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Folder Title:
Material for Moscow Summit [n.d.] [OA 8326] [2]

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July 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY KATE GRANT

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: MATERIAL FOR MOSCOW SUMMIT

JOKES

- 1) [jag](for State Dinner toast) "I may no longer be seen as an imperialist pig, but I'm still a glutton for Russian cooking."
- 2) [jag]"The first time our arms negotiators sat down with yours, they were amazed by what an easy start talks got off to. 'Star Wars? We love Star Wars!' said the Soviet negotiator. Unfortunately, he was talking about the George Lucas variety."

QUOTES/PROVERBS

- 1) [jag]"The strongest of all warriors are these two -- Time and Patience."
--Tolstoi, War and Peace, X, 16.
- 2) [bs]"The Slavs are a young people, of limitless possibilities, who from various causes have not been able to develop as rapidly as the peoples of central and western Europe. They have grown in civilization until their further advance has become something greatly to be desired, because it will be a factor of immense importance in the welfare of the world."
--Theodore Roosevelt, New York Times, Oct. 11, 1914.
- 3) [bs]"..it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power of endurance. Russia is mighty, and her future looms so vast that it is hardly possible to overstate it."
--Theodore Roosevelt, 1916.
- 4) [bs]"If Russia chooses to develop purely on her own line and to resist the growth of liberalism, then she may put off the day of reckoning; but she cannot ultimately avert it.."
--Theodore Roosevelt, to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, Aug. 11, 1897.
- 5) [bs]"Dreadful though it is that despotism should ruin men's bodies, it is worse that it should ruin men's souls."
--Theodore Roosevelt, Metropolitan, June 1918.
- 6) [bs]"..extending the Russian dominion over so many latitudes

and longitudes, they will add little to her real force, if they do not detract from it...the overgrown empire, as in so many preceding instances, must fall into separate and independent States.."

--James Madison, to Richard Rush, Nov. 20, 1821.

- 7) [bs]"..Russia has called on us to show her how to build steamboats and railroads, while in the older parts of Asia they scarcely know that such things as steamboats and railroads exist."

--Abe Lincoln, Lecture, Springfield, Feb. 22, 1858.

- 8) [bs]"..the cooperation of our great nations will inevitable be of the highest importance in the preservation of world peace. The successful accomplishment of this mutual task will be of immediate and lasting benefit not only to the peoples of our countries but to all peace-loving peoples everywhere."

--FDR, Remarks to the first ambassador of the USSR, on presentation of credentials, Jan. 8, 1934.

THE SOVIET PRESS

- 1) [jag]Cathy Young, who writes the Soviet Presswatch in The American Spectator, says the most popular Soviet publications are the Commersant, The Independent Gazette, and Democratic Russia. There are two independent (in that they are not affiliated with the Soviet government) radio stations in the Russian Republic, Moscow Echo (cosponsored by the Moscow City Council), and Radio Russia.

She also told me that 1990's biggest grossing film there was Rambo. Tootsie and Married to the Mob have also proven quite popular. In one "video salon" that she visited, the billing included Star Wars, The Empire Strikes Back, The Howling, Aliens, and Running Man (funny, each title could be a commentary on modern Soviet history). Any film with Stallone or Schwarzeneger in it is popular. Soviets also love James Bond movies (joke on "From America With Love"?)

ANECDOTES

- 1) [jag]Joe Klein of New York Magazine (212/880-0893) says the reason he's so fascinated with Soviet youth is that they embody the political attitudes of his middle age and the style of his youth. Here are some of his stories:

..at a Pravda printing plant, the two obligatory portraits of Lenin and Gorbachev were overshadowed by a huge poster of Michael Jackson. (POTUS joke?, "back home, most of the time they don't even bother with mine.")

..at what would pass for a chic Moscow dinner party thrown by "New Russians," mood music in the background was replaced by videos of Moonlighting and Miami Vice (english, with finnish

subtitles, barely dubbed over in Russian). Joke about the Russian version of a TV dinner? Joke about how Americans and Soviets aren't that different after all -- they both watch too much American television?

Klein and Pinkerton witnessed a peace march in front of Moscow's McDonald's -- an anti-draft rally. When they caught up with them, they asked, "What do you call yourselves?" Came the heavily accented reply: "Hippies." (Joke about creative excuses for lack of soap in Moscow?)

- 2) [jag]Excerpts from one of Klein's articles in New York Magazine: "According to one survey released on Vremya, the official nightly television news broadcast, only 10 percent of all young people had positive feelings toward Komosol (the official Communist youth organization), while 40 percent actively disapproved of it and the rest thought it irrelevant."

"'You know, all the apparatchiks used to wear suits,' says Alexei Kovalyov, 26, one of the reformers who won control of the Leningrad Soviet (city council) in the March elections. 'But two years ago, the party told them, 'Don't wear suits anymore, wear jeans. Try to be more like the people,' So a lot of them now wear jeans -- but people still know who they are.'"

- 3) [jag]Excerpts from a commencement address given by Klein: "...the Russian people are obsessed by America...and American things. They're not too subtle about it either. They love the very sort of things that we sophisticated New Yorkers pretend to disdain: Ronald Reagan, Michael Jackson, Marlboro cigarettes, and McDonalds...I'm sure you've heard that the lines at McDonald's are longer than the lines at Lenin's tomb...but it's not just the food that's drawing them. It's the attitude, the Americanness of the place -- I mean when was the last time your average Russian was told...by anyone, 'You deserve a break today...'"

- 4) [jag]Cathy Young talks of visiting a some relatives in the Soviet Union. One 14 year old son had a room plastered with posters of American movie stars -- and on one shelf, he had constructed a small shrine to McDonalds, cartons, bags, all souvenirs of his trip to Moscow's McDonald's. Soviet one-upmanship on recycling.

HISTORY OF PRE-REVO RUSSO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

- 1) [jag] In June, 1775, Empress Catherine the Great prophesied that the American Revolution would succeed. (Czars and Presidents, Alexandre Tarsaidze)



91 JUL 26 All: 43

OFFICE OF RESEARCH
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
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Message: Jennifer:

Hope this is of use!

- Scott (202) 619-5132

July 25, 1991

Jennifer Grossman
White House Department of Communications
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jennifer:

This is in response to your July 23 FAX to VOA's Serge Markov (a copy of which he sent to me) which poses research questions for President Bush's trip to the Soviet Union.

Exchanges

USIA's U.S.-Soviet Private Sector Exchange Initiative (tel.: 202-619-4548) has information on the status of U.S.-Soviet exchange programs.

American culture in the USSR

At any given time, several American motion pictures are playing in Moscow movie theaters and elsewhere in the USSR. This month, Oliver Stone's "rock documentary" *The Doors* screened at the annual Moscow International Film Festival. The Warner Brothers film *My Name is Bill W.*, about a reformed alcoholic, aired this week on the all-union TV channel. As far as we know, there are no Moscow movie houses specializing in American films, although the U.S. Ambassador's residence at Spaso House frequently screens U.S. movies for invited Soviet and American audiences.

American television shows regularly appearing on Soviet TV include *Adam Smith's Money World* and *Walt Disney Presents*. Broadcasts of *Phil Donahue* shows on AIDS and racism recently took place. Additionally, musical programs originating in the U.S. are quite popular. In the last few days, Soviet TV aired concerts by New York's Metropolitan Opera (with Jesse Norman, et al.) and by a Mormon choir (entitled "From America With Love"). *The Muppet Show* also was recently shown.

American magazines and newspapers are limited in quantity and availability in the USSR. Several thousand copies of the USIA magazine *America Illustrated* are delivered to subscribers and sold at kiosks each month. Foreign tourist hotels carry limited numbers of such publications as *Time*, *USA Today*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, but the average Soviet citizen generally lacks access to them.

Soviets admire many American actors, actresses, and bands. Especially popular figures these days include Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, and Dustin Hoffman. Michael Jackson and Madonna enjoy perennial popularity.

Besides McDonald's and Mickey Mouse, American "consumer culture" in the USSR is in evidence with blue jeans, T-shirts, skateboards, Velcro, and Pizza Hut. There is even a "Wheel of Fortune" game-show "spin-off" now showing on Soviet television.

