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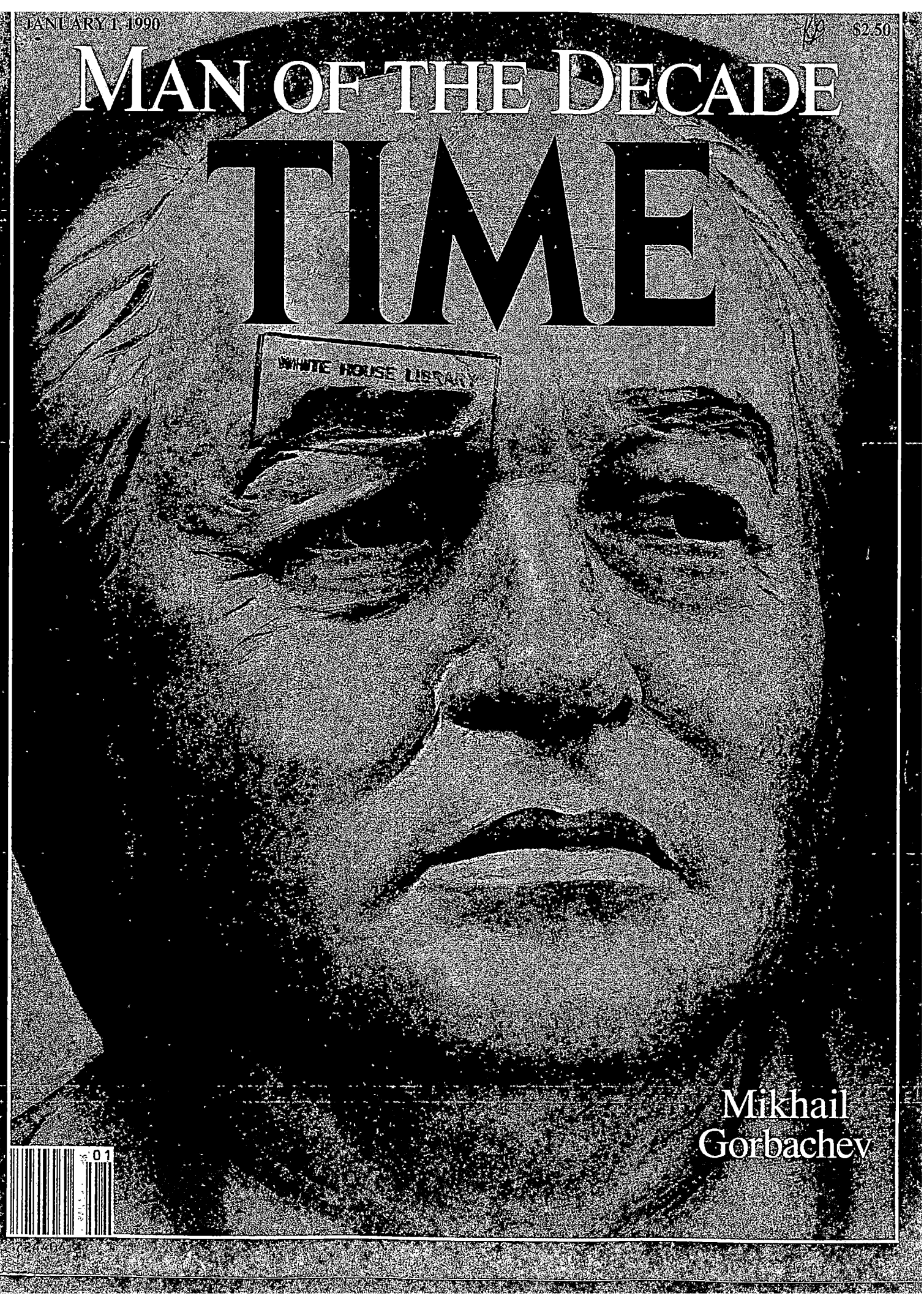
MAN OF THE DECADE

TIME



Mikhail Gorbachev

Vol. 135, No. 1

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

MAN OF THE DECADE: An impresario of calculated disorder named Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

The 1980s came to an end in what seemed like a magic act. The shell of an old world cracked, but a new order remained to be built. ▶ A master politician, Gorbachev could win election in many countries, but probably not his own. ▶ The Soviet threat isn't what it used to be—and maybe never was.

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MAN OF THE DECADE

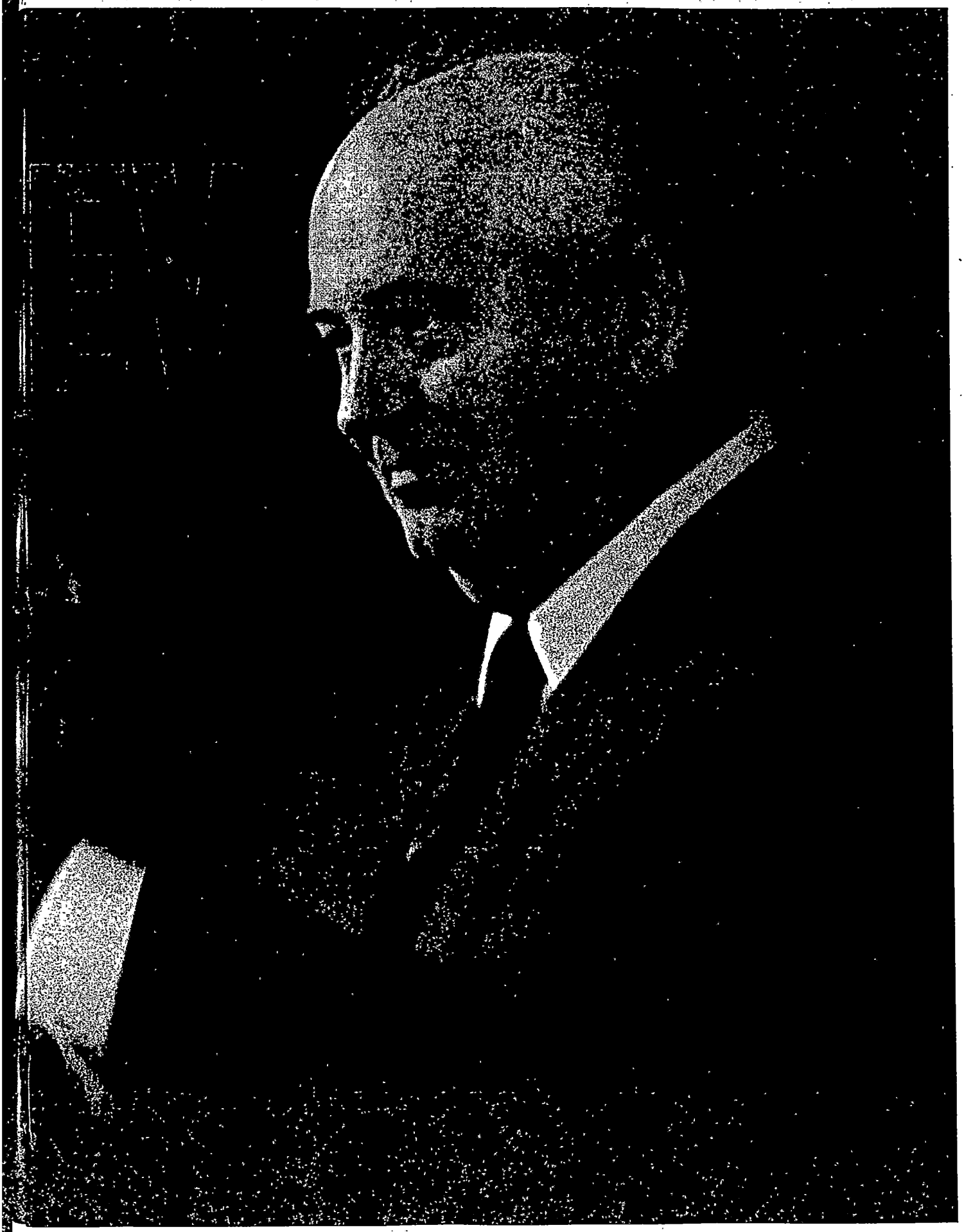
The Unlikely Patron of Change

BY LANCE MORROW

The 1980s came to an end in what seemed like a magic act, performed on a world-historical stage. Trapdoors flew open, and whole regimes vanished. The shell of an old world cracked, its black iron fragments dropping away, and something new, alive, exploded into the air in a flurry of white wings.

Revolution took on a sort of electronic lightness of being. A crowd of half a million Czechoslovaks in Wenceslas Square would powder into electrons, stream into space at the speed of light, bounce off a satellite and shoot down to recombine in millions of television images around the planet.

The transformation had a giddy, hallucina-



GEORGES MERILLON—GAMMA LIAISON

tory quality, its surprises tumbling out night after night. The wall that divided Berlin and sealed an international order crumbled into souvenirs. The cold war, which seemed for so long part of the permanent order of things, was peacefully deconstructing before the world's eyes. After years of numb changelessness, the communist world has come alive with an energy and turmoil that have taken on a bracing, potentially anarchic life of their own. Not even Stalinist Rumania was immune.

The magician who set loose these forces is a career party functionary, faithful communist, charismatic politician, international celebrity and impresario of calculated disorder named Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He calls what he is doing—and permitting—a revolution. His has (so far) been a bloodless revolution, without the murderous, conspiratorial associations that the word has carried in the past. In novel alliance with the *glasnost* of world communications, Gorbachev became the patron of change: Big Brother's better twin. His portraits, like icons at a saint's-day festival, waved amid a swarm of Czechs. The East German young chanted "Gorby! Gorby!" to taunt the police.

The world has acquired simultaneously more freedom and more danger. At the beginning of the age of exploration, a navigator's map would mark unknown portions of the great ocean with the warning HERE BE MONSTERS. Gorbachev knows about the monsters, about the chaos he may have to struggle across, a chaos that he even helped to create.

The potential for violence, and even for the disintegration of the Soviet order, is enormous. The U.S.S.R. is a vast amalgam of nationalities that have always been restive under the imperial Soviet system. To mix the politics of openness and the economics of scarcity is a messy and dangerous experiment.

Gorbachev and his reformist allies in Eastern Europe have managed to suppress at least one monster—the state's capacity for terrible violence against its citizens. The Chinese and, until last week, the Rumanians were not so lucky. The Chinese students carried portraits of the Soviet leader, and they were shouting, "In Russia they have Gorbachev; in China we have whom?" The yin and yang of 1989: tanks vs. *glasnost,* the dead hand of the past vs. Gorbachev's vigorous, risky plunge into the future. Gorbachev is a hero for what he would not do—in fact, could not do, without tearing out the moral wiring of his ambitions for the future. In that sense, as in so many others, the fallen Rumanian tyrant Nicolae Ceausescu played the archvillain.

Gorbachev has been a powerful, increasingly symbolic presence in the world's imagination since he first came to power in 1985. But what exactly does he symbolize? Change and hope for a stagnant system, motion, creativity, an amazing equilibrium, a gift for improvising a stylish performance as he hang glides across an abyss. Mikhail Gorbachev, superstar: the West went predictably overboard in what one skeptic called its "Gorbasms."

But Gorbachev and his program of *perestroika* are far less popular at home. Estée Lauder and Christian Dior opened exclusive shops on Gorky Street. Meanwhile, soap, sugar, tea, school notebooks, cigarettes, sausage and other meats, butter, fruits and vegetables, and even matches are scarce. Only rubles are plentiful. As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his treatise on the French Revolution, "The most perilous moment for a bad government is when it seeks to mend its ways. Only consummate statecraft can enable a king to save his throne when, after a long spell of oppressive rule, he sets to improving the lot of his subjects." Chaos rides in on rising expectations.

Right now, in the dead of the Russian winter, Gorbachev may have reached his own most dangerous moment. Nonetheless, with remarkable imagination and daring, he has embarked on a course, perhaps now irreversible, that is reshaping the world. He is trying to transform a government that was not just bad or inept but inherently destructive, its stupidity regularly descending into evil. He has been breaking up an old bloc to make way for a new Europe, altering the relationship of the Soviet empire with the rest of the world and changing the nature of the empire itself. He has made possible the end of the cold war and diminished the danger that a hot war will ever break out between the superpowers. Because he is the force behind the most momentous events of the '80s and because what he has already done will almost certainly shape the future, Mikhail Gorbachev is TIME's Man of the Decade.

Some people regard Gorbachev as a hero because they believe he is presiding over the demise of a loathsome ideology. But he does not mean to abolish communism. On the contrary, he wants to save it by transforming it. The supreme leader of an atheistic state was baptized as a child. Now, in a sense, Gorbachev means to accomplish the salvation of an entire society that has gone astray. Yet he has not found an answer to the question of how communism can be redeemed and still be communism.

Gorbachev is playing Prospero in a realm ruled by Caliban for the past 72 years. He aspires not merely to correct the "deformations of socialism," as he calls the legacies of Stalinism and the incompetences of centralized economic planning. Gorbachev's am

Revolution took on an electronic lightness of being, a quality of hallucination. The cold war deconstructed, and the Berlin Wall crumbled at last into souvenirs.

IMAGES OF GORBACHEV PROLIFERATE DURING HIS VISIT TO BONN IN JUNE 1989

bition is more comprehensive: to repair deformations of the Russian political character that go back centuries. The Renaissance and Enlightenment never arrived in Russia. Feudalism lived on, and endures now in the primitive authoritarianism of the Soviet system.

Sigmund Freud once said that human self-esteem received three great blows from science. First, Copernicus proved that the earth is not the center of the universe. Then Darwin showed that man is not organically superior to animals; and finally, psychoanalysis asserted that man is not "master in his own house." The self-esteem of Soviet communism suffered all three blows at once but lumbered on for years in a dusk of denial. Despite the pretensions of Marx and Lenin, the system that bears their name is manifestly not the ordained design of history, not superior to all others, and not even the master of its own house.

Mikhail Gorbachev is the Copernicus, Darwin and Freud of communism all wrapped in one. He wants his fellow citizens—and his comrades—at last to absorb this trinity of disillusionments and reconcile themselves into a whole and modern society.

The November day before he met with the Pope in Rome (not the least of the year's astonishments), Gorbachev said, "We need a revolution of the mind." The metaphysics of global power has changed. Markets are now more valuable than territory, information more powerful than military hardware. For many years, the Soviets lived in paranoid isolation, fearful of Western culture (an old Russian tradition) and estranged from it in somewhat the way that Ayatullah Khomeini's Iranians quarantined themselves from the secular poisons of the West. Peasant cultures shrink from foreign contamination.

Gorbachev is a sort of Zen genius of survival, a nimble performer who can dance a side step, a showman and manipulator of reality, a suave wolf tamer. He has a way of turning desperate necessities into opportunities and even virtues.

Much more than that, Gorbachev is a visionary enacting a range of complex and sometimes contradictory roles. He is simultaneously the communist Pope and the Soviet Martin Luther, the apparatchik as Magellan and McLuhan. The Man of the Decade is a global navigator. ■

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

MAN OF THE DECADE

The Year of The People

A CATALYST FOR REFORM FROM MOSCOW TO BUCHAREST, GORBACHEV HAS TRANSFORMED THE WORLD

BY BRUCE W. NELAN

The Gorbachev phenomenon is the result of Soviet pride and Soviet shame. For more than a generation, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. have lived with that contradiction. They have had the satisfaction of knowing their country was a superpower—and the frustration of living in a backward economy. They made their homes in crowded, decrepit dwellings. Shopping for necessities was a daily despair. Citizenship itself was often an insult and sometimes an injury. Their government would not let them express their thoughts or travel abroad. For years they could explain it all away: the hardship was the aftermath of the Great Patriotic War against the Nazis; the repression was a response to the ever present threat of capitalist imperialism.

But over time, fewer and fewer Russians fit the stereotype of illiterate peasants on whose bovine passivity Czar or commissar could rely. Soviets were increasingly well educated and well informed, in spite of the propaganda poured over them. And while they reached political maturity, their leadership sank into senility. The people cringed when they heard the doddering Leonid Brezhnev try to form his words and when they learned that his hands were so shaky he had to eat with a spoon at a state dinner. They told scornful jokes: state radio, cynics said, dared not play any work by Tchaikovsky in a minor key for fear that everyone would think another General Secretary had died.

The people—whose name was so often taken in vain by their rulers—longed for a leader with verve and vision, someone who would represent their pride rather than their shame. There was, therefore, a national murmur of interest in 1979, when the country got its first look at Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at a televised awards ceremony. Not only did this new Central Committee Secretary, then 48, seem at ease among the ruling septuagenarians; he was the only one able to say thank you for his medal without reading from a 3-by-5 card.

Since his selection as party chief in 1985, Gorbachev has exceeded both the hopes of those who longed for reinvigoration and the fears of those, no doubt including comrades who voted for him, who worried that he would jeopardize the power and privileges of the élite. He has been a political dynamo, showering sparks inside and outside the country. His commitment to the still elusive goal of *perestroika,* his effort to make the economy produce what the people want to consume, and *glasnost,* an end to systematic official lying, have transformed the Soviet Union and made possible a transformation of international relations as well. What were long called, and accurately so, the satellites, or captive nations of Eastern Europe, are defecting en masse to the West. They are doing so because Gorbachev is letting them. In the U.S.S.R. the old order is not just passing; it is already on what Leon Trotsky called the trash heap of history. No one, certainly including Gorbachev, knows what is coming next. But whatever it is, it will be something new.

Gorbachev did not invent the idea of trying to reinvent communism, but during his formative years in obscurity he certain-

BERLIN
NOV. 9
A Wall Comes Tumbling Down

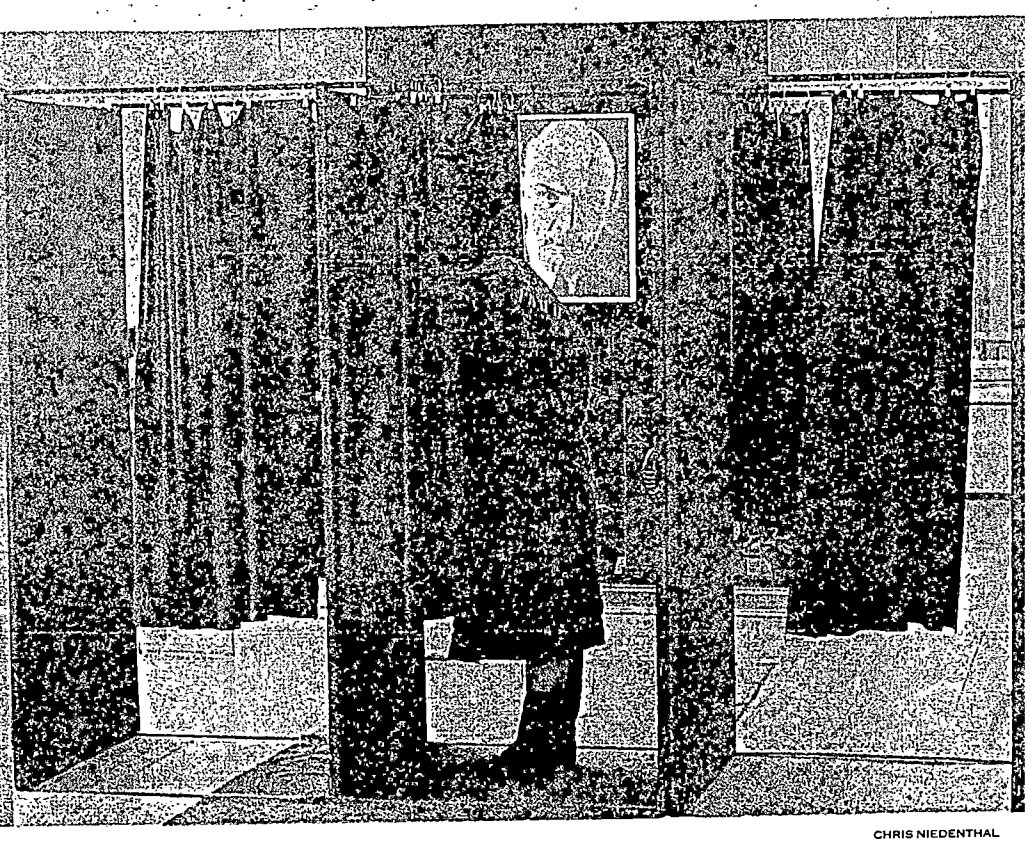
DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

In a year filled with powerful images, none was more dramatic or more hopeful than the breaching of the structure that had stood for the harsh division between East and West. That event was the culmination of a process that began in May, when Hungary allowed East Germans to pour across its border to Austria. While many of East Germany's best and brightest voted with their feet, others gathered to chant "We want to stay!" and demand political reforms. Protests in East Berlin and Dresden met with brutality, but then Gorbachev nudged hard-liner Erich Honecker into belated retirement. In a desperate bid to keep the Communist Party in power, Honecker's successor Egon Krenz opened the Wall. But three weeks later he too was swept aside.

U.S.S.R.
MARCH 26

Throwing The Bums Out

When *perestroika* seemed to result in little but empty shelves and *glasnost* invited bitter complaints from the citizenry, Gorbachev sent the people to the polls—and thus let the apparatchiks take the heat. The nationwide election to the new 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies became a stunning rebuke to the custodians of the status quo. A third of the Communist Party's regional chiefs failed to win seats. Gorbachev was counting on democratization to spur pressure for reform, but it also fanned secessionist fever in the Baltic republics and ethnic violence in the Caucasus.



CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

ly learned a lesson about the connection between internal reform and international relations. He had seen Nikita Khrushchev's vigorous cultural thaw of the late 1950s freeze again in the intensified cold war that followed the Cuban missile crisis. Alexei Kosygin, who was Prime Minister until his death in 1980, attempted to reorient heavy industry toward consumer goods, decentralization and profitmaking in the mid-1960s. But, ironically, that program was aborted partly because the Soviet crackdown on "socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia triggered a backlash against liberalism in the U.S.S.R. In Poland the creation of Solidarity, the first independent trade union in the Soviet bloc, preceded the advent of Gorbachev by five years. But Lech Walesa was officially considered an outlaw. The notion of Solidarity participating in government, not to mention dominating it, was unthinkable.

The intellectual and biographical origins of Gorbachev's radicalism will probably always be a mystery. In a way, they become more mysterious as time goes on, if only because he becomes more radical. The sweeping changes he has instigated this past year in the U.S.S.R., particularly free expression and democratization, and his transfusion of counterrevolution into Eastern Europe would shock not only the late Andrei Gromyko, who nominated Gorbachev for the general secretaryship in 1985, but the Gorbachev of five years ago as well.

Still, there are clues in his life story. Like the population as a whole, he was much better educated than his predecessors. A graduate of the law faculty of Moscow State University, he is the first Soviet party leader since Lenin to have earned a university degree. He is experienced in weighing evidence and reassessing what Marxists call—but often do not respect—"objective reality." His rise in the party began long after Stalin's death, so he is less afflicted than his elders by xenophobia and acceptance of terror as a civic norm. His abilities were recognized by KGB chief Yuri Andropov, who offered him counsel and support. Andropov had been a Central Committee Secretary and, as head of intelligence, had access to a picture of domestic and international affairs undistorted by propaganda. He was able to brief Gorbachev on how swiftly their country was declining.

Like his mentor, Gorbachev could see that the creaking, centrally controlled Soviet system, under the stifling ministrations of bureaucrats, was about to expire. To oil the cogs of a restructured economic machine, he would have to inspire productivity and reclaim for the consumer sector much of the vast resources and brainpower that had been commandeered by the military. And to do that he had to overcome traditional Bolshevik paranoia and reappraise the threat to the Soviet Union from the West. "Security," he wrote in 1987, "can no longer be ensured by military means."

Initially Gorbachev believed he could restructure the country by replacing hacks with doers, offering real rewards for hard work and cutting back on the consumption of vodka. In short, he counted on the restoration of discipline. It took two years for him to discover that the problems were much deeper and that the solutions would have to be much more far-reaching and disruptive. He realized, he said, that "cosmetic measures" would not work, and so "we arrived at the concept of *perestroika* as the revolutionary renovation of socialism, of our entire society." What this grand but vague formulation has meant in practice is the scaling back of coercion and the introduction of an unprecedented, until recently unimaginable degree of pluralism. As he put it in his 1987 book *Perestroika,* "It is possible to suppress, compel, bribe, break or blast, but only for a certain period."

He has tried to apply that principle at home and in Eastern Europe, where he attributed the stagnation of the economy and the discontent of the populace to "miscalculations by the ruling parties." The East European regimes had long taken it for granted that their Big Brothers in Moscow would provide the brute force that is the substitute for political legitimacy in the Marxist-Leninist system. Now all of a sudden, the No. 1 man in the Kremlin was saying he would not back them up and that they had to find a way of making a genuine social compact with their own people, or fall. Hence the most amazing events of 1989—and of the decade: one after another, with breathtaking speed, the communist dictatorships of Eastern Europe came tumbling down.

A Watershed in Warsaw

Poland, where major antigovernment strikes broke out in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976 and 1980-81, mounted the first full test of Moscow's new policy. At the beginning of

CHINA
JUNE 4

Massacre In Beijing

They had come to mourn the death of political reformer Hu Yaobang; they stayed to welcome Gorbachev, who was making the first Soviet state visit to Beijing in 30 years. Soon up to 1 million citizens had joined the student occupation of Tiananmen Square. Then, early one morning, the tanks rolled in. One column was stopped for six minutes by a single youth. At least 1,000 were killed, thousands more arrested. Executions followed. Among the feared victims: the lone man whom human-rights organizations have identified as Wang Weilin, 19. Officially, the massacre never occurred.

STUART FRANKLIN—MAGNUM

1989, Polish party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski told his Central Committee that "fundamental changes" were needed to rescue the economy from work stoppages, inflation, debt, shortages and the burden of a near worthless currency. Having suppressed Solidarity for seven years and jailed or driven underground many of its leaders, the party needed the union's help. During several weeks of so-called round-table discussions with the government, Walesa and other union leaders concluded that it was Poland that needed their help. They traded a tacit pledge to refrain from further strikes for legalization of the union, an amended constitution and freer elections than those that had been held since World War II. Solidarity turned itself into a political party—the first true opposition in the Soviet bloc—so it could contest all 100 seats in the new Senate and 161 of the seats in the lower chamber, the Sejm. In June Solidarity won all but one of the contested seats. In August, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor of Solidarity's weekly newspaper, was sworn in as the first noncommunist Prime Minister in Eastern Europe since Stalin had imposed his system there 40 years ago. Society—led, with appropriate irony, by the workers whom Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* had exhorted to unite—had proved stronger than the state.

Just as Poland was showing the world the best that could be hoped for in the drama of reform, China was showing the worst. Deng Xiaoping had introduced bold and promising reforms of the economy under the slogan of "Four Modernizations." But Deng kept the political system rigidly in the Stalinist mold. Inspired by their increased exposure to the outside world in general and by the example of Gorbachev's democratization in particular, the people of China appealed to their leadership for more political freedom. A demonstration by several thousand students escalated into a six-week occupation of the central square in Beijing by crowds of up to 1 million people. When the tanks rolled in on June 4, reformers in Poland suddenly had a new code word for the catastrophe they feared might still befall them: Tiananmen.

Although Gorbachev was obviously dismayed, his public reaction was muted. Talking with French academics at the Sorbonne a month later, he reminded them that the Soviet party had urged the Chinese authorities to solve the problem by "political dialogue" with the young demonstrators. "This position of ours remains unchanged," he said. In contrast, Gorbachev called the changes in Eastern Europe "inspiring."

The Iron Curtain Comes Down

Nowhere were they more so than in Hungary. The Hungarian freedom fighters of 1956 had been the moral and political precursors of the martyrs of Tiananmen, defeated by tanks. After suppressing that revolt and executing the moderate communist leader Imre Nagy, Moscow tried a new form of bribery: it allowed Hungary wider latitude in economic experimentation than any other East bloc country, in exchange for political orthodoxy.

Hungarian revisionism, nicknamed "goulash communism," produced prosperity and glitter for a while, but the economy nonetheless went into a long decline because the stagnation was too widespread and deep rooted to be cured by tinkering. Party boss Janos Kadar, the quisling who had replaced Nagy, was ousted in May 1988. He was succeeded by moderate reformer Karoly Grosz. But as in the Soviet Union, moderate reform was, by definition, inadequate. Drastic measures were necessary and, in the Gorbachev era, acceptable to Moscow. In search of new ideas and a democratic image in January 1989, parliament passed legislation permitting the formation of opposition political parties for the next election, to be held in the spring. The communists, in a desperate bid to regain some legitimacy, have renamed themselves the Hungarian Socialist Party, but they are expected to capture no more than 15% to 20% of the vote.

On March 17, Hungary signed the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, pledging not to force fleeing foreigners to return to their own countries. In a year of turning points, that move had special importance. Hungary began dismantling the barbed wire on the Austrian border. Quite literally, the Iron Curtain had started to come down. The principal beneficiaries were East German travelers, who were suddenly able to keep right on moving westward. The fatal hemorrhaging of the German Democratic Republic had begun.

As East Germans flooded into Hungary by the thousands, tensions between the two supposedly "fraternal" governments came into the open. Invoking a bilateral agreement, the East Berlin regime demanded that Budapest return the refugees. The Hungarians refused, allowing 15,000 East Germans in three days to go to West

HUNGARY
JUNE 16

A Martyr Is Reburied

The government had begun the year by announcing it would tolerate the formation of independent political parties. In May Hungarian soldiers cut the electrified barbed-wire fences along the Austrian border. A month later, the remains of Imre Nagy, the Premier whom the Soviets had hanged for his part in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, were exhumed from an unmarked grave and reburied with honor. Free parliamentary elections are scheduled for next spring. Although the communists have renamed themselves socialists, they face humiliation, perhaps even political extinction.

PETER JORDAN

Germany, where they received automatic citizenship. East Germany halted travel to Hungary. Would-be immigrants then poured into Czechoslovakia to take refuge in the West German embassy there.

The German Democratic Republic was losing its best, brightest, most promising citizens, precisely those people who socialist propaganda said were going to build a better future. They were, but not in the G.D.R. Arriving in the West, many of them explained that they had left the East not because their lives were uncomfortable, but because they were unfree.

Heading Off Bloodshed

Then in October the revolution came home to East Germany. It started with freedom marches in Leipzig. For a long moment, it looked as though there might be another Tiananmen after all. On Oct. 9 the 77-year-old party boss Erich Honecker ordered the police to use "all available force" to clear the streets, but Egon Krenz, then in charge of security, persuaded him to rescind the order. Each week the Monday demonstrations grew, to 200,000 on Oct. 23, to 480,000 on Nov. 6. The marches, always peaceful and sober, increasingly impressive, spread throughout East Germany.

Gorbachev had played a pivotal role in heading off bloodshed. Visiting East Berlin on Oct. 7, the 40th anniversary of the communist state, Gorbachev cautioned the leaders that they could not count on Soviet support if they used force to crack down, and advised them to launch their own *perestroika:* "Life itself punishes those who delay." Eleven days later, Honecker was forced out and replaced by Krenz, who immediately sought to appease the marching crowds and the demands from his party for faster reform. His tenure was brief but memorable, if only because he ordered the opening of the Berlin Wall, the ultimate symbol of the Iron Curtain.

On Dec. 3 the entire party leadership resigned under public pressure. A caretaker regime has set free elections for May 6. No matter how the Communist Party reorganizes or renames itself, it is finished as a significant factor in East German politics. Up to 1 million of its 2.3 million members have already turned in their party cards.

An Autumn Thaw

Shibboleths in the West were evaporating almost as fast as regimes in the East. It had long been a tenet of conventional wisdom that Czechoslovakia, the homeland of the Good Soldier Schweik, would be one of the last nations to join the march of freedom. Maybe, just maybe there would be another Prague Spring in 1990. But the thaw came in the fall instead. Demonstrations began in mid-November. The first was a legal assembly of students sponsored by the communist-dominated Socialist Union of Youth. But that organization was seething with discontent, and 3,000 of the marchers moved toward Prague's Wenceslas Square. Riot police attacked and beat them. Again there were apprehensive memories of what had happened in Beijing a few months before. The following day tens of thousands of ordinary citizens massed in the square to shout to their temporary rulers "The game is over!".

So it was. The people were extraordinarily civil, almost good-natured, in the way they threw out their leaders. They welcomed Alexander Dubcek, the tragic hero of the original Prague Spring, back into the public spotlight. But the man of the hour was playwright Vaclav Havel, the often imprisoned leader of dissent, who has conjured up what may be the new nemesis of world communism: "the power of the powerless." On Dec. 10 what Havel called the "velvet revolution" swept away the government. In a new Cabinet of 21, there are now eleven noncommunists. The formation of rival parties has been legalized and Civic Forum, the noncommunist coalition, has decided to join in free elections likely to be held in May.

