andrei Gromyko, then Foreign Minister, carried the day with a nominating speech for Gorbachev during which he coined the now celebrated remark, "This man has a nice smile, but he has iron teeth." Gromyko's speech was surprising in two respects: it appears to have been improvised, and it contained none of the lengthy recitation of the hero's accomplishments traditional on such occasions. Gromyko appeared to be saying: this man has not really done all that much yet, but he is still the best we have.

Gorbachev had been in power only a month when he roamed around the industrial Proletarsky district of Moscow, visiting supermarkets, chatting with workers at the Likhachyov truck factory, discussing computer training with teach-

ers at School No. 514 and nurses' pay with the staff of City Hospital No. 53. He even dropped into a young couple's apartment for tea. That was the first of the walkabouts that have taken him, sometimes accompanied by Raisa, from Murmansk in the north to Kamchatka on the shores of the Pacific. On several of his tours he has displayed an easy informality and an almost impish distaste for ceremonial oratory. Entering the hall of the Star-nikovskiy Farm near Moscow to talk to livestock breeders last summer, he veered away from the row of seats on the tribunal and perched on the edge of the table so that he could be closer to the crowd. In October, at the Baltic Shipyards in Leningrad, a spokesman for the workers began a monotone welcoming speech expressing a wish that *perestroika* would develop even faster. Gorbachev interrupted with playful cries of "*Davai! Davai!*" (Let's go to it!), drawing a big laugh from the crowd.

Gorbachev has an apartment in central Moscow, but lives most of the time in a closed and guarded area of single-family mansions on the western outskirts of the city. From there he is driven downtown daily at 9 a.m. in a four-ZIL motorcade: one car for himself; two for aides and bodyguards, and a heavily curtained vehicle bristling with antennas that is assumed to carry the coding equipment for launching nuclear weapons. His main office is on the fifth floor of the Central Committee headquarters, a quarter of a mile from the Kremlin; he also maintains an office in a building just behind the Lenin Mausoleum and the Kremlin wall, but he uses it mostly to receive visitors. He usually returns home at about 6 p.m. in another motorcade. Extra traffic police are stationed along Kutuzovskiy Prospekt to clear the central lanes for the four limousines. He stays downtown late only when there is some special ceremonial function or when, as often



Privolnoye, 1986 ON ONE OF THE ANNUAL TRIPS HOME TO SEE HIS MOTHER



Moscow, 1987 DAUGHTER IRINA AND HER HUSBAND ANATOLI



Privoynoye, circa 1935 AT AGE FOUR, "MISHA" WAS GROWING UP AMID STALIN-ERA FAMINE AND REPRESSION



Moscow State University, early 1950s STUDYING LAW BUT AIMING AT POLITICS



Moscow, 1954 WEDDING NIGHT, THEN SEPARATE ROOMS

happens, the regular Thursday Politburo meeting runs into the evening.

While Gorbachev's working schedule does not seem to be overly taxing, he recently answered an Italian interviewer's question as to how he spends his free time by saying simply, "I have none." He is, however, an avid theatergoer. In Stavropol he and Raisa attended not only every play that opened but also many dress rehearsals. In Moscow, while preparing for the Washington summit, they found time to take in *The Peace of Brest*, a historical drama about Lenin's early years in power that opened Nov. 30.

The Gorbachevs have a daughter Irina, 28, who is a physician and married to another doctor, and two known grandchildren. The extent to which the Gorbachevs guard their family privacy can be gauged by some of the things that are not known for sure: Irina's married name (only the first name of her husband, Anatoli, has been disclosed); the granddaughter's name (it has been reported as both Oksana and Xenia); her age (probably seven); and the sex and name of a second grandchild (Gorbachev proudly told former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who visited Moscow last summer, that one had just been born, but would disclose no more than that).