- 2 -

Since mid-1990, a handful of independent radio stations have appeared in the USSR. *Moscow Echo* [Ekho Moskvyy] first aired in August 1990. On the air four hours per day, its range is restricted to the Moscow area. More popular and widespread is Radio Russia, which started broadcasting in December 1990 and has been a strong supporter of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The independent Leningrad radio station *Open City* [Otkrytyi gorod] first aired in June 1991. *Radio ROKS*, the first independent Moscow shortwave radio station, began broadcasting in August 1990.

The most popular independent news program in the USSR is probably *Vesti* [News], the thrice-daily news program that airs on Russian Television (Channel Two). Equally popular but limited in viewership is Leningrad TV's *Platoe koleso* [Fifth Wheel], the flagship of Soviet TV's new brand of investigative journalism. The central TV news program *Television News Service* (TSN) in previous times was very popular and provocative, but its anchors were fired this past March and the show has been tamed down.

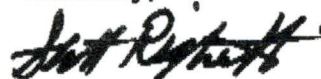
Based on circulation figures and public opinion polls, the most popular independent newspapers in the USSR are *Moscow News*, *Nezavisimaya gazeta* [The Independent Newspaper], and *Argumenty i fakty* [Arguments and Facts]. (See accompanying two pages on "The Top Thirty Independent Newspapers and Magazines." Note that the source is *Business in the USSR*, an independent Soviet economic monthly magazine.)

As might be expected, the most trusted reporters and journalists in the USSR are those who work for the above-mentioned popular TV programs and publications. Fifth Wheel hostess Bella Kurkova is widely admired. Vladimir Molchanov, host of the monthly TV program *Before and After Midnight* is very popular, but evidently his show was canceled last month. Similarly, the three ex-anchors of TSN, Tatiana Mitkova, Yurii Rostov, and Dmitrii Kisilev remain popular, as are the three young men who hosted the now-defunct *Vzgliad* [View] variety program, Aleksandr Liubimov, Aleksandr Politkovskii, and Vladislav Listyev.

Several months ago, Soviet popular culture was awash with accounts of the "supernatural powers" of faith healers Kashpirovskii, Chumak, and Dzhuna. Today's fads include UFO's and abominable snowmen, martial arts, the occult and mysticism, and pre-revolutionary Russian culture.

I hope this information is useful to you.

Sincerely,



Scott Righetti
USIA/R/SU, Rm. 366
301 4th St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547
(202) 619-5132



THE TOP THIRTY INDEPENDENT

AVTOREVVU (Autorev) (new)

FOUNDER: Delovoi mir Newspaper-Publishing Consortium
 Supplement to the newspaper *Delovoi mir* (Business World). Progress
 of Soviet and foreign automobile building.
 Address: USSR, 103012, Moscow, Staropansky per., 5.
 Tel.: (70-95) 923-0051
 Weekly. Number printed: 50,000.

BANKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI (Banking news)

FOUNDER: Vostok cooperative bank.
 Financial news and information, banking management.
 Address: USSR, 450000, Boshkino, Ufa, Ul. Lenina.
 Six issues a year. Number printed: 5,000 to 25,000.

BIZNES (Business)

FOUNDER: Soviet Managers' Union.
 Coverage of problems of radical economic reform, managers.
 Address: USSR, 119054, Moscow, Ul. Zetsepa, 41.
 Monthly. Number printed 25,000.

BIZNESSMIDY (Businessman)

FOUNDER: RIT advertising and publishing firm.
 To publicize economic and commercial information.
 Address: USSR, Estonia, 200010, Tallinn, Ulus Sadama, 14.
 Weekly. Number printed: 100,000.

CHAS PIC (Rush Hour)

FOUNDER: Leningrad branch of the Soviet Journalists' Union.
 Information about life in Leningrad, events in the country and abroad.
 Address: USSR, Leningrad, Nevsky, 70.
 Weekly. Number printed: 200,000.

COMMERSANT

FOUNDER: work collective of the Journalists of *Commersant*.
 Economics.
 Address: USSR, 123008, Moscow, Khreshchovskaya Chaussee, 41.
 Tel.: (70-95) 041-0800.
 Weekly. Number printed: 350,000 in Russian and 50,000 in English.

DELOVAYA PANORAMA (Business panorama)

FOUNDER: Soviet Managers' Union.
 Newspaper supplement to *Biznes* journal, emphasizing advertising,
 as well as information.
 Address: USSR, 119054, Moscow, Ul. Zetsepa, 41.
 Monthly. Number printed: 50,000.

DELOVAYA ZHENSCHINA (Business woman)

FOUNDER: Razvitiye (Development) joint-stock society.
 The status of woman in society.
 Address: USSR, 103051, Moscow, Ul. Yablochkova, 5.
 Tel.: (70-95) 210 4030
 Weekly. Number printed: 200,000.

DELOVOI MIR (Business world)

FOUNDER: Delovoi mir Newspaper-Publishing Consortium
 To promote an integrated national market economy and help expand

cooperation with foreign partners.

Address: USSR, 103012, Moscow, Staropansky per., 5.
 Tel.: (70-95) 923 0051
 Six times a week. Number printed: 100,000.

FINANSOVAYA GAZETA (Financial Gazette)

FOUNDERS: Russian Finance Ministry, staff of the international
 journal *Problems of Management Theories and Practices*.
 Financial and credit reforms in the country.
 Address: USSR, 117218, Moscow, Ul. Krzhizhanovskogo, 14, korp. 2.
 Tel.: (70-95) 424 3800
 Weekly. Number printed 100,000.

IZDATEL-REDAKTOR (Publisher-Editor)

FOUNDER: National Association of Independent Publishers.
 Magazine to help unite economically independent publishers.
 Address: USSR, 123557, Moscow, Ul. Kilmashkina, 22, korp. 2.
 Tel.: (70-95) 253 3908
 Monthly. Number printed: 2,000.

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE/USSR

FOUNDER: Vneshtorgkiama National Book Accounting Association
 Soviet nationals.
 A digest from the US daily *Journal of Commerce*, to broaden and
 consolidate trade and economic relations between the USSR and the US.
 Address: USSR, 123461, Moscow, Ul. Kakhovka, 31, korp. 2.
 Monthly. Number printed: 20,000.

KLYOPA

FOUNDER: International Association for Promoting Interdisciplinary
 Research Concerning the Analysis and Forecasting of the World
 Communist Development.
 Magazine to help develop teenagers' outlook on world culture and the
 arts.
 Address: USSR, 103001, Moscow, Ul. A. Tolstogo, 20.
 Monthly. Number printed: 200,000.

MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS

FOUNDERS: Staff of the international journal *Problems of
 Management Theories and Practices*, staff of the international
 newspaper *Megapolis-Express*.
 International newspaper on political, economic and moral problems.
 Address: USSR, 103009, Moscow, Ul. Ogareva, 17/9, building 3.
 Tel.: (70-95) 229 0206
 Weekly. Number printed: 700,000.

MILOSERDIYE (Charity)

FOUNDER: Soviet Charity and Health Foundation.
 To promote the ideas of humanity, interethnic accord and tolerance,
 and help establish charity foundations.
 Address: USSR, 113054, Moscow, Ul. Bakhrushina, 28.
 Tel.: (70-95) 215 1935, 235 0837
 Weekly. Number printed: 200,000.

MOSCOW MAGAZINE

FOUNDERS: Dutch Publishers Association, Commercial Bank for the
 Development of Wholesale Trade, Moscow Branch of the Soviet
 Journalists' Union.

NT NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES



Information on the Soviet economy.
 Address: USSR, 121019, Moscow, Suvorovsky boulevard, 8A.
 Tel.: (70-95) 203 8644
 Monthly, Number printed: 60,000.

MIR GEOGRAFI (Geography World)
 FOUNDERS: Soviet Geographical Society, EMTA (Experimental Creative Science Association) Enterprise, Directorate of the Soviet-American Cultural Initiative Foundation.
 Geographical topics.
 Address: USSR, Moscow, 103012, Ul. 25 Otkryt'ya, 8/1 (Moscow branch of the Soviet Geographical Society).
 Six issues a year. Number printed: 80,000.