As the year came to an end, events reached a velocity that left onlookers giddy and made even some staunch anticommunists in the West applaud a bit less gleefully and start worrying that perhaps the resulting instability would be a greater threat to world peace than the old, seemingly monolithic communist menace. Yet once it happened, the whole spectacle had a look of something like inevitability. The governments of Eastern Europe had never been more than hollow administrations installed and maintained by Moscow's armed forces. They were rejected as Marxist, but even more as Russian, a double affront to the proud nationalism of countries that believed the West ended at Poland's eastern frontier.

POLAND
AUG 24

From Underground To Power

Outlawed for seven years, Solidarity became the government's negotiating partner in February and a full-blown opposition party in the summer's parliamentary elections. Running largely on their identification with Lech Walesa, the Solidarity candidates so completely trounced the communists that the regime felt it had no choice but to form a coalition. After one false start, President Wojciech Jaruzelski settled on Walesa's handpicked choice for the premiership, lawyer Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Now the once jailed and their former jailers share a common enemy: a bankrupt economy.

ETTORE MALANCA—SIPA PRESS

Once it became clear that Gorbachev meant what he said, the opposition—tightly organized as in Poland or inchoate as in East Germany and Czechoslovakia—rose up in wrath. Without the backing of the Soviet army, local satraps dared not use their security forces and probably did not know if they could trust them. The communist parties tried to buy off the people with leadership shuffles and semireforms, but that was not the point. Communist dictatorship could not be reformed; it could only be destroyed.

Demonstrations in Bulgaria—yes, Bulgaria—began tentatively at the end of September and then picked up momentum. Todor Zhivkov, the country's dictator for 35 years, was replaced on Nov. 10 by Petar Mladenov, who purged the Stalinist leadership, promising to legalize opposition parties and hold free elections by the end of May. That move was something of a surprise, since Bulgaria most closely identifies with the Soviet Union and was not expected to take reforms further than Gorbachev himself has done. And Gorbachev draws the line at the formation of rival parties.

The Dilemma of Democratization

In every case—Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia—a disbelieving but increasingly hopeful world watched and waited for a crackdown that never came. In every case, the disintegration of the communist system was hastened by economic crises. Marx was right: politics is driven by economics. But his 20th century followers were spectacularly wrong. A command economy can grow only by exploiting farmers and workers; eventually there is no incentive for the workers to work or the farmers to farm in a society in which they have no say in the allocation of resources. Giving them a say means giving them a voice—a concept best translated into Russian as *glasnost*.

Gorbachev has been badgering and cajoling ordinary citizens to take charge of their own futures in their jobs and in political organizations. He told Moscow editors in September 1988 that he wanted to "rid public opinion of such a harmful complex as faith in the 'good Czar,' the all-powerful center, the notion that someone can bring about order and organize *perestroika* from on high." His revamping of the legislative organs of the government offered just such an opportunity to assault the old conveyor-belt way of doing things.

In March the Soviet people went to the polls to elect a new 2,250-seat Congress of People's Deputies. The Congress in turn elected the Supreme Soviet, the country's standing parliament. Previous parliaments were no more than tools of the party, but this one has actively debated and even opposed government programs. In the absence of rival political parties, some 85% of those elected to the Congress were party members. But a groundswell of revulsion against entrenched bureaucrats denied almost a third of the country's regional party chiefs seats in the Congress. In May live coverage of Congress sessions gave the spellbound nation a crash course in democracy, as radicals and former dissidents led by the late Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov denounced the KGB as "the most secret and conspiratorial of all state institutions" and counseled against giving Gorbachev, now President of the country, too much power. Here was part of the paradox of *perestroika:* democratization, so crucial to Gorbachev's principles and strategy alike, emboldened his critics and opponents.

Meanwhile, the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union have had their own reasons for responding enthusiastically to Gorbachev's campaign on behalf of self-reliance and decentralization. The nationalism that had lain largely dormant or been brutally suppressed rose to the surface. In the Caucasus, ethnic hatreds burst into violence. In Azerbaijan, which borders on Iran, the dominant Azerbaijanis, a Muslim, Turkic-speaking people, are embroiled in a blood feud with the Christian Armenians in and around the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. The region has been besieged for 20 months, its road traffic and railways under attack by Azerbaijani nationalists. Vital supplies are ferried in by helicopter. Some 5,000 troops of the Interior Ministry have been assigned to peacekeeping duties in the area.

In April a peaceful demonstration by Georgian separatists in Tbilisi turned into a horror when army and Interior Ministry troops attacked the unarmed protesters with shovels, clubs and poison gas, killing 20. There have been similar nationalist flare-ups in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tadzhikistan.

Secession, long a virtually taboo word in Soviet politics, has become the avowed aim of several nationalist movements. Although the Baltic states have been granted a high degree of economic autonomy, they were rebuked by the Supreme Soviet in November for passing laws claiming the right to decide which legislation enacted in Mos-

ERIC BOUVET—GAMMA LIAISON

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
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Socialism With a Human Face Again

The face was familiar, although it showed the passage of years spent in punitive obscurity: Alexander Dubcek, the tragic hero of the 1968 Prague Spring, returned triumphantly to join the huge protests. A week earlier, riot police had attacked student demonstrators, but now playwright Vaclav Havel could speak of "the power of the powerless." Soon the communists yielded power to a noncommunist majority. A sign in Prague summed it up:

POLAND—10 YEARS
HUNGARY—10 MONTHS
EAST GERMANY—10 WEEKS
CZECHOSLOVAKIA—10 DAYS
And then, after a week of horror, RUMANIA—10 HOURS.

cow would apply in their territory. A week later, Georgia passed the same law. Ukrainian nationalists say they will soon try for economic and possibly political autonomy.

The Empire's Fatal Flaw

The dilemma for Gorbachev is acute. On the one hand, he dares not permit violent chaos to spread, nor preside over the breakup of the U.S.S.R. On the other, he knows that resorting to force would probably provoke even greater resistance to Moscow's rule and would certainly spell the end of his liberal reform program as a whole. A crackdown could also revive the cold war and end his plans to transfer resources from the military to the civilian sector.

The U.S.S.R.'s identity as the world's last multinational empire may be the tragic flaw in Gorbachev's vision. It may prevent him from going as far as he would like—and as far as he must to succeed. Certainly the imperative of maintaining order and preventing the breakup of the country is a large part of his reason for opposing the removal from the Soviet constitution of Article 6, which gives the Communist Party a monopoly on political power. A confrontation looms with the Baltic states over their intention to cancel Article 6 and declare their own communist parties independent. The Lithuanian party voted last week to split from Moscow and declared its intention to create "an independent, democratic Lithuanian state." One-party rule, Gorbachev says, is vital to the success of *perestroika*. He opposed debate on the issue at the opening of the People's Congress in mid-December, saying it would have to wait until constitutional revision as a whole is considered. But he may not get his way in that respect—as well as in many others. The Soviet Communist Party has already split into so many factions—rightist, leftist, nationalist—that it is less a single entity than an umbrella organization in which policy battles are being fought out. Pluralism in one party could precede the development of separate parties in the U.S.S.R.

The country hovers at the edge of the definitive changes that have swept Eastern Europe, but hesitates to take the plunge. Moscow's latest five-year economic plan, announced two weeks ago, still retains central control of production quotas and postpones vital price reforms until 1992. Gorbachev denies that he intends to move to a totally Western-style, free-market system. He insists that his *perestroika* can in time deliver democracy in a one-party state and efficiency in a planned economy.

In the meantime, Gorbachev's vision of an independent but cooperative international system has allowed five East European countries to emerge from communist dictatorship. They are fledglings, with no established economic or commercial systems, and even with help from Western governments and corporations, it is not certain they all will succeed. Their work should be eased by large newly formed national-unity coalitions such as New Forum in East Germany, Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia and the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria. Still, it is possible that after 40 years of Marxism ordinary workers will view the profit motive with hostility and insist that the government owes them a living. If that is the case, increasing penury could push Eastern Europe back into its 19th century bad habits: ethnic hatreds, border feuds, military juntas.

Yet it is by no means certain that will happen, and that is definitely not the message the people of Eastern Europe sent their leaders and the world when they filled the streets with powerful yet peaceful protests. Governments, even ones as ruthless as the now toppled Rumanian regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, realized that they cannot ignore the voices of their citizens. They must now think seriously about the consent of the governed and, mirabile dictu, about getting elected.

Historians and political scientists debate whether great forces or great men move the world. By unleashing the forces of democracy, Gorbachev gave new luster to the great-man theory. He may not be able to control those forces himself. They could even sweep him away, just as they did Egon Krenz and Karoly Grosz and Milos Jakes. But no matter what happens next in the great Eurasian land mass where 1.8 billion people live under communism—and no matter what happens to Gorbachev himself—he has established his place in history as the catalyst of a new European reality. "Any nation has the right to decide its fate by itself," he said last month in a parliamentary statement on events in Eastern Europe. It is one thing for the most powerful communist on earth to speak those words. It is momentous when he not only means them but also puts them into practice. ***—Reported by David Aikman/Washington, John Borrell/Vienna, Richard Hornik/Warsaw and John Kohan/Moscow***

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11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 15, 1987, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C2; WASHINGTON WAYS

LENGTH: 1299 words

HEADLINE: Dom's Array: Summit Jokes From Santa

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

"I'm not really Santa," insisted the roly-poly elf in red jacket and black pants. "I'm a leftover KGB agent."

He could have fooled Nancy Reagan and others at the White House yesterday, where the 1987 Christmas decorations were being unveiled to the press.

More recognizable perhaps as comedian Dom DeLuise, he brought along some summit jokes in his bag of Christmas tricks. For instance, the reason Mikhail Gorbachev got out of his car at Connecticut Avenue and L Street NW last week was because Vice President George Bush, riding with him, had been trying "to rub the spot" (a birthmark) off his forehead.

Mrs. Reagan laughed along with everyone else.

"The president thought he was trying to defect," DeLuise explained.

Mrs. Reagan's annual gig with a mystery celebrity Santa took the press through the festively adorned state rooms, where this year's theme is a musical one. In front of an East Room Christmas tree, the first lady and Santa danced a couple of twirls to a Marine Band tape recording of "Frosty the Snowman."

Instead of having tractors and such things of Reagan Christmases past ("Do you know a mother who's really cuckoo about tractors?" Mrs. Reagan asked), the Reagans' Christmas this year will be "more a mother's Christmas," she said.

That means she and the president are giving each other a carved ivory madonna that Pope John Paul II gave them at the Vatican during their 1982 visit. U.S. law forbids government officials from accepting gifts valued at more than $ 180 from foreign governments or representatives. The recipients, however, may purchase those gifts, and the Reagans like this one so much they've decided they will.

Elaine Crispen, Mrs. Reagan's press secretary, said the madonna, artist unknown, is carved from a tusk and has been valued at $ 800.

The Reagans' Christmas dinner guests will be Mrs. Reagan's brother, Dr. Richard Davis of Philadelphia and his family; USIA Director Charles Z. Wick and his family, and consultant and longtime friend Nancy Reynolds and her son.

Asked if friend and former White House deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver, who is being tried on perjury charges, would also be there this year, Mrs. Reagan said, "I don't know."

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Mrs. Reagan said her New Year's wish is for yet another U.S.-Soviet summit, this one in Moscow, and further progress on arms control.

She said she wants very much to see Leningrad and the Hermitage if the Reagans go to the Soviet Union. But asked if she wants to tour with Raisa Gorbachev, she paused.

"I look forward to going to Russia," she said.

She refused to be drawn into a discussion of her and Raisa Gorbachev's private cold war, which seemed to have gotten frostier last week.

"I thought that the summit was a very important step, a very important first step," she said. "And there were really serious, substantive things to talk about. All the rest -- I'm not going to," and she never finished the sentence.

As chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Lynne Cheney has worried about the fact that young people don't read the classics of American literature. At the White House dinner for Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev, she had her worst fears confirmed.

Seated next to Soviet Ambassador Yuri Dubinin, she asked him about the Soviets' interest in the classic frontier novels of Jack London, James Fenimore Cooper and, to some extent, Mark Twain. Whatever other books the Soviets ban, Cheney knew the works of those authors are not among them.

"Fenimore Cooper? I love Fenimore Cooper!" Dubinin replied with great enthusiasm and then added, to her dismay, "But you are the first American I've ever heard say his name!"

Gorbachev's official party consisted of 12 men and two women, so in seating the Reagans' dinner there was no way to avoid putting two men together at several tables. Mrs. Reagan, following protocol, sits next to the guest of honor, and Reagan next to the visitor's wife at another table. The question was whom to put on the other side of the Soviet leader. The White House says it was Nancy Reagan's decision to seat Rep. Richard Cheney (R-Wyo.) there.

"She knew he was highly respected and a good conversationalist," said a White House official.

Cheney is also unflappable and that afternoon when the White House alerted him where he'd be sitting, he took his placement in stride. A member of the House Intelligence Committee, Cheney has followed arms control carefully. Which was just as well. As an aide to Cheney said later, " Gorbachev wasn't interested in the usual state dinner small talk."

The National Symphony's Mstislav Rostropovich thought Van Cliburn's playing for the Gorbachevs so wonderful that he should return immediately to active performing. "To deprive the public is a sin," he said.

The symphony's irrepressible maestro, in black tie like his host and all the men except the predominantly male Soviet delegation, was equally fascinated by the Soviets' shabby suits. As he stood watching his former countrymen walk by, he turned to Armand Hammer.

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"Armandchik, you love the Soviet Union," Slava said to this Kremlin intimate since the days of V.I. Lenin. "You must make them a gift of tuxedos."

George Shultz, the State Department's host-with-the-most, left nothing to chance when he planned his State Department luncheon for the Gorbachevs. He ordered an all-American meal of Maine lobster, Maryland crab, Alaska king crab legs, Louisiana shrimp and Pennsylvania venison.

Only when it came to the apple pie did Design Cuisine, the caterer, need Mom in the kitchen.

It took Design Cuisine's French chef five tries before coming up with one as delicious as the kind Helena Shultz has been baking for her husband all these years.

"I could make them," she volunteered at one point during the preluncheon taste tests.

"Yes," said Chief of Protocol Selwa Roosevelt, "but you can't make 25!"

White House staff photographers Mary Ann Fackelman-Miner, Pete Souza, Bill Fitz-Patrick and Susan Biddle shot about 300 rolls of film during the Gorbachevs' three-day visit. The number of pictures taken wasn't so unusual, says White House photo editor Carol McKay. What made the Gorbachevs' visit different was that they could take their album of more than 50 pages of color pictures home with them. Usually the time lag between last picture taken and completion of the album is about two weeks, and the albums are sent to heads of state through diplomatic channels. This time, the White House photo office worked virtually around the clock.

The Wyeth name rang a bell when Nancy Reagan mentioned it at the White House Wednesday morning by explaining that Pat Nixon's official portrait was the work of Henriette Wyeth.

"Wyeth, Wyeth?" Raisa Gorbachev repeated. "The whole generation is very impressive."

The works of three other Wyeths, Henriette's father N.C., her brother Andrew and nephew Jamie, went to the Soviet Union last winter in an exhibition titled "An American Vision: Three Generations of Wyeths." Mrs. Gorbachev never got to see the exhibition, but author Suzanne Massie managed to get a show catalogue to her and Mikhail Gorbachev.

That Raisa was aware of the show was apparent at Shultz's lunch for the Gorbachevs, where Raisa sat between the secretary of state and Rep. Tom Foley (D-Wash.). Also at the table was Andrew Wyeth.

After talking to Raisa for a while, Foley, who isn't majority leader by accident, noted that she seemed particularly well read in contemporary American literature and interested, generally, in the cultural world. Seeing a chance for her to converse with one of the country's foremost contributors to that world, Foley suggested that he and Wyeth trade places so the artist could talk to Raisa.

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"It seemed the appropriate thing to do," said a spokesman for Foley.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, NANCY REAGAN WITH DOM DELUISE YESTERDAY. FRANK JOHNSTON

TYPE: COLUMN

SUBJECT: CHRISTMAS; PARTIES; U.S.S.R.; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES

NAMED-PERSONS: NANCY REAGAN; DOM DELUISE; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RICHARD CHENEY; MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH; GEORGE SHULTZ; HENRIETTE WYETH; TOM FOLEY

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16TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 14, 1987, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE D3; PERSONALITIES

LENGTH: 632 words

HEADLINE: PERSONALITIES

BYLINE: Chuck Conconi, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Mikhail Baryshnikov, the artistic director of American Ballet Theatre, will be one of the leading speakers tomorrow at the Kennedy Center Terrace Theater tribute to Washington Ballet choreographer Choo-San Goh. The talented Goh died in New York on Nov. 28 of an AIDS-related illness at the age of 39. Baryshnikov had commissioned and danced in Goh's 1981 ballet "Configurations."

Among the others paying homage at the memorial tribute will be Mary Day, founder and artistic director of the Washington Ballet, who invited Goh to join the troupe in 1976; Violette Verdy, formerly a ballerina with the New York City Ballet and now on that company's staff; Janek Schergen, former ballet master of the Washington Ballet, now on the faculty of the University of Utah; Janet Shibata, a Washington Ballet ballerina for the past seven years and a former ABT soloist; and Washington Post dance critic Alan M. Kriegsman. Out and About

Meshulam Riklis, Pia Zadora's wealthy husband, has volunteered the use of his 14-passenger private jet to fly in some of the stars who'll be entertaining at Mitch Snyder's Christmas Eve party for the homeless. Among the stars expected for the show at the Convention Center, which is also being cosponsored by Mayor Marion Barry, are Dick Gregory, Valerie Harper, Dennis Quaid, Martin Sheen, Charlie Sheen and Emilio Estevez, Terry Moore, Whoopie Goldberg, Joe Spano, Johnny Rivers and his band and Brian Dennehy ...

Summit footnote, about all the unfortunate speculation that Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev didn't care much for each other while the boys seemed to get on so famously: This week's U.S. News & World Report reports that Nancy Reagan considers her counterpart "a chatterbox" and believes that one of her final burdens as first lady will be coping with Raisa at a Moscow summit next year. Maybe the two can be persuaded to sign their own mutual verbal missile reduction treaty ...

Hospital Report: Fox Television news commentator Nancy Dickerson was released from Georgetown University Hospital yesterday and is in her Kalorama area home recovering from gall bladder surgery ...

A San Francisco judge has refused a request by the famed all-male Bohemian Club to block the city's new ban on discrimination by large private clubs. The Bohemians count among their members such high-powered types as President Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger as well as various powerful millionaires. The club had sued, saying the San Francisco ordinance -- which states that exclusion from such clubs can be a barrier to the advancement of women and minorities -- violated freedom of

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association. The judge said the ordinance was not blatantly unconstitutional and did not pose a threat of irreparable harm to the club. The law, which is to take effect Thursday, is similar to one in existence here ...

Who gave Alan Caruba the right to pick "The Most Boring Celebrities of the Year"? It probably doesn't matter, since the self-appointed boredom arbiter from New Jersey produces such an entertaining list. Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, of course, ran away with the fourth annual boredom title. Others on Caruba's 1987 list include Vanna White ("even she can't figure why anyone is interested and we agree"); Ollie North ("the 'Joe Isuzu' of national security"); Bruce Willis ("here's a guy who built an entire career on a smirk"); the British royals ("the most boring family in the world"); Oral Roberts ("the next time Oral goes up in his prayer tower, will someone please lock the door"); John "Tantrums 'R' Us" McEnroe; and the ever popular Sean Penn and Madonna ("these kids give a whole new meaning to 'flash in the pan' ") ...

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, RAISA GORBACHEV.

TYPE: COLUMN

SUBJECT: HOMELESS

ORGANIZATION: BOHEMIAN CLUB

NAMED-PERSONS: CHOO-SAN GOH; MITCH SNYDER; NANCY REAGAN; RAISA GORBACHEV; ALAN CARUBA; TAMMY FAYE BAKKER; VANNA WHITE; OLLIE NORTH; ORAL ROBERTS; BRUCE WILLIS

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17TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 13, 1987, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 4592 words

HEADLINE: Leaders' Central Compromise: Missile Defense Tests 'as Required'

SERIES: SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

In the soft elegance of the White House library, President Reagan was waiting impatiently for the words. Just a few minutes remained in the three-day summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, but first they had to approve the final language on the issue Reagan held so dear, his dream to build a defense against nuclear missiles.

The president was handed a draft of the document and read the words, but said he could not see a difference from earlier versions of the joint statement. He listened to Secretary of State George P. Shultz explain that both nuclear superpowers could pursue their missile defense programs "as required."

Reagan then turned to Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell, his national security adviser. "Mr. President," Powell said, "I think we're fully protected."

With that, Reagan said yes. He walked out and met Gorbachev, who had been across the hall in the Map Room with his advisers. Surrounded by aides they quietly shook hands, and the words were sealed.

Only 14 months before, Reagan and Gorbachev had argued and eventually stumbled into bitter recriminations over just one word, "laboratory." In the final moments at the Reykjavik summit, the Soviet leader wanted to bottle up Reagan's missile defense system, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), in the laboratory, and Reagan walked out.

But at the Washington summit they had found a way out of the semantic box. They had not settled their great differences over nuclear and space defense, but they had found two new words to live by: "as required."

This was less than Reagan wanted. Just three days earlier, on the day Gorbachev arrived, Reagan had approved a secret directive setting forth much broader negotiating objectives in the space defense area than he was able to achieve in the meetings with Gorbachev. By the same token, Gorbachev was unable at this summit to obtain his goal of putting limits on the U.S. antimissile program. The result was that, at least for now, each side will go its own way in the space defense area.

These final moments spoke volumes about the Washington summit. This 16th meeting of U.S. and Soviet leaders since Franklin D. Roosevelt and Josef Stalin first met in the throes of World War II, the third such summit on U.S. soil, and third summit between these two men, did not mark a great breakthrough in

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the long, difficult history of the relationships between the two nations. As the two crucial words suggested, it was a summit of pragmatic advances, of measured steps along a path that had been marked out in Geneva in 1985 and Reykjavik in 1986.

As they stood under umbrellas in the rainswept South Lawn of the White House at the meeting's end on Thursday afternoon, both Reagan and Gorbachev proclaimed it a success.

For the first time, the two most important and most heavily armed nations of the nuclear age had signed a treaty to eliminate a whole class of nuclear missiles, in this case medium-range and shorter-range missiles.

After four years of bitter and sometimes bombastic argument, the two nations for the first time seemed to approach a live-and-let-live accommodation in the controversial area of space defenses. The week's bargaining here may have opened the way for a far more sweeping and ambitious accord that both sides are seeking in the six months ahead: a 50 percent reduction in long-range, or strategic, nuclear arms.

Moreover, the Washington summit appears to have been an important landmark on the road to an improved political understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Reagan and Gorbachev celebrated their Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with cordial ceremonies and personal warmth in stunning contrast to the bitter rhetoric heard from both capitals in the early Reagan years. The peoples of the two countries, amazed and for the most part delighted with the new cordiality, responded with applause for Gorbachev on the streets of Washington and appreciative words for Reagan in the streets of Moscow.

According to more than a dozen senior U.S. and Soviet participants, the Washington summit was intricately programmed so the two leaders could talk to each other and to their world audience, while leaving the delicate bargaining almost entirely to subordinates. As it happened, there were surprises everywhere -- in the personal chemistry between them, in the hard negotiating behind the scenes, in the carefully planned events that went awry and the spontaneous gestures that paid unexpected dividends.

Almost from the outset, the summit took on a life of its own. For all the detailed planning that went into it, the course of events followed an unpredictable path. For example, on Tuesday afternoon, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the INF Treaty in high spirits. But their first major business meeting that afternoon, after the signing, got bogged down; at one point 34 people crowded into the Cabinet Room, nothing was getting accomplished, and chief of protocol Selwa Roosevelt was admitting people "like a traffic cop," recalled an aide. "It was a disaster."

Frustrated, Reagan decided to hold no more big meetings and to begin the next day with Gorbachev in his private study, with only interpreters present.

To those who participated, the summit also played out in quiet, unforgettable experiences with the Soviets.

For example, after Reagan and Gorbachev had finished lunch on Thursday, they were waiting in the Red Room of the White House for final language in the

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joint statement to be delivered from the working group, which was still haggling. Suddenly, Gorbachev got up and headed for the door, along with Kremlin foreign policy adviser Anatoliy Dobrynin. It was quickly explained to U.S. officials that the Soviet leader was heading for the lavatory.

There was just one problem -- they would have to find their way downstairs to the nearest men's room. Would they need an escort? Dobrynin indicated this was unnecessary. He had served as Soviet ambassador to the United States for 24 years and even had once had his own parking space in the State Department's underground garage. He would take Gorbachev.

"I know my way around," he said.Reagan's New Tone

For weeks, the White House speechwriters had been searching for Russian stories and sayings to use in the president's speeches. Gorbachev had barely arrived at the White House when Reagan tried out the first one. In his welcoming remarks, Reagan recalled a World War II Soviet general who told the story of a soldier who said he captured a bear, and was asked to bring it along.

"I can't," replied the soldier. "The bear won't let me."

Like the soldier, Reagan explained, "our people for too long have been the masters and the captives of a deadly arms race. The situation is not preordained and not part of some inevitable course of history. We make history."

With this speech, Reagan struck a tone for the summit much different than the confrontational one he had sounded in the weeks before the meeting, when he vowed not to give up SDI and accused the Soviets of treaty violations. The shift was deliberate. A senior White House official said Reagan "was playing to a world audience" now, not a domestic one, and his staff had eliminated any remarks that could be seen as offensive to the Soviets. Reagan has always paid careful attention to his speeches, and the weekend before the summit he took most of the drafts home to read.

To the surprise of Reagan's advisers, Gorbachev responded to Reagan with strikingly similar words, saying the leaders had a duty to "undo the logic of the arms race by working together in good faith."

As five waves of news photographers came through the Oval Office on Tuesday morning, Reagan and Gorbachev apparently sensed they were headed in the same direction. They disagreed about many things, but they had just announced very similar goals. "Well, obviously, we want to make progress," Reagan said. "I think both of us made that clear out there in our remarks."

But the outward celebration at the treaty-signing ceremony that afternoon masked the difficulties the two leaders had to confront in their talks. Reagan had for weeks been planning to lead off in his first one-on-one meeting with an appeal to Gorbachev for progress on human rights. When he did, he found the Soviet leader defensive. Gorbachev recalled later that he told Reagan, "Mr. President, you're not a prosecutor, and I'm not an accused."

At the embassy later that afternoon, senior Soviet officials gathered to look ahead at the rest of the summit. They were pleased with the atmospherics and with Reagan's new rhetoric, but pensive about where the summit would go on arms control. "Already on the first day, we could see that the mood was going

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to be just right, but that the perimeters of what we could get done were quite limited," said a senior Soviet official.

From this point on, the official said, the Soviet goal was to preserve the mood while trying to lock in restrictions on SDI or "Star Wars" space tests -- the same restrictions, they hoped, that Congress recently imposed through next Oct. 1, which effectively enforce the traditional, or "narrow," interpretation of the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

At the White House, aides were concerned over the way the big Tuesday meeting had stalled. Very early Wednesday morning, Shultz, Powell and White House chief of staff Howard H. Baker Jr. gathered in Powell's office. They distilled the key points from Reagan's big briefing books into "talking points" the president could use with Gorbachev that day on arms control. They wanted to avoid another rambling session.

This was emblematic of their approach to the entire summit. It was "designed so that the technicalities would be handled by the technicians," said a senior White House official. Reagan was told, "Let us deal with details," recalled this official, whose advice to the president was, "Just remember who you are, remember what you believe and where you want to go. The rest of it will follow in turn."

The official added, "I do know that he made no effort to involve himself in detail here . . . . You know, he had briefing books stacked inches high on his desk. I urged him to . . . depend on us to provide that. He did very well."

When the president invited Gorbachev into his personal study Wednesday morning, he followed the advice. Although notetakers were excluded, Reagan is understood to have posed a question to Gorbachev, asking whether the Soviet leader wanted to roll up his sleeves and try to solve some problems, or simply talk about their ideological differences. Reagan said he wanted to take the workmanlike approach, and that subordinates of both leaders would be watching.

While Gorbachev met with American publishers at the Soviet Embassy, Reagan privately took time out Wednesday afternoon to tape a segment of the nationally televised speech he would give after the Soviet leader had left the country. The reason was that White House aides were planning to put a video graphic into the speech, highlighting the INF Treaty, and they needed the president to read aloud the words that would accompany it, so they could calculate precisely how long the graphic would be on the air.

Reagan obliged, but later, a problem cropped up. Some National Security Council staff members wanted to qualify the missile counts he was to use in the speech. But they were told it was too late -- because of the graphic, the words were locked in.Hard Bargaining on Arms

For all the U.S. emphasis placed on human rights, settlement of regional conflicts and bilateral issues, the central issue at the Washington summit was the future of the vast arsenals of nuclear weapons that undergird the global standing of the two leading nations of the postwar world.

To advance the complex negotiations about the control and reduction of these devastating weapons, Reagan and Gorbachev at their first meeting Tuesday morning named an arms control working group of experts.

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This group, which had worked together effectively at Reykjavik and at several meetings in Washington and Moscow since, was headed by U.S. arms adviser Paul H. Nitze, who wrote the basic U.S. postwar plan for containment of the Soviet Union in the 1950s and has decades of experience in dealing with Moscow, and Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet armed forces, who calls himself "the last of the Mohicans" in active Soviet military service since World War II.

The basic job of the working group was to make major strides toward a new treaty to reduce U.S.-Soviet strategic, or long-range, nuclear arms by up to 50 percent. Reagan and Gorbachev have vowed to try to sign this ambitious accord at a Moscow summit in the first half of 1988.

The working group convened at the State Department Tuesday afternoon shortly after the INF signing ceremony at the White House and worked throughout the day on Wednesday and from 11 p.m. to 12:30 a.m. On Thursday at 8 a.m. Nitze and Akhromeyev met at the Soviet Embassy with Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to report what the experts had accomplished, and what remained to be resolved.

Considerable progress had been made in the working group on the outlines of a plan to verify compliance with deep cuts in strategic weapons, the principal item on the superpowers' arms control agenda, and rules for counting the long-range missiles on each side.

The most important subjects remaining were the specific ceiling on land-based and submarine-based ballistic missile warheads, where the two sides were not far apart, and the fundamental dispute over space defense, an intractable argument between the two nations since Reagan unveiled his Strategic Defense Initiative, the plan to build a defense against ballistic missiles, in March 1983.

The previous Friday afternoon, Reagan had met with his senior foreign policy and military advisers in the forum of the National Security Planning Group to prepare the U.S. positions for the summit. Reagan issued a secret memorandum on Monday, the day of Gorbachev's arrival, setting forth the U.S. bargaining strategy.

Reagan hoped to move toward a separate treaty on space defense issues, disconnecting the subject from the offensive arms reductions. But if this could not be done -- and in fact the Soviets refused to move in this direction -- Reagan set out these U.S. objectives in the space defense area:Soviet acceptance of a U.S. right to conduct "testing in space as required" as part of the preparations for SDI, andSoviet agreement that the United States would be permitted to deploy SDI defenses after the end of an agreed period of years during which neither nation could withdraw from the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Both these positions had been put forward by the Pentagon in interagency negotiations, and both were opposed by the State Department, which favored less ambitious objectives. Reagan had adopted the Pentagon view.

The Soviets, as State expected, adamantly refused to accept these two bids for acceptance of Reagan's "Star Wars" plan. A U.S. official who was not present but who was briefed on the discussions said that at one point in the talks, Soviet arms adviser Viktor Karpov snapped that he had heard all this before and demanded that the U.S. negotiators "stop wasting my time."

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At the meeting at the Soviet Embassy early Thursday morning, according to several administration officials, Shultz and Nitze agreed to drop the demand for an explicit Soviet acceptance of "testing in space." They also dropped their demand for an explicit right to deploy missile defenses at the end of the specified period in which both sides would continue observing the ABM Treaty.

In return, Shevardnadze tentatively agreed to a more ambiguous statement that each side "will be free to decide its own course of action" at the end of this period. As written, this does not rule out a Soviet increase in offensive weapons to offset U.S. strategic defenses if they are ever deployed.

