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4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 25, 1985

SECTION: Washington Whispers; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 62 words

BODY:

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

6TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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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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Los Angeles Times

March 21, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 588 words

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

BYLINE: By ART BUCHWALD

BODY:

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

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

"What should we watch for?"

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

"Why is Gorbachev getting such a good press?"

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

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

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

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"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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Strong Impression'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thatcher Optimistic

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

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

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

Armored Vehicle

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

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

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

Times reporter George Skelton in Washington contributed to this story.

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

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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

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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

Baker argued that the operation was fully authorized by Security Council Resolution 688 of April 5, which called for the use of "all resources" to alleviate the suffering of the refugees. Some international lawyers expressed agreement. Still, analysts said that the main reason Washington did not seek fresh Security Council authorization for its plan was the fear that the Soviet Union and China, with ethnic problems of their own, would delay or even veto a proposal. As British Defence Secretary Thomas King pointed out in Parliament on Thursday, "time is of the essence" when people are dying at an estimated rate of 1,000 a day.

Although the Americans took the lead in the allied program, supplying by far the greatest number of men and machines, the British and French were clearly the instigators. British Prime Minister John Major, strongly supported by French President François Mitterrand, first proposed the creation of safe havens—inside Iraq but protected by allied troops—at a European Community summit on April 8. Initially, Bush expressed opposition to the idea. "I do not want a single soldier or airman shoved into a civil war in Iraq that has been going on for ages," he declared. But Major and Mitterrand kept up the pressure, repeatedly telephoning Bush over a 10-day period with pleas for him to reconsider. A French foreign ministry official, who wished to remain anonymous, said last week: "Their arguments were essentially the same—that our victory in the Gulf would be tarnished if we failed to intervene." Said a British diplomat: "We nudged and nudged the Americans, and suddenly they came through like a rocket."

Another factor in Bush's decision was plainly the impact of media reports and nightly television footage that has graphically depicted the Kurdish suffering. But when Bush did act, some experts expressed disappointment. Christine Helms, for one, a Washington-based Middle East analyst who was a White House adviser on Iraq during the Gulf crisis, told *Maclean's*: "Bush's action could be very problematic in the long run. He has created a potential arena for Kurdish groups seeking not just autonomy but independence, and that will have a destabilizing effect on Turkey."

For the moment, however, those considerations have been swept aside by the desperate needs of the refugees. And when the huge allied operation began last week, the zeal of the people taking part in it was evident. Second Lieut. Charles Kind, a U.S. army helicopter pilot based in southern Turkey for the relief operation, declared: "You feel a lot better about doing this than combat, because you're not trying to kill people." For Kind and his comrades, flying in mountainous territory and landing amid thousands of desperate, starving people was clearly a hazardous undertaking. For Bush and his allies, the open-ended and politically unpredictable relief effort seemed as dangerous as it was vital.

JOHN BIERMAN with SCOTT PETERSON in Isikveren, WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington and PETER LEWIS in Paris