MOSKOVSKY VESTNIK (Moscow Herald)
 FOUNDER: Moscow branch of the Russian Writers' Union.
 Literary works by Moscow authors, to revive Russian culture.
 Address: USSR, 121069, Moscow, ul. Herts'kaya, 50/5
 Tel.: (70-95) 204 3767
 Monthly, Number printed: 300,000.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Gazette)
 FOUNDER: Moscoviat (Moscow City Council).
 Social and political topics.
 Address: USSR, 101002, Moscow, GSP, Ul. Myasnitskaya 13, building 10.
 Tel.: (70-95) 202 7678
 Three times a week. Number printed: 150,000.

NOOSFERA (Noosphere)
 FOUNDERS: Noosfera National Ecological Society, Russia Nature Protection Society, Moscow Construction Bank.
 Business ecology, nature uses, culture, law and ethics.
 Six issues a year. Number printed: 50,000.

NOVY ZHURNAL (New Magazine)
 FOUNDERS: Soviet Health and Charity Foundation, business Management Department of Leningrad Region Communist Party Committee, Soviet Ministry of Railway's Otkryt'skaya Railway Administration.
 Economic and political developments.
 Address: USSR, 191023, Leningrad, Tomnanka, 59
 Tel.: Leningrad 311 4704
 Twenty-four issues a year. Number printed: 100,000.

ON (He)
 FOUNDER: New Style (New Style) Association for business cooperation with organizations and firms in other countries.
 Modern business magazine.
 Address: USSR, 125047, Moscow, Ul. Gorkogo, 50
 Tel.: (70-95) 251 226
 Four issues a year. Number printed: 500,000 in Russian; 100,000 in English; 20,000 in Italian.

ONAS
 FOUNDER: New Style (New Style) Association for business cooperation with organizations and firms in other countries.
 Modern business magazine.
 Address: USSR, 125047, Moscow, Ul. Gorkogo, 50, Tel.: (70-95) 251 7210

Four issues a year. Number printed: 500,000 in Russian; 100,000 in English; 20,000 in Italian.

RADIKAL (Radical)
 FOUNDER: Delovoi mir Newspaper-Publishing Consortium.
 Supplement to *Delovoi mir* (Business world). Scientific and technological advances in the Soviet Union and abroad.
 Address: USSR, 103012, Moscow, Staropansky per., 5
 Tel.: (70-95) 923 0054
 Weekly, Number printed: 100,000.

RYNOK (Market)
 FOUNDER: Delovoi mir Newspaper-Publishing Consortium.
 Supplement to *Delovoi mir* (Business world): Commercial information and analysis.
 Address: USSR, 103012, Moscow, Staropansky per., 5
 Tel.: (70-95) 923 0053
 Weekly, Number printed: 50,000.

STOLICHNAYA (Cocktail)
 FOUNDER: Moscow City Council.
 Socio-political coverage of life in Moscow, problems encountered by municipal authorities and Muscovites.
 Address: USSR, 103051, Moscow, Ul. Petrovka, 22, str. 1.
 Tel.: (70-95) 928 2349
 Weekly, Number printed: 300,000.

VELOZEVOD
 FOUNDER: Vladimir Yuryevich Borev (home address: USSR, Moscow, Kallitinskaya, 27/9, kv. 78).
 Field of video culture and marketing.
 Address: USSR, 109280, Moscow, Ul. Velozevod'skaya, 5a
 Four issues a year. Number printed: 100,000.

VOSTOK-ZAPAD (East-West)
 FOUNDER: Geolite science and production amalgamation.
 Domestic and foreign literature, news of culture, politics, science and technology.
 Address: USSR, 142700, Moskovskaya oblast, Leninsky rayon, post-Mosrenger, 30.
 Four issues a year. Number printed: 100,000.

YURIST (Lawyer)
 FOUNDERS: Soviet Justice Ministry, Soviet Lawyers' Association.
 Analysis of law enforcement services' experience of work, information about the law-making process.
 Address: USSR, 103064, Moscow, Ul. Chkalova, 7.
 Tel.: (70-95) 244 7939
 Monthly, Number printed: 160,000.

ZOV (Appeal)
 FOUNDER: National Animal Protection Society.
 To foster an active civil stand in the campaign for preserving and restoring wildlife.
 Address: USSR, 119121, Moscow, 2-oy Neopalimovskiy per., 3.
 Tel.: (70-95) 247 704
 Weekly, Number printed: 100,000.

July 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MK

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: SPEECH ELEMENTS FOR OUTLINE

--explanation of what capitalism is (steal from Kemp?)
--the role of values and morality in a free economy
--anecdotes about emergent enterprise in Russia
--taking the wind out of reactionary sails: how capitalism is
consistent with old Russian values (probably need some quotes here,
or something)

July 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY KATE GRANT

FROM:



BOB SIMON

SUBJECT:

MOSCOW McDONALD'S "HAMBURGER DIPLOMACY"

The Moscow McDonald's, located in Pushkin Square not too far from the Kremlin, is the largest and busiest McDonald's in the world. In just 16 months, it has served 20 million people, averaging 40-50,000 people a day. It has 27 cash registers and can seat 700. It employs 1,100 Muscovites. A one-time newspaper ad for the first 600 jobs brought in 27,000 applications.

The four Soviet managers were trained by having them work in Canadian McDonald's, then sending them to Hamburger University in Illinois, where they learned every aspect of running a McDonald's: cleanliness, ordering supplies, training employees, quality control, customer relations. One manager said of his exposure to Western business methods: "I had no idea McDonald's cared so much about its customers and employees."


It took 14 years to open this restaurant -- a joint venture between McDonald's and the Moscow City government that runs most of Moscow's other restaurants. Just opening a business office in Moscow proved difficult and time-consuming. There was a long wait just to get phones installed. Buying supplies was tough, since there was no business directory like our Yellow Pages.

To supply the restaurant, McDonald's had to build a \$45 million 100,000 square foot Food Processing and Distribution Center -- known as "McComplex." Raw ingredients from over 45 Soviet suppliers in several Republics are turned into McDonald's products at the center. The plant has a meat production line, dairy, potato processing line, bakery, garnish line, pie line, liquid products line, and quality control lab. The modern plant can produce 1 million buns, 72,000 kg of french fries, 20,000 liters of pickles and 68,000 liters of "special sauce" each week. Both the plant and the restaurant have become training grounds for the Soviet Institutes of Food Industry, and Moscow U.'s business school. Visitors from all over the Soviet Union come to marvel at the plant's technology and methods.

Moscow McDonald's works with local farmers to improve the quality and yields of crops. Farmers were sent to Western Europe to study farms there. Improved strains of potatoes, cucumbers and lettuce were introduced to Soviet farms. Farmers from nearby come to McDonald's farms to learn new techniques.

July 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
SPEECHWRITERS

FROM: BOB SIMON 
SUBJECT: "PIZZASTROIKA": PIZZA HUT COMES TO MOSCOW

There are two stores, one on Gorky Street near the Kremlin, which seats 150, and one in the old Krystal restaurant in Kutuzovski Prospect, which seats 300. The Krystal has the largest Pizza hut kitchen in the world, capable of producing 5,000 pizzas a day. The restaurants mark the first time Soviets can enjoy American food with table service paid for by either rubles or hard currency.

The two restaurants serve 75,000 people and bring in \$60,000 a week. Pizza by the slice is very popular -- 4 rubles per slice. Salmon & sardines was originally popular, but has been overtaken by the "Spicy Hot One" (beef and peppers), Supreme, and Super Supreme. Most ingredients are bought in the Soviet Union. Pizza Hut has introduced two firsts in the Soviet Union: mozzarella cheese and coleslaw. Despite the abundance of cabbage in Russia, apparently no one had ever made it into coleslaw.

One customer said, "We stand in line for bread or meat and you have both in your pizza. It's fresh and delicious."

Discussing the tremendous changes going on in lifestyles and adapting to American business standards, one Moscow official told Pizza Hut President Steven Reinmund, "We don't need new technology as much as we need a new mindset."

The Pizza Huts are run entirely by Soviets, but were trained and equipped by Americans. Other trainers from Australia, Belgium, Canada, Britain and Egypt were used.