Nitze and Shultz also continued to push for Soviet approval of the right of either side to explore space defense by "conducting their research, development and testing as required, which are permitted by the ABM Treaty." In the U.S. view, this language would strengthen the administration's claim that it could conduct realistic tests in space under a broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty, although its meaning was not as clear as the original U.S. formula.

Shultz and Nitze left the Soviet Embassy to brief Reagan at the White House, where Gorbachev was expected at 10:30 a.m., shortly after having breakfast with Vice President Bush and his friends. But about that time, a Soviet aide called from the embassy to say Gorbachev was considering what Shultz and Nitze had reported, and would be 15 to 20 minutes late. A bit later the Soviet Embassy called again and said Gorbachev suggested the convening of another working group meeting, this one a more confidential session involving only a few officials.

In all, Gorbachev dropped out of sight at the Soviet Embassy for nearly two hours, while Bush waited patiently so they could return to the White House together. A Soviet aide later told a U.S. official that the Soviet leader used part of that time to communicate with the Politburo in Moscow.

Gorbachev and Bush finally left for the White House more than 90 minutes late in the Soviet leader's boxy ZIL limousine. As they got into the car, Gorbachev told Bush he called the limousine his "bunker."

As they rolled along the streets of midtown Washington, Gorbachev was enjoying the waves he got from the clusters of people on the sidewalks and leaned forward to return them. Bush remembers saying, "It's too bad you can't stop and go into some of these stores, because I think you'd find warm greetings from the American people."

A block or two later, at Connecticut Avenue and L Street NW, Gorbachev yelled something in Russian to the KGB security guard in the front seat. The big ZIL stopped. According to Bush, Gorbachev threw open his car door, jumped out and began shaking hands.

"I've been around the political track a lot and the adrenaline was flowing, and you could see it," Bush said later. "And he liked it and was pleased with the reception . . . . I said, 'Do you do this a lot?' He said, 'Oh, I do it a lot. I do it in Moscow and I do it every time I go to the provinces. So I believe in it. I believe that's the way you ought to do it. Leaders should be equal.' "

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When the motorcade finally arrived at the White House, Reagan quipped to Gorbachev, "I thought you'd gone home." Gorbachev smiled and said, "I had a chat with a group of Americans who stopped our car." Later he told Reagan that his brief stop on Connecticut Avenue had made a great impression. "Looking at the American faces, seeing their interest and friendliness, made me understand that the American people wish us well," Gorbachev said, according to an American who was present.

As the two leaders strolled on the White House grounds and then conferred over lunch, six arms-control officials met in the White House Cabinet Room to bargain on strategic and space arms. On the Soviet side were Akhromeyev and special arms adviser Karpov; for the United States, Nitze, arms negotiators Max M. Kampelman and Ronald F. Lehman, and Col. Robert E. Linhard of the National Security Council staff. When the bargaining got to its final stage, Shultz and Shevardnadze were called out of the luncheon with the leaders to join the Cabinet Room discussion.

With the pressure mounting sharply -- the clock was ticking toward 2 p.m., when the two leaders were scheduled to say goodbye at the end of their meetings -- the crucial deals began to be made. According to several U.S. participants, they were:The Soviets insisted that the two nations agree to observe the ABM Treaty "as signed and ratified." Shultz argued that the issue of what was meant when the treaty was ratified was a domestic dispute between the administration and Congress, and the Soviets should keep out of it. Shevardnadze gave in, agreeing to delete the words "and ratified."

Shultz repeated the U.S. position that the ABM Treaty permits research, development and testing "as required," and said it was essential to obtaining Reagan's approval of any communique. The Soviets finally agreed, although they made it clear they do not accept the U.S. interpretation that these words justify realistic space weapons tests.

Shevardnadze had earlier indicated the Soviets could accept an accord under which each side would be "free to decide its course of action" if and when it finally withdraws from the ABM Treaty. But now the Soviets balked at agreeing to this. Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci, who had joined the meeting, read from notes in which Gorbachev had used a similar formulation in a discussion with Reagan earlier in the summit. With this, the Soviets gave way.

The United States had demanded a statement that, in effect, could permit either side to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for such purposes as space testing. The Soviets refused to accept it. The United States gave in.

The Soviets had demanded that limits be established on sea-launched cruise missiles, a fast-growing type of nuclear weapon, but the U.S. side insisted that compliance with such a limit cannot be verified. In a compromise, the sides "committed themselves to establish ceilings on such missiles" and agreed to seek ways to verify them.

The United States had proposed that the total of land-based and submarine-based ballistic missile weapons allowed by a new strategic arms treaty be limited to 4,800 warheads on each side. The Soviets had discussed the possibility of a 5,100-warhead limit. Now in the Cabinet Room the Soviets said a compromise on 4,900 or 5,000 warheads might be worked out as part of a "package deal" encompassing other elements.

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After some discussion, the two sides agreed on 4,900 ballistic missile warheads for each side in a new treaty. The United States has about 8,000 such warheads and the Soviet Union about 10,000 -- thus such a cut would be a massive reduction, dwarfing the cuts called for in the newly signed INF Treaty.

Having made these arrangements, the U.S. and Soviet teams set out to find their leaders. Cryptic Hint on Nicaragua

While the arms-control teams were wrangling, Reagan and Gorbachev carried out another small drama in a walk around the White House grounds.

Originally, White House aides had conceived of the idea as strictly a photo opportunity, showing the two men alone. But Reagan also had business on his mind.

According to a senior White House official who later spoke to the president, the two leaders talked about Afghanistan and Nicaragua. The official said he was told that Gorbachev repeated that he had made a political decision to get out of Afghanistan "and that they will set a timetable to do it." But he also set conditions, including a halt of U.S. aid to the rebels.

"And the president's reply was in effect that we ain't gonna leave the resistance unprotected . . . . That conversation never went much further than that."

The final meeting of the summit took place in the Family Dining Room after the much-photographed walk around the grounds, and Afghanistan and Nicaragua were again topics of discussion.

A major development on the Afghanistan issue, as U.S. officials see it, is that the Soviets are no longer citing the need for "national reconciliation" inside that war-torn country as a condition for withdrawing their 115,000 troops.

At lunch, according to a senior U.S. aide, " Gorbachev acknowledged that the essential linkage is between withdrawal and noninterference" by outside forces after the withdrawal begins. " Gorbachev also acknowleged that national reconciliation is a process, not an event" and so it should not be a requirement for the withdrawal of Soviet troops to begin.

On Nicaragua, a surprising and intriguing, though brief, discussion took place at the luncheon table.

According to an authoritative U.S. account, Reagan suggested that their joint summit statement report that the Soviet Union has agreed not to supply arms to Nicaragua.

According to this account, Gorbachev counterproposed: "Why don't we say that the two sides accept and support the Contadora accords and the Guatemala accords [also known as the Arias plan] and that we agreed to look at practical measures that would contribute to implementing these accords?" Gorbachev added, "In the process of working together, they could agree to stop supplying arms to Nicaragua except for small arms."

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It was not clear whether Gorbachev was speaking only of a Soviet halt to supplying Nicaragua with arms, as some U.S. officials interpreted his remarks, or whether he was referring to a halt to U.S. supplies to the contras as well.

Gorbachev spoke only about two sentences on the subject, and one official considered it "a rather cryptic statement . . . a casual comment." No American followed up, and it remains unknown how serious Gorbachev was and exactly what he had in mind. Nonetheless, Gorbachev's willingness to even discuss limitations on Soviet arms supplies to Nicaragua represents a possible diplomatic opening that could be the basis for important negotiations.

After lunch, chief of staff Baker slipped away to the usher's office and called Powell to find out how the arms control talks were proceeding. Powell told Baker that there were still problems and more time was needed. Baker was worried.

"I got an antsy president over here and a jumpy general secretary and how much more time do you need?" he asked Powell, according to an informed source.

When the leaders got through dessert, Baker realized he needed to change plans. He suggested that Reagan and Gorbachev move into the Red Room for a while. They "looked a little surprised by that," but they went, the official said, and swapped some stories while waiting. Reagan said he had watched the television reports of the Soviet leader's impromptu stop on Connecticut Avenue. It looked like what Americans call "working the crowd," Reagan said with a smile.

The working groups were still not finished. The two leaders moved on to join their wives in the Blue Room. They waited. Finally, Baker was told that the Soviet team wanted to meet briefly alone with Gorbachev on the final language. The chief of staff sent the Soviets downstairs to the Map Room, and Reagan went down to the library to get the report from Shultz and Powell. It was at this point that Powell assured Reagan that his SDI program was "fully protected" and that the president approved the joint statement describing the deals that had been made.

This done, Reagan and Gorbachev headed for the door to the departure ceremony in rain outside.

Both of them hailed the summit as a success of historical proportions. They called attention to the INF Treaty they had signed, the progress they had made toward a strategic arms accord of massive scope, and of the improved relations between the governments and peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Their last-minute accommodation on space defense was not mentioned by either leader.

In fact, they did not conquer the differences between them in this area though they seemed to find a way to put them off to a later day. Of the arrangement that became the central compromise of the 1987 Washington summit, chief U.S. arms negotiator Kampelman said later: "They kicked the can down the road."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AT WELCOMING CEREMONIES AT THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE SOVIET LEADER. AP; PHOTO, FRANK JOHNSTON; PHOTO,

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TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT; TREATIES; POW'S AND MIA'S; MISSILES AND ROCKETS; SPACE DEFENSE SYSTEMS; U.S.S.R.; UNITED STATES; NICARAGUA; ICELAND

NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RONALD REAGAN

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18TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 13, 1987, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A24

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: Bush: Summit Signals New 'Openness';
Candidate Terms Gorbachev an 'Orthodox, Committed Marxist'

BYLINE: Gwen Ifill, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: IOWA CITY, Iowa, Dec. 12, 1987

BODY:

Vice President Bush, continuing to link his presidential candidacy with this week's summit, said the meetings with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev signal "a new level of openness" that bodes well for the new administration he hopes to lead.

Speaking at a foreign policy forum here today, Bush also said that, for all of Gorbachev's seemingly Western ways, he remains "an orthodox, committed Marxist and a formidable and determined competitor for world power."

Bush's prepared text went further in retreating from the aura of camaraderie that prevailed during the three-day summit, calling the Soviet leader "no friend of democracy." He did not use those words during his speech to about 200 people who offered polite applause at Iowa State University here today.

In a campaign swing through a succession of small towns in eastern Iowa today and Friday, Bush has concentrated almost exclusively on the gains of the summit, which he describes himself as having had an active role in.

He also predicted Senate ratification of the centerpiece treaty limiting intermediate and shorter-range nuclear-armed missiles, citing the support it has received from conservative Republican Sens. Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.) and Ted Stevens (Alaska).

Left unsaid was that Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole -- Bush's chief competitor in the Feb. 8 Iowa caucuses -- has withheld his endorsement of the treaty.

Katie Boyle, a Dole campaign spokeswoman in Washington, noted that Dole had not returned to the campaign trail and is "finishing up the business of Congress" before the holiday recess while "George Bush is out there milking the last bit" of publicity out of the summit.

"I think it helps him [Bush] about as much as Iran-contra hurt him," said Phyllis Kelly, a state central committee member who attended a Johnson County GOP holiday party at which Bush spoke.

"I feel like I've had the thing overanalyzed," added Betty Nolan, a lawyer from Iowa City.

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But Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), who accompanied Bush on what amounted to a tour of his congressional district in the southeastern corner of the state, sees good news for Bush out of the summit.

"To the degree that the Iowa caucuses are becoming a referendum on arms control, Bush is way ahead," he said.

During his two-day Iowa swing, Bush carried a letter he received from a 9-year-old girl from Mount Pleasant, Iowa, who asked for peace.

"The main thing is, we're reaching out and we're trying," he told a lunchtime audience at Mount Pleasant's Iowa Wesleyan College.

Bush also sought to distance himself from a disagreement between President Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz over how much progress was made on talks with the Soviets on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). At one stop, Bush said the administration ultimately "finessed" the discussion.

"I will artfully dodge the question because I want to be sure I know what was said," Bush responded to a question. "I don't have a dog in that fight . . . . I'm not sure I want one."

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; U.S.S.R.; UNITED STATES; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; TREATIES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; GEORGE BUSH

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December 11, 1987, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1259 words

HEADLINE: THE SUMMIT;
As 'Gorby' Works the Crowd, Backward Reels the K.G.B.

BYLINE: By MAUREEN DOWD, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 10

BODY:

Have you ever seen a Soviet motorcade go backward?

That's what happened today when Mikhail S. Gorbachev - after several days of hobnobbing with millionaires, movie stars, politicians, literati and socialites - suddenly decided that he wanted to mingle with the common folk.

If a spaceship had landed in the middle of Washington, it could not have caused more commotion. Pedestrians quivered with excitement. The Secret Service looked terrified. The K.G.B. looked stunned.

''The door opened, he got out, he walked right over and took my hand,'' said Kimberly Spartin, an account executive for Wang Laboratories, looking at her hand as though it were a foreign object. ''I'm still shaking. It was like the coming of the second Messiah or something.''

Mr. Gorbachev was already more than an hour late to meet the President at the White House after a breakfast at the Soviet Embassy with the Vice President, but when he saw a large lunchtime crowd waving at him on the busy downtown intersection of Connecticut and L Streets he told his driver to stop.

Slamming on the Brakes

His car, in the middle of the motorcade, suddenly slammed on the brakes, causing the one behind to swerve in a near-collision. The K.G.B. agents in front kept driving until they discovered, in a panic, that they had lost their General Secretary. Then, in a remarkable scene that lood d like a movie being run backward, the caravan threw itself into reverse and drove quickly backward down Connecticut Avenue.

When the security detail realized with horror that the Soviet leader was going to get out and press the flesh, as Lyndon Johnson used to say when he made such unscheduled stops, they closed around him and yelled at the crowd, frightening some of them. ''Get your hands out of your pockets!'' they barked. ''Keep your hands up!''

''We knew it was the K.G.B.,'' said Ms. Spartin, ''because they had on vinyl jackets.''

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''I didn't know what was going on,'' said Kim Benz, a legal secretary. ''Then I recognized Gorbachev's little bald head.''

Shellie Scott, who works for the National Rifle Association and was walking down the street with her copy of American Hunter Magazine, was confused at first, too. ''Then I saw the scar on his head,'' she said. ''He was smiling, real friendly. He was saying things in Russian. This is the most exciting thing that's ever happened to me.''

Barbara Margolies, an administrator for a Washington law firm who was on her way to lunch, decided to ingore the K.G.B. warning when she saw Mr. Gorbachev heading straight for her. ''I took my hand out of my pocket and he reached out to shake it,'' she said.

To the delight of the startled crowd he stayed for a couple of minutes, saying, through his translator, that he wanted his people to ''come to a better understanding with Americans.''

''The guy,'' marveled one woman, ''is a P.R. genius.''

The block Mr. Gorbachev selected was a lucky stroke from a public relations point of view. The offices of The New York Times, Time magazine, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and ABC-News are all within a one-block radius, and seconds after the Soviet leader stopped his motorcade there were a dozen reporters on the scene - several of whom had spotted the story merely by looking out the window.

The Soviet leader reached out to shake hands with people over a row of newspaper boxes, including The Christian Science Monitor, whose headline blared ''The Soviet 'Great Communicator,' '' and The New York Post, which trumpeted ''New Nazi Atrocities Bared.''

''I shook his hand right over the USA Today box,'' boasted Patti Terry, another account executive at Wang, which sells computers that are not legally exportable to the Soviet Union. ''He was saying 'world peace.' I should have tried to sell him a computer.''

John Williams, an executive assistant with the Council for Court Excellence, said Mr. Gorbachev's gesture did not totally allay his apprehensive feelings about the Soviet Union. ''It does display some kind of amazing trust in the American people, though,'' he conceded.

George Bush, who was traveling with the Soviet leader, seemed nonplused by the whole thing. He sat in the limousine at first and then got out and joined the edge of the crowd. He waved a little at the people who were hanging out of windows and leaning over balconies, but the crowd only had eyes for ''Gorby,'' as they called him.

'' Bush, '' said Betsy Caine, explaining why the Vice President was ignored, ''is kind of a local native.''

Duke Ziebert, one of the city's most popular restaurateurs, stood on the balcony of his restaurant, calling out to the Soviet leader to come up and have lunch.

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''I had a good table for him,'' Mr. Ziebert said with a sigh.

When Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush resumed their trip, the bemused Vice President asked why the Russians had decided to stop.

''He said that he does it a lot in the provinces,'' Mr. Bush said later, ''and he likes it.''

Indeed, if Mr. Gorbachev's foray reminded Americans of their own politicians' campaign style, the Soviet leader regarded it as a technique he learned from his role model, Lenin.

The founder of the Soviet state was fond of going out to talk to factory workers, and Mr. Gorbachev has imitated that custom.

By the time the motorcade reached the White House, Ronald Reagan had been waiting for more than an hour. As the President greeted the other Great Communicator, he remarked drily, ''I thought you'd gone home.''

Now Down to Business

Mr. Gorbachev's final meeting at the embassy was with 45 of the nation's top business leaders. He tried to sell the high-powered group on investing in the Soviet Union.

''The ice is breaking, to quote an old Russian proverb,'' he told them. ''Some people in your country and some people in my country want to do away with each other but that is unrealistic.''

Jack Valenti, the president of the Motion Picture Association, was so impressed with the Soviet leader's ''animal energy'' that he told Mr. Gorbachev that his visit had confirmed once again how powerful screen images are in shaping public opinion.

''You,'' he told the Soviet leader, ''are now running third in the Iowa primary.''

''But,'' Mr. Gorbachev replied, laughing, ''I already have a job.''

''Well, Mr. General Secretary,'' Mr. Valenti said, ''in this country, we draft people.''

When asked about today's walk-about at his news conference, Mr. Gorbachev said of the people he met: ''I could feel their sentiment. I said, 'We're talking with the President about how to come closer, so go ahead and prod the President toward that.'''

Then, to reporters' laughter, he joked: ''So I have not only been indulging in politics. I've also been doing some propaganda as well.''

2 Capitalists Are Impressed

Manhattan's two most famous capitalists - Malcolm S. Forbes and Donald J. Trump - got a chance to meet the top Communist this week, and both came away impressed.

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''The fact that he mixes a little venom with the candor - he unloaded on the press people he met - to me, it lends credence to the fact that he's not trying to snow job us,'' Mr. Forbes said.

Mr. Trump said he was still suspicious and hoped that the Americans were not overly eager to make a deal with Mr. Gorbachev. ''In the art of deal making,'' he said, ''you should not want to make the deal too much.''

But the Russians softened up even Mr. Trump when they told him they loved Trump Tower and invited him to build a hotel in Moscow.

''So maybe capitalism is right around the corner,'' he said.

GRAPHIC: Photo of General Secretary Gorbachev greeting well-wishers (AP) (Pg. 1); Mr. Gorbachev and President Reagan (NYT/Paul Hosefros) (Pg. 26)

SUBJECT:
SECURITY, PERSONAL; SUMMIT CONFERENCES; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ORGANIZATION:
SECRET SERVICE; KGB (SOVIET SECURITY POLICE)

NAME:
DOWD, MAUREEN; GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S; REAGAN, RONALD WILSON (PRES); BUSH, GEORGE (VICE PRES)

GEOGRAPHIC:
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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24TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 11, 1987, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 1196 words

HEADLINE: Soviet Leader Stops In the Name of Glasnost;
Curbside Chat Horrifies Guards, Delights Lunchtime Crowds

SERIES: SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

BYLINE: David Remnick, Lois Romano, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Mikhail Gorbachev's limousine screeched to a halt at noon yesterday, and in an instant there was a hysterical buzzing around the car. Horrified security agents yelled to the crowd, "Keep your hands out of your pockets!" People on the sidewalks watching the Soviet leader's motorcade to the White House thought something had gone terribly wrong.

Not until they saw Gorbachev's unmistakable pate bob up in the crowd did everyone realize that they were witnessing not a disaster but a classic, American-style whistle stop at one of Washington's busiest intersections: Connecticut Avenue and L Street NW.

With an interpreter trailing him, Gorbachev stepped up to the first woman he saw, shook her hand and said, "Hello, I'm glad to be in America. I'm glad to be friends with all of you."

The cars in the motorcade ahead of Gorbachev's boxy ZIL limousine didn't seem to realize at first what was happening. When they did, the drivers slammed on the brakes and backed up at a terrific speed. The District police made furious U-turns on their motorcycles, and flatfoots beat it down the street with their hands on their holsters.

"It looked like a scene out of the Keystone Kops," said Leslie Kobylinski, who was on a break from her job at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"He's out!" one police officer shouted. "He's shaking hands!"

Surrounded by nervous security agents in dark suits, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. spent two minutes at the curb in front of 1050 Connecticut Ave. waving, schmoozing and shaking hands with a half-dozen people. He worked the crowd as if he were the front-runner in an upcoming District of Columbia primary.

Calm amid the giddiness, Gorbachev told Lise Murphy, a passer-by, "My people are pushing me very hard to come to a better understanding of the American people."

It took a few moments before everyone joined in the spirit of the moment. "Some people seemed hesitant to shake hands with him," Murphy said. "They said, 'May I shake your hand?' and he reached right over and grabbed their hand. He

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seemed like a presidential candidate."

When restaurateur Duke Zeibert saw what was happening on the street below, he bolted to the balcony of his popular eatery barking, "Come on up and have lunch! We have borsch!"

And Howard McNamara, a bartender at Zeibert's, managed to snap a roll of photographs of Gorbachev being mobbed by the lunchtime crowd.

George Bush came out of Gorbachev's car looking very vice presidential as he stood nearby on the street and shook hands with a much smaller crowd. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stood to the side smiling as if Gorbachev's impromptu stop in the middle of Washington was a daily event.

American security officials dread spontaneity, but that has been one of Gorbachev's political trademarks since he came to power nearly three years ago. After a month in office, he worked the crowd at a Leningrad shipyard, and last year on the way to an airport in New Delhi he called for his car to stop so he could meet with a group of Indians by the highway.

By the time he made his stop yesterday, Gorbachev was already an hour late for an appointment at the White House with President Reagan.

Connecticut Avenue had been cleared for Gorbachev. The side streets were shut off by barriers and police. Yards and yards of clear pavement. Squad cars everywhere. People standing on the street barely took notice of the helicopters whipping their blades overhead. Washingtonians have seen motorcades before.

Then the long string of cars and vans and motorcycles came snaking down the street.

Suddenly, Gorbachev's limo put down nasty screech marks. The car behind his almost slammed into its rear fender. In front of the Soviet Embassy on 16th Street NW, a police officer's radio crackled with an ominous message: "We have a traffic problem at Connecticut and L."

"I thought, 'My God, something's happened to him!' " said April Grierson, a phone company employe who was walking to lunch.

"I was sure something bad had happened," said Betsy Caine. "I was frightened."

Twenty or 30 security officials jumped out of various cars. "They were everywhere," Caine said. Agents leaped on a row of newspaper vending machines and helped form a protective cocoon around Gorbachev. They started looking to and fro as if they were watching a hysterical tennis match.

A Secret Service spokesman later said Gorbachev's decision to stop "was a little unusual. All we do is plan their security. If they want to walk or stop, that becomes part of the game plan."

Crowds quickly clogged every corner of the intersection.

Gorbachev leaned over the New York Post box -- "NEW NAZI ATROCITIES BARED!" -- and won the crowd. People flashed him the peace sign and yelled, "Welcome!"

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"I was born and raised in D.C. and I've never even seen any U.S. president live before," said Pat Simonds. Gorbachev, said Barrie Kessler, a computer consultant, "is a great PR man."

At Duke Zeibert's, waiters and customers rushed to the balcony. Gorbachev looked up at the expense-account crowd and waved. The 40 people on the balcony and the crowd on the street burst into applause as television cameras rolled.

"Even from the balcony you could sense the charisma of the man," said Raleigh Schein, director of advertising at The Washington Post. "It was almost like a parade or a celebration. There was a world leader out shaking hands and you kind of felt the world was going to be okay. None of us wanted to let go of the moment. It was such a warm moment, of love. I'm a cynic, but I got chills."

"For about a minute there, I felt like a part of history," said John Williams, 24, executive assistant for the Council for Court Excellence. "As a Republican, I've always had a basic distrust of the Soviets. But this! It won't make a drastic change, but it softened me up a little. He must have done this all on his own. It showed a basic trust of the American people."

Indeed, Gorbachev told Bush that he decided to stop the motorcade because people in the Soviet Union react "favorably" to interacting with their leaders.

"I was driving along with him in the back seat of his car and we were getting a warm reception from the American people," Bush told a group of reporters later in the day.

Gorbachev spoke to the crowd in Russian, and his interpreter kept pace. "We come from two great countries," Gorbachev said. "It was so good to come here."

As he was turning to go back to his car, the applause grew louder and Gorbachev could not resist lingering at the door. He and Bush stood together and waved, looking very much like a triumphant campaign ticket. As the car drove away, Gorbachev kept his palm pressed to the window in farewell.

By the time he made it to the White House, he was an hour and a half late. As the car rolled up in the White House driveway, the president was there to greet it.

"I thought you'd gone home," Reagan said to Gorbachev.

Gorbachev smiled. "I had a chat with a group of Americans who stopped our car."

Staff writers Henry Allen, Chuck Conconi, Jeffrey Frank, Sari Horwitz, Caryle Murphy and Linda Wheeler contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, EAGER PEDESTRIANS AND ANXIOUS SECURITY OFFICIALS COMPETE TO GET CLOSE TO SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, CENTER. (C)HOWARD T. MCNAMARA; PHOTO, AP

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, DC NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; U.S.S.R.; FOREIGN HEADS OF STATE; SECURITY GUARDS

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NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

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25TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 11, 1987, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A31

LENGTH: 900 words

HEADLINE: For Bush the Candidate, Embassy Breakfast Is Political Prize

SERIES: SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Vice President Bush claimed a long-awaited political prize yesterday in the Gold Room of the Soviet Embassy.

There he met Mikhail Gorbachev face to face over mounds of caviar, sour cream and blini. He introduced American guests from Iowa, New Hampshire and Texas. They talked about farming, high technology and energy in a breakfast session that is destined to find its way immediately into the vice president's campaign speeches.

After an unexpected delay while Gorbachev consulted privately with advisers, the Soviet leader then provided his guest with an additional bonus on the way to the White House. They climbed out of Gorbachev's limousine at Connecticut Avenue and L Street NW and worked the crowd, waving together in a running-mates' embrace -- a scene right out of the American political handbook.

For Bush, the meeting was another carefully planned event in a campaign that has sought to highlight his foreign policy experience and his support of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty signed this week by Gorbachev and President Reagan. He was the only Republican presidential candidate to win the attention of Gorbachev for a full-scale meeting, although his chief rival, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) claimed eight minutes alone with the Soviet leader.

While Bush said he had not politicized the session, a Dole spokeswoman accused the vice president of making it "so blatantly political it defies description." Spokeswoman Katie Boyle said, "I'm surprised Bush didn't invite Gorbachev to Des Moines for a fund-raiser."

This comment rankled Bush advisers who nonetheless acknowledged the obvious political overtones of the event.

Within hours of the breakfast, Bush was putting it to advantage. He used a satellite link to conduct interviews with five local television stations about his meeting -- four of the stations were in Iowa or New Hampshire markets. Bush has appeared on one network television broadcast every morning of the summit. He also accompanied Gorbachev to Andrews Air Force Base last night and participated in the farewell ceremony.

As with the meetings he held in Poland with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, the vice president is planning to recall the Gorbachev breakfast session in

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his campaign speeches. He leaves today for two days of events of Iowa, including an address on U.S.-Soviet relations on Saturday morning at the University of Iowa.

Bush had 23 minutes alone with Gorbachev in the Red Room after arriving at the embassy, and they talked about Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf and arms control, a source said. Then they moved to the Gold Room for breakfast. Bush had invited his New Hampshire campaign chairman, Gov. John H. Sununu, who also is chairman of the National Governors' Association; former U.S. representative Cooper Evans of Iowa, a Bush supporter; Robert Brooks, principal of Valley High School in Des Moines, which has a student letter exchange with Soviet students; Mayor Henry Cisneros of San Antonio, and Dr. Mary Good, president of the American Chemical Society here.

According to a participant, the guests parried with Gorbachev throughout the breakfast. Sununu, a supporter of the controversial Seabrook nuclear power plant, talked about nuclear power with the Soviet leader. The participant quoted Gorbachev as telling Sununu that the "devastation" of the Chernobyl nuclear accident "was even greater reason to advance our talks on nuclear weapons."

Evans, the former congressman, pressed Gorbachev on whether American soybean growers should plan on greater production with hopes of selling more to the Soviets, according to the participant. Gorbachev responded that the Soviets have a storage problem, and said many Soviets are afraid to rely on the United States as a food source, an apparent reference to the grain embargo imposed by President Jimmy Carter in 1980 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Bush, widely viewed to be running second in Iowa behind Dole, then made a pitch to the Soviet leader that is certain to be greeted warmly by Iowa farmers. According to the participant, Bush said there is "widespread recognition that agricultural products should not be a political weapon and I know of no one in this administration nor anyone who might head a future administration who would advocate using grain as a weapon."

In a discussion of high technology with Cisneros, Gorbachev said the Soviets have "learned lessons" about importing technology, the participant said. He suggested that Soviet technology purchases in the West had weakened the Soviet machine-building industry, calling this an "import plague." Gorbachev said efforts are being made to improve Soviet capabilities, according to the participant.

Gorbachev also touted Soviet progress in high-technology computers, saying five "supercomputer" projects are under way and he has placed a priority on putting computers in schools.

Before reporters were ushered out, Bush was asked whether he wasn't playing politics by inviting guests from Iowa and New Hampshire. Bush smilingly countered that Sununu was elected to the governors' association post by Republicans and Democrats.

When a reporter noted that his guests seemed to be concentrated in the two states with early presidential campaign tests, Bush noted that Cisneros was from Texas.

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The vice president held up three fingers. "Three states," he said.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, AT LEFT, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH MEETS WITH SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV BEFORE THEIR BREAKFAST AT SOVIET EMBASSY. RICH LIPSKI

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; U.S.S.R.; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; UNITED STATES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT; POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH; ROBERT J. DOLE; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RAISA GORBACHEV; GEORGE P. SHULTZ; JOHN H. SUNUNU

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32ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 10, 1987, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 2232 words

HEADLINE: Day 2: The Gorbachevs' Washington Orbit;
The Party Leader, Savoring a Day With His Admirers

BYLINE: David Remnick, Washington Post Foreign Service

BODY:

"Hello," said Malcolm Forbes, capitalist tool.

"Hello," said Mikhail Gorbachev, Communist Party leader.

That quick meet yesterday at a State Department luncheon in Gorbachev's honor was just one of the almost surreal encounters in the Soviet leader's all-out attempt to reach beyond official Washington to the country at large.

As Forbes, the well-known motorcyclist, left the receiving line, he was asked about the economic prospects for Smith and Keynes in the land of Marx, Engels and Lenin. "Well, right now I think they're still contemplating creeping capitalism," Forbes said. "I think they ought to leap into it."

Although no one seems to be calling the Soviet Union a "paradise" in the fashion of some intellectuals of the 1930s, leaders of all sorts who met Gorbachev yesterday were fairly slack-jawed in describing Gorbachev's "almost American" ability to look his audience square in the eye and speak his mind. Between meetings with President Reagan and other governmental leaders, Gorbachev lunched at the State Department, spent the afternoon meeting with media heavies at the Soviet Embassy and hosted a dinner for the Reagans later in the evening.

The new Great Communicator had arrived -- this one the son of farmers from the town of Privolnoye, a Soviet leader who had married his university sweetheart, a stylish, intelligent woman from the Siberian city of Rubtsovsk.

"I'm not tired, I'm not jet-lagged," Gorbachev said at one point. "I'll rest later." All day long he seemed a man not only with an agenda of political reform, but also with an extraordinary sense of his own power of persuasion and wit.

Seated between Helena Shultz and White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker at lunch, Gorbachev charmed a table that included Washington Post editorial page editor Meg Greenfield, PepsiCo Chairman Donald Kendall, philanthropist Brooke Astor and Sens. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.). Lunch was a behemoth spread that included lobster, shrimp, crab, venison, lingonberry sauce and, Americana of Americana, apple pie. Pricey wines were available for the asking.

But Gorbachev never asked for seconds, so preoccupied was he with the conversation at hand. He chatted with Astor about literacy in the Soviet Union

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and with Kendall about increasing trade with the West. He talked about the problem of moonshiners in Russia at a time when he is trying to wipe out alcoholism, for centuries one of the country's deepest problems. Baker and Nunn laughingly admitted that their home states were premier moonshining centers.