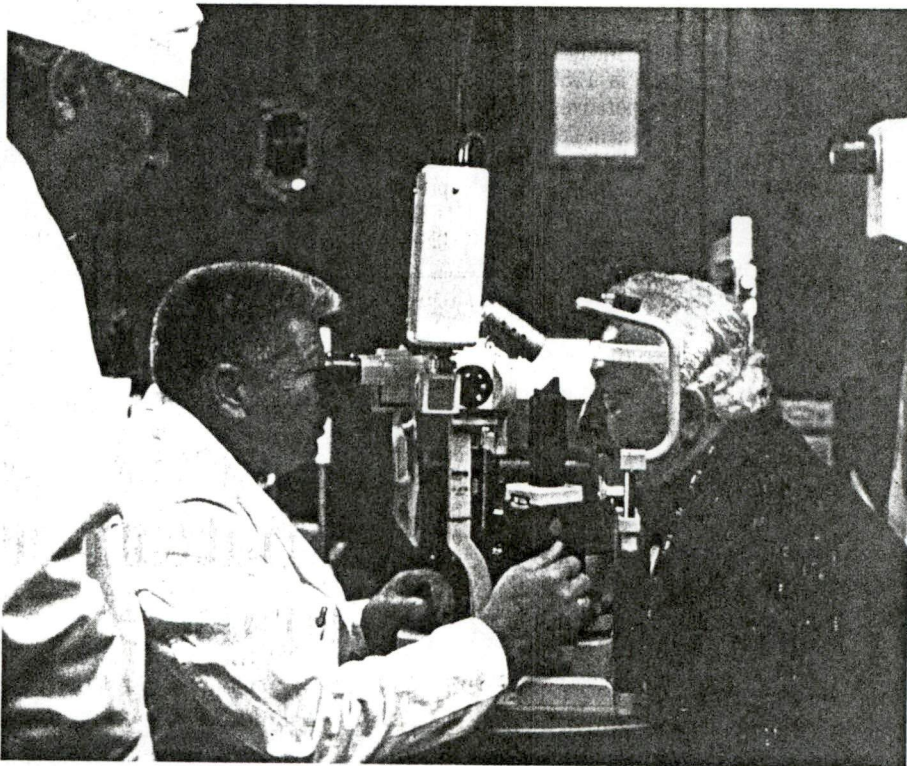
THE SOVIET UNION

Capitalism, Soviet-style

Ruble millionaires form their own club

On Leninsky Prospect, the Moscow Building Materials Exchange offers a pointed alternative to the faltering system that Vladimir Lenin helped found in 1917. There, on a major thoroughfare that commemorates the former Soviet leader, 25 commodity brokers spend 12-hour days in unabashed—and legal—pursuit of profits. They act as middlemen between the Soviet buyers and sellers of bulk consignments ranging from lumber to pantyhose—almost any item, in fact, that is in demand in a shortage-ridden society. With his 28-year-old brother, Dimitri, Herman Sterli-

helped to found the Young Millionaires' Club of Russia earlier this month. Although not wealthy by Western standards—a ruble millionaire has a net worth of about \$32,000—the young entrepreneurs, all under 35, have banded together to form a sort of trade union and protection society. And to underline their opposition to the current Soviet system, club members say that they will not admit any candidates who still belong to the Communist party. But in one way, at least, the club will not diverge from the prevailing traditions in the top echelons of Soviet government and bureau-



Fyodorov (centre) at his Moscow eye clinic: private businesses in all but name

gov, 24, opened the exchange three months ago, joining more than 170 similar trading operations across the country. And as exchange president, the intense, bespectacled entrepreneur has prospered, earning one million rubles from his share of sales commissions during the first month of business alone. But that success has made him a focus of envy: decades of Communist indoctrination have ingrained many Soviet officials with a deep distrust of successful businessmen. "The government," said Sterligov, "believes that a poor man is an honest man and that a rich man is a thief."

To counter that widely held view, Sterligov

cracy: it will be a bastion of male power. As a miniskirted secretary refilled Sterligov's teacup last week, he said that women could become members in principle. But he added: "I do not know of any women entrepreneurs in Russia. Rich women in this country have usually earned their money in another way"—a clear reference to the so-called oldest profession, prostitution.

In any event, of the 12 founding members only the Sterligov brothers and one other businessman were willing to disclose their identities publicly. All, however, swiftly emphasized that they had legally earned the millions of rubles that are required for member-

ship. That sense of caution appears to be well-founded: the Soviet Union still has stringent rules governing private business, including a recent presidential decree that Kremlin officials say is intended to protect the country's sagging economy from exploitation. The law allows the police to enter business premises at any time and inspect ledgers without a search warrant.

Sterligov shrugs off the sporadic visits by local police officers. "It is all legal," he says of his operations, walking through the long, narrow trading hall that he rents for \$160 per month from the Moscow City Transport Agency. "Anyway, the police tell me that they have no training for that sort of work and do not know how to read the documents they are examining." But Andrei Fyodorov, the operator of Kropotkinskay 36, one of Moscow's best private restaurants, expressed a gloomier view to *Maclean's* last week. Said Fyodorov: "Every day begins and ends with the fear that the police will burst into our restaurant and, under any pretext, conduct a search."