3,500 applications were received from a one-day advertisement for the 300 restaurant positions. Although the average Soviet salary is 250 rubles a month, Pizza Hut workers make 250-600 rubles a month, depending on ability and performance. They can earn bonuses for the quality of their work, including speed, sales, and smiling at customers.

Before the opening, new Soviet employees "couldn't wait" to get their American-style Pizza Hut uniforms. One American said, "When the women first tried them on, you'd have thought they were trying on wedding or prom dresses." The next day, some returned with their hems cut shorter to make them look more "American." Apparently they had been looking forward to wearing mini-skirts.

Ironically, the Russians introduced "fast food" to western Europe during the Napoleonic wars. Russian troops in Paris cafes impatiently shouted "Bistro!" -- the Russian word for "fast" -- and thus Paris "bistros" were born. (This is in an official Pizza Hut News Release. Don't ask me if it's true.)

91 JUL 29 4:17

APPLE COMPUTER, INC.
Corporate Public Relations
20525 Mariani Ave.
Cupertino, CA 95014
(408) 974-2042 - Phone
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Date: 7/29/91
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CORPORATE TIMELINE

Apple Computer, Inc. • July 1991

1976

- | | | |
|----------|---|-----------|
| January | • Steve Wozniak (26) is working at Hewlett-Packard and Steve Jobs (21) is at Atari. | Corporate |
| March | • Wozniak and Jobs finish work on a preassembled computer circuit board. It has no keyboard, case, sound or graphics. They call it the Apple® I. | Product |
| April | • Wozniak and Jobs form the Apple Computer Company on April Fool's Day. | Corporate |
| | • The Apple I debuts at the Homebrew Computer Club in Palo Alto, California. | Product |
| May | • Jobs sells his VW van and Wozniak sells his Hewlett-Packard programmable calculator, raising \$1,350 to finance production of the Apple I boards. | Corporate |
| | • The Byte Shop computer store orders 50 Apple I boards. Jobs leverages the order to get credit so they can build the machines in Jobs' parents' garage. | Corporate |
| June | • Apple retains Rogis McKenna Advertising to represent Apple Computer. | Marketing |
| July | • The Apple I board is released for sale to hobbyists and electronics enthusiasts at the price of \$666.66. | Product |
| August | • Jobs meets venture capitalist Don Valentine through Atari founder Nolan Bushnell. Valentine will refer Jobs to Mike Markkula, who had previously managed marketing for Intel Corp. and Fairchild Semiconductor. | Corporate |
| November | • Apple's first formal business plan sets a goal for sales to grow to \$500 million in ten years. As it turns out, the company will pass that mark in half the time. | Corporate |
| December | • Apple I computer boards are sold through 10 retail stores in the U.S. | Marketing |

1977

- | | | |
|---------|--|-----------|
| January | • Apple Computer is incorporated by Jobs, Wozniak and their new partner and chairman, Mike Markkula. In addition to plotting its marketing strategy, Markkula invests \$250,000 in the fledgling enterprise. Additional financing will come later from a group of venture capitalists that include Venrock Associates, Arthur Rock and Associates and Capital Management Corp. | Corporate |
|---------|--|-----------|

	• Apple moves from Job's garage to a building on Stevens Creek Boulevard in Cupertino, California.	Corporate
February	• Markkula asks Michael Scott to accept the position of Apple's president. Scott becomes a driving force behind Apple during its fastest growing years.	Corporate
April	• The new Apple® II is unveiled at the first West Coast Computer Faire. It is the first personal computer able to generate color graphics and includes a keyboard, power supply and attractive case.	Product
	• At the show Apple rents the largest booth and uses a large projection screen for demonstrations. Markkula walks the floor, signing up dealers.	Marketing
	• The Apple logo as seen today is designed by Rob Janoff, art director for Regis McKenna Advertising.	Corporate
May	• Regis McKenna Advertising launches its first ad campaign for Apple. Although advertising is initially aimed at electronics enthusiasts, Apple will soon become the first company to advertise personal computers in consumer magazines.	Marketing
June	• The Apple II is now available to the general public. Fully assembled and pretested, it includes 4K of standard memory, and comes equipped with two game paddles and a demo cassette. The price is \$1,298. Customers use their own TV set as a monitor and store programs on audio cassette recorders.	Product
	• Monthly orders reach a \$1 million annual sales rate.	Marketing
	• First Apple shipped to Europe through an independent distributor called Eurapple.	Marketing
1978		
January	• Apple moves into its new corporate headquarters at 10260 Bandy Drive in Cupertino. Over the years, a campus of Apple office buildings will spring up around it.	Corporate
March	• Apple introduces various interface cards for connecting to most printers.	Product
June	• Apple's Disk II® is introduced at the Consumer Electronics Show. It is the easiest to use, lowest priced, and fastest minifloppy disk drive ever offered by a computer manufacturer. It will make possible the development of serious software. Production at first is handled by just two employees, turning out 30 drives a day.	Product
	• Apple announces telephone linkup services to Dow Jones and Company for Apple II users.	Marketing
December	• In only its second year, Apple is one of the fastest growing companies in America. Sales have increased tenfold, and its dealer network has grown to over 300.	Corporate

1979

February	• President Mike Scott declares that Apple should set an example for businesses everywhere, and issues a company-wide mandate: "No more typewriters."	Marketing
June	• Apple II+ is introduced, available with 48K of memory and a new auto-start ROM for easier startup and screen editing for \$1,195.	Product
	• Apple Education Foundation is founded. Its goal is to grant complete Apple systems to schools who wish to develop new classroom software and integrate computers into their curriculum.	Corporate
	• Apple's first printer, the Silentype®, is introduced.	Product
	• Apple announces a nationwide repair program featuring same-day service.	Marketing
	• The first Dealer Council convenes. Designed to get dealer input without breaking the FTC rules on competition, it will be widely copied by other manufacturers in the personal computer industry.	Marketing
August	• Apple II Pascal is released.	Product
October	• Personal Software, Inc. releases VisiCalc for the Apple II. The spreadsheet is the first application to make personal computers a practical tool for people who don't know how to write their own programs.	Product
	• The International Apple Core, an independent umbrella organization for user groups, is formed in San Francisco.	Marketing
December	• Apple introduces a low cost, one-year extended warranty for all Apple hardware and software.	Marketing
	• Apple II sales rate is at 35,000 units, up 400 percent from 1978.	Product
	• Apple now employs 250 people working out of four buildings.	Corporate

1980

March	• Apple Fortran introduced. Proves to be a catalyst for high-level technical and educational applications.	Product
June	• Regional support centers open in Boston, MA; Charlotte, NC; Irvine, CA; Carrollton, TX and Toronto, Canada.	Marketing
July	• Apple facilities occupy more than half a million square feet of floor space in the U.S. and Europe.	Corporate
	• Apple opens a manufacturing plant in Carrollton, TX.	Corporate
September	• Apple III announced at the National Computer Conference. With a new operating system, a built-in disk controller and four peripheral slots priced at \$3,495, the Apple III is the most advanced system in the company's history.	Product
	• Apple opens a plant in Cork, Ireland and a European support center in Zeist, The Netherlands.	Manufacturing
November	• Apple II chosen as the network access machine for EDUNET an international computer network for higher education and	Product

research.