Gorbachev retains his ties to Privolnoye, going to see his mother there at least once a year. On one trip to Stavropol in 1982, Gorbachev, by then a member of the Politburo, talked with aged collective farmers, who complained about their low pensions of 36 rubles (\$49.30) a month. "I know my mother also receives 36 rubles, but she keeps chickens and a cow; why don't you?" Gorbachev replied. (Nonetheless, back in Moscow, he saw to it that pensions were increased.) Maria Panteleyevna regularly attends Russian Orthodox Church services, and there are reports that she had Gorbachev baptized. Gorbachev has said that his grandparents kept icons in their home, hiding them behind pictures of Lenin and Stalin, and once took him to church. He added, though, that he had no desire to go back. Officially, at least, he is an atheist whose occasional references to God are probably no more than an unconscious repetition of phrases common in the rural Russia of his boyhood.

As a law student, Gorbachev received some practical training in oratory. That, plus a natural flair for speaking, has produced a man who is considered the finest orator of any Soviet leader since Lenin (who was also trained as a lawyer). Gorbachev's phraseology is not remarkable, or at least does not read well in translation. The English version of *Perestroika*, published in the U.S. just before the December summit, is blandly general. But in a Gorbachev speech, as TV viewers around the world have discovered, phrases that seem flat on the printed page suddenly come to life.

Russian is a language spoken with the hands, the eyebrows, an occasional shake of the head from side to side or a shrug of the shoulders. Gorbachev has mastered those gestures, and more. He may slice the air with a modified karate chop or spin his hands one over the other like a pinwheel, then extend them palms up in a gesture of vulnerability, only to clench them into fists a moment later. All the time his intense eyes

lock onto a listener's. The eyes, he once told an audience in Prague, never lie. Much of his animation comes through even in translation. In a TV interview, for example, he may pause reflectively after a question, start an answer with a few slow phrases, then burst into a torrent of words that an interpreter can barely keep up with.

Such skills have served Gorbachev well in his 33 months in office. Though he grumbles about opposition to his policies from a bureaucracy that "does not want change and does not want to lose some rights associated with privileges," he has consolidated his power rapidly. He has thoroughly purged the ranks of the Politburo, the Central Committee and government ministries of leaders judged to be incompetent or dragging their feet on reform. More than half of all government ministers and 44% of party Central Committee members have been replaced since he took over.

Gorbachev's idea of *glasnost* stops well short of Western-style artistic and journalistic freedom. Nonetheless, the policy has gone further than anyone would have predicted even a few years ago, winning Gorbachev the enthusiastic approval of intellectuals. Says Vitali Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*, an illustrated weekly that has published hard-hitting articles about social problems as well as anthologies of long-suppressed poetry: "This is an evening of dancing in a society that has never danced."

Perestroika, however, is still more platitude than policy. Gorbachev confessed in June that "despite tremendous efforts, the restructuring drive has in actual fact not reached many localities." In particular, agricultural reforms designed to give farmers more incentive, which Gorbachev began experimenting with back in Stavropol and for which he supposedly won Politburo approval as long ago as 1983, have yet to be put into effect nationwide. Meanwhile, the economy continues to fall behind those of the West. As recently as 1975, the Soviet economy was about 58% as large as its U.S. counterpart. But by 1984 that figure had fallen to 54%, and the gap is probably still growing. With his usual hard-boiled realism, Gorbachev told the Central Committee shortly before becoming General Secretary, "We cannot remain a major power in world affairs unless we put our domestic house in order."

At best, it will take years before Gorbachev's program of freeing industry from Moscow's stifling central control results in any significant increase in the quantity and quality of goods reaching Soviet consumers. Gorbachev complains that "Soviet rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but ... many household appliances are of poor quality." The Soviet leader may be hard put to maintain the popular support he is counting on to overcome bureaucratic lethargy and opposition. Gauging public opinion in the U.S.S.R. is a highly uncertain art, but letters to the Soviet press often approve the idea of *perestroika* while simultaneously complaining that the writers have not seen much of it yet. Some polls disclose considerable grumbling that *perestroika* has so far meant only harder work for little measurable reward. Consumers may soon have to pay more for some of the necessities of life if Gorbachev follows through on his plan to trim or eliminate many state subsidies. The Kremlin boss rightly complains that the subsidies on bread, for example, make it so cheap that children sometimes use



MARIA PANTELEYEVNA GORBACHEV, C. 1987, TOP; HER HUSBAND SERGEI, LATE 1940S, MIDDLE; MIKHAIL AT AGE 19



RICHARDSON & STEINMAN

On Vacation, 1986 AS HE TOLD AN INTERVIEWER, "I HAVE NO FREE TIME."