"He's strong, he's tough as hell, and he likes that reputation," said Simpson. "I told him I'd rather deal with someone who comes at you like a Mack truck with six headlights than someone who wishy-washies around. He's not one of those guys with a 2,000-mile stare.

"He can do the small talk with the best of them and then switch right over into the heavy water."

After the Yale Russian Chorus sang Russian songs, everyone remarked on Gorbachev's nifty performance the night before at the White House when he sang "Moscow Nights" as Van Cliburn pounded out the tune on the piano. The Soviet leader was informed that his singing got better reviews than many divas did.

When Gorbachev left the table, he said, "It's been a comfortable circle here."

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev had entered the State Department holding hands. (She wore a knee-length black dress with a rhinestone buckle. He wore a suit of some sort.) For years Gorbachev has said he is not really out of line with other Soviet leaders, but who could imagine Lenin joking his way through the lingonberry sauce, Stalin holding hands or blocky Chernenko in a snazzy European suit?

The Gorbachevs took their time working the receiving line, talking with all 250 guests. Guests said the Gorbachevs have mastered the art of eye contact, the gentle touch on the sleeve, the little personal comment that is intended to make a huge affair seem so very intime. The Gorbachevs talked especially long with the Kendalls and U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock.

Tipper Gore had such a long conversation with Raisa Gorbachev that both Helena Shultz and a protocol official felt compelled to urge her gently down the line. (Hot rock lyrics never passed their lips. Gore was reportedly discussing a mutual friend -- Irina Dobrynin, the wife of former Soviet ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin.)

Of another guest's extra lingering, one official muttered, "I'm going to give her the hook in a minute if she doesn't move."

The guests included industrialists H. Ross Perot and Donald Trump, ABC journalist Barbara Walters, artist Andrew Wyeth (who sat next to Raisa Gorbachev) , Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, Sens. Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) and Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), Dobrynin and House Majority Leader Tom Foley (D-Wash.). ("It took forever for the receiving line to end!" said one guest.) Lunch didn't start until 2:30.

Shultz forbade the press to pepper the general secretary with questions, though Gorbachev, for his part, seemed more than game.

"She's a news reporter, don't tell her anything," Shultz said to Gorbachev as one journalist closed in.

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"Then I can't answer any questions," said Gorbachev, smiling.

"You can't even say whether you're enjoying Washington?" the reporter said.

Said Gorbachev, "I'm having a very good time."

Evidently. The smile never left his face.

Sen. John Warner (R-Va.) was impressed. "He's an inspiring politician. It takes a politician to know a politician. He's a fast learner."

Former secretary of agriculture John Block said, "I'll invite him to my farm next time he's here!"

Nunn was so impressed with Gorbachev's speech at lunch that he took a long stream of notes. Gorbachev said that mankind has had to put up for too long with "a bad peace. This can no longer be tolerated." Gore said he was impressed that Gorbachev spoke about a shift in knowledge from dogma to thinking. "I thought that was an interesting phrase in light of the changes he has been identified with."

As he did Tuesday in his meeting with American intellectuals and artists, Gorbachev stressed the interdependence of nations, the necessity for leaders and intellectuals to heed "the people's" desire for better relations and need for a new kind of U.S.-Soviet relationship in which interests are mutual rather than in perennial conflict.

"Reciprocity and compromise are inevitable," he said in his luncheon speech. "Peace from a position of strength is inherently unstable, whatever anyone might claim. By its very nature, it is based on confrontation whether covert or overt. It is based on the permanent risk of flareups, on the temptation to try and use force."

Gorbachev told Nunn at the table that he admired him for "sticking to his principles," and Nunn returned the compliment later. He called the speech "the most impressive speech I heard him make since he's been here."

The secretary of state spoke, too; in fact, guests said George Shultz seemed genuinely moved by the occasion, regarding it as the celebration of a diplomatic triumph. It was, Shultz himself noted, the first time the leader of the Soviet Union had ever visited the Department of State.

"We must be realistic," Shultz said, "avoiding extremes either of hostility or euphoria through the ups and downs of our relations. The best approach of dealing with one another is one Ben Franklin might have suggested: Be down-to-earth, pragmatic and businesslike in seeking to solve concrete problems."

And yet some guests said Shultz seemed euphoric all afternoon, especially when he shook hands with his opposite number, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

After lunch, Gorbachev's boxy black limo took him back to his embassy, where he met with the heads of American newspaper, television and publishing companies, including: Laurence Tisch of CBS, Ted Turner of Cable News Network,

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Robert Bernstein of Random House, Katharine Graham of The Washington Post Co., Mortimer Zuckerman of U.S. News & World Report, Jason MacManus of Time and William Hyland, editor of Foreign Affairs.

Gorbachev told the gathering that he was not really so different from Soviet leaders of the past and if people "looked more closely" they'd see he was a "normal person." He denied that he was "some sort of preacher," saying he was "far too pragmatic-minded and realistic" for all that.

Perhaps, perhaps, but in the meantime Gorbachev reminded the media of their power and responsibility.

He said he would grant more interviews if only the Western press would not keep asking "the same old questions" about Jewish emigration, Afghanistan and divisons in the Politburo.

Responding to Zuckerman's question about whether there would be an increased role for the press in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev seemed a bit defensive and said he had seen a French film that stressed the importance of partnership. Criticism without accuracy and balance is not the point. If you make the other side look "silly," he said, it "doesn't help."

And in response to Bernstein's question about human rights, Gorbachev briefly lost his impulse to charm. Indeed, he himself would say after the meeting that his long reply was "perhaps overemotional."

In his reply he admitted there had been "many mistakes, stupidities," but said the United States had no right to impose its version of human rights on the Soviet Union. Suddenly the iron teeth in Gorbachev's smile were evident.

"Only now," he told the media leaders, "after many years has America signed a pact condemning racism; and a pact on economic and social rights, America has not ratified. Why? Who are they to give us moral lectures? Yesterday I told the president, 'Mr. President, you are not the prosecutor, and I am not the accused. We have to strike a balance here, otherwise you won't get anything out of us.'

"If you want to be a prosecutor or a judge of the Soviet Union, I cannot allow this and the people will not allow this. They would not for one day put up with a leader who allowed someone to offend the dignity of the nation and the country. That's my answer to you."

The dinner at the Soviet Embassy in the Reagans' honor began on a slightly edgy note, too. On her way in to the stone building on 16th Street, Nancy Reagan was asked by reporters if she was getting along well with Raisa Gorbachev.

"Yes, of course," she said.

Are you as good friends as the husbands? asked another reporter.

"I never said we weren't," she snapped.

Mrs. Reagan wore black. Mrs. Gorbachev wore gold.

Compared with Tuesday night's gala at the White House, the guest list was official and rather predictable -- Armand Hammer was indeed one of the

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privileged 70 guests. Although he never got a chance to autograph Joe DiMaggio's baseball at the White House, Gorbachev was able to sign Domenici's copy of "Perestroika."

Lenin would have approved of the dress code. No one wore black tie. But the food sounded as swell as anything served up on Pennsylvania Avenue: caviar, kulebyaka fish pie, chatka crab meat glace', cold suckling pig with horseradish sauce, fish soup, baked fish and shashlik of lamb a la Kars and, for dessert, raspberry parfait.

Coffee and tea just for the asking.

"The food was superb," Hammer said. "They must have flown it all in from Moscow."

The Reagans, Gorbachevs, Bushes, Shultzes, Dobrynin and Shevardnadze sat at the head table, while the rest of the guests, including Pamela Harriman, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and national security adviser Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell sat at tables for 10 elsewhere in the embassy ballroom.

The evening was a time for more convivial talk and, if one chose, a rub of the relic. The embassy served champagne, vodka and wine. Asked how this fit in with the Gorbachev -era slogan that "sobriety is the norm of life," Soviet Embassy Press Secretary Boris N. Malakhov said, "This is the norm of life -- nobody's going to get drunk."

"We will toast with vodka," Anatoliy Dobrynin told Vice President Bush.

"I'm for that," said Bush.

In his toast Reagan said, "Now that you've seen our nation's capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and New Hampshire campaigning for my job."

Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), who is chasing the Republican presidential nomination, turned down the invitation to last night's dinner and went instead to meet with members of the state contractors association at a Holiday Inn in Manchester, N.H.

"That wasn't very smart of Dole," Hammer said. "He would have done better to go to the party."

" Gorbachev doesn't get to vote in the primary," Dole noted.

A reporter asked Bush if the summit was good for his own presidential campaign. "Give me a break," he said.

The rest of Reagan's toast was an emotional appeal not only for peace but for "the right to worship according to the dictates of his conscience."

Gorbachev, for his part, spoke as he has all week of the young: "The kids are showing us how we should rid ourselves of prejudices, biased perceptions and drab stereotypes."

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He closed with a direct gesture of friendship to the Reagans: "Until we meet in Moscow."

Donnie Radcliffe, Cristina Del Sesto, David Hilzenrath, Nina Killham and Moira Mulligan contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, GORBACHEV AND REAGAN WITH THEIR WIVES RAISA AND NANCY AT LAST NIGHT'S EMBASSY DINNER. UPI; PHOTO, AP

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; U.S.S.R.; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; FOREIGN HEADS OF STATE; PARTIES

NAMED-PERSONS: MALCOLM FORBES; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RAISA GORBACHEV

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33RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 9, 1987, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 23; Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 791 words

HEADLINE: THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT;
GUEST LIST FOR STATE DINNER

BODY:

Here is a list of guests who attended the Tuesday night state dinner at the White House in honor of the Gorbachevs:

HOSTS: President Reagan and Nancy Reagan.

GUESTS OF HONOR: Soviet General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbachev.

SOVIET GUESTS: Sergei F. Akhromeyev, deputy minister of defense and chief of staff, Soviet armed forces; Georgy A. Arbatov, director, Institute for Study of U.S.A. and Canada; Alexander A. Bessmertnykh, deputy minister for foreign affairs; Valery I. Boldin, Central Committee general department head; Anatoly S. Chernayev, foreign policy aide; Anatoly F. Dobrynin, secretary, Central Committee; Yuri V. Dubinin, ambassador to the United States; Vladimir M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman, Council of Ministers; Nikolai Y. Kruchina, Central Committee chief administrator; Eduard A. Shevardnadze, foreign minister and Politburo member; Alexander N. Yakovlev, Politburo member in charge of propaganda.

ADMINISTRATION: Howard H. Baker Jr., White House chief of staff, and daughter Cissy Baker; Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and Susan Baker; Vice President George Bush and Barbara Bush; Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci and Marcia Carlucci; Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Shirley Crowe; Kenneth M. Duberstein, White House deputy chief of staff, and Sydney Duberstein; Max M. Kampelman, chief U.S. arms control negotiator; Jack F. Matlock Jr., ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Rebecca Matlock; Paul H. Nitze, ambassador at large; Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell, national security adviser, and Alma Powell; William H. Rehnquist, chief justice, U.S. Supreme Court, and Natalie Rehnquist; Rozanne L. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and Theodore Deming; Selwa Roosevelt, U.S. chief of protocol, and Archibald Roosevelt; Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Helena Shultz; Vernon A. Walters, U.S. ambassador to the U.N.; Charles Z. Wick, USIA director, and Mary Jane Wick.

CONGRESS: Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), Senate majority leader, and Irma Byrd; Rep. Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.) and Lynne Cheney; Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.), Senate minority leader, and Elizabeth Dole; Rep. Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), House minority leader, and Corinne Michel; Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) and Catherine Stevens; Rep. Jim Wright (D-Tex.), Speaker of the House, and Betty Wright.

FORMER U.S. OFFICIALS: Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser, and Emille Brzezinski; Richard M. Helms, former director, CIA, and Cynthia

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Helms; Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former ambassador to the United Nations, and Evron Kirkpatrick; Henry A. Kissinger, former secretary of state, and Nancy Kissinger; Richard N. Perle, former assistant secretary of defense, and Leslie Perle; Caspar W. Weinberger, former secretary of defense, and Jane Weinberger.

BUSINESS: Dwayne Andreas, chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., and Dorothy Andreas; Kenneth Bialkin, attorney, and Ann Bialkin; Ted Graber, interior designer; Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corp., and Frances Hammer; John H. Johnson, president, Johnson Publishing Co., and Eunice Johnson; Donald Petersen, chairman of Ford Motor Co.; James D. Robinson III, chairman, American Express Co., and Linda Robinson; David Rockefeller, former chairman of Rockefeller Bros. Fund; Roger B. Smith, chairman of General Motors Corp.; Robert S. Strauss, attorney, and Helen Strauss.

ARTS AND CULTURE: Pearl Bailey, singer, and musician Louis Bellson; Saul Bellow, author; J. Carter Brown, director, National Gallery of Art; Dave Brubeck, jazz pianist; Ruth Bunche, widow of Nobel Prize winner Ralph Bunche; Claudette Colbert, actress; Rildia Bee Cliburn, mother of pianist Van Cliburn; Zubin Mehta, music director, New York Philharmonic; Mstislav Rostropovich, National Symphony Orchestra conductor, and diva Galina Vishnevskaya; James Stewart, actor, and Gloria Stewart.

ACADEME: James H. Billington, librarian of Congress, and Marjorie Billington; Suzanne Massie, author and visiting scholar at Harvard Russian Research Center; Dimitri K. Simes, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Natasha Simes; Edward Teller, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

RELIGION: Billy Graham, evangelist, and Ruth Graham.

SPORTS: Joe DiMaggio, member, Baseball Hall of Fame; Chris Evert, tennis professional; Meadowlark Lemon, former Harlem Globetrotter; Mary Lou Retton, gymnast.

MEDIA: Robert G. Kaiser, Washington Post, and Hannah Jopling Kaiser; Hedrick Smith, New York Times, and Susan Fox Smith; Kathleen Sullivan, CBS; George Will, columnist.

OTHER: Maureen Reagan, Republican National Committee co-chairman, and Dennis Revell.

ENTERTAINMENT by Van Cliburn, pianist.

TYPE:
List

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35TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 9, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 1201 words

HEADLINE: A Day That Crackled With Promises, Hope, Celebration and Humor

SERIES: SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The old fireplace in the White House had lain dark for years, but yesterday it was suddenly ablaze on the world's television screens as President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev hailed their new missile treaty. They crackled with their own enthusiasm, charm and humor on a day devoted to fresh promises to end the nuclear arms race.

They laughed, they poked fun and they celebrated. They paid tribute to their nations' vast differences, but they reserved moments of personal emotion for their joint triumph. Their rhetoric was studded with quotations from Soviet and American literature; Gorbachev borrowed Emerson, Reagan took from Tolstoy. For leaders of two superpowers who had so long denounced the other and who had last met in bitter failure at Reykjavik, they were electric.

As Gorbachev, in front of the blazing fireplace, finished his address explaining the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in a broadcast to Soviet and American audiences, Reagan clasped his hands in a gesture of delight. As they posed for photographers, Reagan suggested that he and Gorbachev call each other by their first names in their private working sessions. "Mine is Ron," he said, according to an aide. "Mine is Mikhail," Gorbachev replied.

When Reagan repeated his favorite Russian proverb, "trust but verify," in remarks just before the treaty was signed, Gorbachev interrupted, "You repeat that at every meeting!" The Soviets and Americans in the East Room audience broke into laughter and Reagan responded, "I like it."

If the two leaders found reason to wrangle on the first day of the first Washington summit in this decade, they did not show it. In the halls of the White House West Wing, senior Soviet and American officials reveled in a reunion-like atmosphere, U.S. participants said. They had even planned a group photograph, but the meeting broke up before it could be taken. A high-ranking American official observed, "Today was the day of old business -- you move to new business tomorrow."

From the moment that Gorbachev's limousine arrived at the White House, through Gorbachev's remarkable late-afternoon appearance at the Soviet Embassy, the day was filled with signs of optimism and tinged with irony.

Just the tableau on the South Lawn of the White House was extraordinary. Never before in the Reagan presidency had U.S. soldiers been seen carrying Soviet flags (as well as American ones) along the driveway to welcome a

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foreign visitor. And the tiny, bright red Soviet flags were hoisted along with the Stars and Stripes by guests cheering the arrival of the Soviet leader.

In their first two summit meetings, Reagan and Gorbachev confronted each other gingerly on neutral territory. They briefly shook hands in the cold outside a chateau on Lake Geneva in 1985 and outside Hofdi House in Reykjavik a year ago.

But yesterday they opened the summit drama with high symbolism and full pageantry, both of them vowing in ample terms to move ahead in reducing the superpower nuclear arsenals. The day was a remarkable contrast to the closing of the Reykjavik summit, where the two leaders parted in disappointment over their failure to achieve a breakthrough.

Yesterday they delivered strikingly parallel speeches in a cool, gentle breeze outside the White House. Reagan said, "Our peoples for too long have been both the masters and the captives of a deadly arms race. This situation is not preordained and not part of some inevitable course of history. We make history." Gorbachev responded that "history has charged the governments of our countries and the two of us . . . with a solemn duty to justify the hopes of Americans and Soviet people and of people the world over to undo the logic of the arms race by working together in good faith."

He added, "This will, of course, be the first step down the road leading to a nuclear-free world."

The drama of the day was sharpened at the outset by the chemistry displayed between Reagan and Gorbachev. As Reagan spoke, Gorbachev looked on, nodding slightly in acknowledgment. Reagan smiled through most of Gorbachev's remarks. They stood shoulder to shoulder, too, as the U.S. Army Band, the Third U.S. Infantry Fife and Drum Corps and the U.S. Army Herald Trumpets -- arrayed on the White House steps -- provided a spirited full-honors arrival ceremony. Afterward, in the warmth of the Oval Office, the leaders seemed pleased by the remarkably similar statements they had heard from each other.

"Well, obviously, we want to make progress," Reagan said as they posed for five waves of photographers. "I think both of us made that clear out there in our remarks." Gorbachev said, "You might have noted that there is a great similarity in the outlook of things on the world in our remarks today."

Gorbachev signed a guest book on the president's desk. Reagan presented the Soviet leader with two solid gold cuff links emblazoned with the image of the prophet Isaiah beating swords into plowshares, and said the gift was a symbol of his hopes for arms control, according to White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater.

Throughout the day, there were unusual greetings and reunions. Former secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger bumped into Gorbachev adviser Georgi Arbatov. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet general staff, shook hands warmly with Paul H. Nitze, the veteran U.S. arms control adviser who sat across the table from him in Reykjavik -- and again later yesterday as the two sides set up working groups on arms control.

While Reagan was meeting with Gorbachev, Vice President Bush chatted amiably with Akhromeyev about their families and their service in World War II, according to a White House official.

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For the signing ceremony, Reagan escorted Gorbachev down the red-carpeted foyer to the East Room, and both leaders expressed unrestrained enthusiasm for the treaty. Reagan quoted another Russian proverb -- "the harvest comes more from the sweat than from the dew" -- and suggested that the negotiators of the treaty "get some well-deserved rest."

Gorbachev took the remark to mean the Soviets should get some rest. "We're not going to do that," he quickly responded to more laughter. The leaders signed the document on President Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet table, trading pens at the end of the ceremony.

As first ladies Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev watched, the leaders then delivered separate televised speeches from the State Dining Room, standing before the blazing fireplace. As Gorbachev finished, Reagan gestured to a portrait of Lincoln, and Gorbachev was heard to remark that he was a great man.

Later, the Soviet leader was still going strong as he met with American intellectuals. "I said to the president today: 'We have begun a very big thing,' " he said, appealing for cooperation and saying he did not understand opposition in the United States to the missile treaty.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov called the day "historic," adding: "Maybe it will be remembered as a date of fame in history." He had called his wife in Moscow, he said, and she reported "celebrations" there. "Everyone was very moved by what happened here in Washington."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, GORBACHEV AND REAGAN AFTER SIGNING MISSILE PACT IN THE WHITE HOUSE. FRANK JOHNSTON

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; U.S.S.R.; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; TREATIES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT; MISSILES AND ROCKETS; NUCLEAR WEAPONS

NAMED-PERSONS: RONALD REAGAN; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

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December 9, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 723 words

HEADLINE: For Raisa Gorbachev, Views From the Fast Lane

BYLINE: Elizabeth Kastor, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The collected public remarks of Raisa Gorbachev for Dec. 8, 1987, consist of the following statements made on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial:

To press requests for a few words -- "I've got too little time."

To press queries of how she liked the United States: "Oh, it's lovely!"

To press pressing about what she would like to see on her visit: "All of Washington."

She then rejoined Helena Shultz in their motorcade and proceeded to see not all but some of Washington at a pace approaching the speed of sound and definitely surpassing the speed of effective tourism.

Her day had begun with a welcoming ceremony at the White House, where journalists attempted to gauge the relative warmth of her relationship with Nancy Reagan (who reportedly was upset by Mrs. Gorbachev's tardiness in responding to her invitation to tea and reportedly has found the Soviet first lady uninterested in talking about drug abuse and children) by the distance between the two women, both clad in fur, as they listened to their husbands speak. The two then adjourned to the Green Room where, with Barbara Bush, Helena Shultz, Rebecca Matlock, wife of the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, and Liana Dubinin, wife of the Soviet ambassador to the United States, they indulged in tea, coffee, orange juice and very small pastries.

Over the next 20 minutes, they had a wide-ranging discussion of the history of Washington, the history of the Soviet Union (Press Secretary Elaine Crispen said Mrs. Reagan found this very interesting), the weather and where Mrs. Gorbachev should go on her trip through the city with Mrs. Shultz (it was rumored that she wanted to visit the top of the Washington Monument -- which was not to be).

Highly placed sources disclosed that Mrs. Reagan wore a brown Bill Blass dress trimmed in leather. Mrs. Gorbachev's outfit has been described variously as a white two-piece dress and a white tunic.

Crispen said both women expressed "hopes for peace in their countries and the world."

Crispen said the first lady described the reception as "very pleasant" and quoted her as saying Mrs. Gorbachev was "very nice."

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Asked if "they like each other better," Crispen replied that, despite rumors to the contrary, "no one said they didn't before." Crispen also offered the fact that when Reagan and Gorbachev shook hands after the treaty signing, Mrs. Reagan turned to Mrs. Gorbachev and said, "I think we should shake hands, too." And they did.

Then it was off for the faster-than-a-whirlwind trip through Washington.

There had been talk of visits to White Flint mall, Neiman-Marcus and Georgetown Park, but in the end Mrs. Gorbachev spent her few free moments whipping past Washington landmarks while disappointed Raisa-watchers stared as her Zil limo vanished into the distance. She cruised up the Mall and went around the block by the Capitol, the Supreme Court and the Library of Congress. She passed by both the Lincoln Memorial and Arlington National Cemetery, where stops had been expected.

Last night, just before the state dinner in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev, Secretary of State George Shultz told CBS anchorman Dan Rather that his wife and Mrs. Gorbachev would have liked to get out of the car more often. "But the people who were running things didn't seem to want to do it."

The only brief stop was the one at the Jefferson Memorial, where she and Mrs. Shultz remained at the bottom of the steps, far from the statue and the press corps waiting at the top of the steps. To urging from those assembled, Mrs. Gorbachev made her few comments, leading reporters who remembered a more voluble woman from last year's Iceland summit to speculate that perhaps negative reaction in her own country to her visibility was having its effect.

At the Albert Einstein statue on the grounds of the National Academy of Sciences, a score of journalists awaited her promised arrival. Soviet and American scientists meeting inside emerged coatless on short notice and waited with the rest while a few of the men in trench coats (by now ubiquitous in Washington) surveyed the scene. They got cold. They went back inside. Then they came out again. Sirens were heard. Cameras were readied. The White House advance man was prepared. Black car after black car appeared. And was that a woman in a fur coat?

Vroom. They were gone.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, THE FIRST LADIES AT THE TREATY SIGNING. AP

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; GOVERNMENT / OFFICIAL TRAVEL; U.S.S.R.; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NAMED-PERSONS: RAISA GORBACHEV; HELENA SHULTZ; NANCY REAGAN

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December 9, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 3088 words

HEADLINE: The Night of the Peacemakers

BYLINE: Elizabeth Kastor, Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who highlighted his first full day in the United States by joining Ronald Reagan in signing a historic arms treaty, ended it last night at a White House dinner, singing along with pianist Van Cliburn in verse after verse of the old, sentimental Russian drinking song "Moscow Nights."

After the singing -- which a beaming Raisa Gorbachev, Anatoliy Dobrynin, former dean of the diplomatic corps here, and the rest of the Soviet delegation joined in -- Gorbachev burst into applause. Cliburn, a cult figure in Russia, moved toward him and planted three rounds of kisses on his cheeks.

"Tell him to stay around," said Reagan of the Soviet-leader-turned-singer. "I can get him some bookings."

The sing-along came at the end of an evening guests described as moving and good-natured. Amid white orchids and tulips, guests ate salmon in caviar sauce and veal in champagne, went through a receiving line that slowed the evening down by an unexpected 25 minutes due at least in part to Raisa Gorbachev's desire to talk at length to the guests, and quizzed the Soviet leader during dinner on the inner workings of the Politburo. Asked if Gorbachev had any questions of his own, one who sat at the table said he didn't. "We didn't give him time."

"A boundless world stretches far and wide beyond the walls of this house, and you and I, if you will, are accountable to it and to the peoples of our two countries, to our allies and friends, and to all our contemporaries," Gorbachev said to Reagan in his toast. Back at his table, he made sure to clink his glass against that of arms hardliner Richard Perle, the former assistant secretary of defense with whom he also spent some of the evening discussing the treaty negotiations.

Gorbachev and Perle, with Rep. Richard Cheney (R-Wyo.) sitting between them, also talked about the Soviet economy, glasnost and defense spending. Said Perle: "I don't think either of us persuaded the other, but he's an intelligent man."

The guest list provided for tables that seemed pure Americana. At one, for example, sat financier David Rockefeller, gymnast Mary Lou Retton (whose feet did not touch the floor), evangelist Billy Graham and actress Claudette Colbert. At one point, singer Pearl Bailey, who insisted the guards announce her to the press as simply "Pearl," bent down between Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev during the meal for a chat.

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In his toast, Reagan, surely reveling in understatement, began with, "In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we've always paid each other the compliment of candor. So let us continue to do so ...

"Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we've accomplished much, and our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest," he said. "There is more work to be done, and time and history are marching on.

"So I offer a toast, a commitment on behalf of the American people of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future," he said, and concluded with the words na vasha zdoroviya -- "to your health" in Russian, a gesture that met with immediate applause and laughter from the Soviet party.

As they arrived, some of the guests were less willing to pay the compliment of candor. Among those eager to remain off the record, the methods of avoidance varied.

Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, offered up, "It's been a good week," and when asked for more specifics added, "We signed a treaty!"

Perle would give no opinion about the summit other than "Fine -- a wonderful occasion." Former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick chose the ever-popular quick walk-through, passing the assembled press corps without a word, as did State Department counselor Max Kampelman. Current U.N. Ambassador Vernon Walters pleaded ignorance on all questions. "I'm just a visitor from New York," he said. To a query about discussions on Afghanistan, he replied, "See Shultz."

National Symphony Orchestra Music Director Mstislav Rostropovich said he had flown in from Germany on the Concorde to attend the dinner with his wife Galina Vishnevskaya and would be flying back to Paris today. Vishnevskaya has written a book that is less than complimentary about the Soviet government, but both were wary of making any judgment on the regime's current leader. "Maybe he's read my book," she said, smiling. "You know," he said, "we have not experienced Mr. Gorbachev. We left 13 years ago. Gorbachev is trying to change some things in the government of Russia -- we have to see how successful the change is."

After the dinner, arms negotiator Ed Rowny said this time he saw a different Gorbachev than the one in previous encounters. "He's not lecturing us on Marxism-Leninism the way he did the first time. He's got a broader viewpoint. He's learning more about America." Rowney also said it was too early to get any indication from the Soviets about their position on the ABM treaty. "We've got big differences to overcome yet."

White House Deputy Chief of Staff Kenneth Duberstein said it had been a good day and he thought the mood good, too. "I think they'll get into details starting tomorrow. But the preamble certainly has been good."

White House Majority leader James Wright called it "an upbeat evening with a joyous kind of crowd" and said Dobrynin, now secretary of the Soviet Central Committee, was "very positive -- he thought this would be a first step leading to other treaties, including ones controlling conventional weapons. I'm going to talk to him tomorrow along those lines."

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Armand Hammer, who speaks Russian fluently from his years of trading with the Soviets, judged the evening "tremendous." "Nothing can compare," he said, adding that when he first saw Gorbachev at the dinner, he hugged and kissed him in the Russian manner. "He joked, 'I would sit with you, but I have to sit with the president.' "

In response to a reporter's question, Reagan himself said that he hadn't thought very much about the day being "the most memorable" in his life. "But it will still be one I'll remember for a long time." He said he will work toward a new agreement to follow the INF treaty because "I figure you work right down to the last day."

The evening had begun earlier than most state dinners in an attempt to speed things along. Vice President George Bush and his wife Barbara and Secretary of State George Shultz and his wife Helena arrived early, greeting several members of the Soviet delegation at the South Portico. After they had entered the White House, a workman came out for one last sweep of the red carpet. But the Gorbachevs didn't arrive until 10 minutes after they were scheduled. The Reagans were waiting inside where it was warm, and when Gorbachev's car pulled up they stepped out onto the still-immaculate red carpet.

The evening's big question -- Would Gorbachev wear black tie? -- was answered the moment he stepped out of his Zil limousine. He opted instead for a three-piece blue suit and striped tie. Reports that he had ordered a variety of new clothes from an Italian tailor seemed to be verified by the suit; Soviet observers say a three-piece outfit is rare in that country. Even the shoes appeared to be new.

Mrs. Gorbachev wore an ankle-length, form-fitting black brocade dress with a peplum bodice and a flared hemline, with a long double strand of pearls and a pearl bracelet. Over it all, she wore a gray fur jacket.

Like her counterpart, Mrs. Reagan was also in black, hers of glittering beads designed by Galanos and accented with red and white beaded flowers, a jeweled neckline and a big bow at the waist. Reagan also wore black, accented by a white shirt and black tie.

Lining up for the first of a number of pictures throughout the evening, Reagan was asked whether old enemies were becoming new friends.

"No, they're old friends," he called out.

At dinner, according to James Billington, the librarian of Congress who spoke to Gorbachev in Russian, "there was lots of good back and forth" between the Soviet leader and others at Mrs. Reagan's table.

Asked how Gorbachev was as a dinner partner, the first lady said that among other things he told her a story about the stages of a woman. "There's a young girl, then there's a young woman, a young woman, a young woman ... and a dead grandmother," Mrs. Reagan said he told her. Asked if she laughed, the first lady laughed.

At the same table, author Cynthia Helms noted that Gorbachev seemed to enjoy the food as much as the conversation. "He ate everything but the salad," she said.

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The president acknowledged later that he calls Gorbachev "Mikhail" and that the Soviet leader calls him "Ron." "We have been since Geneva. It makes it better that way."

Also among the guests was former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger, who resigned recently, saying he wanted to spend more time with his wife Jane, who is suffering from cancer. Mrs. Weinberger attended the dinner in a wheelchair.

Others attending included another old Hollywood friend (Jimmy Stewart), more sports figures (Chris Evert, Meadowlark Lemon, Joe DiMaggio) a Nancy Reagan favorite (interior designer Ted Graber), a Jewish leader (Kenneth Bialkin, former chairman of the National Anti-Defamation League), a couple of former national security advisers (Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski) and a full sampling of conservatives, including scientist Edward Teller (known as the "father of the H-bomb") and columnist George Will.

Asked why he had been invited, Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) said, "Because I worked like hell on that damn treaty, that's why." Tugging at his neckwear, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd said that when he met the Gorbachevs, "I'm going to tell them the Soviets are right about these black ties."

DiMaggio admitted he thought the Soviet guests might not know much about baseball, but he was obviously relying on them having enough knowledge to understand one tradition -- he had brought with him a ball for Gorbachev to sign.

National Gallery Director J. Carter Brown, who will be hosting Mrs. Gorbachev for a visit of the gallery today, said, "We have a lovely tour worked out for her. She's asked to see mainly American art."

Informed that he was filling the spot the White House usually reserves for literary and cultural figures at state dinners, Nobel Prize-winning novelist Saul Bellow said, "I'm as good as anyone to fill the cultural role. I've got culture all over me." He said he had no particular message to convey to the Soviet leader: "I'm just an innocent cultural bystander."

House Minority Leader Robert Michel said, "I think it's a great day for the country." While he said he has reservations, the treaty in general satisfies him. "Why have we been spending billions of dollars to build up our defenses if we weren't going to reach some amicable agreement?" he asked.