December	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple goes public. Morgan Stanley and Co. and Hambrecht & Quist underwrite on initial public offering of 4.6 million shares of Apple common stock at a price of \$22 per share. Every share is bought within minutes of the offering, making this the largest public offering since Ford went public in 1956. • Apple's employee count breaks 1,000. • Apple Seed announced, a computer literacy program that will provide elementary and high schools with computer course materials. • Apple's distribution network is the largest in the industry—800 independent retailers in the U.S. and Canada, plus 1,000 outlets abroad. 	<p>Corporate</p> <p>Corporate Product</p> <p>Marketing</p>
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1981

January	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • R&D budget jumps to \$21 million, three times more than the year before. • Apple announces a Loan-To-Own program for employees. Each employee can borrow an Apple II+ to use at home. After one year, the computer becomes theirs to keep. 	<p>Corporate</p> <p>Corporate</p>
February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mike Scott authorizes the layoff of 40 employees in an effort to streamline Apple internal machinery. • Chiat/Day Advertising acquires the Apple account when it acquires Regis McKenna's advertising operations. • European headquarters open in Paris, France and Slough, England. 	<p>Corporate</p> <p>Marketing</p> <p>Corporate</p>
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top management restructured. Mike Markkula replaces Mike Scott as president; Steve Jobs succeeds Markkula as chairman; Scott named vice chairman. • Apple Expo '81 is launched — the company's first national merchandising roadshow. 	<p>Corporate</p> <p>Marketing</p>
April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accessory Products Division formed to handle production of printers, modems and other peripherals. 	<p>Corporate</p>
May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple Language Card introduced. It allows Apple II users to run programs in either Pascal, Fortran or Pilot. • IEEE-488 interface card announced. Apple II computers may now be linked to over 1,400 scientific and technical instruments. • Second offering of 2.6 million shares of common stock is completed. 	<p>Product</p> <p>Product</p> <p>Corporate</p>
July	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple begins to air commercials featuring Dick Cavett as spokesman. • Manufacturing plant opens in Singapore. 	<p>Marketing</p> <p>Manufacturing</p>
August	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Business Machines introduces the IBM Personal Computer. Apple greets its new competitor with a full-page ad in the Wall Street Journal with a headline that reads, "Welcome IBM. Seriously." 	<p>Marketing</p>
September	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple's first mass storage system, the SMB ProFile™ hard disk is introduced, priced at \$3,499. 	<p>Product</p>

- | | | |
|----------|--|-----------|
| November | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are now about 3,000 Apple dealers worldwide, a third of which are authorized service centers. | Marketing |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First annual report notes that the Apple II installed base has grown to well over 300,000; that employees now number about 2,500; and that Apple has introduced over 40 new software programs this year. | Corporate |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple becomes a household name. Surveys show that public awareness rose from 10 percent to 80 percent in 1981. | Marketing |

1982

- | | | |
|----------|---|-------------------------------------|
| January | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • R&D budget increases 81 percent over last year to \$38 million. • More than 100 companies are making personal computers. Apple has an installed base of more than 650,000 units; 10,000 Apple software programs offered by more than 1,000 developers; 60 companies producing Apple II peripherals. | Corporate
Product |
| July | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple Dot Matrix printer introduced for \$2,195. | Product |
| August | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple announces that U.S. Customs agents will detain and seize all foreign imitations of the Apple II. | Corporate |
| November | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A new extended warranty program is announced and dubbed AppleCare®. • AppleFest®—a showplace for more than 5,000 Apple-related products—opens in San Francisco. | Marketing
Marketing |
| December | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple becomes the first personal computer company to reach \$1 billion annual sales rate. It throws a "Billion Dollar Party" for employees. • Community Affairs office created to award grants to civic groups that deal with issues such as housing, drug abuse, the environment, employment, medical research, the arts, youth and the elderly. • Time magazine's "Man of the Year" issue is devoted to "The Year of the Computer." | Corporate
Corporate
Marketing |

1983

- | | | |
|----------|--|----------------------|
| January | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple IIe computer priced at \$1,395 and Lisa® computer priced at \$9,995 introduced as well as several new peripherals. • Apple's European offices and distributors stage major events in 12 cities to launch new products -- London, Paris, Zurich, Munich, Milan, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Helsinki, Brussels, Tel Aviv, Madrid and Dublin. | Product
Marketing |
| February | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Apple University founded to provide employee training programs. | Corporate |
| April | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Sculley, formerly president of Pepsi-Cola, elected Apple's new president and CEO. | Corporate |

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft one
July 25, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
DATE? TIME?**

President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, distinguished guests, welcome to Spaso House. I am delighted to have you to our American home in Moscow -- in the hope of repaying, in at least some small measure, the warmth and hospitality shown to us by the Soviet people since our arrival.

We are here in Moscow to reinvigorate our relationship -- to launch a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we have seen that despite political differences, we **can** move forward together. The START agreement is simply the most visible aspect of our new political and economic cooperation.

From the cultural to the scientific, the United States and the Soviet Union have worked to expand exchanges between our citizens. And we have both opened new Consulates -- yours in New York, ours in Kiev -- so that our people may know each other better. And finally, we have signed an agreement on disaster assistance. With it, we broaden our efforts to reach and rescue the victims of natural disasters in our countries, and then to help them rebuild their lives whether in Armenia or San Francisco.

More and more, we see that our peoples share a sense of curiosity, hope and -- most importantly -- peace. We are ready to work with the Soviet people to establish a partnership in the

July 22, 1991

RESEARCH QUESTIONS FOR USSR TRIP:

Exchanges

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

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

6/19 2925 Markov

American culture in the USSR

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

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

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

Favorite American actors/actresses, bands, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Proverbs/folk legends, Sayings --

Related to:

- journey/travels.
- visitors/guests.
- friends.
- challenges/great tasks.
- the future....

Key:
 look
 history of
 Russia
 America
 Relations
 Gerasimov
 the history
 of a forsother
 friendship
 anecdotes
 - part in
 1944

look out Dead Weather
 to Russia, which
 gave me so much
 to American 2
 when I have
 so little of dead weather

Mr Likesa
 Likatsa

USSR
 Division
 5415

Russia in
 supported in
 Lincoln in
 1865 in NY Harbor
 1865
 1865
 1865

Also: by leaning back,
looking into the
future

to enter a state of β ,
Transcendental meditation

VOICE OF AMERICA

USSR DIVISION

91 JUL 24 09:28

330 INDEPENDENCE AVENUE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE 7/23/91

TO JENNIFER GROSSMAN

FROM SERGE MARKOV

VOA USSR RESEARCH UNIT
619 7576

NO. OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET 5

FAX NO. HERE IS (202) 619-2925

Ukrainian 619-1639

Western & Eastern

Kiev

used to be credit of Russia

now retired

2289 619

Exchanges

I understand Guroff's USIA shop is talking to you directly

American Culture in the USSR

What American shows appear on Soviet TV? Which is the most popular?

Disney Presents, Adam Smith's Money World, Phil Donahue, Muppet show, Geraldo, MTV in general, CNN clips on TSN (see below)

Shown during America Week (week of July 1): Dallas, Little House on the Prairie, Love Boat, Beverly Hills, 90210, The Jetsons, The Flintstones, Barnaby Jones

Dallas was maybe the most watched

At current Moscow film festival: Oliver Stones's The Doors

On pirated videocassettes: Tango and Cash, Total Recall, Police Academy, Rambo

Favorite American actors, actresses, bands, etc

Michael Jackson, Madonna, Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stalone, Bruce Lee, Joon Rhee
Dustin Hoffman, Robert Redford, Jack Nicholson

Evidence of American consumer culture

Jeans, McDonalds, Pizza Hut, Mickey Mouse, MTV, Top 20, Rambo, skateboards, Velcro, T-shirts etc with messages, Keds, and now Rap Music

Soviet reaction to it:

Youth loves it; independent and even official media have largely embraced it; Russian ultranationalists, hardline communists calls it "spiritual AIDS"

Reader's Digest has just started coming out (surprisingly poor translation)

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

My guesstimate is that the total number of independent (whatever the definition of "independent") stations in the USSR is less than 10. with 2-3 in Moscow.

Ekho Moskvyy (Moscow Echo) is very popular in Moscow area

Best known (Russia-wide) is probably Radio Rossii, the Russian Republic's (independent?) station

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

News programs: most popular before it was emasculated: TSN (Television News Service, a late night program). Most trusted: its fired anchors, Tatiana Mitkova, Yuri Rostov, Dmitri Kiselev. Also Vladimir Molchanov who has migrated from Vremia to Russian Republic's Channel 2.. Leningrad TV's investigative journalism program Fifth Wheel and its anchor Bella Kurkova

Russian Republic's Channel 2 news program Vesti is serious competition to Vremya
Independent newspapers: Nezavisimaya gazeta, Argumenty i fakty, Moscow news, Ogonek, Stolitsa. Megapolis-Express, Kommersant (in the business community)

Proverbs/folk legends, Sayings

Related to journeys and travels

Tishe edish dalshe budesh (literally, the slower you go, the farther you will get)

Utro vechera mudrennee (in the morning one is wiser than in the evening)

Visitors, guests

Dobro pozhalovat! (Welcome!)