“Like mountain climbers on one rope, the world’s nations can either climb together to the summit or fall together into the abyss.”

On a visit to Prague, April 10, 1987

loaves as footballs. But a higher price for bread, while it might be fully justified by production costs, is likely to cause strong discontent.

Gorbachev acknowledges that his antialcohol campaign is highly unpopular. He once told a group of writers that he was aware of “threats” as well as grumbling from the long lines of people queuing up to buy scarce and expensive vodka. One gag has a man at the end of one of the liquor-store lines announcing that he is so furious he is going over to the Kremlin to shoot Gorbachev. He returns in a few minutes, however, and resumes his place in the queue. “Well, did you do it?” asks a comrade. “You must be joking,” the would-be assassin replies. “The line over there is even longer.”

In foreign policy too, Gorbachev’s approach is a mixture of much touted “new thinking” and dismayingly old reflexes. Despite his flexibility in the realm of superpower relations, he maintains some strange attitudes about the U.S. By his own account, he began reading American history as a law student, and he has kept himself remarkably well informed. In recent interviews he has referred offhandedly to matters, such as Ronald Reagan’s “economic bill of rights,” that are not widely known even to U.S. citizens.

Nonetheless, he seems to have a streak of what can only be described as anti-Americanism. Perhaps the first American to have an extended conversation with him was John Chrystal, chairman of Bankers Trust of Des Moines and a frequent traveler to the Soviet Union, who called on Gorbachev in 1981. Says Chrystal: “He does believe, never having been here, that the U.S. has abject poverty and quite a lot of it.

My impression is that he thinks there are whole towns that are just sort of destitute.” Eugene Whelan, the former Canadian Agriculture Minister who was later Gorbachev’s host in North America, also visited him in 1981 and got into an argument about armaments. Says Whelan: “He was going on about how the U.S. was the aggressor, how it was making weapons. He said the U.S. was returning to the conditions of the 1950s.” When Whelan remonstrated that in the American view it was the Soviet Union that had piled up weapons far beyond any legitimate defense needs, Gorbachev brusquely responded, “That is erroneous.”

At Chernenko’s funeral in 1985, Gorbachev encountered Armand Hammer, the American businessman who has been trading with the Soviets since Lenin’s day, and denounced Ronald Reagan to him as a man who wanted war. He mellowed after meeting the U.S. President later that year at their first summit in Geneva, and today speaks respectfully of Reagan. Still, when Hammer called at the Kremlin in 1986, Gorbachev told him, “Your President couldn’t make peace if he wanted to. He’s a prisoner of the military-industrial complex,” which in Gorbachev’s mind seems to be both all powerful and moved by an implacable hostility to the Soviets. Hammer tried to dissuade him but got nowhere, largely, he suspects, because Gorbachev had been put in a defensive mood by U.S. and other foreign criticism of his handling of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear-plant accident. Says Hammer: “Gorbachev’s weakness is that he has a temper, and that he flares up, and that he has a lot of pride, of course, and self-confidence.” The Soviet leader has generally managed to keep his temper under control in public. Indeed, friends and opponents agree that he is almost invariably polite. But he does blow up now and then—especially, as foreign TV viewers have discovered, when he is questioned sharply about the Soviet Union’s human-rights record.

Gorbachev, however, need not admire Americans in order to live peaceably with them. Nor is it necessary for the U.S. to enroll in a Gorbachev personality cult in order to recognize the Soviet leader as being a figure of hope, for all his contradictions. His upbringing, schooling and rise to power have produced a man of immense incongruities, stubborn and flexible, a faithful ideologue and a radical experimenter.