Despite that recent chill to the business climate, homegrown Soviet enterprise has continued to grow since President Mikhail Gorbachev first eased restrictions in 1987. Now, there are about 250,000 co-operatives spread across the country, many of them flourishing under an ideological fiction which holds that they are new forms of worker-organized collectives that have sprung up to fulfil unmet needs. In fact, most of the enterprises, from Sterli-

gov's commodity exchange to physician Svyatoslav Fyodorov's massive, Moscow-based Eye Surgery Clinic, are private businesses in all but name, with an owner-boss in charge. Despite dramatic expansion, however, the co-op movement is still only a small part of the moribund Soviet economy, with about six million employees in a national labor force of 113 million.

For Sterligov, who dropped out of first-year law classes at Moscow University and who had no previous business experience, founding a commodity exchange has been personally profitable. That is because the business, whose logo bears the likeness of Sterligov's pet shepherd dog, Alisa, handles material each day worth about 12 million rubles, or \$387,000. Inside the dimly lit hall, buyers and sellers huddle around phones or shuffle papers that list a startling array of goods. Some of the items, including usually scarce building materials, come from state enterprises that can legally sell surplus goods at market prices once they have met state production quotas. Other items ranging from cars to television sets are the personal property of Soviet citizens.

And on every completed sale, Sterligov receives 0.42 per cent of the sales price. The 25 brokers, who each paid \$24,000 for the right to make deals at the exchange's long trestle tables, earn commissions worth 2.08 per cent of each closed sale. Said Sterligov: "We are all profiteers here."

Last week, however, Sterligov looked more like the university student he recently was than

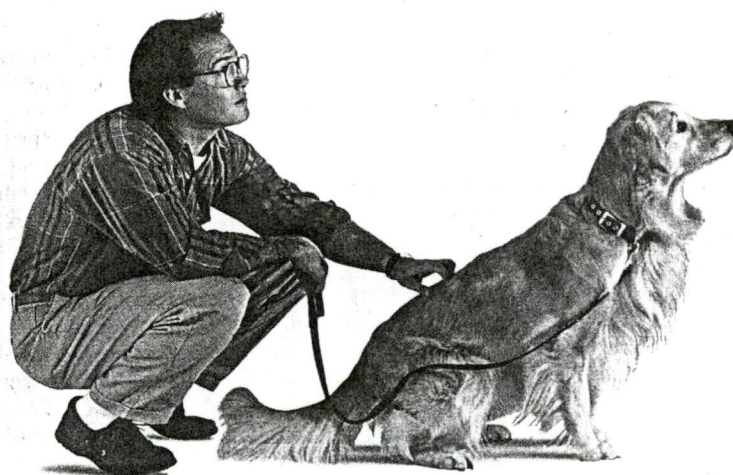
a rich businessman. Dressed in casual slacks and a black leather jacket, and smoking his way through a pack of Marlboro cigarettes, he complained bitterly that Soviet authorities were chronically unable to distinguish between straightforward capitalism and illegal activities.

At times, he echoed restaurateur Fyodorov's view that Soviet businessmen might soon face even greater government harassment. And, he said, he could not even find relief from his high-pressure business by indulging in some high-quality shopping. There are few readily available luxury goods in the Soviet Union, and Sterligov has not yet managed to replace the modest, Soviet-built Zhiguli sedan that he wrecked recently in a traffic accident.

He is also wary about making a large-scale personal investment, such as buying a house or apartment, because he says that the government might reverse its timid moves towards privatization and confiscate personal property. As a result, he has confined his consumer spending to such items as televisions and video-cassette recorders, popular merchandise that at the very least has resale value. Added Sterligov glumly: "Now I have four VCRs." Despite such frustrations, Sterligov predicts that he will still be in business when a Moscow street that is named after Lenin succumbs totally to the inevitable—and becomes a showcase for capitalism.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

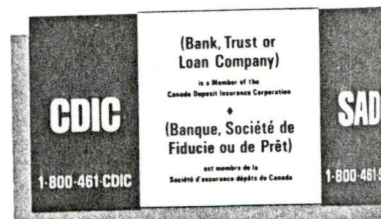
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RISKY BUSINESS

When the Soviet Union's prime minister accused the West of trying to spark an economic coup of his country, he was also deepening an assault on home-grown capitalists such as Artyem Tarasov. Moscow's first official millionaire, the 40-year-old Tarasov has led the charge for market reforms. Now he and other wannabe capitalists are in full retreat.