Friends

Stary drug luchshe novykh dvukh (an old friend is better than two new ones)
Ne imey sto rubley, a imey sto druzey (one hundred friends is better than one hundred rubles)

druzya poznayutsya v bede (you find out who your friends are when you are in trouble)

druzhba druzhboy a tobachek vroz (separate checks, please)

kakov gost takovo emu i ugoshcheniye (the food matches the guest)
svoya rubashka blizhe k telu (me first!)

challenges, great tasks

Bez truda ne vynesh i rybku iz pruda (it takes work even to pull out a fish from the pond)

na Boga nadeysya a sam ne ploshay (trust in God but don't be idle)

terpenye i trud vsyo peretrut (patience and work will overcome anything)

iz spasibo shuby ne soshyesh (you can't make a fur coat out of a thank you)

the future

pozhivem uvidem (wait and see)

bud chto budet (let it be)

Men's assassination-- article attached

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Times

February 6, 1991, Wednesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: Third priest murdered in Moscow crime wave

BYLINE: From Mary Dejevsky in Moscow

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) 1991 Times Newspapers Limited, February 6, 1991

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

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

TERMS:
Soviet Union



to their homes, which is what they want to do.

Hey, thanks a million for being with us on this trip. We appreciate you fellas being along, too.

Q. Thanks for inviting us.

The President. Well, that's all right.

Note: The session began at 8:45 a.m. while the President was en route to Ann Arbor, MI.

Remarks at the University of Michigan Commencement Ceremony in Ann Arbor

May 4, 1991



President Duderstadt, thank you all very much. Thank you for that warm welcome. I want to salute the president, salute Governor and Mrs. John Engler, Representatives of the Congress—Pursell, Upton, and Vander Jagt, and distinguished Regents, and especially I want to pay my respects to our fellow honorary degree recipients. Barbara and I are very grateful for this high honor. Before this, there wasn't one lawyer in the family, and now we have two.

The last time I was in Ann Arbor, we commemorated John Kennedy's unveiling of the Peace Corps. And as your commencement program indicates, Lyndon Johnson introduced the Great Society in a University of Michigan commencement address.

Today, I want to talk to you about this historic moment. Your commencement—your journey into the "real world"—coincides with this nation's commencement into a world freed from cold war conflict and thrust into an era of cooperation and economic competition.



The United States plays a defining role in the world. Our economic strength, our military power, and most of all, our national character brought us to this special moment. When our policies unleashed the economic expansion of the 1980's, we exposed forever the failures of socialism and reaffirmed our status as the world's greatest economic power. When we sent troops to

the Gulf, we showed that we take principles seriously enough to risk dying for them.

But there's another message. There's another message. We also take them seriously enough to help others in need. Today, men and women of Operation Provide Comfort toil on behalf of suffering Kurds. And today, our thoughts and prayers also go to the hundreds of thousands of people victimized by a vicious cyclone in Bangladesh. Our Government has sent aid to that stricken land. Dozens of private agencies have sprung into action as well, sending food, water, supplies, and donations. The humanitarian instinct runs deep in our people, always has. It is an essential element of our American character.

Our successes have banished the Vietnam-era phantoms of doubt and distrust. In my recent travels around the country I have felt an idealism that we Americans supposedly had lost. People have faith in the future. And they ask: What next? And they ask: How can I help?

We have rediscovered the power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. Like generations before us, we have begun to define for ourselves the promise of freedom.

I'd like to talk today about the nature of freedom and how its demands will shape our future as a nation.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, and exploration. Here, merit conquers circumstance. Here, people of vision—Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Martin Luther King, Jr.—outgrow rough origins and transform a world. These achievements testify to the greatness of our free enterprise system. In past ages, and in other economic orders, people could acquire wealth only seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

This system, built upon the foundation of private property, harnesses our powerful instincts for creativity. It gives everyone an interest in shared prosperity, in freedom, and in respect. No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and

setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race.

But, you see, such bullying is outrageous. It's not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. So, let us fight back against the boring politics of division and derision. Let's trust our friends and colleagues to respond to reason. As Americans we must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry once and for all. And I remind myself a lot of this: We must conquer the temptation to assign bad motives to people who disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, men and women must feel free to speak their hearts and minds. We must build a society in which people can join in common cause without having to surrender their identities.

You can lead the way. Share your thoughts and your experiences and your hopes and your frustrations. Defend others' rights to speak. And if harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony, not inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another equally important dimension of freedom, and that is the freedom of spirit. In recent times, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: "Whom can I sue?" Even worse, many would-be Samaritans wonder: "Will someone sue me?" Talented, concerned men and women avoid such noble professions as medicine for fear that unreasonable and undefined liability claims will force them to spend more time in court than in the office or in the hospital.

And at the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families and schools and churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When government tries to serve as a parent or a teacher or a moral guide, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility, to argue that only government must help people in need.

If we've learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Indeed, as we pile law upon law, program upon program, rule upon rule, we actually can weaken people's moral sensitivity. The rule of law gives way to the rule of the loophole, the notion that what-

ever is not illegal must be acceptable. In this way, great goals go unmet.

When Lyndon Johnson—President Johnson—spoke here in 1964, he addressed issues that remain with us. He proposed revitalizing cities, rejuvenating schools, trampling down the hoary harvest of racism, and protecting our environment—back in 1964. He applied the wisdom of his time to these challenges. He believed that cadres of experts really could care for the millions. And they would calculate ideal tax rates, ideal rates of expenditures on social programs, ideal distributions of wealth and privilege. And in many ways, theirs was an America by the numbers: If the numbers were right, America was right.

And gradually, we got to the point of equating dollars with commitment. And when programs failed to produce progress, we demanded more money. And in time, this crusade backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty invited dependency.

We should have learned that while the ideals behind the Great Society were noble—and indeed they were—the programs weren't always up to the task. We need to rethink our approach. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We don't want a land of loopholes. We want a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to just create a slogan. I was issuing a challenge. An effective government must know its limitations and respect its people's capabilities. In return, people must assume the final burden of freedom, and that's responsibility.

An introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. Most of our greatest responsibilities confront us not in the government hearing rooms but around dinner tables, on the streets, at the office. If you teach your children and others how to hate, they will learn. And if you encourage them not to trust others, they'll follow your lead. And if you talk about compassion but refuse to help those in need, your children will learn to look the other way.

rigorously as ours. We've become the most egalitarian system in history—and one of the most harmonious—because we let people work freely toward their destinies.

When governments try to improve on freedom—say, by picking winners and losers in the economic market—they fail. No conclave of experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdoms of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Our administration appreciates the power of free enterprise, and our economic and domestic programs try to apply the genius of the market to the needs of the Nation. For example, we want to eliminate rules and redtape that bind the hands and the minds of entrepreneurs and innovators.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the Nation to reinvent the American school, to compete in the race to unleash our national genius.

We've incorporated market incentives into our legislative proposals, so taxpayers will get a fair return on their dollars. Just look at last year's child-care legislation and the Clean Air Act, or this year's transportation bill.

We've proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that strengthens the financial system upon which economic growth depends. We repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains, so people with dreams have a chance of achieving them.

And we want to extend this dignity of home ownership to people who live now in government-owned apartments. Home ownership gives people dignity.

And although we have tried to transfer power into the hands of the people, we haven't done enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to help people build good lives for themselves and their families. The average worker in the United States now spends more than 4 months of each year working just to pay the tax man, and increasing numbers of citizens see that burden as a barrier to achieving their dreams. We've tried to put on a lid on the spending that drives taxes and to concentrate Government efforts on truly national purposes. It's only common sense. And if we want to build faith in Government, we must

demand public services that serve the people. We must insist upon compassion that works.

But the power to create also rests on other freedoms, especially the freedom—and I think about that right now—[*applause*]*—to think and speak one's mind.* [*Applause*] You see—thank you. The freedom—I had this written into the speech, and I didn't even know if these guys were going to be here.