He could be the most dangerous adversary the U.S. and its allies have faced in decades—or the most constructive. Molded by famine and war, promised a measure of hope after Stalin’s demise and then abruptly disillusioned, Gorbachev is not the sort of man who would willingly drag his country back into the dark days of repression, economic hardship and international obloquy. If there is a lesson in the 56-year education of Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, it is that a new, unfamiliar kind of leader has risen in the Soviet Union, and that the old rules of dealing with that long-suffering land are suddenly outdated. For the West, the education is just beginning.

—By George J. Church.
Reported by David Aikman/Washington, James O. Jackson/Moscow and John Kohan/Stavropol

The Rise and Rise of Raisa

A different kind of wife

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev were dining with Margaret and Denis Thatcher during their 1984 visit to Britain, and the talk got around to the working class. In his country, the Soviet leader-to-be asserted, "we are all working class."

"No, we are not," his wife objected. "You are a lawyer." Gorbachev conceded, "Perhaps you are right. Perhaps it is just a sociological term."

That exchange has never been reported in the Soviet Union, nor was Gorbachev's confirmation to Tom Brokaw last month that he discussed "Soviet affairs at the highest level" with Raisa. If it were known that Raisa had once contradicted her husband before a foreign leader—well, that could only add to the whispered accusations that Raisa Maximovna Gorbachev, 55, is guilty of conduct unbecoming a Soviet wife. In a land where women have full equality under the law but where a husband has the last word, Raisa has become a widely respected but occasionally resented figure. To a Westerner, that attitude is hard to understand. So what if Raisa dresses stylishly, accompanies her husband on official travels in the Soviet Union and abroad and even makes some appearances on her own? So what if she is involved in public policy to the extent of helping to create a fund to encourage the development of young people in the arts? The problem is that the Soviets are accustomed to leaders' wives who are retiring to the point of invisibility. The outside world did not even know that Tatyana Andropov existed until she attended her husband's 1984 funeral. Consequently, to some people Raisa's high profile seems mildly scandalous. When she accompanied Gorbachev to the 1986 Reykjavik summit with Ronald Reagan (Nancy stayed home), a Soviet Foreign Ministry official griped, "Who chose her to represent the Soviet Union?" A young Moscow professional woman complains that on a Gorbachev visit in September to the port city of Murmansk, Raisa was seen in two different outfits the same day: "That may be O.K. for Paris, but not for Murmansk, where people get meat and butter only once a month."

Raisa is rarely mentioned by name in the Soviet press. She was born in the Siberian town of Rubtsovsk in Altai Krai, though she told reporters at a parade in Moscow last month that she is "absolutely Russian." According to her official biography, her father was a railway engineer. Raisa's chosen profession is teaching. When the newly married Gorbachevs moved to Stavropol in 1955, Raisa found a job at a local school and continued to teach for the next 23 years. When her husband was summoned back to Moscow in 1978 to take charge of Soviet agriculture, Raisa became a lecturer in Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Moscow State University. Though she gave up the post after Gorbachev became General Secretary in 1985, she evidently remains very much the intellectual, accompa-



Iceland, 1986 TURNING ON THE CHARM AT THE REYKJAVIK SUMMIT

nying Mikhail to cultural performances and displaying a command of foreign books. During the December summit she told Joyce Carol Oates that she had read the novelist's book *Angel of Light* and said it was well liked in the U.S.S.R.

Raisa became something of a pioneer in Soviet sociological research during her Stavropol days. She won the equivalent of a Ph.D. in 1967 with a dissertation on the lives of collective farmers, using methods that were then unconventional in the Soviet Union. She sent out questionnaires that drew more than 3,000 replies and conducted follow-up interviews at five collectives. The work reportedly decried the peasants' bleak living conditions, as well as their fondness for such religious festivals as Christmas and Easter. That latter attitude evidently endures. Mikhail once observed that "she is the atheist" of the couple. Foreigners who have talked with Raisa describe her as a more dogmatic Marxist than her husband. At least she knows what the working class is—and that she and Mikhail are not members. —By George J. Church. Reported by David Aikman/Washington and Ann Blackman/Moscow

Soviet Embassy

328-3225

music

closing Tchaikovsky Contest
Moscow - 4 yrs ago June