Kathleen Sullivan, who recently began work as coanchor on the "CBS This Morning," speculated about the reasons behind her invitation. "I did work in the Soviet Union for 3 1/2 weeks, and I did do the Soviet games, but that's all I know."

The two couples exchanged a number of gifts. The Reagans gave the Gorbachevs a photograph of themselves that the White House described as "personally inscribed," a sterling silver Tiffany bowl and Steuben candlesticks. The Gorbachevs reciprocated with an embroidered leather saddle and a case of caviar for him, a crystal serving set and assorted chocolates for her.

As the White House release put it, the United States of America gave the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a limited edition porcelain sculpture by Boehm entitled "Global Peace." The host country received a "polished stone

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centerpiece on a base."

And, no doubt to the delight of the executives of Parker Pen, both leaders received the sterling silver pens engraved with their signatures that they had used earlier in the day to sign the INF treaty.

As the dinner began, protesters gathered across the street from the White House in Lafayette Park and could be heard from the front steps of the executive mansion, chanting: "Nyet, nyet, Soviet!" The protesters, however, had little effect on the central guests who arrived through the entrance on the other side of the building.

Toasts were made with a specially bottled California sparkling wine. The Reagans had the same Iron Horse 1984 Brut, which is not available commercially, for the U.S. dinner at the 1985 U.S.-Soviet summit in Geneva and asked that it be prepared again. The wine is bottled at a small family-owned winery near the Russian River in Sonoma County, an area where many Russians first settled in the early 1800s.

Referring in his toast to his New Year's Eve address to America, in which he said he hoped "the winter of our discontent" would one day be over, Gorbachev said, "Today, following Reykjavik and the extensive preparatory work that has made our meeting in Washington possible, it can be said the winter is on the wane."

Interpreters were between the Reagans and their honored guests at each table:

Reagan sat next to Raisa Gorbachev and Kirkpatrick at a table that included Mrs. Gorbachev's other dinner partner Vernon Walters, Teller, Ford Chairman Donald Petersen and Shirley Crowe, wife of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Ruth Bunche, widow of Nobel Peace Prize winner Ralph Bunche.

On either side of Mrs. Reagan were Gorbachev and Perle.

Here is the list of guests to last night's state dinner:

President Reagan and Nancy Reagan

Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbachev

Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs and Politburo member

Alexander Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee

Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee

Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman, Soviet Council of Ministers

Sergei Akhromeev, chief of general staff, Soviet armed forces, first deputy minister of defense, marshal of the Soviet Union

Anatoly Chernyaev, senior assistant to the general secretary

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Valery Boldin, head of the general department of the Central Committee

Nikolay Kruchina, chief administrator of the Central Committee

Alexander Bessmertnykh, deputy minister for foreign affairs of the Soviet Union

Yuri Dubinin, ambassador to the United States, and Liana Dubinin

Georgy Arbatov, director, U.S.A. and Canada Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Dwayne O. Andreas, chairman and CEO, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., and Inez Andreas

Pearl Bailey, singer, and Louis Bellson, musician-drummer

Howard H. Baker Jr., chief of staff to the president, and daughter Cissy Baker

James A. Baker III, secretary of the treasury, and Susan Baker

Saul Bellow, author, and Janis Freedman

Kenneth Bialkin, attorney, and Ann Bialkin

James H. Billington, librarian of Congress, and Marjorie Billington

J. Carter Brown, director, National Gallery of Art

Dave Brubeck, jazz musician, and Iola Brubeck

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser, and Emilie Brzezinski

Vice President George Bush and Barbara Bush

Ruth J. Bunche, widow of Nobel Prize winner Ralph Bunche

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) and Irma Byrd

Frank Carlucci, secretary of defense, and Marcia Carlucci

Rep. Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.) and Lynn V. Cheney, chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities

Van Cliburn, pianist, and mother Rildia Bee Cliburn

Claudette Colbert, actress

Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Shirley Crowe

Joe DiMaggio, Hall of Fame baseball player

Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Elizabeth H. Dole, former secretary of transportation

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Kenneth M. Duberstein, deputy chief of staff to the president, and Sydney Duberstein

Chris Evert, tennis player

Ted Graber, interior designer

The Rev. Billy Graham and Ruth Graham

Armand Hammer, chairman and CEO, Occidental Petroleum Corp., and Frances Hammer

Richard M. Helms, former CIA director, and Cynthia Helms

John H. Johnson, president and publisher, Johnson Publishing Co., and Eunice Johnson

Robert G. Kaiser, assistant managing editor, national news, The Washington Post, and Hannah Kaiser

Max M. Kampelman, State Department counselor

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former ambassador to the United Nations, and Evron M. Kirkpatrick, president, Heldref Publications

Henry A. Kissinger, former secretary of state

Meadowlark Lemon, basketball player, and Lorelei Lemon

Suzanne Massie, author-historian, Harvard Russian Research Center

Jack F. Matlock Jr., U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Rebecca Matlock

Zubin Mehta, conductor, New York Philharmonic, and Nancy Mehta

Rep. Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) and Corinne Michel

Paul H. Nitze, ambassador at large

Richard N. Perle, former assistant secretary of defense, and Leslie Perle

Donald E. Petersen, chairman and CEO, Ford Motor Co., and Jody Petersen

Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell, national security adviser, and Alma Powell

Maureen E. Reagan, cochairman, Republican National Committee, and Dennis Revell

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Natalie Rehnquist

Mary Lou Retton, gymnast

Rozanne L. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and Capt. Theodore Deming, U.S. Coast Guard

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James D. Robinson III, chairman and CEO, American Express Co., and Linda Robinson

David Rockfeller, chairman, International Advisory Committee, Chase Manhattan Bank, and Margaret Rockfeller

Selwa Roosevelt, U.S. chief of protocol, and Archibald B. Roosevelt Jr.

Mstislav Rostropovich, music director, National Symphony Orchestra, and Galina Vishnevskaya

George P. Shultz, secretary of state, and Helena Shultz

Dimitri K. Simes, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Natasha Simes

Hedrick Smith, correspondent, The New York Times, and Susan Smith

Roger B. Smith, chairman and CEO, General Motors Corp., and Barbara Smith

Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) and Catherine Stevens

James Stewart, actor, and Gloria Stewart

Robert S. Strauss, former chairman, Democratic National Committee, and Helen Strauss

Kathleen Sullivan, CBS anchor, and Michael Kiner, architect-developer

Edward Teller, associate director emeritus, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

Vernon A. Walters, U.S. representative to the United Nations

Caspar W. Weinberger, former secretary of defense, and Jane Weinberger

Charles Z. Wick, director, US Information Agency, and Mary Jane Wick

George Will, columnist-author

Rep. James C. Wright, speaker of the House, and Betty Wright.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, PRESIDENT AND NANCY REAGAN WITH RAISA AND MIKHAIL GORBACHEV BEFORE DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE. HARRY NALTCHAYAN; PHOTO, H. DARR BEISER

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; U.S.S.R.; UNITED STATES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT; PARTIES

NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RONALD REAGAN; VAN CLIBURN; RAISA GORBACHEV; ANATOLIY DOBRYNIN; RICHARD PERLE

ENHANCEMENT: QUOTE

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December 7, 1987, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A4

LENGTH: 1051 words

HEADLINE: For Bush, Breakfast With Gorbachev;
Vice President Has Ideas of Its Own on Relations, Negotiations

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev sits down for breakfast with Vice President Bush on Thursday morning, he will find an aspiring American political leader who has some different ideas about U.S.-Soviet relations than the president he has loyally served for the past seven years.

Gorbachev also will find American citizens from Iowa and New Hampshire in the vice president's breakfast delegation -- a reminder of Bush's current preoccupation, the presidential campaign.

The breakfast at the Soviet Embassy is the centerpiece of the vice president's participation in a summit that could produce important political gains while also offering insights into how he would deal with the Soviets if elected next year.

Although it was not widely recognized in the years that Bush served in Reagan's shadow, the vice president holds much more traditional views about dealing with the Soviets than did Reagan when he came to office, and is described by aides as eager to proceed further with negotiations if he is elected president.

"He was always in favor of getting on with the process," said Daniel J. Murphy, a retired Navy admiral who served as the vice president's chief of staff in the first term. "This didn't mean giving the farm away, but getting on with it . . . . It runs right through his character. Problems ought to be solved . . . . "

Bush has stressed negotiations in his current campaign. In an address at the Naval Academy last spring, he said, "We need to talk to the Soviets. This is a nuclear age, which means it's simply not sane to sit in stony silence at bomb's length from powerful adversaries."

In other speeches, Bush has said he would bargain with Moscow on banning chemical and biological weapons, on reducing strategic nuclear forces, and on redressing the conventional force imbalance in Europe.

This has set Bush apart from the other Republican contenders, who have called attention to past Soviet treaty violations and warned of future ones. His leading rival, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), may back the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty that Reagan and Gorbachev are to sign on Tuesday but also seek changes. The other Republican candidates all oppose the treaty.

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In a thorough mix of domestic politics and diplomacy, Bush has turned the medium-range missile treaty into something of a campaign doctrine. He made a whirlwind tour of European capitals, at taxpayer expense, just before his formal announcement, to highlight his association with the pact, although the trip had almost nothing to do with the negotiations. He has stressed his support repeatedly since then, and last week in Iowa he all but discarded talk of other issues, such as education and the budget, to stump for the pact.

"This is the most important matter in the Reagan presidency, and the only Republican supporting him is George Bush, " said campaign manager Lee Atwater.

Bush strategists also see the summit and the treaty as enhancing the "stature advantage" of his long experience in government and diplomacy. And they realize Bush will be in the limelight at a time when the presidential campaign is in a lull. "To the degree the country is focused on this set of issues, it's an advantage to us," said Bush pollster Robert Teeter.

For Bush, the main event is Thursday's breakfast. Sources said the event involves about 25 people, divided among Soviet and American guests. Bush is inviting several Americans from around the country, including an Iowa educator, and others may be from New Hampshire, the two states with the most critical early campaign tests next year.

The vice president also plans a public role in appearing on network television interviews during the week and may deliver a speech on the summit in Iowa next Friday. Bush is invited to all the meetings with Gorbachev that are not one-on-one between Reagan and the Soviet leader, although Bush was not present last week with the president at the final preparatory meeting on arms control because he was in Iowa campaigning.

Bush has his own brief session alone with Gorbachev just before the Thursday breakfast, and the vice president is also scheduled to ride to Andrews Air Force Base with the Soviet leader and lead the departure ceremony on Thursday.

A senior adviser said Bush wants the session with Gorbachev to be a "look forward" at issues dividing the superpowers.

Bush played little or no role in the internecine arms control battles of the first and second Reagan administrations, according to a number of participants.

Several sources have suggested that Bush, in tandem with former national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane, did play a role in Reagan's decision at the end of his first term to take a more conciliatory approach to the Soviets. According to Murphy, Bush would have moved in this direction sooner. Bush "would be on the side of discussing things with the Soviet Union," Murphy said. "The president definitely is in that mode today, but he wasn't in the beginning."

McFarlane continues to advise Bush on national security matters, aides said. Other current advisers -- outside the White House -- include Richard R. Burt, now the ambassador to West Germany, and Alton G. Keel Jr., the U.S. ambassador to NATO, who returned to the United States with Bush after his recent swing through Europe.

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The vice president has embraced many Reagan policies, but with some reservations and differences. Bush has strongly endorsed the "Reagan Doctrine" of supporting anticommunist forces in such places as Nicaragua and Afghanistan; advisers say Bush would certainly continue this effort. The vice president also has embraced Reagan's moral justification for the Strategic Defense Initiative, the space-based missile defense, but Bush does not advocate early deployment or huge spending increases for it. Bush has not advocated a major defense buildup from current levels.

In his announcement speech, Bush said the medium-range missile treaty was only a "prelude to serious talks on strategic arms, conventional weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons -- all these things."

Bush, said a senior adviser, has a "willingness to engage" the Soviets, "a willingness to deal."

Staff writer T.R. Reid and researcher Michelle Hall contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH.

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; U.S.S.R.; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; SOCIAL FUNCTIONS; VICE PRESIDENT; TREATIES; PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

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46TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 7, 1987, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A19

LENGTH: 309 words

HEADLINE: THE SCHEDULE

BODY:

MONDAY 4:40 p.m.: Mikhail Gorbachev arrives at Andrews Air Force Base. Secretary of State George P. Shultz welcomes the general secretary. 5:20 p.m.: Gorbachev, Shultz and their wives arrive at the Soviet Embassy for tea.

TUESDAY 10 a.m.: Ceremonial welcome at the White House, including full military honors accorded state visitors. Brief remarks by both President Reagan and Gorbachev. 10:30 a.m.: Reagan and Gorbachev go to the Oval Office for a 90-minute meeting, the first meeting of the summit. Noon: Gorbachev leaves the White House. 1:45 p.m.: Reagan and Gorbachev meet in the East Room of the White House for a treaty-signing ceremony. Remarks will follow. 2:30 p.m.: Talks continue in the Oval Office. Late afternoon: Gorbachev returns to the Soviet Embassy for meetings with U.S. academicians and others from private life. 7 p.m.: Reagan hosts a White House state dinner. Pianist Van Cliburn will perform.

WEDNESDAY 10:30 a.m.: Talks continue in the Oval Office. 1 p.m.: Shultz hosts a luncheon for Gorbachev at the State Department. 4:30 p.m.: Gorbachev meets with a group of U.S. publishers at the Soviet Embassy. 7 p.m.: Gorbachev hosts a reciprocal dinner at the Soviet Embassy.

THURSDAY 9 a.m.: Vice President Bush meets privately with Gorbachev. 9:15 a.m.: Bush and Gorbachev have breakfast with academicians, scientists and industrialists. 10:30 a.m.: Talks between Reagan and Gorbachev continue in the Oval Office. Noon: Working luncheon at the White House. 2 p.m.: Departure ceremony at the White House. 3 p.m.: Gorbachev meets with U.S. business leaders at the Soviet Embassy. 5 p.m.: Gorbachev says farewell to embassy officials. 5:30 p.m: Gorbachev holds a news conference at the embassy. 7:20 p.m.: Gorbachev's motorcade departs for Andrews Air Force Base. Bush attends departure ceremony. 8 p.m.: Gorbachev departs.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, REAGAN AND GORBACHEV'S LAST MEETING, REYKJAVIK, 1986. AP

TYPE: SCHEDULE, FOREIGN NEWS, NATIONAL NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; SUMMITS AND CONFERENCES; U.S.S.R.; TREATIES; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

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McGroarty/Dooley
May 18, 1990
1:30 pm
[AMER]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
THE STATE DEPARTMENT
MAY 22, 1990
11:00 A.M.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary [Baker]. [Introductory acknowledgements.] David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Council of the Americas. Ambassador Landau, the Council's President. // Bernard Aronson -- our very able Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. //

I am pleased once again to speak to this influential group -- pioneers in the private-sector effort to expand trade and investment between the U.S. and Latin America. And I'm delighted to address this gathering after what has been a remarkable year of change.

Over the past twelve months, it has sometimes seemed that the eyes of the world rest solely on Eastern Europe -- on the miraculous transformation that has taken place there. Our friends in Latin America have watched these historic events unfold, with inspiration and awe. But also, I know, with an unmistakable **sense of anxiety** -- concern that our **active involvement in Europe** will mean **a decline in U.S. interest in Latin America.**

I am here today to assure you -- just as I've assured the many Latin American leaders I've met with -- that the events of

the past year have increased U.S. interest in this region -- strengthened our desire to forge a new partnership with the growing forces of freedom in Latin America.

Because the fact is, the great drama of democracy is unfolding right here in our own hemisphere. //

Think about the tremendous gains made for freedom this past year. / When I spoke here last May, the people of Panama were preparing to go to the polls -- even as the dictator of Panama was preparing to steal the election. In Nicaragua, civil war raged, the Sandinistas ruled -- and the brave men and women of the Nicaraguan opposition were just beginning the long campaign that led to this year's great victory for democracy.

In Central America -- Nicaragua and Panama. In South America -- Paraguay and Chile. All across the Americas, today more people live under freely-elected governments than ever before -- and we are closer than ever before **to the day when all the people of the Americas, North and South, will live in freedom.** //

Even in Haiti, the scene of so much anguish and turmoil, the provisional government has now announced its intention to hold free elections. This Thursday, I will be meeting at the White House with President Ertha Trouillot, where we're sure to discuss ways we can support democracy in Haiti. // In all of Latin America, only Cuba remains -- Castro's island prison, isolated, out of step with the democratic tide. // But today -- the day we are celebrating the anniversary of Cuban Independence -- let

me say with certainty that even in Cuba, **the dream of democracy can only be deferred -- it will never be destroyed.** //

As we in the U.S. welcome our Central and South American neighbors into the ranks of democracy, we must offer them our help -- and something more. We must offer them our respect -- the respect due one free nation from another. The outstretched hand of partnership, from the nation that will be, by the year 2000, home of the world's second-largest Spanish-speaking culture -- the United States. //

I've worked to strengthen our ties. Just this year alone, I've met with Presidents Barco, Paz and Garcia, at the Andean Drug Summit in Cartagena. Here in Washington, I've hosted Presidents Perez and Paz, Cristiani and Endara, Collor de Mello, Calderon and Callejas, and Prime Minister Manley. In each case, I've come away from our talks with a strong sense of optimism. And I believe every one of those leaders left the White House knowing that **the U.S. is engaged as never before in the future of this hemisphere.**

While from country to country conditions differ, we know now that our challenge is to consolidate democracy -- and accelerate development.

That means advancing the **intellectual revolution** now sweeping Latin America -- a movement away from stale, Statist doctrines. Away from dictatorships of the Right and Left. Toward democracy -- free government -- free enterprise. Toward the true political and economic **empowerment of the people.**

That means encouraging, for the first time in many cases, genuine free market reform. Even in countries that claimed no kinship with communism, true free enterprise did not exist. In practice, economies were often organized to ensure the prosperity of the people in power -- not to open an avenue toward upward mobility for anyone ready and willing to work.

Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto describes the maze of bureaucratic barriers that stood in the way of the entrepreneur and stifled economic growth in his country. De Soto also shows how much Lima, Peru's capital, owed its economic vitality to what he calls the "informal sector" -- the thousands of independent and enterprising individuals doing business without the consent of the State.

De Soto's prescription -- and mine -- is to free this economic force. Unleash the million sparks of energy and enterprise. Let the incentive of reward inspire men and women to work to better themselves and their families.

Already, Latin America is discovering this path. In Brazil and Bolivia, in Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica and Jamaica -- free market reforms are going forward, creating space for private initiative to take hold and flourish. As they succeed -- as they reap the rewards that will follow what can be a painful transition -- **these nations will bring others in their wake. //**

We in the U.S. must do all we can to ensure the future of free markets in the Americas -- because our nation **has a stake in**

the economic health of this hemisphere. // We know that since the late '70s, Latin America's share of all U.S. trade dropped from 10 percent of all U.S. exports, down to 7 percent. / And yet -- **last year,** for the first time ever, two-way trade between the U.S. and Latin America topped $100 billion dollars. As that trade continues to grow -- so will the link between our prosperity and the prosperity of our Latin American partners.

Let me provide a few statistics to drive home this point: Last year, the Colombian economy grew 4 percent. U.S. exports to **Colombia** rose 9 percent. // **Mexico's** economy grew 3 percent -- and U.S. exports to that country climbed 21 percent. // In **Chile,** with an overall growth rate of 10 percent, U.S. exports increased by **triple that rate -- more than 30 percentage points.**

Now, let's take a fresh look at a familiar statistic. We all know total Latin debt is about $400 billion dollars, and we've all heard analyses of what that means for development in Latin America. Well, I ask you today to consider **what it means for the U.S.: by one estimate, poor economic performance in Latin America -- related in part to the debt burden -- has cost the United States as much as $75 billion in lost exports over the past ten years.**

That's why I'm so pleased to report on the progress we've made this past year under the Brady Plan. Mexico, Venezuela and Costa Rica have all reached agreement with their creditors on ways to reduce their debt -- ways that complement their efforts to restructure their economies along free-market lines. Because

in the long-term, the free market remains the only path to sustained growth. //

We all know the private sector plays a crucial role. / Taking advantage of new investment opportunities is good for business -- but, at this critical moment, there's something beyond the bottom line. Something that can't be measured simply in terms of GNP. The role the Council of the Americas can play -- expanding trade and strengthening the private sector -- contributes **not just to economic growth -- but to the growth of democracy.** //

Now, there is **an important role for government to play as well** -- especially during the difficult days of **transition from dictatorship to democracy.** That's why I've called on Congress to provide more than $700 million dollars in emergency economic aid to Panama and Nicaragua. This aid is critical. / A little over a week ago, I received a letter from President Chamorro -- just three weeks into her term in office -- telling me that **Nicaragua was bankrupt.** And yet, **for more than 2 months now, this emergency aid has been bogged down on Capitol Hill, as Congressmen take advantage of these two nations' dire needs to tack on unrelated amendments -- and load onto our aid request funding for their pet projects.**

Meanwhile, for the people of Nicaragua and Panama -- **democracy hangs in the balance.** //

So let me say to the Congress: **not one more day of delay. The fate of freedom rests in your hands.** Rise above parochial

interests and the politics of pork barrel. **Do the work of democracy -- and pass this emergency aid package now.** ///

Today, I began by speaking about the changes that have riveted world attention on Europe. Part of the power of the story is that it can be told in intensely personal terms -- as the story of the dissident playwright who is now president. Of the electrician who came to symbolize his people's hopes for freedom. // Democracy's advance in Latin America has produced its share of heroes -- and today I'll close with three from one country alone -- Latin America's newest democracy: Nicaragua.

For four years -- beginning in 1979, the year the Sandinistas took power -- Enrique Dreyfus was head of Nicaragua's Supreme Council of Private Enterprise -- a private-sector group in many ways similar to this one. His criticism of Sandinista rule put him on the Sandinista black list, and landed him in prison. Today, with the Sandinistas swept from power, Enrique Dreyfus is not just free from persecution -- he is Nicaragua's new Foreign Minister.

In 1985, members of the Sandinista internal security force beat Sofonias Cisneros for criticizing the way the Sandinistas had politicized the schools. Today, Mr. Cisneros is Minister of Education. //

And on July 10, 1988, opposition leader Myriam Arguello was beaten, taken from her home in the middle of the night by Sandinista police -- tried, and sentenced to six months in

1. Bread + salt - first meal

2. [~~Peace be to you + I also w/you.~~] Wherever there is harmony, there there's a true treasure.

Gdye ladd tam i klad

3. To live as neighbors, you must be in dialogue talking conversations.

~~w[illegible]~~e zhit v sosyédakh - byt v besédakh.

jeet buit

~4. Whoever's sitting on the stove has left his sword on the table.

Petro Zagorski monastery

prison. Today, Myriam Arguello is President of Nicaragua's freely-elected National Assembly. //

Three stories that underscore in personal terms the truly revolutionary political change that's taken place not just in Nicaragua -- but across the Americas. Change that proves beyond doubt that the day of the dictator is over -- and democracy's day has come. //

For our part, we in the United States must do all we can to help secure for all the Americas the freedom, the peace and prosperity we enjoy. // Once again, thank you -- and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

p. 6 - [redacted]

Poland -

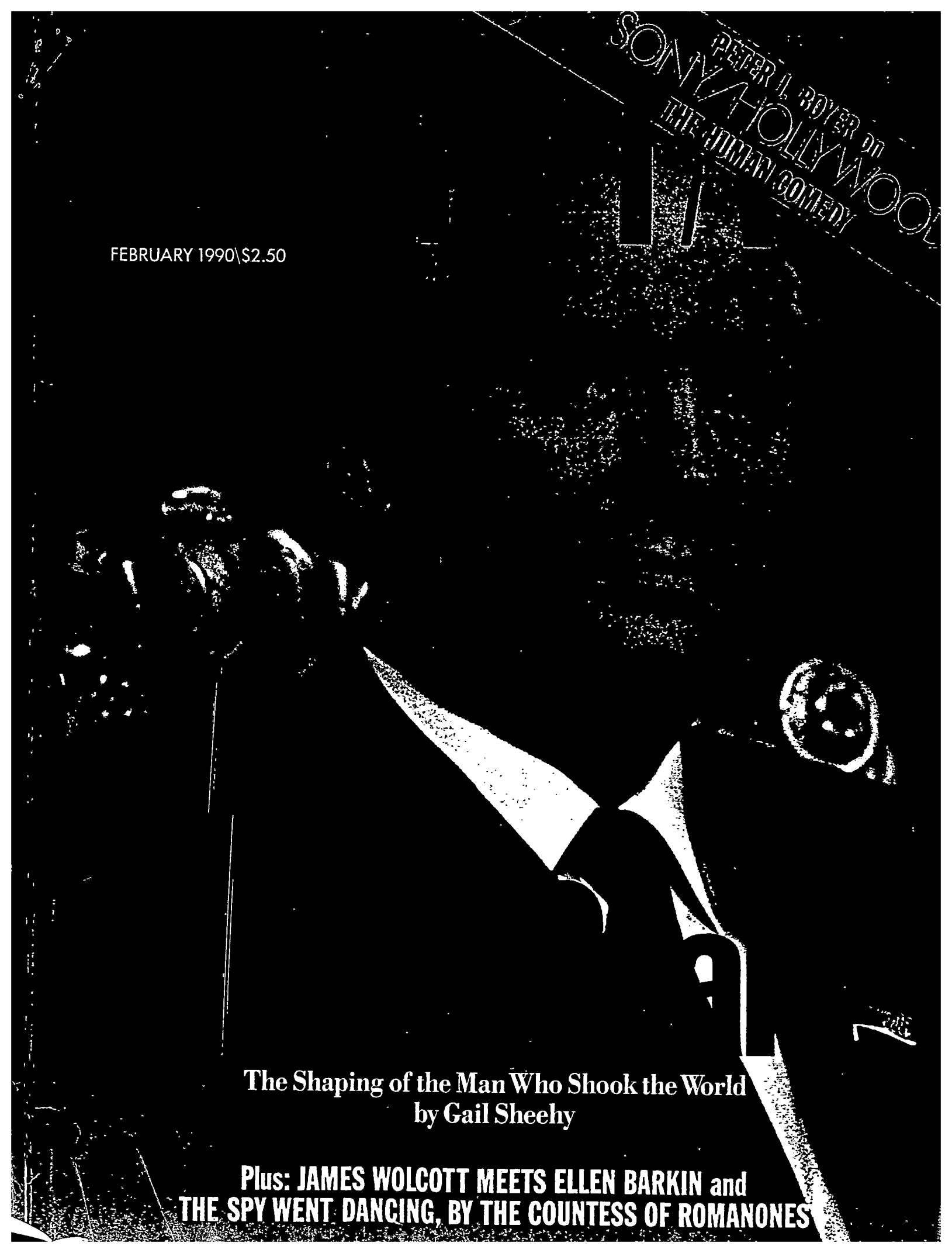
priv comm bank + official debt

tacitly

real budget implications

pol risk

Mark Collins



FEBRUARY 1990\$2.50

The Shaping of the Man Who Shook the World
by Gail Sheehy

Plus: JAMES WOLCOTT MEETS ELLEN BARKIN and
THE SPY WENT DANCING, BY THE COUNTESS OF ROMANONES

Gl ed the World

Who is Mikhail Gorbachev? How did he manage to rise through the ranks of a repressive regime with his revolutionary vision intact? Over six months, GAIL SHEEHY traveled to the Soviet Union, Vienna, and Italy to compile an extraordinary human document on the man from nowhere. In the tiny village where he grew up, she traced a harrowing childhood of famine, German occupation, and Stalinist terror. In Stavropol, the "Warm Siberia" where he might have languished as an apparatchik, she learned how he became a fixer for party powers like K.G.B. chief Andropov. Everywhere, she gained new insights about the controversial redhead he has loved ever since she caught his eye on a dance floor—Raisa Maximovna, the woman he calls "my general"

The Leader and the Symbol: As hundreds from East and West scaled the Berlin wall (*above*, at the Brandenburg Gate), Gorbachev stood with one foot on either side of a schism of history.

SICHOV

The eyes. Everyone is struck by the gleam that blazes behind his dark eyes. Presidents, Sovietologists, resident C.I.A. psychologists, Wall Street deal-makers—all come away talking about some strange chemical reaction, as if with the intensity of his belief Mikhail Gorbachev had burned his image of a new world onto their own retinas and they will never be quite the same.

"His eyes convey an intensity that is slightly abnormal," muses a senior intelligence analyst who studied the Soviet leader up close at the Washington summit. "It's as though his temperature is a little higher than normal, and he's running a little faster than anybody else."

"I think he's very much like Peter the Great—the same desire to benefit from the West, to be part of the West," observes the American ambassador to Hungary, Mark Palmer, formerly senior Soviet analyst for the State Department. Palmer sees behind his ready smile a steeliness, instead of the warmth of most Russians. He, too, mentions the intensity of the eyes. "You feel his tremendous energy and curiosity and restlessness—he's moving all the time."

The Soviet leader can command a room like no one else in the world today, and he knows it. "He invades your space," says a U.S. official. "He's a master of small-room charisma." At a summit he'll seize the initiative; he used to leave Reagan's aides terrified that he would steal the whole show. And when high-level Western delegations arrive in Moscow, he has a rapier thrust for every power broker he meets, waiting to see if they can match him with a worthy parry. He thrives on argument and he shifts masks and tone like a consummate actor.

His eyes burn with the fever of a man who sees his own world turned upside down, a leader who has undergone a revolutionary transformation of vision. Where every previous Soviet leader saw the necessity for secrecy, he spotted the advantage of openness. Rejecting the isolated and expansionist viewpoint of his predecessors, he came to the concept, as he wrote, of a "contradictory but interconnected" world. Removing the old ideological barriers, he reached out for a partnership with the U.S., and asked for admission to the club of modern countries.

The Bush administration initially believed Reagan had "gone foolish" over Gorbachev. But by the end of the Malta summit the Soviet leader had Bush almost seeking his approval: "I'd like to think he thought I knew what I was talking about," Bush told reporters. The American president agreed to support Gorbachev's application to join the major Western trading organization and committed the U.S. to shoring up his flagging *perestroika* campaign for economic reform at home.

Mikhail Gorbachev is above all a risktaker, a man of strong beliefs and steel nerves. He is breathtaking in his assurance that he can foment a revolution and bring his society across the abyss to renewal on the other side. Like the great leaders of history, he believes in his own myth. His mind is always open to learning; he reads, he has always read, and his memory is phenomenal. The relentless drive to reform his society grows out of his lifelong effort to improve himself. Confident of his intellectual agility, he takes his own notes at summit meetings and makes up his mind on the spot. A senior American adviser registered amazement: "He can turn on a dime."

With his no-troops policy, he engineered the events which led to the collapse of the mulish Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and even Romania. In November, he described his vision of a new Europe as "a commonwealth of sovereign democratic states" to replace the divided East and West. Since then, a chain reaction has sparked secessionist movements within his own borders that raise the threat of civil war, and may prove uncontainable even by his genius for persuasion. But Gorbachev has admitted the unthinkable for a Soviet leader, or almost any leader in world history, for that matter; they have normally preferred to lead a "march of folly," in Barbara Tuchman's phrase, rather than admit a mistake.

"We no longer think that we are always right," said Gorbachev. "We have now decided, firmly and unequivocally, to base our policy on the principle of freedom of choice."

It's the sheer courage to keep thinking creatively, even as he stands with one foot on either side of a schism of history, that wins over people wherever he goes. "*Forza*, Gorby," cried the Italians during his November visit—*Come on, you can do it!*—cheering him on just as one does an athlete to win a race.

And, indeed, Gorbachev is in a race with history.

The Italians gave Gorbachev a welcome worthy of a Russian czar. A clattering of hooves on the cobblestones of Rome's Quirinal Palace announces the grand entrance of gladiatorial horsemen with silver helmets flourishing long black tails, looking just as they did riding into battle centuries ago. Outside the courtyard, three boxy, heavily bolted ZIL limousines, a red flag fluttering on the first, work their way through the narrow streets, where shopkeepers have come out to join *tutta* Roma for a street spectacle such as hasn't been seen in this indifferent city since President John Kennedy's visit in the sixties.