Tarasov

An inventor and trader, Tarasov built the economic dynamo Istok by swapping materials such as wood and fertilizer for high-tech goods. But for Tarasov, who is also a Russian parliamentarian, the good times ended last month shortly after he accused Mikhail Gorbachev of secretly agreeing to sell Japan the Kuril Islands, which the Soviets seized at the end of World War II. That's when government agents raided Tarasov's offices, and now they want to charge him with the new crime of insulting Gorbachev. But Tarasov's bigger problem may come from investigations of his enterprises. Protests by liberals aside, he could well have tripped in the maze of intentionally vague Soviet trade laws that bar business practices regarded as acceptable in the West.

Other businessmen face deeper problems; many of them have been accused of moving scarce resources onto black markets, thus improving profitability. And many entrepreneurs fear they will face the fate of the kulaks who profited under Lenin's economic liberalization, only to wind up in Siberia, or worse, under Stalin. Hard-liners regard Tarasov and his ilk as "malignant tumors" on society. That's a far cry from the role as the heart and soul of a revitalized Soviet economy that these entrepreneurs expected to play only a few months ago.

BY JEFF TRIMBLE

PEOPLE



ZORA NEALE HURSTON and **LANGSTON HUGHES**, two leading lights of American literature, collaborated on a play that they hoped would hit Broadway and radically alter theatrical depictions of the ways black Americans lived and spoke. But the two writers quarreled over the folk comedy, and their close friendship foundered, as did plans for producing their play. Now "Mule Bone" has finally opened on Broadway—more than 60 years after it was written.



DOUGLAS HANN has a good reason to watch what he says from now on. The Brown University junior is believed to be the first student ever expelled from college for violating "hate speech" regulations. On his 21st birthday last October, the football player stood inebriated in a dormitory courtyard and shouted racial, ethnic and antihomosexual slurs. Hann, a Pittsburgh native, had been punished for a similar incident when he was a freshman. Controversial antiharassment codes have recently been instituted at several other major universities.

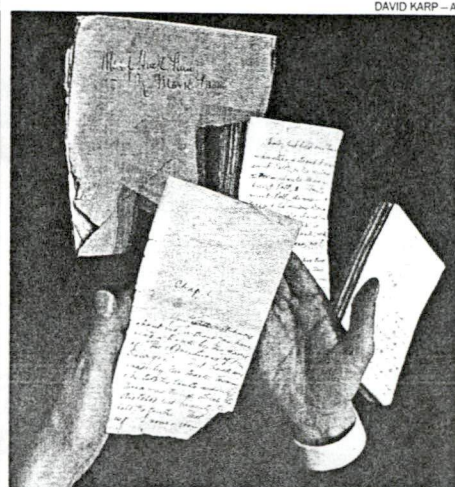
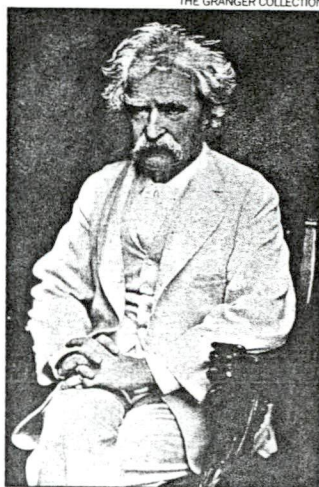


JIM BAKKER, founder of the defunct PTL Network, may see his prayers answered—sort of. Although a Virginia-based federal appeals court upheld the televangelist's 1989 conviction for fleecing his followers, the panel said Judge Robert Potter's religious beliefs improperly influenced him when he dealt Bakker a 45-year prison term. Spearheading Bakker's appeal was Alan Dershowitz, the Harvard law professor known as "the lawyer of last resort." Bakker's attorneys have asked that he be released from his Minnesota prison cell while he awaits resentencing.