No, but seriously, the freedom to speak one's mind—that may be the most fundamental and deeply revered of all our liberties. Americans to debate, to say what we think—because, you see, it separates good ideas from bad, it defines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests, it tears off the blinders of ignorance and prejudice and lets us move on to greater things.

Ironically, on the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States, including on some college campuses. The notion of political correctness has ignited controversy across the land. And although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudice with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits.

What began as a crusade for civility has soured into a cause of conflict and even censorship. Disputants treat sheer force—getting their foes punished or expelled, for instance—as a substitute for the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micro-manage casual conversation have only incited distrust. They have invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, action. And in their own Orwellian way, crusades that demand correct behavior crush diversity in the name of diversity.

We all should be alarmed at the rise of intolerance in our land and by the growing tendency to use intimidation rather than reason in settling disputes. Neighbors who disagree no longer settle matters over a cup of coffee. They hire lawyers, and they go to court. And political extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech,

Once your commencement ends, you'll have to rely on the sternest stuff of all: yourself. And in the end, government will not make you good or evil. The quality of your life—and of our nation's future—depends as much on how you treat your fellow women and men as it does on the way in which we in Washington conduct our affairs of state. After all, the opposite of greed is not taxation. It is service.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must protect the freedoms of enterprise, speech, and spirit. You must strengthen the family. You must build a peaceful and prosperous future. We don't need another Great Society with huge and ambitious programs administered by the incumbent few. We need a Good Society built upon the deeds of the many, a society that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship, to join in partnership with family, friends, government to make our world better. The Good Society does not demand agonizing sacrifice. It requires something within everyone's reach: common decency—common decency and commitment. Know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles—live them.

Let me leave you today with an exhortation: Make the most of your abilities. Question authority, but examine yourself. Demand good government, but strive to do what is good. Take risks. Muster the courage to be what I call a Point of Light. Also, define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills. Focus on freedom's promise, on your promise.

When John Kennedy talked of sending a man to the Moon, he didn't say, we want to avoid getting stranded on this planet. He said, we'll send a man to the Moon. We must be equally determined to achieve our common goals.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime, quite possibly of yours. The old way of doing things have run their course. Find new ones. Dare to serve others, and future generations will never forget the example you set.

This is your day. Barbara and I are very proud to share it with you. Congratulations to each and every one of you. And thank you for the honor.

And God bless the United States of America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 11:22 a.m. in Michigan Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to James J. Duderstadt, president of the university; Gov. Engler's wife, Michelle; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Following his remarks, President Bush traveled to Camp David, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Health

May 4, 1991

President Bush is relaxed, comfortable, and having dinner with Mrs. Bush in his room at Bethesda Naval Hospital this evening. He is in good spirits and the doctors' reports are very positive.

President Bush developed atrial fibrillation, which is an irregularity of the heartbeat, while running at Camp David this afternoon about 4:20 p.m. This condition presented itself as unusual fatigue during the run. The President was evaluated by Dr. Michael Nash at Camp David, who detected the irregular heartbeat and found him to be entirely stable with no other symptoms.

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Bush and Dr. Nash, flew by helicopter to Bethesda Naval Hospital, arriving about 5:58 p.m. this evening. At the time of hospital admission, the irregular heartbeat was still present, but the President was completely alert and entirely stable, with no complaints. The President walked into the hospital on his own power.

An electrocardiogram showed no abnormalities except the irregular heart rhythm. An ultrasound examination of the heart showed no structural abnormalities and normal heart function.

The President is undergoing treatment for atrial fibrillation with the drug digoxin. Diagnostic testing and initial treatment took approximately 1 hour. The President

4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Washington Whispers; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 62 words

BODY:

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

6TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Pg. 27

LENGTH: 574 words

HEADLINE: Prospects for a Thaw: Process Will Be Slow

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 21, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 588 words

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

BYLINE: By ART BUCHWALD

BODY:

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

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

"What should we watch for?"

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

"Why is Gorbachev getting such a good press?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE:

Column; Wire

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March 15, 1985, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; World News; A29

LENGTH: 758 words

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

BYLINE: By Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, March 14, 1985

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 861 words

HEADLINE: DEATH THINS RANKS OF SOVIET OLD GUARD

BYLINE: By Howard A. Tyner, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; GROUP; OFFICIAL; END

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1026 words

HEADLINE: BUSH, GORBACHEV TALK

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

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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an arms-control accord with the Russians."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; RELATION; UNITED STATES

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 1005 words

HEADLINE: SOVIETS: BUSH ENCOURAGED BY GORBACHEV TALK

BYLINE: By WILLIAM J. EATON, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

'Good Time to Move'

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

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

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

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

Kissinger Cautions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Strong Impression'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thatcher Optimistic

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

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

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

Armored Vehicle

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

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

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

Times reporter George Skelton in Washington contributed to this story.

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

24TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

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

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: NEWS SUMMARY;

BODY:

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1985 International

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE: Summary

SUBJECT: Terms not available

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March 12, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

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

LENGTH: 865 words

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

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

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 11

BODY:

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

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

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

'Looking Forward' to Meeting

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

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

'I Started Thinking About It'

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

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

'An Open Mind'

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

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

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

Other Commitments Cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Legitimate Agenda' Sought

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

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

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

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

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

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

GRAPHIC: photo of President Reagan (page A17)

SUBJECT: DEATHS; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Vera Von Wiren- Garczynski, Ph.D.
Professor of Slavic & Russian Area Studies
The City College of the City University of New York

President, Slavic American Cultural
Association, Inc.
President, American Russian Heritage
Association
US Delegate, AIMAV/UNESCO
Commissioner, US NC HOLOCAUST COMMISSION

91 JUL 29 A 8: 04

Chairman, Slavic American National
Republican Heritage Council
Recipient, Congressionally sponsored Ellis
Island Medal of Honor for Russian
ancestry on the 100th anniversary
of the Statue of Liberty

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FAX NO.: 202 456 6218
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FAX: 516 759 4614
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MESSAGE:

Looked all over my library, found three Yevtushnko's books except they don't have the Babiy Yar. Called all my friends, if they find it I will get it. meanwhile, I can suggest that a friend of mine from the APN (USSR PRESS AGENCY) Marina Khachaturova, provide you with a copy as soon as they arrive in Moscow. her telephone in Moscow: (home) 433 86 78 office: 201 4747
Called you in your office - no answer, that's why I am faxing. Will check with you tomorrow. Good luck to both of us!

Vau

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Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko.

Yevtushenko Poems

Introduction by Yevgeny Yevtushenko

Authorized translation by Herbert Marshall

Bilingual Edition

E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. New York 1966

Бабий Яр

Над Бабьим Яром памятников нет.
Крутой обрыв, как грубое надгробье.
Мне страшно.

Мне сегодня столько лет,
как самому еврейскому народу.
Мне кажется сейчас —

я иудей.
Вот я бреду по древнему Египту.
А вот я, на кресте распятый, гибну,
и до сих пор на мне — следы гвоздей.
Мне кажется, что Дрейфус —

это я.
Мещанство —
Я за решеткой,
Затравленный,

мой доносчик и судья.
Я попал в кольцо,
оплеванный,
облганный.

И дамочки с брюссельскими оборками,
визжа, зонтами тычут мне в лицо.
Мне кажется —

я мальчик в Белостоке.
Кровь льется, растекаясь по полам.
Бесчинствуют вожди трактирной стойки
и пахнут водкой с луком по полам.
Я, сапогом отброшенный, бессилен.
Напрасно я погромщиков молю.
Под гогол:

«Бей жидов, спасай Россию!»
Лабзаник избивает мать мою.
О, русский мой народ!

Я знаю — ты
по сущности интернационален.

Babi Yar¹

There are no memorials over Babi Yar.
Only an abrupt bank like a crude epitaph rears.
I stand terror-stricken.

Today I'm as ancient in years
as the Jewish people themselves are.
It seems to me at this moment—

I am an Israelite.
Now I'm wandering over Ancient Egypt in captivity.
And now on the cross I perish, crucified,
and to this day the marks of the nails are on me.
I am Dreyfus now,

inside my mind.
My informer and judge
the Philistines.

I am behind bars.
Persecuted,
reviled,
hounded.