Out steps a short, dumpling-shaped man with a half-moon of silver hair and a little smile—Mikhail Gorbachev, commander in chief of the 635,000-man Red Army in Eastern Europe and an arsenal of nuclear warheads second to none. But who would think it? Surrounded by symbols of the imperial power of ancient Rome, he is every inch the civilian, crossing the length of the courtyard on foot. His gait is relaxed, unsoldierly, no snap or fanfare. Yet every inch of him is commanding, by the sheer force of the acts which precede him. Gorbachev does not wear the mask of command by which leaders from the time of Alexander the Great have warned of their military prowess. His weapons are his personality and his vision, and with them he effectively disarms his enemies. Presented to the furhelmeted *granatiere* guard, he does not salute. He merely bows his head.

"The pope!" Stalin once scoffed, in swaggering belligerence. "How many divisions has he got?" But this Soviet leader culminated his visit to Italy by crossing St. Peter's Square to seek an alliance with the pope. Reporters watched openmouthed as the Vicar of Christ came out of his private library to extend a personal greeting to the Apostle of Communism. The previous day

MERILLON-DUIDU

Raisa Maximovna and Mikhail Sergeyevich in Paris last July.

t takes the two of them, shoulder to shoulder, to keep moving forward.

Cossack roots? Gorbachev with his grandparents the Gopkalos.

As a boy, Gorbachev (second from left, in the long wig) was drawn to the stage.

At university, Gorbachev (center) was determined to make an impression on fellow students.

Gorbachev was not spared tragedy in his own

Gorbachev had made his "confession" before the world for the Soviet mistake in treating religion in a "simplistic manner." He had come prepared to atone for this mistake, telling the pope of the new law on freedom of conscience he was shepherding toward adoption. Within moments, Gorbachev was literally rubbing elbows with the pontiff in his white cassock as the two fell to laughing and chatting.

"I had substantial talks with His Holiness about politics and morality and about universal human values," Gorbachev later said. Who would have guessed even two years ago that a Communist system based on the principle of class struggle would transform itself to conform with universal standards of human rights?

The professionally produced press kit for Gorbachev's visit described the aim of *perestroika* as "a moral cleansing of society, and the opening up of creative possibilities for a free and all-round development of personality." The definition keeps broadening; *perestroika* started as a slogan for a new economic deal that would do away with the central-command system created under Stalin. Now Gorbachev uses it to mean a mass spiritual psychotherapy for his people.

The definition keeps changing because he keeps changing.

He came to Italy tired. At fifty-eight, he keeps a killing schedule. But only up close did one notice the purplish folds of fatigue drooping like curtains over the bright stage of his eyes; only standing right behind him did one glimpse the raw dents on the side of his nose where his glasses had worked into the flesh the night before he left Moscow. He had been up until two at an emergency meeting of the politburo—his nationalities problem boiling over again in Armenia.

"At a time of tumultuous change we have to remain confident and look to the positive results," he said in Milan, his voice a steady, reassuring center in the maelstrom of events, "and decide which walls should be destroyed and which should be built." Overwhelmed by the outpouring of love, Italian-style, on his tour through Milan's main square, he told the crowd, "I am myself from the South and I can really appreciate temperament and emotions in people. But that's only part of the explanation. People want change." Then he underlined it: "*People want change everywhere*...they are demanding that their politicians act."

His wife made bold to wear bright red, ignoring the traditional black worn by women received by the pope. "This is the Holy Father," Gorbachev said, introducing her. She, too, presented herself in a startlingly new way, unlike her compatriots, who always identify themselves politically rather than culturally, as Soviets: "I am Raisa Maximovna, from *Russia*."

The symbiosis between Mikhail Sergeyevich and Raisa Maximovna is extraordinary. In all they do and say, they demonstrate that they are a leadership team for a new epoch, beyond the Cold War and the hovering nuclear nightmare.

See her up there, shoulder to shoulder with him, at the top of the Aeroflot ramp? And during the Washington summit, Raisa *stayed* in the room with the top officials, perched attentively on a love seat beside Anatoly Dobrynin, while Gorbachev talked with George Shultz. And last year in Bonn, she sat up with Gorbachev and his brain trust until two in the morning, asking questions and making comments as they digested their watershed trip to West Germany. Gorbachev's brother once

By the time he graduated, in 1955, Gorbachev was married to Raisa. *Above*, his yearbook picture; *right*, their engagement portrait.

family; his grandfather was deported.

told journalists in Moscow that Raisa was the secret weapon that boosted him to power. True or not, it takes the two of them to keep moving forward, despite the venomous feelings many Russians vent about their first Western-style First Lady.

In a society where one sees a prosperous young husband wipe his nose on his wife's skirt, Raisa Gorbachev is possibly even more threatening than *perestroika*. The wives of most Soviet leaders have been invisible until the moment they throw themselves on their husband's bier. Then along comes the outspoken Raisa, seizing the opportunity to give cultural lectures on TV—and wearing a different outfit every time.

"We women notice things that you men don't," a Soviet citizen writes, using her new freedom. "She changes her clothes several times a day, while we can't even afford to buy a simple dress. Where are the funds coming from to pay for this?" Arkady Vaxberg, whose newspaper is bombarded with such letters, says, "Your man in the street is willing to accept the necessity of her presence abroad, but nobody can understand why the hell she has to follow him around all over the country."

She created havoc by stepping onto a nuclear submarine at a base in Murmansk. The military leaders, their chests emblazoned with four and five tiers of medals, marched forward to salute Gorbachev as he boarded.

"Greetings, Comrade Admiral!"

Right next to Gorbachev stood his lady, the collar on her chic French raincoat flipped, her dainty feet perched up to *here* on ankle-strapped Saint Laurent four-inch heels—on *their* nuclear sub!

The sailors, their chins stuck up in the air, looked positively green. Behind her back, right there on Soviet TV, they could be seen making "Get rid of her!" motions with their hands. Russian tradition has it that a czarina once visited a cruiser and the next time it sailed it sank and everyone on board was killed. After Raisa's visit, according to a Pentagon source, the navy decommissioned the sub.

Recently, she has been trying to soften her public image. Pounced on during her U.S. visit for lunching with Estée Lauder and in Paris for hobnobbing with Yves Saint Laurent, from whom she accepted a silk print shawl, she canceled her planned drop-in at Valentino's couture showroom in Rome and turned up instead to inaugurate an exhibition of "Perestroika in Action." Castigated by Soviets for wearing a fur coat in Armenia, where earthquake victims had no coats at all, this time Raisa knew exactly how to dress for an earthquake zone. She flew down to Sicily to make common cause with the residents of Messina, site of a terrible quake in the sixties. The town hall was decked with red poinsettias for the arrival of the Red Queen—in her plain cloth coat.

"I have seen a blue sea, sun, olive groves; I have seen your crop fields and evidence of your culture—a culture of such high standing that it is seldom seen elsewhere," she purrs, holding her audience of several hundred spellbound. Her face goes as white as the moon in the television lights, to which she plays with all the drama of an international film star. A spidery burst of fine lines at the corners of her eyes and mouth are the only hints of her true age, fifty-seven; she could be ten years younger. Her words roll off a voluptuous lower lip, but every utterance is held tightly in check by her thin, short upper lip.

She ends up running the show. "*Izvenitye!*" she commands—Excuse me!—when the ceremony is concluded before she has presented her gift. Outside, the door stands open to the olive plush backseat of her own ZIL limousine, its license plate almost identical to

In his dormitory room, discussions raged into the night and took dangerous turns.

her husband's: MMA 8950. Once the agents have stuffed bags marked SOUVENIR in the trunk, she is off, hovered over by her own pair of great birds flapping their rotor blades.

One of the local big shots, Giuseppe Fermilio, whistles in amazement: "I think *she* is the capo—Raisa, not Mikhail."

The secret love affair between the Gorbachevs and Italy is apparent when they steal an hour to indulge themselves in sight-seeing. In the thinning late-afternoon light, when Rome melts into the pure architectural shapes of its antiquity, the couple pull up to the Pincio, a terrace atop the wall of the city. Gorbachev steps out, wearing a wide-brimmed Borsalino hat, and Raisa embraces his arm as the two survey the beauty and prosperity of modern Western Europe.

"It's stupendous!" exclaims Gorbachev. He inquires about the houses in the city's center, their exquisite orange stone flaking off like maquillage. "Do Romans live in them? They look very old." He is told the façades are hundreds of years old, but inside, the buildings have been restructured and outfitted with modern facilities. Gorbachev turns to the mayor of Moscow, who is traveling with him. "Very interesting, very beautiful. You ought to take note of these things," he directs. "We could do the same in the U.S.S.R."

This sponging up of ideas from the West is an old pattern for the Gorbachevs. Indeed, their first visit to Italy was in 1972. Gorbachev had just been named a territorial party boss, and his reward was a junket, an "exchange" with the Communist Party of Italy. He was number three in the small delegation. Of course, Raisa went along.

Taken to a jewel of a resort, Città del Mare, near Palermo on the island of Sicily, the young couple spent a week in a villa flung out on a steep promontory over the Mediterranean. They swam in a cascade of seawater pools and slid down slides to the sea. Raisa indulged her passion for ruins, and Mikhail fell with gusto upon spaghetti con vongole and ripe Italian fruits. The place was run just like Club Méditerranée. Gorbachev was tickled by the play money the guests wore as necklaces—"just like primitive times"—but, he told a comrade, he had to be very careful because "you lose your sense of value" and Raisa could buy everything.

But the truly amazing aspect of the trip for this provincial Soviet couple was that the whole resort village had been built by the socialist and Communist cooperatives of Bologna. "Raisa and Mikhail were very impressed with Italian culture and particularly with this strange Italian Communist Party," remembers Adalberto Minucci, then Communist leader of Turin, who was the couple's host for another week at a party festival. "They were shocked at the pluralism in our Communist Party, the informal relations between the highest leaders and the rest."

What really surprised Minucci and his wife were the vitality and openness of the young couple—Mikhail making jokes and Raisa asking a million questions about the role of women in Italian society. "Immediately I realized Gorbachev and his wife were completely out of the cliché of Soviet leadership and bureaucracy," says Minucci, today a leader of Italy's shadow government. Gorbachev was "very lively but very careful," never voicing any criticisms of the Soviet Communist Party.

It was the second of a half-dozen trips the Gorbachevs made to Europe and the more liberal Eastern-bloc nations to see how people in freer societies lived. (The first was to France in 1966.) The one that may have made the greatest impression was Gorbachev's trip to West Germany in 1975. On his return, he rhapsodized privately to his university classmate Dmitri Golovanov "about the German land, how rich and nice and civilized a land it was."

While the Gorbachevs are steadily winning the West, what do we really know about the Soviet leader's plan to redraw the map of the East? Gorbachev is no neo-capitalist. His real mission is to preserve the Communist Party's domination at home by changing the system, in much the same way that F.D.R. had to alter the American economy to preserve capitalism when faith in it was shaken by the Depression. Roosevelt borrowed from socialism to reshape capitalism; Gorbachev is borrowing from capitalism to retool socialism.

But this analogy, embraced by Soviet spokesmen, breaks down on one crucial point: the American people have always been able to throw out the party in power. Right now, the Baltic republics are attempting to do just that, and radical reformers in the heart of Leningrad and Moscow are whipping up bitter national debate by calling for a Soviet multiparty democracy.

Just you wait, warn the right-wingers lined up behind Vice President Quayle, one of these days Gorbachev will revert to totalitarian type. "I think he's capable of a great cruelty," says Ambassador Palmer. Already, despite Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's pledge that "New Thinking rules out the possibility of the use of military force," internal eruptions in the Soviet Union, in Tbilisi and in Azerbaijan, have prompted the use of stern measures: poison gas and the sending in of troops by Moscow.

A provocative insight into the unorthodox way Gorbachev thinks and what he has in mind for the world's last empire comes from sources privy to his talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. These two steel-willed personalities struck up an extraordinary relationship in their first meeting—a relationship described by her aides as "passionate."

It was Thatcher who brokered the relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev that would initiate the historic turnaround in the nuclear-arms race. And it was Thatcher who had the perspicacity, back in December 1984, to pick out Gorbachev as the most likely successor to the dying Soviet gerontocracy, and invite him to London—three months before he became general secretary. Gorbachev, for his part, chose Thatcher to provide him with a dress rehearsal for his entrance on the world stage as the leader who would challenge the stereotypical American view of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

"Right from the beginning I found it easy to discuss and debate in a very animated way with Mr. Gorbachev, neither of us giving an inch," Thatcher said later. She *liked* arguing hammer and tongs with this man. He didn't need notes, statements, briefs, or even advisers. She found him prepared to question accepted policies and positions. But not even the Queen of the West anticipated the turn their discussions would take.

How to decentralize decision-making—that was the subject that dominated their first lunch together at Chequers. There was no doubt Gorbachev was probing Thatcher's experiences here. He picked her brain on how to decentralize his economy and also questioned her on how Britain had let go of its colonies and given up the empire, in exchange for a commonwealth. It would seem, in retrospect, that even then his mind was open to the possible decolonization of the Soviet Union's Eastern-bloc empire.

Thatcher saw in his readiness to consider extensive decentralization of power the first sign of change in the whole paradigm of Soviet expansionism. It was this startling shift that prompted her to put her seal of approval on Gorbachev. As their talks wound up she devoted herself to persuading him that her friend "Ronnie" was someone whom he could trust and who would keep his word. Then she traveled to Camp David to tell President Reagan all about their meeting. That was the background to her grand announcement to the world: "I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together." Five years later, the Berlin wall came down.

Now, suddenly, the *inner* wall of the empire is no longer holding—the wall of monolithic Communism that contains the fourteen non-Russian republics within Moscow's one-party control. It was breached in mid-December by the little Baltic republic of Lithuania, whose Communist Party was the first to sever links with the national party. Last November, a spokesman for President Gorbachev had told me that giving more power to the republics was taking shape as a new strategic plan. "Sincerely speaking, we had no federation, but now we want to give real sovereignty to the republics," said Nickolas Shishlin, consultant to the Central Committee. Under this new strategy Moscow would push the non-Russian republics to take responsibility for themselves, to form real governments with real policies, under a common roof of foreign-policy and mutual-security arrangements.

Weeks later, however, Gorbachev's sphinxlike calm began to erupt as he warned that those who want self-determination right away could "blow up" the union. He scolded, snapped, sneered, shut off debate, and stiffened his resistance to what he perceived as a grave threat to his life's work. The renegade secessionist movements, he prophesied, would sow "discord, bloodshed, and death."

Are these emotional tirades part of Gorbachev's strategy to keep the revolution on his tempo? Or are we beginning to see the disintegration of his control?

That self-control is legendary among his associates. "I have never seen Gorbachev *unintentionally* angry," a senior American intelligence analyst told me. So the Soviet leader may be playing for time in which to accomplish the act of historic prestidigitation he described in Rome as "a revolution of the mind," waiting for his moment to pry the Communist Party's stranglehold off the body politic.

What kind of temperament, what sort of life experiences, could produce such a phenomenal risktaker? Is there an authoritarian streak behind the charm? How can a man who came up through the totalitarian system, keeping silent for twenty years, suddenly turn inside out in his fifties to become the path-leader toward democratic values worldwide? A leader must be judged on the pattern of actions throughout his life, and this is the line of inquiry I pursued in tracing the life story of this man.

Mikhail Sergeyevich was born into famine in a hut on a narrow river, no more than a slit in the caked earth of the steppe. But famine here was no act of God, it was an act of state. Nor were his forebears typically submissive Russian peasants; they belonged to a band of daring, energetic people who had pushed down from the Ukraine and the Don area beginning in the late eighteenth century in search of richer soil and economic freedom, and settled in the southernmost wilds known as the Caucasus.

The village of Privolnoye, in a far corner of the territory, or state, of Stavropol, is twenty-four hours by train from Moscow, but there is no train, and in winter the one road from town is quickly choked off by three or four feet of snow to barely more than a horse path.

Privolnoye means "free" or "spacious," and Gorbachev's grandparents remained free, part of an independent farming class and moderately prosperous, until 1929. The peasants here were never serfs, and their blood was mixed with the wild strain of the Cossacks, a brave breed of horsemen who maintained their freedom by fighting as mercenaries and who became the symbol of independence and free-spiritedness in Russian literature.

Gorbachev has confirmed that his maternal grandparents were Ukrainian—Gopkalo was the family name, according to villagers—and whether or not he has actual Cossack blood, he identified strongly with the romantic ideal. Burned into the imagination of every rural boy was the spectacle of a band of Cossacks thundering by with drawn sabers, or whirling in a circle like wild ribbons, doing the Cossack dance. "He always wore a military Cossack-style hat" is the strongest recollection of the girl who grew up next door. "He

he day of Stalin's funeral, Gorbachev's face

WALLY MCNAMEE

The fifteen-year-old Gorbachev (*left*) had already joined the party youth organization. By age thirty-five, he was party boss for the city of Stavropol, and visited East Germany (*right*) with a delegation.

was handsome—the birthmark didn't show at all under his full hair. All the girls would be after him at the same time," she chuckles. Another village woman remembers his gleaming patent-leather boots. And his teachers prattle on about how he loved music: "He danced, with all the girls or by himself, he always danced."

Gorbachev's grandparents took deep root in this Cossack earth, but their freedom was short-lived and the family did not multiply. Like many others, they were ultimately punished for their prosperity and headstrong independence.

Today, Privolnoye is a pretty village of 3,300 that looks like a rural hamlet in the American Midwest circa 1930. The old houses are wooden, with tin or thatched roofs, and every one has bright-blue shutters threaded with white woodwork. Each plot, twenty feet wide, is enclosed by a neat picket fence, some with necklaces of morning glories. The house in which Gorbachev's mother lives today is of the same design, built in the 1960s, with a wooden porch and a grape arbor. Her son has had the house outfitted with a special telephone line and a security system, but just around the corner the paved road dissolves into dirt and a caucus of ducks slows up our car.

We stop outside the local party headquarters at a trough meant for washing dust off one's boots. Inside, villagers who knew Gorbachev as a boy dredge up their own painful memories of famine, collectivization, and war.

"At the time, we thought collectivization was the only good way to feed our large families," says Nikolai Lubenko, a grizzled old man with a chestful of plastic-covered medals. "For hundreds of years families wanted to live here in their villages with their own private land, but the party propaganda

did its work." Gorbachev's grandparents stepped forward to lead the government's drive to collectivize the free farmers, surrendering their own private land and stocks. Why? I ask two men who had worked with them.

"They trusted. The Soviet government made a propaganda trick—they supplied the peasants with toys," explains Alexander Yakovenko, who worked with Gorbachev and his father.

Gorbachev's father was among the men from villages all around who came to gawk from their little horse-drawn britzkas the day the state delivered to Privolnoye thirteen shiny mechanized monsters—Ford and Caterpillar tractors—from the planet America. Their harvests were good for the first couple of years, but then the state seized all the grain and even the bread and left Privolnoyens to starve.

"Now we know the truth," says Lubenko, grimacing. Stalin had wanted to break the spine of these nonsubmissive yeomen in the South, and the famine was created to subdue them. All through the region, families resisting collectivization were arrested and deported. Rivers ran with bloated bodies, and according to émigré historian Zhores Medvedev, whose family lived there, terror and lawlessness racked the northern Caucasus in the thirties.

Gorbachev was born in March 1931. One-third of the population of Privolnoye died off between the autumn of '32 and spring of '33, when food disappeared completely. In some villages all the children between the ages of one and two succumbed to starvation, according to Medvedev. It is possible that Maria Panteleyevna, Gorbachev's mother, herself lost children, since peasant families were normally large and birth control nonexistent. "Some people were so weak, when they went to bury their loved ones they just dropped two or

three into the same grave," remembers one of Gorbachev's teachers.

Grandfather Gopkalo must have been as pragmatic as he was idealistic. He was originally a wealthy farmer, and the wealthy farmers, kulaks, were ordered liquidated as a class by Stalin. A barefoot man turned "knocker," or informer, might call his neighbor a kulak simply because he had a pair of boots; evidence was irrelevant. But for the fact that the Gorbachevs swung over early to the government side, thereby ensuring for themselves the scant privileges of local officialdom, young Misha wouldn't have had even the watery millet soup he needed to survive, and the whole family might have perished. So it was that his forebears adapted by compromise, a cultivated mix of the freedom-loving blood that coursed through the family's veins and the knack for survival that has made Mikhail Gorbachev a master tactician.

Even as a very young boy, Misha was painfully thin, his wrists and knees faint scribbles, his face as broad as a melon, but his eyes as gaunt and glittering as a hungry animal's. In every one of the rare boyhood pictures of Mikhail Gorbachev, those eyes penetrate and lock onto the viewer.

He was especially close to his grandmother, a devout Russian Orthodox Christian, who made certain the boy was properly baptized. She kept icons, in violation of the state-decreed atheism, though when the terror reached its peak she, like other peasants of the older generation, hid the gilded wooden saints behind innocuous pictures. She took young Mikhail to church.

His mother is also a believer, to this day, according to Archbishop Antony of Stavropol. Russian mothers have breathed basic Christian values into their sons for a millennium, and the archbishop has no doubt that Mikhail would have absorbed "the idea that connects all Christians—that God is the one who created the world, and in every human we must see the image of God and treat him with love." But in school the children had to spout back the compulsory atheistic line.

The site of Gorbachev's childhood home is at the far end of Privolnoye, the Ukrainian area. There the village falls off into big baked loaves of broken earth coughing up straw under the bleached sky—and nothing else. Even in the old days only a few huts stood here, says a neighbor. From his window Misha would have seen the few family cows sucking aimlessly on the clods at the river's edge. It wasn't until Misha went to the larger village to high school that the boy would have had any perspective of the broad sweep of grassy plains between the gentle lines of mountains that melt into a mauve blur.

Who or what, then, ignited his romantic nature? It wasn't his father. Sergei Andreyevich was a quiet man, say neighbors, with a mechanical turn of mind. He does not appear to have been active in the Communist Party, joining it only in his thirties, when he was sent to war. Reliable always, the father, with his generous mouth and mild eyes, measured out his words of advice with care and shied away from public debate. "He was sometimes a little bit slow to grasp the situation and move forward," remembers Grigori Gorlov, a co-worker who was friendly with the elder Gorbachev until his death in February 1976. Sergei Andreyevich was content to work at a small machine-tractor station for almost half a century.

It is often said in the village that Mikhail took on his mother's character, while his younger brother, Alexander, took on the father's. "Emotionally, my mother influenced me more," Gorbachev told journalist Mainhardt Count Nayhauss. "Intellectually, my father. Even though he was a simple man, I learned much from him." Misha's mother was the spark plug of the family. "She was the very first to raise her voice in village meetings, a very stubborn, willful woman," says Gorlov, a lipless, white-haired bureaucrat. Did she also lay down the law in the Gorbachev house? I ask. He laughs. "Yes. Maria Panteleyevna did."

Her son was like her in that respect. Insatiably curious, his nervous system wired more tautly than most (he later sought treatment for a nervous disorder), the boy always loved a good argument. According to Alexandra Ivanovna Yakovenko, the girl next door, his first quarrels were about, of all things, baseball.

Alexandra Ivanovna emerges from a yard alive with ducks and roses, shuffling like an old woman, her legs as thick as tree stumps. But upon hearing Gorbachev's name she is immediately transformed. The girlish delicacy of her smile and the devilry in her blue eyes push back the furrows of her face, and she kicks off her galoshes and heavy burdens to take us inside to talk.

She remembers their childhood as very joyful. They played a Russian form of baseball—*lapta*. Too poor to have a real ball, they fashioned one out of wool. And every evening when she and Misha went together to fetch the cows for their families, they argued.

"You hit the wrong way!" he'd jeer.

"What do you know, smarty!" she would shoot back.

"There was not a single game without quarreling," she recalls, chuckling at the memory of her running argument with young Misha over whether the girls were better than the boys. "The boys offended us girls because they always wanted to be the winners."

It wasn't an obsession with the game. Gorbachev never showed any interest in athletics and didn't play a sport all through high school or university. No, he was just naturally argumentative. He even challenged the military representative of the district when he visited the secondary school to inculcate patriotism in the children. Gorbachev's classmate Boris Gladskoi remembers the moment vividly.

"Gorbachev had a quarrel with him, very friendly, but he told the officer he was not correct. And Gorbachev proved that he was right!" Two hundred people attended this compulsory meeting, and almost every one applauded the outspoken boy for standing up to the military boss. "He was decisive and strong in defending his position," says Boris. But the critical point is that young Misha did not set himself *against* authority; he presented himself as a bright reformer intent on improving the system. As Boris says, still amazed, "He convinced the military man."

Years later his university classmates would take notice of Gorbachev's strong opinions and testy outbursts. Later still he would learn to control his temper, to be so controlled, in fact, that he uses his anger to probe for weakness in his adversaries—not like Brezhnev, who "used a meat-ax," reported Richard Nixon, but like "a stiletto."

Even though he was only six in 1937, Misha must have felt the crescendo of

Andropov delighted in chumming around with the literate Gorbachevs.

terror that heralded Stalin's Great Purge. It was the year people began to disappear from every family. Uncles, cousins, the loose-tongued ones first. Then brothers and fathers. Overnight all the teachers were arrested. Children came to school and saw all new faces. Finally the students, too, were expelled and condemned as enemies of the people. "Sister against sister, children against their parents—no one had any guarantee his family members wouldn't be arrested for any trumped-up accusation," says Matilda Ignatenko, later Misha's German teacher. Land confiscated from those purged became available to the very knockers who informed on them. Renunciation of condemned family members was the only way a student could be reinstated in school.

Mikhail Gorbachev was not spared tragedy within his own family. His grandfather, the same Gopkalo who had jumped to the government side as a leader of the collectivization drive, was arrested and deported in 1937. Until his return a year and a half later, the family assumed he'd been executed. The shame had to have seeped through to the sensitive boy, but it would be years before he could breathe a word of the family secret.

Mikhail Gorbachev was ten years old when his father went off to war, not to be seen again for five years. Gorbachev speaks with pride about his father: "He fought in the Great Patriotic War as a combat engineer. He received a medal for valor, for the crossing of the Dnieper." Sergei Andreyevich had several brothers, but only one lived through World War II.

Gorbachev was too young to experience the glory and gore of war that give the warrior his manhood. He lived the groveling daily grind of the civilian victims of occupation, and that makes all the difference between him and previous Soviet leaders, who paved their chests with medals and conferred lofty military titles upon themselves. It also sets him apart from men like George Bush and Deng Xiaoping and Fidel Castro and the decayed Communist leadership that fell to pieces in Eastern Europe. For men of Bush's generation, war was the highlight of their lives; for Gorbachev, life began *after* the war.

When German soldiers swept through Privolnoye like a wave in August of 1942, a sultry haze lay over the steppe. The ripe flood of wheat smoked with yellow dust because the villagers had nothing left to harvest it with: all the machinery, all the horses and cows and sheep, were gone; all the able-bodied tractor drivers had been evacuated. Privolnoye had been reduced to a reservation of women, children, and pigs.

Combat did not spread as far as Privolnoye. The Germans came searching for food and Jews, and "all the Jewish families were gathered together and prepared to be deported," recalls Grigori Gorlov, who was chairman of the village kolkhoz (collective farm) at the time. He received on his farm about 370 Jewish families caught fleeing the German occupation of the western Ukraine. Tonelessly, he describes how they were slaughtered and their remains taken elsewhere to be burned.

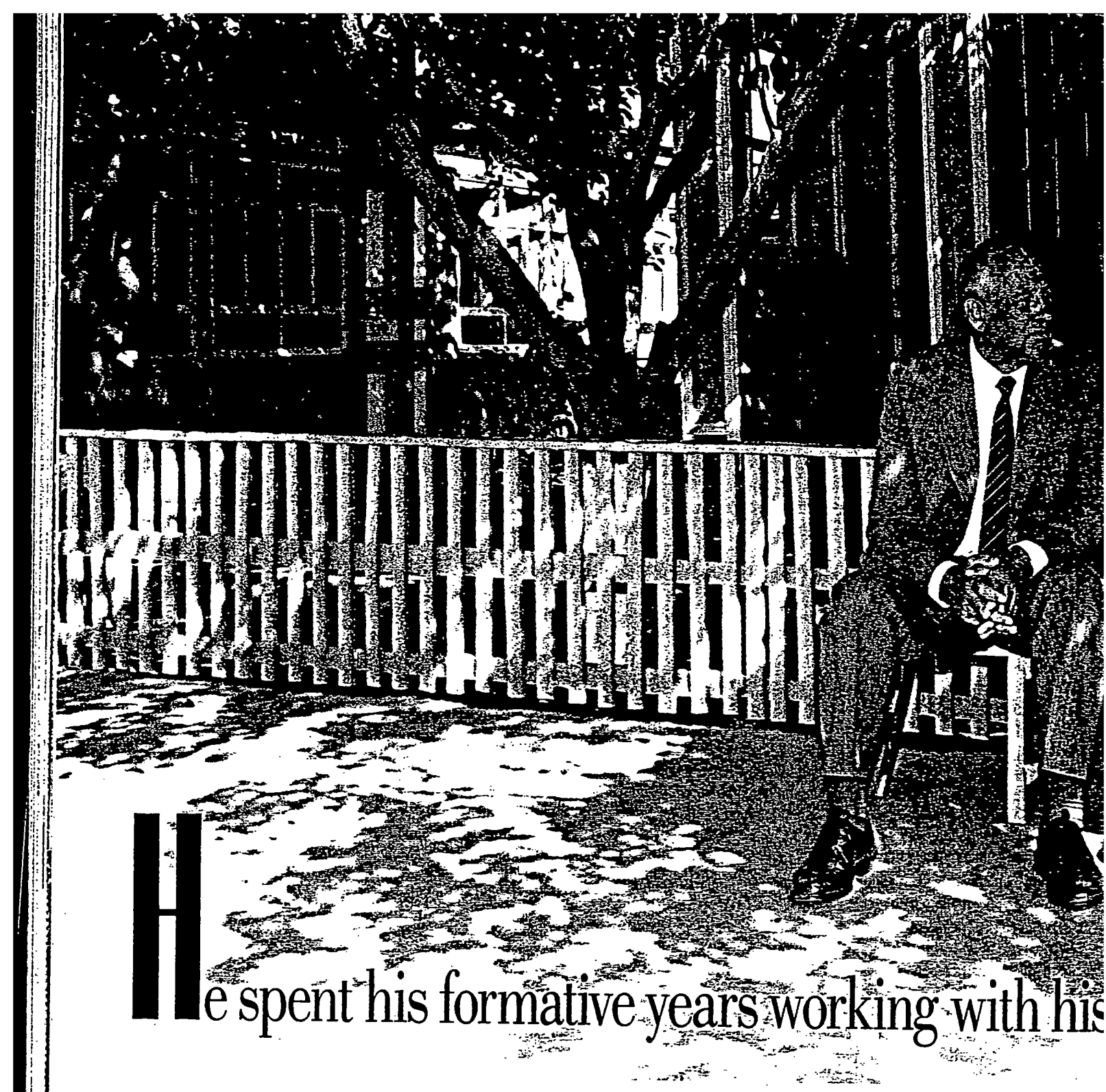
But Hitler's main purpose in this territory was to cut off the Soviet Union from oil fields in the Transcaucasus. He needed the help of the people in the North Caucasus, and research by West German scholar Alexandre Rahr points to considerable collaboration: "The few Russians living there, like Gorbachev, benefited from the occupation because they went into schools, they had food enough, and the collective-farm system was totally abolished, people could work for themselves."

Still, the eleven-year-old Gorbachev and his mother would have had to help provide the Germans with food. Misha's mother was head of a team of ten or fifteen women working in the fields. So Gorbachev passed through the formative years of puberty working shoulder to shoulder with women, shaking the faces of sunflowers and scratching the earth for the fallen seeds that were the only substitute for bread. His mother showed him how to be an organizer, a doer, how to proclaim, "One doesn't have to take things as they are—there must be a better way!" And it seems that young Misha came to respect strong women from an early age. "That's true," says the girl from next door. He would eventually marry the strongest-willed one of all.

Certainly his young, fatherless years left an indelible imprint on his character. He'd read the newspapers for the adults; men twice his age would seek his views on the war and the domestic situation. "He was clever enough to understand the whole thing," says Lubenko. Mikhail had to take on adult responsibilities prematurely, to play the part of a little husband, and that must have developed in him the powerful self-assurance he shows today. Not famine, nor war, nor the loss of his father, nor deprivation of basic needs could break him.

In the fatherly admonitions he gives to Soviet citizens in his walkabouts today, one can hear the legacy of his father's long absence: "You need to say to yourself, 'I will be disciplined. I will take responsibility. I will work harder.' "

The occupation of Privolnoye lasted for five months—long enough to leave a pall of suspicion over the area throughout Stalin's reign. As he struggled up through the party ranks, Gorbachev had to have protectors to keep the stain from showing up on his record. Even today



He spent his formative years working with his

members of his own ruling circle are not aware that Gorbachev lived in an area occupied by German forces.