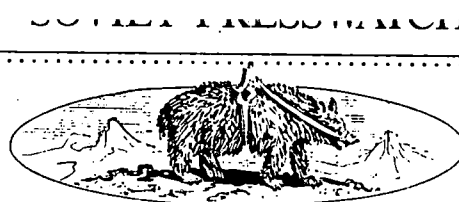


GARY SHEPHERD, thirtysomething, died last week in a tragic highway pileup. The shaggy-haired, infrequently employed English professor is survived by an unpleasant wife and a daughter, a friend named Nancy Weston, who has been suffering from cancer, and a bevy of comrades on ABC's "thirtysomething" television show. (Peter Horton, the actor who played Shepherd, will continue to direct some episodes.)

MARK TWAIN wrote and rewrote "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn." But scholars have long been stymied because half of the manuscript was lost, seemingly to the ages. That changed when 665 heavily annotated pages turned up in a California attic, revealing a gold mine. The pages vary widely from published texts and include one long section that has probably not been seen in more than a century.



Treasure trove. Twain's original manuscript has been discovered.



SPY MAGAZINE

by Cathy Young

I used to be that whenever the KGB wanted something to appear in the press—say, a denunciation of the subversive doings of human rights groups—a newspaper chosen for the purpose, whether *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, or one more obscure, would simply run an article signed by “V. Ivanov” or some other Russian equivalent of Joe Smith. Then glasnost arrived, and the KGB came out of the closet. Soviet dailies and weeklies began to carry “KGB Briefing” or “News from the KGB” columns, which usually stressed that, though the state security police may have lapsed into “violations of socialist legality” in the past, its present activities were strictly confined to protecting the Soviet people from espionage, terrorism, and organized crime.

But that, it turns out, was not the final stage in the evolution of the relationship between the KGB and the press. Before me is the first (March 1991) issue of a new Soviet monthly, the *Analytic Press*. The front page carries, in large type, an address to the reader which opens thus:

One of the co-founders of our newspaper is an intelligence service.

Specifically, the Moscow section of the KGB. Which, in itself, will put you on guard. We have no intention of representing our co-founders as innocent lambs. . . .

After explaining that the paper merely wants the general public to have access, at long last, to the wealth of information and analysis possessed by intelligence services, the editors add a coy disclaimer: “Over 90 percent of our editorial staff do not work for the KGB, and the proofs are not submitted [to that agency] for approval.” Weirder still, the other co-founder of *Analytic Press* is the independent film studio Contact-Film; the last page, consequently, is devoted to film news and reviews.

What does the KGB have to say for itself? KGB major Andrei Oligov explains that reports about the KGB performing services for Soviet businesspeo-

Cathy Young is the author of *Growing Up in Moscow* (Ticknor & Fields).

ple (see *TAS*, March 1991) are greatly exaggerated but not completely untrue (“We could help Soviet enterprises become more competitive in the international market”), and asserts that such things are common all over the world (CIA director William Webster is quoted as saying that the Agency is beginning to monitor the economic activities of other countries in order to boost the competitiveness of U.S. corporations).

On the same page appear the results of a survey measuring “negative attitudes of the population of the Russian Federation” toward various institutions. According to the survey, the KGB is not as unpopular as some other Soviet institutions: republic-wide, it gets a negative rating of 40 percent, coming out ahead of Communist party structures (62 percent), the Komsomol (58 percent), local councils of people’s deputies (45 percent), official trade unions (45 percent), and the Soviet Council of Ministers (44 percent). The results are broken down regionally: the KGB is rated less negatively in Moscow (31 percent) and Leningrad (33 percent) than in the republic as a whole, beating the courts, prosecutors, and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The mind boggles—before it registers the fact that there is no mention of how the survey was conducted or by whom. *Cui bono?*

There is more: a sympathetic piece on Seventh-Day Adventists, advice to investors, an excerpt from the memoirs of the head of the Czarist secret police in 1905–17 (the KGB in search of its roots?) and, for some unfathomable reason, a “poetry corner,” with selections from classical Chinese poetry next to an article charmingly titled “The KGB in a Changing World.” What the KGB is trying to accomplish by branching out into publishing can be gleaned from the magazine’s economic and political commentary, which suggests that the transition to a market economy can proceed painlessly if guided by a firm hand (invisible, perhaps, but not in the sense meant by Adam Smith).