I was trapped in the roundup.
And ladies with flounces of Brussels' lace
shriekingly poke parasol points in my face.
It seems to me—

I'm a boy in Bialystok.
Blood flows over the floor, red-running.
Outrages are committed by bullets of vodka shops,
stinking of drink and raw onions.
I lie helpless, by jackboots kicked about.
I plead to the pogromites in vain.
"Beat the Yids! Save Russia!"

they shout:
My mother by shopkeeper is beaten and flayed.
Oh, my Russian people!

By nature
you are international
I know.

¹ One of the four poems chosen by Shostakovich for his *Thirteenth Symphony*.

Но часто те, чьи руки нечисты,
твоим чистейшим именем бряцали.
Я знаю доброту моей земли.
Как подло,

что, и жилочкой не дрогнув,
антисемиты пышно нарекли
себя «Союзом русского народа»!
Мне кажется —

я — это Анна Франк,
прозрачная,
как веточка в апреле.

И я люблю.
И мне не надо фраз.

Мне надо,
чтоб друг в друга мы смотрели.
Как мало можно видеть,
обонять!

Нельзя нам листьев
и нельзя нам неба.
Но можно очень много —

это нежно
друг друга в темной комнате обнять.
Сюда идут?

Не бойся — это гулы
самой весны —
она сюда идет.

Иди ко мне.
Дай мне скорее губы.

Ломают дверь?
Нет — это ледоход...
Над Бабьим Яром шелест диких трав.
Деревья смотрят грозно,
по-судейски.

Все молча здесь кричит,
и, шапку сняв,
я чувствую,
как медленно седею.

But often with unclean hands, such creatures
besmirch your own clean name.
The goodness of my native land I know.
How foul it is, that—

without turning a hair—
anti-semites a title self-pompously bestowed:
"We're "The Union of the Russian People,"" they declared.
I am Anna Frank

it seems to me,
as frail as a twig
in April weather.

And I love.
And for empty phrases have no need.

I want
just that we should see each other.
Yet how little one can see
and smell!

We're forbidden the leaves,
forbidden the sky as well.
But we can still do so much—

tenderly
embrace each other in the darkness of the room.
They're coming?

Don't be afraid—that is the din
of oncoming Spring itself—
quickening.

Come to me.
Give me your lips quickly.

They're breaking down the door?
No, that's Spring—ice-breaking in. . . .²
Over Babi Yar only rustling wild grasses move.

The trees watch sternly,
like judges arrayed.

Here silence itself cries aloud—
my hat I remove,

and feel
I am gradually going gray.

² In Russia the ice breaking and melting is the signal of spring.

И сам я,
как сплошной и беззвучный крик,
над тысячами тысяч погребенных.
Я —
каждый здесь расстрелянный
старик.

Я —
каждый здесь расстрелянный
ребенок.

Ничто во мне
про это не забудет!
«Интернационал»
пусть прогремит,
когда навеки похоронен будет
последний на земле антисемит.
Еврейской крови нет в крови моей.
Но ненавистен злобой заскорузлой
я всем антисемитам,
как еврей.

И потому —
я настоящий русский!

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And I myself
am like an endless soundless cry,
over these thousands and thousands of buried ones.
Each one
of these murdered old men
am I.

I
am each of their murdered
sons.
Nothing will ever forget this
within me.
Let the "International"
thunder its might
when will be buried for eternity
the earth's last anti-Semite.
No Jewish blood my veins runs through,
but I am hated with an encrusted passion,
by all anti-Semites, as if I
were a Jew,
and because of that
I'm a genuine Russian!

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NASSAU COUNTY HOLOCAUST COMMISSION

Prof. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski
Commissioner

Tel.: (516) 671 3032 FAX: (516) 759 4614

3 Northfiled Road
Glen Cove, N.Y. 11542

President George Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.

July 25, 1991

Dear President Bush:

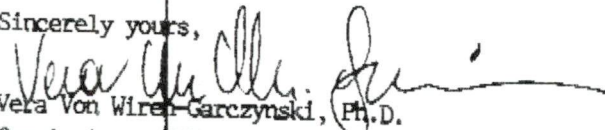
This letter is written on behalf of the "Former Soviet Inmates of Nazi Concentration Camps" who fought in the Soviet resistance during World War II. This association has its head quarters in Leningrad, and is headed by Mr. Victor (Moses) Gabai. The reason I am speaking on their behalf, is due to the fact, that in my capacity as a commissioner of the Nassau County Holocaust Commission (NCHC), during my last two trips to USSR, in April and June of 1991, I made an effort to contact the former victims of Nazi concentrations camps in Leningrad, and helped them organizing into a committee. Only under "Glasnost" was it possible to get this committee to register, since president Gorbachev's predecessors, particularly Joseph Stalin, persecuted those Soviet citizens who became either P.W. or concentration camp inmates; they were sent to the "Gulags." The devastating experience in concentration camps as well as Stalin's persecution made these people extremely cautious and fearful, and made them silent. With the encouragement from the U.S. (NCHC) through numerous conversations with the former inmates, by showing them publications about the "Holocaust" in the United States, Belgium, France, etc., I finally succeed in getting the committee started, which is rapidly growing into a big organization.

When Mr. Gabai and other members of the "Leningrad Holocaust" Committee (with whom I am constantly in touch) heard of the Summit in Moscow, they expressed great hope, that you might visit Leningrad. In their opinion, it would only stand logic, that "the symbol of freedom and justice," the president of the United States, which has the most active Holocaust Council, will honor with his presence the city which also symbolizes the struggle against injustice and oppression when it offered resistance during the blockade of Leningrad. This newly organized "Leningrad Holocaust Committee" hopes that the president of the United States will visit and pay tribute to this "heroic city," as well as recognize the existence of those former "freedom fighters," who endured suffering during their struggle for freedom and justice, as they fought on the side of the United States of America as allied forces.

I will arrive in Leningrad on August 1st, where I will continue my work with the "Leningrad Holocaust Committee," and Mr. Gabai, and I sincerely hope, that their appeal to you will find some response.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am,

Sincerely yours,


Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, Ph.D.
Commissioner NCHC

VWG:af

cc: Mr. Harvey Meyerhoff, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Dr. Maurice Goldstein, International Auschwitz Committee, Brussels

As the US correspondent of the International Women Press Club, I will do a series of articles in connection with the "Holocaust Committee" in Leningrad and response around the world to their needs.

Post-Flag

VOLUME 28 - NUMBER 10

NEW JERSEY - WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1990

An American Scholar Joins The International Women Press Club (IWPC)

The International Women Press Club, IWPC, established last year, sponsored by NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Journalists' Union, was joined by Dr. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, a professor at the City College of the City University of New York and President of the Slavic American Cultural Association.

The IWPC is also known as "33 Women and One Man". This title reflects the number of women journalists whose number is 33; women journalists from all over the world, and one man, because during the official meetings, one man, a leading expert in his field, is always present. The 33 women journalists themselves, are either leading journalists or outstanding personalities in their own field and country. Prof. Von Wiren-Garczynski, was the 33rd woman journalist to join this exclusive International Women Press Club, and became its Chartered Member.



President George Bush and Prof. Garczynski during her recent visit to the White House.



Rolland G. Smith of Channel 9 TV with Prof. Garczynski (January 1990) in Moscow. This was Smith's first visit to the USSR.

- Following are some of the goals of the IWPC:
- (1) Implement "GLASNOST" ideas to promote the humanist and democratic spirit in foreign relations.
 - (2) present information according to a new model proceeding from the priority of universal human values.
 - (3) promote the idea of a world as a home shared by the human race, and encourage women to contribute to the implementation of this idea.
 - (4) promote PERESTROIKA in international journalism, present women's view on the key political, social and moral issues of the day, and reflect the peace making mission of women.
 - (5) to help to solve problems

- shared by all women of the world, and attract global public attention to such problems.
- (6) to be not only a bridge between East and West, but a link between women and men, and promote their mutual understanding.
- (7) to give women in the "East" an idea of women's life in the "West", of their problems and achievements, and the other way around.

- (8) to promote women's political awareness and encourage women community leaders.
 - (9) to publish an International Women Magazine in several languages.
- In short to present:
The world Through Women's Eyes
How Politics are made.
Secure important interviews with World leaders (Women and Men).