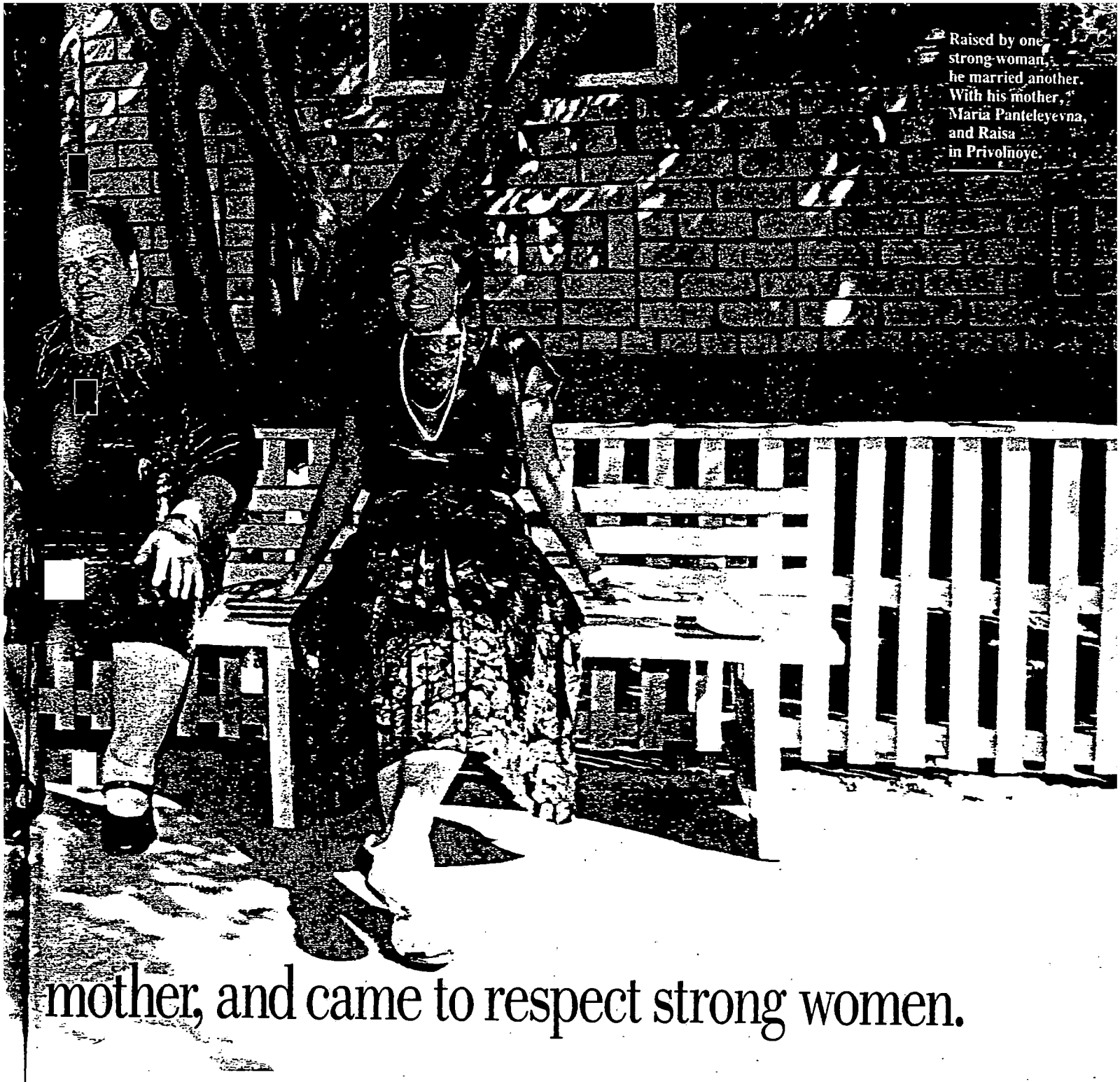
After the war, hard work was still the constant theme of his childhood. And the deprivations continued. "This was the breadbasket of Russia, so we had to send everything to people in central Russia" is the bitter refrain of the villagers, "so it was very, very hungry and hard times here for eight more years."

"From the age of thirteen I had started working in a collective farm from time to time," Gorbachev has stated. "The atmosphere and entire mode of life of a peasant family, joint work with adults from a young age, naturally influenced the molding of my character and development of a point of view in life."

After his father returned, Misha drove a harvester with Sergei Andreyevich. "We spoke a lot about policy, also about foreign policy," Gorbachev has said about the relationship with his father. "However, the older I grew, the more I had my own opinion."

Impatient to get on with life, Misha took the decisive step of joining the Komsomol—the nationwide Communist Party youth organization—while he was still in the eighth grade. Just as Komsomol positions were the only leadership track in secondary school, Komsomol membership was compulsory for anyone dreaming of a political career. And for a dirt-poor fourteen-year-old longing for an education, for life outside of a haystack, for contact with a wider world and the power of ideas, there was only one gate of admis-

BLANCHE



Raised by one strong woman, he married another. With his mother, Maria Panteleyevna, and Raisa in Privolnoye.

mother, and came to respect strong women.

sion. In an emotional sense, then, the party became Misha's father.

Up to the age of sixteen, Gorbachev was an only child. Then, in 1947, home from the front at last, Sergei gave Maria Panteleyevna a second son. Alexander inherited his father's character, and today is a lieutenant colonel, only a mid-level bureaucrat, in the Ministry of Defense in Moscow. "Alexander is more quiet," says Gorlov. "Mikhail is very energetic, while Alexander is a little slower." "Sasha" grew tall and handsome and became the athlete in the family, while Misha was the talkative, pudgy intellectual. They never had much opportunity to be close: Mikhail went off to university when Sasha was only three.

That he attended university at all was proof of extraordinary ambition, and of his parents' recognition that their older son was special. Maria Panteleyevna, who frequently went to his primary school to check up on Misha, had orders from her husband that the boy go on to secondary school. The little town of Krasnogvardeisk—the education center for surrounding villages—was twelve miles away, but the boy would have to walk. So the villagers took up a collection to buy Misha a pair of sturdy boots and sent him off to commute for the next two years.

In his final year, it was arranged that Misha would share a rented room in Krasnogvardeisk with a seamstress from Privolnoye and another boy. Their landlady, a teacher, was given only enough wood to heat her own room, so the two eighteen-year-old boys passed the winter in a room with only wooden shutters to shelter them from the icy winds, sleeping side by side on a cot. The landlady says she "never saw Misha with a

The single most helpful factor in his success in Stavropol, friends say, was Raisa.

girl, never," but she did notice that he read a great deal—fiction, poetry, "real literature"—at least when there was enough oil to light the lamps after he'd finished his homework.

Misha was the most curious of all her students, says Yekaterina Chaika, his chemistry teacher. "He loved to make experiments with sparks," she recounts, the metaphor suddenly registering in her China-blue eyes. Theater also attracted this naturally gifted actor. He played the prince in Lermontov's *Masquerade* and took part in many other sketches and plays. But he didn't let these lighter moments deter him from his goal: he wanted to earn a gold medal because that was a ticket out of the steppes.

"What do you want to become?" his teachers asked him when he was awarded a silver medal for his almost perfect grades.

"I want to become a diplomat," he told them.

"Of course it was a childish answer, not serious," clucks the chemistry teacher. "We didn't differentiate him from the mass of students. He was 'Misha,' just like 'Boris.' "

For all the boy's efforts, no one took notice of him as an individual. That was not the Communist way. So in the summer of his eighteenth year Gorbachev distinguished himself as a model *kolkhoznik*. Driving the harvester every day, choking in the sworls of dust from the steppe, sweat streaming from his face, a continuous trilling in his ears, he worked like a demon and waited for the party to take notice.

It was a banner harvest. The collective exceeded its plan. Misha and his father were nominated for prestigious government awards. The boy even had to buy his first suit for the formal photograph with his Order of the Red Banner of Labor which appeared in the newspaper of the party seat of Stavropol. It was an unusual award for such a young man—only three or four students in the entire Stavropol region had won such an award in the previous decade—and it allowed Misha the otherwise impossible privilege of applying to enter Moscow State University. Without it, he would have been conscripted into the army.

"He himself decided to go to Moscow University," says his history teacher. "No one pushed him," affirms his English teacher, "neither his parents nor the school had influence like that." In fact, his teachers were completely unaware that the award entitled him to any such privilege.

In this provincial outpost, under a system of enforced conformity, nobody noticed the individual genius in Misha Gorbachev. He had to take the risk of finding a future all by himself.

When he arrived at the university, with his Cossack fur hat cocked to one side, a sober blue military-style coat, and strict bearing, Gorbachev gave every appearance of being the perfect apprentice apparatchik.

Moscow State University educated the crème de la crème of Soviet youth. Most of its 28,000 students were coddled children of the Moscow intelligentsia and party elite. How, then, did a poor tractor driver's son with three strikes against him—he was the grandson of a former "enemy of the people," came from a previously occupied area, and had no family member in the *nomenklatura* to pull for him—levitate himself into the law school of the most prestigious university in the country?

He adopted the Communist Party as his father and mother and God. The moment he was old enough—at the age of nineteen—he entered the ranks of the party as a candidate member. This was as precocious an act of devotion as joining the Communist youth organization at the age of fourteen. "In party work we have mostly people who are not intelligent or cultured; he stood out," says a member of the Moscow establishment, so it was with relish that Stavropol party bigwigs recommended one of their best and brightest to Moscow State.

Why he chose to study law has stumped Gorbachev's few foreign biographers, but it is clear that his boyhood hero was Lenin, and Lenin had studied law. Gorbachev never wanted to be a lawyer. He wanted to be a leader. Having lived through German occupation and Stalin's purges, he had felt not only fear of the enemy but also fear that he would be accused of *being* the enemy. So, by the age of nineteen, he knew very well that one had to play the game to survive.

More than anything else, Gorbachev wanted to be a success in party work. He loved to make speeches—turgid, ideologically rigid, sloganeering speeches in his laughably rolling country accent. But beneath the stony front of this pious sloganeer beat the heart of a remarkably open-minded boy from the boondocks desperate to be noticed—how desperate is apparent from his habit of wearing his labor medal throughout his whole first year.

"Who does he think he is, wearing a *medal?*" savvy Muscovite students teased behind his back. "Our veterans, now, they have *real* medals!" They giggled too at his boxy suit; he wore it every day for five years, until by his last year he was so porky he had difficulty buttoning the jacket.

"We lived with Mother and Father in nice apartments, and he was a child from the provinces," remembers Dmitri Golovanov, the son of a prominent newspaper editor. "He lived with other colleagues in the dormitory, not crude,

but provincial. He wasn't very interesting to us."

Mikhail bunked in a vast barracks called the Stromynka. Ten thousand students were crammed into the building, up to fifteen in a room, the cots lined up regimental-style and the only suggestion of individuality the suitcase under each bed. Meals were taken at a communal table, if one could call the packages of moldering sausage from home meals.

Gorbachev was painfully aware of the gaping holes in his experience and especially in his knowledge of culture, "and he wanted to liquidate that gap," says his roommate of three years, Rudolf Koltchanov. "We all worked a great deal, but he worked more than anyone," poring over Marx and Lenin in the study room until two in the morning—"while the rest of us were out chasing girls."

There was, however, one girl who caught his eye in that first year: Nadezhda Mikhailova. Today a law professor in a Moscow institute, she is a splendidly endowed Russian woman, raven-haired and refined of feature. Back then Mikhailova was the first to see the unique qualities beneath the unpolished surface of this rube. "I think she's still in love with him today," confides a classmate.

"I can't really tell you what day, how I met him but..." Mikhailova has brought a pile of pictures and she sighs as she points out Mikhail as one of "our group," a foursome that studied together. "I was a very romantic girl. Mikhail was a romantic too. This romanticism enables a person to think and solve problems on a grand scale."

Mikhailova was also a very privileged girl, a Russian princess if you will, whose family had a spacious apartment across from the Bolshoi Theater. She began inviting Mikhail home to study for exams, where her mother would pour the steaming ruby warmth of homemade borscht into the boy.

"He didn't have any culture," Mikhailova says. "He would come to me and say, 'Nadezhda, if you go to a museum, maybe you'll take me and tell me what this artist feels.' Or 'If you're going to the conservatory, take me with you and tell me what this composer is thinking.' It was not embarrassing to him at all to ask." She taught him to appreciate the French Impressionists, but he particularly fancied a group of eighteenth-century Russian anti-classicists known as the Peredvizhniki. "He worked on himself a lot," says his first culture coach, "and still does today.

"As a country boy he was unique among us," Mikhailova continues. "And the medal—he wore it the whole first year. That drew attention to him."

Did he court her? I ask.

"He liked me. I knew that." She smiles fetchingly and drops her violet-shadowed eyes over a long sip of tea. "But he wasn't my taste. I liked tall, thin, elegant men. He was short and fat."

Notwithstanding, Mikhailova put the stamp of approval on Mikhail Gorbachev. At last, twenty years old, he began to be recognized for his individual identity. He *was* different from the others, in ways his classmates found peculiar, impressive, and sometimes downright dangerous.

He didn't like sports. He memorized poetry. He had a phenomenal memory. And he was obsessed with studying from original sources—in true Marxist tradition. Stranger yet, remembers Golovanov, he didn't drink. Among Moscow students, vodka was a symbol of masculinity, still is. Eventually, Golovanov's father taught the boy how to throw back a glass of vodka in one swift movement, but others report that he never really took to spirits and today drinks only wine on holidays or vacations.

According to Mikhailova, there is a reason for this abstinence: Gorbachev is a diabetic and must limit his sugar intake. "Raisa watches his diet very carefully—he couldn't have that discipline himself." He drinks milk at supper and takes tea with milk. His other health problem is a bone disease common to Soviets over forty, a form of rheumatism that makes back movement painful.

Gorbachev's other close friend at the university was a tall, handsome, intellectual Czech, Zdeněk Mlynář, passionately political and, like Mikhail, an outsider. Mlynář knew something of the world and was already a full member of the Communist Party. Today, he lives in Vienna, having left his homeland after Soviet troops crushed the Prague Spring of 1968.

"The two of us were convinced Communists" back then, says Mlynář. "We believed that Communism was the future of mankind and Stalin was the one great leader." But Mlynář soon learned that Gorbachev sensed keenly the conflict between reality and propaganda. As they grew closer, Gorbachev occasionally felt able to drop the mask of doublethink that was essential to his survival—"He always took the side of reality."

When they studied the law of collectives, for instance, Gorbachev gave his friend a lesson in the cold realities: "If the leader of a kolkhoz does not force the farmers to work, they would probably not work at all." And when they were shown a film, *Cossacks of the Kuban*, depicting the idyllic existence of Soviet farmers—supposedly shot in the very region where Gorbachev grew up—he could hardly contain his grim laughter. The wealth and plenty people supposedly enjoyed were "pure propaganda, nothing to do with reality," he told Mlynář. "You can't actually buy anything!" But while he criticized concrete facets of Stalinism, he was careful not to deprecate Stalin himself.

The Muscovites began to register Gorbachev's presence in his second term, not because he was a gifted rhetorician (he definitely wasn't), but because his utterances in class had "a fundamental quality"—that ring of reality. By the end of his first year, he had been elevated to the job of Komsomol organizer for his class. By the account of classmate Fridrikh Neznansky that appeared in *Time*'s biography, Gorbachev swiped the job from the existing organizer by taking the man out and pouring booze into him, then denouncing his drunkenness at the next day's Komsomol meeting.

Several émigrés have characterized the student Gorbachev as a zealot, and harbor suspicions that he spied on them. "Be careful of him," a friend warned Lev Yudovich, a third-year student who knew Gorbachev only slightly and later emigrated. According to *Time*, Yudovich and his friends regarded Gorbachev as two-faced: always buddying up to other students, but, they suspected, only to get information.

"Yes, he was strict—so was I the first year," says Golovanov. "We both

kicked people out of the Komsomol. That was normal." Later, Gorbachev was elected Komsomol organizer for the whole law faculty, but "he was not a stickler for the rules," says Koltchanov, who is now deputy editor of the largest Soviet daily newspaper, *Trud*. "He would judge everything on its merits. Or by the feelings in his heart toward other people."

A very gregarious young man, Gorbachev went out of his way to make contact with all sorts of people, and among his friends were Jews and Persians and Tatars, Czechs, Poles, and Bulgarians. "We never had a nationalities question in those days," says Golovanov.

Gorbachev's first three years at the university coincided with the last three paranoid, witch-hunting years before Stalin's death. An acid test of the young student's basic human decency was posed by the infamous Doctors' Plot of 1953, when Stalin ordered several Jewish doctors in the Kremlin arrested on bogus charges of poisoning the leadership. A wave of anti-Semitism swept Moscow State University, and many students saw an opportunity to earn loyalty points. There was a Jewish student in Gorbachev's study group, Vladimir Lieberman, a brilliant orator and highly decorated war veteran. An ugly confrontation took place in a lecture room before Gorbachev's whole class.

One student tried to implicate Lieberman in the Doctors' Plot, and spewed forth garbage meant to cast doubt on him. Lieberman himself rose to make an eloquent defense: "Should I, as the only Jew among you, take on the entire responsibility for all Jews?" Everyone fell silent. Gorbachev, eyes blazing, jumped to his feet, and for once he allowed his anger to surface. "You're a spineless beast!" he shouted at Lieberman's accuser.

These were times of terror and suspicion everywhere. Just one denunciation was enough not only to be expelled but to earn a one-way ticket to a labor camp. Soviet society was isolated and inflexible; the intelligentsia had been completely destroyed, leaving no one in the entire leadership of the country who one could say with certainty was well educated.

The study of law was mainly an arid memorization of the state penal code. Some professors were pre-revolutionary relics and truly learned; most were party propagandists. There was no such thing as "dialogue" between students and professors. They studied Roman law, English common law, even the U.S. Constitution. "But our fundamental teacher was Stalin," says a classmate. Gorbachev's curiosity made him impatient with this reductionist teaching, and led him to some tense confrontations. In one lecture he created a scandal simply by standing up to challenge a professor who was reading to them, like children, from an empty work by Stalin.

"We can read ourselves," he said audaciously. "If you don't have anything more to add, it's better that you don't say anything."

This was sufficiently disloyal to get him summoned to the dean's office and threatened with expulsion. "But he wasn't afraid of it," marvels Koltchanov.

Mikhailova claims that "he never deviated from the party line. We didn't have dissidents in those years. We were raised not to question Stalin, never in seminars, and Mikhail was a child of his times—*nobody doubted Stalin*."

But Gorbachev lived a double life. "He was a doubter," swear his roommate and several other more liberal friends from those years. Behind the door of his dormitory room—a famous room it became, attracting the most dynamic thinkers from other dorms—discussions raged deep into the night and took dangerous turns.

"We could be sent to jail for such discussions!" Koltchanov would caution. The debates howled on. "Gorbachev had a very clear understanding of Stalinist collectivization and he thought of it as an incredible injustice," says his roommate. "He couldn't say it openly, but he was much more knowledgeable about this than we city boys."

Shouting and screaming and waving their fists over their heads, the impassioned students of the secret "club" battled over the rights and wrongs of the Stalinist system. When the pitch became perilously high, Gorbachev would break in and try to mediate.

"You think this, you think that, but let's talk this through," he would say in a voice that betrayed little emotion.

"I never remember his being angry in any sense," emphasizes Koltchanov, and that is what made Gorbachev stand out utterly from all the others—his iron self-control. "He always held in his feelings," says his roommate. "He never lost control. Never."

Well, once. Fatefully. Over a girl named Raisa Maximovna Titorenko.

Graceful and slim as a willow branch, wherever she walked Raisa left a gaggle of gaping men. "She had an exceptionally beautiful figure, Russian-style," says Koltchanov. These awkward boys tried every ploy to win her—she had the bearing of a girl from the high intelligentsia—but Raisa cut them down with a cold stare. She was a gold-medal student in the philosophy department, which was housed in the same building as the law faculty. They were not grappling with Descartes and Schopenhauer; it was primarily rote learning of Marxism-Leninism. Gorbachev's friends considered women philosophy students a little strange, "somewhere up in the clouds," says Koltchanov, "and Raisa had some of that in her."

"She was a prestige object," Mlynář explains. "Just as she is today." And certainly Raisa, who roomed in the same Stromynka dorm with a woman Mlynář married, expected to be deferred to. She appeared unattainable.

It was at a ballroom-dancing class that Gorbachev first laid eyes on her. He was teasing his awkward friends from the safe remove of the doorway when Raisa started to dance with a man named Tapilin, a gawky giant who pitched forward like a giraffe. Big tall Tapilin and little tiny Raisa—Gorby laughed aloud at the ludicrous sight.

"Let me dance with your partner," he insisted.

Raisa, only five feet two, silken-skinned, elegant in her speech and polished in her dancing, was a vision to this country boy. Gorbachev returned to his dormmates a lovesick man.

"He fell for Raisa right away," says Koltchanov, head over heels, and walked about numb for weeks until she showed a response. "He always loved her very much from the very start. I would go and visit them in Stavropol in the 1960s, and I would see that their love had only grown stronger."

By now Gorbachev had become movie-idol handsome, with a sensual Valentino mouth, dimpled chin, and those smoking-coal eyes. But Raisa came

"I have lived three lifetimes since I took over."

Diplomatic dynamos: The Gorbachevs board a plane home to Moscow after the 1986 summit.

around, according to Mlynář, because she felt this Mikhail was a reliable person, "reliable" being an important mark of character for Soviets.

Raisa's background is a black hole to her countrymen. Owing to her wide cheek span she is believed to have Mongol ancestors. Her name is Ukrainian, but her family moved around, and she was raised mostly in the Altai section of Siberia. Her parents later retired to the Krasnodar region, adjoining Stavropol, where her father died. Rumors persist that she is related to an important member of the apparatus and that that is how Gorbachev got his pull. No evidence has been produced to support the rumor that she was related to Andrei Gromyko. But one of their university classmates was told Raisa is related to a member of the Khrushchev-era politburo—Maxim Saburov.

No one disputes that her father worked for the state railroad. Some describe him as a railroad construction engineer, a position of the highest status during the war period. "No question, they were a highly educated family," says a Stavropol official. "They must have stayed at a distance from Moscow because it was safer during Stalin's time for members of the higher intelligentsia." Other classmates of the couple claim that Raisa's father was only a simple railroad worker. But her brother is a writer of literature, and she came to Moscow University already refined in her knowledge of the arts, so the family produced two very cultured children.

In any case Raisa picked up where Mikhailova had left off. She marched Gorbachev off *(Continued on page 180)*

(Continued from page 125) to bookstores and museums and to the theater to see Chekhov and Gorky and all the classics. Together the couple turned up at every foreign exhibition—1953 and 1954 saw the first opening to the West and the hotly debated Abstract Expressionism. "Already in the fourth year, he knew as much about art, literature, even sports, as any of us," says Koltchanov.

"Raisa Maximovna of course played an early role in his cultural development," Mikhailova offers generously. And so all of his life, Gorbachev has been nurtured and made much of by exceptionally strong-minded, outspoken women.

The marriage of Raisa and Mikhail was a sterile formality, the signing of books in a registrar's office. What followed, though, was a great bash at the students' residence with dancing and food and drinks and toasts, and toasts, and more toasts—to the point where Mlynář smeared his new suit with butter and then suddenly everyone stopped to wonder, Where will the wedding couple spend the night? After some maneuvering, the two managed to spend the night alone in one of the dormitory rooms, but in the cold light of morning they had to go back to separate rooms until the following year, when they obtained a room in the new students' residence in the Lenin Hills.

The day of Stalin's funeral, Gorbachev stood at the window of their students' residence, Mlynář beside him. Sirens raked the skies; then there were two moments of silence, and Gorbachev's face registered the fearsome rapture. A shudder moved across the land; people trembled at the impossible thought of going on without the omnipotent leader. Even those who had suffered under Stalinism felt helpless and sad. "Stalin's death wasn't a liberation for us," Mlynář says, his voice even now thick with emotion, "for we were Communists."

But it soon became apparent to the students that Stalin had been an artificial idol. And it began to sink in: the new era would depend on them. After Stalin's death, people began to return from labor camps, and such bright, idealistic young students must have realized that the system of law was a sham. Public prosecutors who tried to be honest were incarcerated. New graduates of the law faculty would either have to enforce the existing system and be corrupted by it or change careers.

"I answered that question for myself in our fourth year, 1954, a year after Stalin's death," says Golovanov. "I stopped studying law—I just couldn't do it." He became a journalist.

"But I think even Gorbachev was full of doubts. And today we see how he tries to build a state based on laws. Not a single leader before him, not Khrushchev, not Brezhnev, was concerned with these questions. For them, law was they themselves."

Many of Gorbachev's classmates went on to become pillars of the Moscow party establishment—members of the Ministry of Justice, the Central Committee, the militia, and the K.G.B. Gorbachev, too, wanted to stay in Moscow, says Golovanov. Yet despite his cultivation of Moscow's elite and his work for the party bosses, he was still a prisoner of his provincial background. In a runoff election for top leader of the Komsomol within the newly merged law faculties, Gorbachev was beaten by a well-connected Muscovite. The loss dashed his hopes of launching a political career in the capital.

He was in for another rude awakening when he went to the Moscow prosecutor's office to apply for work. "I don't have any apartments," the prosecutor told Gorbachev. "You come from Stavropol; you should think about going back where you came from."

"Warm Siberia" they called it. Stavropol was a sleepy, rude, and dirty place of secondary exile to which lesser members of the *nomenklatura* and literary free spirits such as Pushkin and Lermontov were banished. It was hard to go back. But Mikhail and Raisa boarded the slow train for the trip south in "hard class."

After twenty-four hours, they awoke to the sight of a one-street town, veiled in dust, where few buildings had indoor plumbing, tap water, or gas. (Despite the fact that one of the first gas pipelines in the Soviet Union originated in Stavropol, all its gas went to Moscow.) The couple rented a tiny, heatless room. With nothing but a kerosene lamp to cook with, even water for tea took twenty minutes to boil. When their baby was born, the landlady took pity on them and suggested they live in her room because it was warmer. Meanwhile, Gorbachev started work as an investigator in the local prosecutor's office.

By now, he must have grasped the dimensions of Stalin's arbitrary purges. Millions, literally, of the wretched victims of Stalin's political terror began straggling back from the gulag into the light of cities and villages. Five percent of the population was still in the gulag, most of them appealing the false allegations used against them. Historian Roy Medvedev, who chronicled Stalinism, writes, "Particularly for someone who wanted to be a lawyer. . . it was a shattering blow to previously held notions of justice."

Gorbachev saw, but with what Wordsworth described as "that inward eye"—memory. It would be a locked and silent safe for the next twenty-five years while he picked his way through the treacheries of a parasitic aristocracy dependent for its privileges on one man: the nonelected territorial party boss.

To his credit, Gorbachev left the prosecutor's office after only a few months. To be a prosecutor at that time meant carrying out a grotesque parody of justice, and perhaps being tapped by the K.G.B. as an informer. He decided to make his career in the party.

Without a sponsor, he had to start at the very bottom. In the Soviet Union, protection is everything, particularly in the blood sport of politics. So Gorbachev set about cultivating and manipulating older men with the power to protect and advance him. But the single most helpful factor in his success in Stavropol, according to Mlynář and others, was Raisa.

When they returned to Stavropol, Raisa was offered a more prestigious job than her husband. She was young and she had a university education, a rarity in Stavropol. Her first position was teaching in a medical institute, but the local community college, the Stavropol Agricultural Institute, lured her away by offering her a more generous salary—1,250 old rubles a month, big money at the time—to teach in its philosophy department. Gorbachev, starting in the city Komsomol, was paid considerably less.

"To tell you directly, we weren't all at her level," says the chairman of her department, Professor Mikhail Chuguyev, who speaks of Raisa with awe. "She had great respect from all of us at the institute, both as a teacher and a person."

Not everyone shared the professor's high opinion. When Gorbachev first brought his bride home to Privolnoye, the jealousy of the peasant women was blatant. "Who is she?" "What is she?" "Where did he take *her* from?" they demanded, Mrs. Yakovenko recalls, "so all our girls didn't like her." They wanted to know, "Why does she always have to go with him?" Nor did Raisa have much

in common with the ladies of Stavropol, who slapped down the street in their cork-heeled mules and shapeless sweaters. Workhorses for their husbands, lugging home bulging sacks and keeping house under the most primitive conditions even as they worked at sterile jobs, they were old before forty, while their husbands gradually turned livid with drink. Raisa, too, worked long hours. But a teenage cousin of Gorbachev's came to Stavropol to care for the newborn baby, Irina, and Raisa later had a full-time housekeeper who eventually accompanied the family to Moscow.

From the start, the relationship between Mikhail and Raisa was strikingly different—a partnership between equals. Raisa was even her husband's teacher—literally as well as figuratively. He enrolled in her seminar in philosophy at the institute of agriculture, where he had also begun a correspondence course in 1962. Within the high-ceilinged *fin de siècle* classroom, hung with the huge methodological posters she'd invented for the strict teaching of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Raisa Maximovna's word was gospel.

Grigori Gorlov, who took Raisa's course at the same time, describes the heated arguments she would have with her student-husband. Gorbachev would make a speech about Kant. "You're wrong," Raisa would snap. "It is better understood this way." And when his curiosity would prompt him to ask searching questions, she would cut him off: "We don't go into verifying questions."

She granted him no privileges. When Gorbachev tried to broaden the discussion to international issues, she would disapprove of his ideas, recalls Gorlov. But he'd come right back and prove his personal view of events. "They have the same character," says Gorlov, an assessment echoed by many who have known the couple over the years. But Raisa always had a brittle edge.

If she comes across as bossy or supercilious, it is a common female response to a system that purports to be gender-equal but is in fact male-supremacist at every level. Women have so little real power in the Soviet Union, whatever domain they do control they dominate with cheerless intimidation of all who dare pass through; hence female bureaucrats are the most feared, female teachers and doctors are often little dictators, right down to the babushkas in the park who insist upon helping you so they can scold you.

The fearsome Raisa even faced down the party mind-control inspectors. During her time as a teacher, there were always investigators going around to check up on how courses were being taught. One day they secretly tape-recorded Raisa's lecture. When she learned of it, she marched straight to the director of the institute and demanded that he summon the offending inspectors to her classroom.

"She invited the director and vice-director and me, too," remembers Professor Chuguyev. Then Raisa shook her finger in the faces of the so-called authorities and spat out her scorn. "This is the *last time* you'll do this!" she admonished. "If you need to check up on me, come and ask me. But don't you do it this way. It's not morally acceptable. It's not honest. Do it *openly*."

Thoroughly chastened, the men meekly apologized: "Raisa Maximovna, we won't do that anymore." Tails between their legs, they left her monarchical domain and did not return. Until she refused to teach atheism.

"I don't like it, I just don't *like* to teach atheism"—again Raisa delivered her edict to the investigators—"and I'm *not* going to do it anymore." Period.

"She wouldn't permit vulgarisms against capitalism, or any other system,"

notes Professor Chuguyev. "She held firmly to the view that only scholarly criticism was acceptable. And she was very firm on this point that people should talk and criticize only *openly*." Thus was Raisa an early practitioner of *glasnost*.

She would also prove to be a prophet of *perestroika*. For Raisa Gorbachev had already become a pioneer in the field of sociology, one of the rare people in the Soviet Union who dared to do independent research among the *kolkhozniki*—the farmers. (Her proud husband boasted to Mlynář that the farmers were thrilled to be asked questions for the first time.) She studied the first collective that refused the system of being paid by points and demanded money, daily pay. "Self-accounting" they called it, meaning that only those who worked got paid. While teaching ten hours a day, this young mother wrote and defended a doctoral dissertation in which she demonstrated how this unorthodox initiative had earned the farmers a higher standard of living and awakened dreams of travel and consumer goods. She then turned her research into a book.

Self-accounting would become a cornerstone of Gorbachev's program for restructuring the economy. Was it in truth an idea that he gleaned from Raisa's research? I checked with Professor Chuguyev. "Without a doubt," he said. "She would discuss these things she learned with Mikhail Sergeyevich. This has been in his mind for a long, long time."