All the same, our new, image-conscious, pinstripe-clad *Komitet* is careful to emphasize that it is on the side of civ-

ilization. An article on the dangers the “brain drain” poses to the Soviet economy ends by noting that the flow cannot be stopped by “prohibitive methods”: “After all, our people have become real experts at getting around various governmental bans. Moreover, this would look abnormal in the context of worldwide legal practices.” Even more remarkable is an article entitled “KGB in the Back-Rooms of Shops,” signed by one Andrei Gladkov, who takes *Vremya* to task for its reports about the KGB hunting down dishonest shop personnel and “claiming so many million rubles’ worth of hidden goods—a mere drop in the bucket of the Soviet consumer famine:

Drug dealers, organized crime leaders [and the like] can rejoice: KGB experts have been taken off their case and sent into battle with socialist shortages. It is a battle with no chance of victory, because it should be waged by economists and producers, not by detectives and operatives.

Gladkov (who also suggests “flexible, non-exorbitant taxes” as a way to extirpate the underground economy) laments that involving the KGB in such “campaigning” may “turn talented young people away from the KGB and lead the best operative agents to resign.”

Readers taken in by the image of a user-friendly, Milton Friedman–reading

KGB are advised to turn to the April 1 double issue of the weekly *Stolitsa* (“The Capital”), published by the Moscow City Council. In it, Lt. Col. Vladimir Aladkin of the Altai regional section of the KGB demands a full investigation of the organization in which he has been serving for fourteen years, and the resignation of its chief Vladimir Kryuchkov. The current KGB leadership, writes the brave officer, is guilty of numerous violations of law and human rights and continues to serve the Communist party, not the people.

But at least now it gives investment tips.

Nothing Sacred

Stolitsa doesn’t stop with the KGB. The double issue, not only timed to coincide with April Fool’s Day but also published close to the 121st anniversary of Lenin’s birth, features a “photo comic strip” entitled “The New Adventures of Mr. Lenin in the Land of the Bolsheviks” (a spoof on the title of an old propaganda piece about a fat American capitalist’s trip to the Soviet Union). The strip matches photographs of a near-perfect Lenin lookalike with quotations from the great leader’s voluminous works. In one of them, he shows the reader a *kukish*, a fist with the thumb sticking out between the index and middle fingers—a classic Russian “up yours” gesture—



THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR AUGUST 1991

with the caption reading, “This is the essence. This is the source of our strength and the token of the inevitable, full victory of Communism.” And this is sponsored by the same Mossoviet—Moscow City Council—that, out of sheer habit, retains its No. 1 mandate for Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin (see *TAS*, November 1990).

Meanwhile, on June 12—the same day that citizens of the Russian republic elected their own president—residents of Leningrad voted to change the name of their city back to St. Petersburg (which it was called prior to 1914, when Germany became an adversary and the German-sounding name of the then-capital of Russia was Russified to Petrograd). The name change, pushed by the city council’s current radical leadership, had already ruffled some feathers, particularly at the editorial offices of *Pravda*. A “Viewpoint” article by one Genady Seleznev (May 14), “Let Us Defend Leningrad,” argued that the name

change would be an insult to “war and labor veterans and siege survivors,” who are having a rough time as it is: “They are no longer honored, deprived of basic privileges and aid, ignored and constantly humiliated . . . by heart attack-threatening revelations about the uselessness of their heroism in the defense of Leningrad and the senselessness of the October Revolution itself.” The wartime defenders of Leningrad, Seleznev exclaims, fought for the city of Lenin, not for St. Petersburg (and certainly not for anything as puny as their lives). A referendum on renaming the city is unspeakably cruel to “the people whose hearts break from the sheer thought of such a sacrilege to the memory of the fallen.”

All right, O cruel Lensoviet, says Seleznev, if you are still planning to go ahead with your unholy referendum, issue not just one ballot per person but one for each man or woman who died in the siege and defense of Leningrad.

Now there’s a creative idea: voting ballots for the dead (it worked in Chicago, didn’t it?). Chesterton did speak of tradition as the democracy of the dead, though I doubt he meant anything quite so literal. But why restrict the application of this great principle to the Leningrad/St. Petersburg referendum? How about the presidential elections, too? The dead, after all, tend to be reliable fellows who vote exactly the way the party wants them to vote, something that can no longer be expected from the fickle living.

Two weeks later, *Pravda* explained to its readers that the adoption of the name “Leningrad” after Lenin’s death in 1924 was not, as certain slanderers claim, a dictatorial imposition by the Bolsheviks but a perfectly legitimate response to the will of “workers, peasants, Red Army men, and young people.” The same ones, perhaps, who clamored in 1982 that the town of Naberezhnye Chelny be renamed Brezhnev, then had second

thoughts six years later and demanded the town’s original name back.

An unexpected contribution to the Leningrad-vs.-St. Petersburg debate came from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who submitted an appeal to “residents of the City on the Neva river” to the TASS bureau in New York (TASS, May 29). “I have heard,” writes Solzhenitsyn, “that your city is preparing for a referendum on restoring the name of St. Petersburg. . . . I, too, would like to cast my vote and persuade you that this name should not be restored. It was imposed in the eighteenth century in violation of the Russian language and Russian consciousness.” Petrograd, he goes on to say, is the right name if the city is to be named after Peter the Great; if, as was the Czar’s original intention, it is to be named after St. Peter, the proper Russian name is “Sviato-Petrograd,” Russian for St. Peter City.

Shouldn’t Peter the Great get a ballot, too? □

To: Jennifer Grossman
From: Joe Klein

10 pages to follow.

The National Interest/Joe Klein

I WANT,
I CAN

THE NEW SOVIET MANTRA

MOSCOW

FOR THE PAST FEW WEEKS, THE BIG EVENT IN the Soviet Union hasn't been the tiresome dissembling of the 28th Communist Party Congress but the fancier—surely, more elegant—footwork of the World Cup soccer matches. True, the congress *did* attract the four American network anchormen and a world-class horde of journalists, most of whom allowed themselves to become hopelessly enmeshed in the ever-shifting (and near-incomprehensible) strategies of the key players. And it was possible that a stray tuft of news—perhaps another shuffling of the leadership—would float from the deliberations.

But most Russians seemed otherwise occupied. Summer is too fleeting and precious to waste on political dinosaurs—and the nightly drama of the matches was too compelling to ignore, even if the Soviet squad was dispatched early and ignominiously. There was, in addition, a subtle cosmopolitanism to the broadcasts: They were a link to the rest of Europe and the world. They fed the longing to belong—to rejoin civilization, to create what so many Russians call a “normal” society—that has become an obsession, especially for the younger generation.

For a visitor, the most striking aspect of World Cup mania wasn't the sport but the Western advertisements at halftime each night, especially the Adidas ads featuring Steffi Graf and a black basketball player whom I didn't recognize, cavorting on high-tech, pink-and-chartreuse punk-graphic courts—a flagrant assault on the incessant Soviet grayness—and the words I WANT I CAN . . . I WANT I CAN, scrolling across the screen (in English). Subliminally, the message collapsed into a single word, with furtive echoes of ideology and nationality—IWANTICAN. It seemed a proper mantra for the evolving Soviet Union.

How insidious: *I want. I can.* For 73 years, the apparatus of the state had been dedicated to the eradication of those two most basic impulses. And now, it seems quite clear, even the most die-hard of the dinosaurs know the battle has been lost. As the Party Congress opened, there were none of the usual stilted, hortatory banners fluttering in Red Square; the dispirited commissars seemed to have ceded agit-prop to Adidas. The dance of the apparatchiks within the Kremlin was as waxy and soulless as the Lenin mummy in the nearby crypt. (It should be noted that the bust of Stalin, arrayed with other dead



THE YOUNG AND THE RESTLESS: High spirits at a Moscow peace concert.

Soviet gerontocrats behind the crypt, has more life—a smug, satisfied wink in his granite eye.)

Gorbachev, who will be remembered a thousand years from now for his graceful retreat, seemed almost irrelevant in his writhings last week. The real political fault line in the Soviet Union wasn't so much left and right as young and old: It has become nearly impossible to find committed Communists (as opposed to lip-service party members) under the age of 40. The youth are all Iwanticans.