Twenty years later, Mikhail and Raisa would take their campaign to the streets and discuss and argue with ordinary citizens in walkabouts from Tbilisi to Vladivostok. In that rough seaport one day in '86, the couple ignored a pelting rain while they tried to explain to workers why self-accounting was good for them. On the same level with the crowd, shoulder to shoulder, Gorbachev listened while one questioner went on for several minutes about differentiation in salaries: "Why do workers have to suffer such unfairness?"

Finally he interrupted. "I listened to you, now you listen to me. Don't you want to know what the general secretary is thinking? Is it fair for workers to get money without producing anything? What you really need are good shoes, decent furniture, *goods*.... We're still paying the workers to produce goods, but they're not being bought, because they don't work. Televisions don't work. And you know how much a color television costs. How can you *live* like that?"

Pumping his fist, his body propelled forward, he *acted out* their frustrations. And the pitch: "We need to move everybody over to self-accounting. The central government's not going to bail them out. They've got to work from a real budget."

Raisa nodded her head up and down.

Then Gorbachev leaned into his questioner's face, his voice dropping to a confidential tone—a species apart from past Soviet leaders, who have projected themselves as gods. "Look, if you just think I can do it, forget it, it's not going to happen. *Everybody's* got to participate."

The Gorbachevs don't always agree. Gorlov has heard them clash on international issues. And Mlynář was the cause of a spat when he visited the couple in Stavropol in '67. Bubbling over about the exploding liberalization movement back in his native Czechoslovakia, he found Gorbachev most sympathetic and convinced that Eastern Europe would someday become independent. But when the two classmates came home late, all fired up with liquor, and with the dream, Raisa threw a fit.

Ultimately, though, as Gorbachev told his old girlfriend, Mikhailova, "I always ask advice from Raisa. Before I give a speech, she's my first listener."

He calls Raisa "my general."

In 1956, the young party careerist heard Nikita Khrushchev deliver the secret speech that split open the Stalin cult. The speech, made without the consent of the politburo, had an extraordinary impact on Gorbachev, according to Mikhailova, who saw him shortly thereafter. "He talked about Khrushchev's great political courage."

It was a turning point for the nearly twenty-five-year-old believer—shattering the protective capsule around his boyhood faith in the Communist system under Stalin, but at the same time suggesting a new model for reform: truth in history. Khrushchev's speech opened the floodgates for new magazines and books publicizing Stalin's misdeeds, initiating the "thaw" of the early sixties that gave Gorbachev's generation its nickname—the Shestdesyatniki, or "Sixtiers." For Gorbachev, there was also a personal catharsis of the family guilt he had carried secretly since '37. It was now possible for him to speak openly about the injustice done to his "relative who was a middle peasant."

And so Gorbachev gave up Stalin as the God-the-father figure and began a thirty-year saga of looking for a new father. The fact that his own father was absent for the five years of adolescence when a boy needs a male figure to identify with and to endorse him as worthwhile could easily have turned Gorbachev against the "fathers" he met in adult life. Instead, he listened attentively and followed with filial loyalty each of the mentors he attracted. He didn't compete with them, and he *never turned against them*.

He did have to hide his mounting doubts. But he was expert at knowing intuitively what his protector needed to hear, and at adapting himself in every way—his tone of voice, his body language, his dress and even facial expressions—to imitate the idiosyncrasies of his patrons. He became a professional son.

The young politico began work as a deputy in the ideological section of the Stavropol City Komsomol Committee, his office a windowless middle room. It was a lowly position for a graduate of the law faculty of M.S.U., yet all those who worked with him in Stavropol say he had a certain aura—"untouchable, not like a common guy"—and his work habits became legendary. Rising swiftly as a professional propagandist, he was only twenty-nine when he became Komsomol leader for the whole territory. Gorbachev then attached himself to Fyodor Kulakov, first secretary of Stavropol, an ambitious, hands-on party boss who was determined to turn the region into an agricultural success story. The young Gorbachev stuck close to this mentor for the next eighteen years, paralleling Kulakov's ambitious ascent through the hierarchy. He ignored Kulakov's authoritarian leanings and the fact that in private the man was a wild and heavy drinker, even though, says one coworker, Gorbachev "didn't have any patience with drunkards."

Gorbachev hit the fast track at thirty-one, when Kulakov put him in charge of attracting talented people to join the party cadres. It was plain that Gorbachev had become a member of his boss's "mafia." Just as Kulakov had supplemented his college degree with a correspondence course at a Moscow agricultural institute, Gorbachev took the correspondence course at Stavropol Agricultural Institute until he, too, had a diploma in agronomy.

"Kulakov was his teacher," says Gorlov, "and Gorbachev took all the lessons of Kulakov." But, Gorlov adds, Gorbachev never sank to the level of mindless sycophancy. "He was always very objective. He listened all the way through and

if the person was not correct he would tell them directly."

As a result, a year before his fortieth birthday, Gorbachev arrived on the national political scene. Kulakov recommended he replace him as first secretary of Stavropol, which made the boy from Privolnoye one of the hundred or so territorial party bosses who play a crucial role in deciding who runs the country. His father traveled to town for the occasion, but the older man's words reflected the fear of one who remembered what had happened in the recent past to similarly ambitious young men.

"Misha, don't you think it's a little early for you to have such a high position?" the father asked his son.

"They trust me," Gorbachev replied. "I will try my best to do my job so I should not deceive them."

And for nearly a decade, from 1970 to 1978, Gorbachev was by all accounts an unusually popular party chief. He was known as reasonable, good-tempered, and entirely approachable, with an ability to inspire those who worked for him. During the short walk from the first secretary's residence on Dzerzhinsky Street to the monolith of party headquarters he was often buttonholed by citizens, and he always stopped to listen. For those eight years the churches were allowed to function in Stavropol, says Archbishop Antony, who came to the region in 1975.

The new first secretary and his wife received members of the intelligentsia from all over the area. "They liked the company," says the lion-faced Georgi Starshikov, his deputy at the time. "He was a popular man; he loved to dance and sing and recite poetry—he knows Lermontov and Pushkin poems well. He liked to welcome all the cultural people coming from Moscow." Word leaked back to a small circle that the first secretary in Stavropol was very much opposed to Brezhnev's repression of the arts. When writers, actors, and directors ended up in Stavropol, Gorbachev would question them with close interest, Moscow journalist Arkady Vaxberg remembers.

"Why are they persecuting Solzhenitsyn? He is my favorite writer," Gorbachev would demand.

"Why are you asking *us?* We're the ones who should be asking *you,*" the incredulous artists would respond.

"If you ask a question like that, obviously you don't understand how things work," Gorbachev told them. "I'm a member of the Central Committee, but I don't know anything except the official version. I have no idea what is happening. But I'd like to find out."

The distance between Moscow and a provincial capital is measured not in kilometers but in degrees of safety; throughout Russian history the farther one was from the czar, the more creative and individual one dared to be. Gorbachev used his distant stage well, performing experiments that flew in the face of orthodoxy.

He had many quarrels with the chairman of agriculture for the Russian Republic, the top boss back at "Central," as Moscow is known in the provinces. "He took on the struggle himself and personally fought over the issues," remembers Gorlov. But he always backed up his position with a barrage of facts. It wasn't easy to get reliable data; he had to coax it out of his deputies by promising to protect them under fire, persuading them to work, and work hard, to stay with him until nine or ten in the evening. He would pick out the most clever and energetic for speedy advancement; the usual deadwood party workers got a year or two to prove themselves and then—out.

"To show the light, you have to burn yourself" was his motto.

Gorbachev had a scheme for shifting the territory's economic base from grain production to sheep breeding and he needed seed money. He was determined to see General Secretary Brezhnev face-to-face, calling the chairman's assistants again and again to ask for an appointment. "He pushed and pushed," says Starshikov. "He'd asked Kulakov's advice and Kulakov had told him to push it."

Brezhnev brushed off the proposal. Finally, Gorbachev was granted an audience. He brought with him a fat picture album he'd prepared with a quotation from Comrade Brezhnev on the frontispiece. "Where did you get this? I never said this!" Brezhnev's ferocious eyebrows flew up, but Gorbachev's flattery soon won him over. He asked how much money the Stavropol boss needed.

"Two hundred million rubles," said Gorbachev, fervent in his belief the plan would work.

If he was so smart, he should become a member of the politburo, said Brezhnev. Gorbachev was duly named a candidate member, and at the next meeting Chairman Brezhnev himself introduced Gorbachev's plan, which was of course approved. Thereafter, whenever Brezhnev saw Gorbachev, he'd tease, "How's your sheep-breeding empire coming?"

In retrospect, being sent to "Warm Siberia" was a fortunate fate for this extraordinary man. Years later, Gorbachev was asked, "You were hidden for so many years in Stavropol. How did you finally turn up in Moscow?" Gorbachev's reply reflected the realities of the Soviet power structure: "Well, there are many ways to hide in the Soviet Union," he said.

Only by going back to the countryside could Gorbachev have come to power as general secretary, according to Vladimir Kvint, the Soviet economist, who has studied political power structures in socialist countries. "The hierarchy of despotic power is in the shape of a triangle. Only one person can make things happen—the man at the top," he explains. "That is the way it was here up through the Brezhnev period. Those who stay in Moscow are eaten alive by competition from hundreds of others waiting in the same line. They have to become lackeys, their backbone is broken, and almost inevitably they become corrupted." Kvint believes if Gorbachev had stayed in Moscow those twenty years "today he'd be a clerk—just like his brother is."

Leonid Brezhnev ruled the Soviet empire for the eighteen years—1964 to 1982—during which Gorbachev was trying to climb toward power. And Brezhnev was Godfather to a mafia of colossally casual corruption. His coterie lived like feudal lords. At his private dacha on the Black Sea, Brezhnev liked to impress visiting American officials like Pete Peterson by touching a button that would roll back a wall to reveal an Olympic-size swimming pool. For the personal delectation of his clique he would order private performances by the outlawed folksinger Visotsky and avant-garde artists and poets—the same ones he had officially banned. According to the celebrated poet Andrei Voznesensky, Brezhnev also loved vodka and champagne and girls and gambling. His taste ran to Gypsy singers whose fast violins would create the frenzied romanticism that set the girls' souls tingling until tears and passion poured forth, ensuring ultimate satisfaction from his drunken orgies.

"Gorbachev never came to the dacha," says Andrei Brezhnev, the twenty-eight-year-old grandson of the leader, whose soft, boyish features are eerily stamped with the bushy Brezhnev brows. "My grandfather never thought of Gorbachev." He describes the pleasure his grandfather took in keeping doves—the

symbols of peace—and hitting their cage to see them all fly around, terrified. He laughs at the overwhelming symbolism. Brezhnev's motto was "The less you know, the better you sleep."

"Brezhnev became a living god," says Golovanov, who describes Mikhail Suslov, the chief of ideology, sitting at Brezhnev's feet and saying in front of him, "He seems like an ordinary person, but he's not—he's a genius of a leader." He could also be brutal. When Alexander Dubček attempted reforms over twenty years ago in Czechoslovakia, espousing the same goal Gorbachev does today—"to get the Communist Party at the head of the process of solving society's problems"—Brezhnev had the crushed leader brought to Moscow in chains for a showdown.

Brezhnev's health went into decline in the mid-seventies, a decline paralleled for the society in the period of "stagnation" that followed. The official life expectancy was *dropping* among all Soviet males, mainly from chronic degenerative diseases associated with drinking and smoking. In the late 1970s, a man could expect to live only to the age of sixty-two! It was literally a sick society.

The world over which Mikhail Gorbachev presided may have been small and far from the power center, but it did embrace the mountainous area of Mineralnye Vody, a highly desirable resort-spa region. As a member of a younger generation, Gorbachev took his own health quite seriously, and as territory leader he had a voucher to take free holidays at the Imeni Kirova Sanatorium in Pyatigorsk.

The secret party sanatoriums scattered here between the Black and Caspian seas reek of class privilege. Today their use by members of the politburo, Defense Department, K.G.B., and other government ministries is the subject of loud censure in the new Soviet legislature, but they still operate as they did during Gorbachev's residence. Hidden behind long gated driveways and *allées* of poplars, they are huge parks surrounded by bed after bed of roses and balconies soaked in the sweet smell of honeysuckle. The clientele is served in marble interiors by a large staff, in order of party rank; their body language is imperious, and their wives are noticeably better dressed than most Soviet women, with real jewels in their ears.

Gorbachev's sanatorium, built in the mid-sixties, is a white hotel-like concrete structure not far from the drinking galleries into which spa-goers dutifully file before breakfast carrying their porcelain cups to line up for sulfur or carbon springwater. After drinking a glass, one feels very languid. Gorbachev would schmooze with members of trade ministries and union bosses before going off to the baths and treatments that fill up the day until the mandatory eleven P.M. bedtime.

Raisa would have her chauffeur drop her at the Pirogovsky Bath Establishment. One day the treatment would be submersion in carbon and sulfur water to normalize blood pressure and give a sedative effect. Next would be a "rain massage" for stimulation. Then she would join the others relaxing in Oblomov-like stupors in deep lounge chairs.

"Mr. Gorbachev preferred radon baths," the establishment's director told me. *Radon!* Isn't that the radioactive stuff Americans sell their homes to flee if it's found underground? "Many of our leaders have gone to radon baths and, see, they're all fine" was the unconvincing answer.

"Yes, Gorbachev came here when he was first secretary of Stavropol—he took radon baths to strengthen and stabilize his nervous system," I was told by Vitaly Pavlovitch, the burly director of the Upper Baths and a doctor of balneology, whose purplish skin looked glaringly cancerous. He said Gorbachev was "cured" there in 1981 or 1982, but downplayed the problem: "It wasn't a nervous disease but a slight nervous disorder." Today the general secretary must go to a sanatorium on the outskirts of Moscow where the radon is synthetic.

In the 1970s, Gorbachev's position as boss of this uniquely endowed territory made him, in effect, the maître d' of one of Russia's most exclusive pleasure grounds. For two hundred years the Mineralnye Vody area had been a watering hole for the aristocracy and military. Elegantly decorated carriages had clopped along its broad esplanades and beneath its terraced gardens.

Wearing a Panama hat, with the wedding-cake steeple of the "Stalin Empire"–style station behind him, Gorbachev would welcome the best touring companies, Soviet and foreign, who came to perform in the area's chandeliered concert halls and Tolstoy-era theaters with their grand proscenium arches. Trains came from as far away as Moscow, Leningrad, and Minsk to deposit privileged members of the party on the railway platform of Mineralnye Vody, and the first secretary was expected to meet and entertain them. Starshikov, his deputy, tells a story that shows what a master strategist Gorbachev was even then.

The minister in charge of capital construction for the whole country, Vasiliy Isayev, was staying at one of the dachas of the Supreme Soviet, and taking treatments in a sanatorium in town. Gorbachev escorted him back and forth. One night the minister invited him and his deputy to the dacha for a game of billiards. Starshikov played with Isayev, he recalls, since "Mikhail didn't play pool well or often."

Suddenly Gorbachev yanked him out of the billiard room and hissed, "What are you doing? We have to settle some business questions with Isayev, and you're beating him!"

Starshikov got the message. He went back to the table and started to lose. "The man was pleased. When we sat down with him later and started to ask him to raise the capital budget for construction in our area, he was very friendly and said the magic words: 'Come to Moscow and we'll discuss it further.' "

In the car on the way home, Gorbachev told Starshikov, "You have lost a game, Georgi, but definitely we have won."

First among equals in the string of health-spa towns, Kislovodsk is surrounded by mountains ribboned with curly streams that pour into gorges, from which the spas pipe in the healthful natural-spring water sought for its curative powers. Operating in such a relaxed atmosphere, Gorbachev was in a position to cater to the every whim of Moscow's top brass and to forge intimate ties with them.

"To preside over such a resort area as the local party secretary," according to Ambassador Mark Palmer, "means you can do all sorts of favors for the big shots. You can provide women, booze, better housing, and not only for the man himself but for his whole 'mafia'—his cousins, his mistresses, etc.—because everything in the Soviet Union is done through connections, 'mafias,' large clans." Andrei Brezhnev confirms this view. "There are two mafias here, the criminal mafia and the government mafia. They have their own rules, their own system." He adds, "Nothing has changed."

"What you're measured by is whether you're good at this connection business," says Palmer. "Gorbachev's genius as a young party secretary in that region was to be good at making people feel comfortable, flattering them, and being the fixer for Andropov and Suslov."

The ruthless Suslov, who reigned as first secretary of Stavropol when Gorbachev was a boy, had risen through the party hierarchy under Stalin by wiping out

his rivals with mass arrests of the party leadership of entire regions; indeed, he was part of the purging apparatus when Gorbachev's grandfather was imprisoned. Most men feared to tread within sight of this ruggedly handsome, frightening man, but Gorbachev courted him the same way he seduced one powerful party boss after another. "Without question," intones Golovanov, "*without question*. Otherwise, he would have been destroyed."

Yuri Andropov, then head of the K.G.B., led a second group, also rising in the party leadership. Kulakov, Gorbachev's patron, belonged to the Andropov "mafia," while Suslov belonged to the Brezhnev clan. Suslov and Andropov were on opposing sides of what would ultimately be a fatal power struggle.

Kislovodsk's mineral waters are thought to be particularly helpful for kidney disease, which afflicted both Suslov and Andropov. The K.G.B. chief came to Kislovodsk many times, and the young party secretary had to meet his train each time, accompany him to his state dacha, Red Rocks, settle him in, then see him to the public spas for his baths in Narzan water and treatments for his chronic kidney problems. It was during these visits that the grand alliance between Gorbachev and his ultimate patron was forged.

"When Andropov met Gorbachev, I think he was just delighted with him," says his journalist friend Golovanov. "Gorbachev's intellect was, of course, much higher than average. He was much younger. Andropov saw in him simply a fine, honest young man. They had a father-son relationship."

Gorbachev always spoke of the secret-police chief with great respect. The younger man found Andropov's artistic interests and living habits more compatible with his own than those of his previous surrogate fathers. Andropov was known within the party elite as clean-living and modest in his tastes. He had a poetic side (although he persecuted writers) and delighted in chumming around with the literate Gorbachev and his cultured wife. Perhaps most important in the forging of this political alliance, Andropov was just like Gorbachev philosophically—"a man who knew the true situation in Russia from his time at the KGB, and who was not afraid to draw attention to the gap between the self-comforting fantasies of Soviet propaganda and the dismal reality of Soviet life," according to *Comrade Chairman*, by Richard Owen. Deputy Starshikov remembers that "Andropov was always very close to Gorbachev at official ceremonies."

Andropov was not a professional intelligence chief, says Golovanov; he was more of a politician. His sights were set on tearing down the corrupt Brezhnev clan, and he had the power of the K.G.B. files and secret-police network to attempt it. Andropov knew everything. He knew that Kulakov's family had been imprisoned during collectivization, but he offered no information against Gorbachev's patron when the man was elevated to high position in Moscow. He knew about the stains on Gorbachev's past as well.

"Andropov was able to protect Gorbachev from many different blows," says Golovanov. But though Gorbachev threw in his lot with Andropov, he did not neglect his relationship with Suslov, cultivating the trust of Brezhnev's hard-boiled ideologist during Suslov's stays at a spa in Pyatigorsk.

> "To show the light, you have to burn yourself" was Gorbachev's motto.

By the late seventies, everything was coming up roses for the Stavropolitans: Kulakov and Gorbachev produced a successful computer model for harvesting which received praise and publicity in *Pravda*. Kulakov, decorated with the highest award by Brezhnev himself, was rumored to be first in line to succeed the failing chairman.

Then suddenly Gorbachev went from the peak to the precipice. In July 1978, he found himself high on the reviewing stand over Red Square, surrounded by the super-elite of the party, and given the plum of a speaking part at a state funeral. But he was behaving as though it were his own funeral—in fact, it was his patron's. Gorbachev's face was waxen, remembers a minor official. Brezhnev was conspicuously absent. The cause of Kulakov's abrupt death was reported as "heart stopped beating," a curious fate for the youngest and ablest member of the politburo, a man who, according to Medvedev, had had no previous illness.

Gorbachev's speech was stilted and amateurish. When he telephoned his old girlfriend, Mikhailova, she tactfully told him so, and that he needed to work on his provincial accent.

"You should forgive me such mistakes, I'm just starting," he said. But he was depressed and silent for several weeks after the funeral. What would become of him in the vacuum left by Kulakov? His fate would be decided that fall, in an extraordinary scene on the platform of the Mineralnye Vody train station.

In September, Andropov summoned him to Red Rocks to meet Chairman Brezhnev and his yes-man, Konstantin Chernenko, who had planned a quick stop at the spa on their way back from Baku. Brezhnev was also stopping to look over other territorial chiefs. Sergei Medunov, the first secretary of neighboring Krasnodar, was much closer to Brezhnev and on the take. Grigori Romanov, a rival from Leningrad, had gotten publicly drunk on an official trip to Finland, and Gorbachev had tried to discredit him for it. But drunkenness and dishonesty were de rigueur in the Brezhnev clan. It was Gorbachev's way of life that was suspicious.

It would be a make-or-break performance for the first secretary of Stravopol. In the despotic triangle, only one man had the power to admit young apparatchiks into the land of kings. Gorbachev sat with Andropov in the second-floor waiting hall designated for party big shots.

When the two massive, slow-moving men disembarked from their private carriage to face the political father-son team on the busy platform, Gorbachev gave an account of his territory's record harvest. Brezhnev's face remained impassive.

Two months later the news was made public: Gorbachev had been "elected" secretary of the Central Committee. His was the last name on the list of promotions—but he was finally on his way to Moscow. Having stayed on the good side of both the giants who could have crushed him between them, Gorbachev now reaped his reward. It was Suslov who brought Gorbachev to Moscow and then acted as his protector. But when Andropov's corruption probe fatally punctured the Brezhnev cocoon, Suslov died. And after Brezhnev expired in November

1982, Andropov took the reins of power.

Together he and Gorbachev "purged one-fifth of the regional first secretaries and nine of twenty-three Central Committee department heads," according to *The New York Times;* "they cracked down on corrupt officials and on laggard workers, and launched experiments to inject more incentives into industry and agriculture." When Kremlin doctors told Andropov he might have only five years left to live, he must have decided to vest Gorbachev with the power to finish the job. Within a year of becoming general secretary, Andropov lay in his hospital bed in Kuntsevo, having turned over the administration of economic affairs to his surrogate son, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

"*My God, what did they think they were doing!*" Gorbachev exclaimed when he was first given a look at the country's books, according to Nickolas Shishlin. "I should go back to the provinces now."

In the end, Gorbachev had the dying Andropov's proxy to run the whole country. Scrambling for solutions, he asked to be received by the prime minister, Nikolai Tikhonov. For three hours the two men looked through the financial records. Shaken, Gorbachev demanded that the farmers' debts be forgiven. "Let's start modernizing. We must *change something.*"

When Andropov died, the Old Guard briefly reclaimed power by electing the ossified Chernenko, who served as general secretary for a year before he, too, died. Again, Gorbachev had to hold his zeal in check.

Each time Starshikov traveled to Moscow and saw him, Gorbachev would shake his head and moan, "We have strayed so far; it's a pity—we must lead our country back on track." He confided to his old deputy that there were so few good people with educated backgrounds in the party. And then, banging the table, he would exclaim, "We *have* to lift ourselves up!"

Gorbachev's life story illuminates some of his behavior as a statesman. Here is a highly intelligent and prodigiously energetic person who grew up within the repressive Stalinist system, where family and ideals were repeatedly betrayed. He was aware of it, he quarreled with it, but he didn't fight it and end up in the gulag, so he is a product of his interaction with that system, and to some degree deformed by it. What Gorbachev brought to that isolated and treacherous environment was an incredible mission to know, and the patience to wait for his moment.

He became boss of a region and used his power to improve the situation for his people. Amazingly, he emerged after twenty-five years of relative silence with strong ideals and the courage to pursue them. When he finally assumed national leadership, he was in no way ignorant of the full state of affairs. Yet he was radicalized slowly, incrementally. "Only after he was in power did he realize that economic reform would not work without fundamental political reforms," says political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski. "I think that was a painful process of education which transformed him from a reformer into a genuine revisionist."

"I have lived three lifetimes since I took over in '85," Gorbachev acknowledged recently in Moscow.

What we learn about him psychologically from his life story is that although Gorbachev is a risktaker he is never an outsider. He always works *within* the structure he finds. He grew up with the Communist Party as his father-mother-God, the source of every reward he has received, and he can only imagine his ideals being housed within that framework. He is driven by the need to maintain his belief that the party can be the *good* parent. And now, with the party's monopoly on power under challenge, this lifelong Communist is faced with the ultimate inner conflict: can a man destroy the very thing that nurtured him?

In December, when he was first publicly challenged to strike down the law guaranteeing a one-party monopoly, he resorted to Lenin's tactic—threatening to resign. Then he gave a spirited defense of his mission to remake socialism. "It's my life's work," he said. "It's my way of seeing things and I am not giving up."

One can almost feel the wrenching conflict in his contradictory statements to the new congress: "We have to change everything," he'll blurt out, but he keeps using the phrase "within the framework" and spurning those insurgents in the legislature who demand that the party submit to a political challenge.

His revolution from the top down is not unlike a scientific revolution. It is a profound change of worldview based on transformations in perception. But any revolution in thought occurs first in the mind of one or more individuals who experience a flash of intuition such as Einstein described when he suddenly saw space as curved, or Lavoisier when he conceived of oxygen, seeing it as the "air itself." Something like this must have happened in Gorbachev's mind and given rise to his vision of a "common European home" and a post–Cold War world.

But he seems suspended between that stage and what scientists speak of as the "lightning flash" that permits them to see the pieces of a puzzle fitting together in a new solution. Gorbachev's mission is the salvation of a socialism he cannot define. He admits he has "no clear-cut, detailed plan" to realize *perestroika.* As one conservative newspaperman in Moscow put it, "He's like a Soviet cabdriver racing through the unfamiliar streets of Manhattan with five minutes to get to the airport." Meanwhile, the Soviet public grows more cynical and angry by the day at the lack of common necessities—sugar, soap, coffee, salt—and shortages caused by panic-induced hoarding.

The visionary—political or scientific—cannot offer objective proofs. For his citizens to make the transition to Gorbachev's universe, their whole conceptual web must be shifted. "The transfer of allegiance from paradigm to paradigm is a conversion experience that cannot be forced," writes Thomas Kuhn in his classic work on the structure of scientific revolutions. Nor can it be made a step at a time; it must occur all at once—like the gestalt switch.

Gorbachev himself has not quite made the leap. "You cannot create a market bit by bit," argues an economist leading a loose coalition of four hundred deputies now attacking *perestroika* as the antithesis of its promise: "Central" is still in charge of the economy and is merely reworking the old five-year planning methods that have made the Soviet Union a Third World country going backward.

The history of Russia has seen other high-profile reformers who reached out to the West to help save their country. In the past they have always been supplanted by despotic forces who have taken the nation back into darkness and stasis. Mikhail Gorbachev means to be the liberator of the Soviet Union's mind slaves, just as over a hundred years ago Czar Alexander II was the liberator of Russia's serfs. But he has been in power for nearly five years, and more than 90 percent of his citizens see the country's economic situation as bad or critical.

While their leader has traveled up and down the globe, the average Soviet has been left between belief systems, living the same dreary existence, but with more freedom to complain about it. "Before, we had two channels of belief—Communism and false romanticism—and they were secure," says the poet Voznesensky.

"Now nobody believes, and nobody is happy. They are all feeling aggressive, looking for whom to blame for the shortages and for the feeling of emptiness—what to live for?"

Among pacesetters in their twenties and thirties, Gorbachev is not a Kennedyesque figure. "He has no fans," says the young director of Leningrad's avant-garde show *Fifth Wheel*. And today's Soviet teenagers openly ridicule the party and challenge their parents and teachers. An Intourist guide says his fifteen-year-old daughter looks straight at him and says, "Why didn't you tell us the truth of our own history? How could you have lied to us for so long?" The father shrugs, silent with self-loathing. "No one knows what to believe anymore." The generation of Gorbachev's parents is worse off. "My mother can't look at the documentaries they show now about the truth of Stalin's time," says a Soviet cameraman. "She lived through it—it took away her tongue. Now she runs and hides her face in the pillow and says turn off the TV. *The fear is in our souls*."

Gorbachev cannot succeed unless he can persuade his country to come to terms with its own past. But Soviet society, forced into mass repression of memory, has learned to shift the moral responsibility for its problems entirely onto someone else. Forty percent of Soviets polled yearn for a return to "the strong hand" of the dictatorial father.

Many Westerners expect that if Gorbachev is overthrown a more liberal, anti-Communist reformer will sweep Russia along the same path as Eastern Europe. A much more likely successor to Gorbachev is an authoritarian populist who will exploit the anti-Semitism and the divisions among nationalities that flourish in Russia in times of severe adversity. And anti-Semitic fervor *is* being fanned, with the favored insult for Raisa being "*yevreyka*" (Jewess), and the late Andrei Sakharov having been branded an "American kike." (Both characterizations are false.)

From Ivan the Terrible to the time of Stalin to the present—for more than four hundred years—the Russian people have had no sustained experience of liberal democracy or economic competition. The accumulation of personal wealth has always been viewed by Soviets as evidence of oppression or corruption. In national polls today, the people's bitterest resentment is reserved for those who have become more affluent under Gorbachev's economic policies.

Brezhnev's grandson, Andrei, reduced the problem to a primitive epigram: "In your country you struggle so the poor will be rich, and in our country we struggle so the rich will be poor."

Gorbachev's way of loosening the mental lock of the Communist Party is not to allow its abolition but to open the minds of his citizens. Soon America will be sending in its most tantalizing export—Hollywood dreams. Plans are crystallizing for a twelve-screen megaplex to be built in Moscow in a joint venture between the Soviets and Warner Bros. Credit cards are being introduced, private ownership of satellite dishes is being legislated, and just about every Soviet who gets a tourist visa comes back home with a camcorder and a VCR, before which the family sits, mesmerized, watching itself on tape.

But, although Gorbachev's support by the military appears solid and he holds the potential power of a dictator over the new congress, even his most ardent supporters give him, at most, another four years. His old Czech friend Mlynář, recalling his friend's characteristic confidence, believes "*that* may even be his weak point—the tremendous self-assurance that makes him feel that everything will work out well."

Mikhail Sergeyevich must know that he cannot win the race with history, that it is beyond the wits of one individual or the lifetime of one man to communicate his vision and alter all the road maps and guide a whole new generation to the other side of the abyss. It appears that what he's trying to do is smash as many of the walls of the past as he can, so the enclosure that has separated his country from the community of developed Western nations can never be reassembled.

Time may be against him. But facing hardship and proceeding, always proceeding, is the theme of his life. It is predictable that he will remain steadfast to the end of his era of leadership—educating, exhorting, sermonizing for the vision he believes in so fervently. Looking around at the decimation of those Eastern European Communist leaders who shook their iron fists at the oncoming horsemen of history, Gorbachev made a profound comment.

"History punishes those who come late." □

Christopher Smart provided translation and research assistance on this article.

Hollywood Banzai

(Continued from page 139) names Yetnikoff the chairman of Sony's "Steering Committee.") On Thursday, Schulhof and Yetnikoff had lunch in Walter's executive dining room to go over their list of candidates and weigh their options. Neither was convinced. It was then that Yetnikoff thought of his pals Peter Guber and Jon Peters.

"We needed management," Yetnikoff says, "and Ovitz turned us down. Now, there's a limited choice of management. It's like the record business, or any part of show business—it's very hard to find people. Guber and Peters and I for years have schmingled, because we like each other. It's not bad to work with people you like, by the way. I like them, both of them. And we've been friends." Just the winter before, Yetnikoff and his wife and Peters and his wife had taken a cruise together, and Yetnikoff and Peters had kicked around the idea of running a studio together. Both knew, of course, that Sony was in the market for a studio at the time.

Last summer, Guber and Peters were certainly hot items. As the executive producers of *Batman*, they were bathing in the glory that Hollywood accords box-office monsters. The year before, they'd been executive producers of the Oscar-winning *Rain Man*, and Warner Bros. thought enough of their hit-picking abilities to grant them what was generally regarded as the town's most lucrative production deal.

They were, as they had been throughout the length of their nine-year partnership, an enigma to Hollywood, the ultimate unlikely pair—the unlikely part, to most, being Peters. Guber (the one with the ponytail, now shorn) had brains, education, and a background that was mainstream Hollywood. He had once been head of production at Columbia. Peters, the fiery seventh-grade dropout, had made his way in Hollywood through his success as a celebrity hairdresser, and as Barbra Streisand's ex-boyfriend.

Perhaps the most asked question in