“Even if the worst happens and there is a coup,” says Dr. Marina Pavlova-Sil’Vanskaya of the Bogomolov Institute, a bastion of the reform movement, “it will ultimately fail. The generals won't be able to eradicate the change in consciousness among our young people, the change in values. They are no longer afraid.”

No doubt, there are vast numbers of quiet, obedient Soviet young people still milking cows at collective farms and stoking furnaces at power plants—but polls seem to indicate that even the sheep are no longer believers: According to one survey released on *Vremya*, the official nightly television news broadcast, only 10 percent of all young people had positive feelings toward Komsomol (the official Communist youth organization), while 40 percent actively disapproved of it and the rest thought it irrelevant. “Komsomol is 120,000 aging bureaucrats in search of something to do,” said one young Soviet. “They have no constituency.”

Indeed, Komsomol seems increasingly a metaphor for the Communist Party itself—time and again over the past few weeks, the young Russians I spoke with seemed disdainful toward the 28th Party Congress. “It doesn't have any impact on my life,” said Vladimir Yakovlev, 31, the editor of *Commerçant*, a popular new weekly business newspaper. “Gorbachev taught the Soviet Union how to play American football, but he's not so good at the game himself. He's part of the generation that was educated before *perestroika*—they are politically immature, unready for democracy. I don't think they have any real power left. They can *regain* power but only if they use troops.”

“The train is leaving the station,” said Ilya Saslavski, 28, the dynamic political leader of Moscow's Oktyabrsky district, “and [the Communist Party leaders] are sitting in the last wagon, debating whether to hitch onto the train.”

There is a fair amount of youthful ingenuousness in all this: Democratic reformers may have won control of Moscow, Leningrad, the Russian republic, and many other polities, but the Communist Party still runs the real show. It still controls the army, the KGB, and the ministries that manipulate the distribution of goods and services. It has the power—through its control of paper and printing presses—to make life very difficult for young rebels like Vladimir Yakovlev. Its leadership elite still enjoys food, health care, cars, and vacation homes that

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other Russians can only dream about. But it's also clear that the apparatchiks have been overwhelmed by the seismic changes *glasnost* and *perestroika* have wrought. They seem disoriented, unable to find ideological traction. "It's like watching a cat thrown against a plate-glass window, trying to hold on," says one American businessman.

There is a perverse satisfaction to the spectacle. The apparatchiks are great at rationalizing stagnation. Their two most supple buzzwords seem to be *transition* and *competence*. "The transitional period to a market economy won't be brief," recites Yuri Prokofiev, the Moscow CP leader. "It will be five years at a minimum."

That sounds reasonable, and it may even be true, but there's a problem: The line is stale. The past 73 years *also* were a transitional period, or so the party claimed—a transition to socialism. Its latest five-year plan has no more credibility than any of the others. Indeed, the apparatchiks, when pressed, have no firmer sense of what a "market economy" is than they had of their last scenario. Transition is all. It is their natural element.

Competence is an even longer shot: The hard-liners assume the reformers will fail (not unlikely, so long as the party controls the real power)—before long, people will grow nostalgic for the good old days of "social justice," which one dinosaur defined for me as "equality of poverty." Yuri Prokofiev speaks of the Muscovites who call *the party* when the new city government doesn't respond quickly enough to crises. Clearly, his fantasy is that the people will somehow forgive 73 years of stagnation and 40 million killed by Stalin. When asked how, after all that, the Communists will be able to regain credibility, he thrashes about in his rhetorical cupboard and tries this: "The party must have a clear-cut social program attractive to the bulk of the population."

"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."

More important, they know what the options are. In the end, Communism has failed not because of the American defense buildup or the disaster of Afghanistan or even the basic silliness of collectivism as a political idea—it has failed because ideology was no match for technology, for the cascade of information from the West, the VCRs and cassette recorders, computers and faxes. It became impossible for Russians *not* to know what was happening in the rest of the world. Like everyone else, they want. And, I suspect, they can.

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Commencement Remarks by Joe Klein
May 20 1990
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

President Kneedler, members of the Board, graduating seniors, parents and friends...I am honored to be here, to be asked to speak and—especially—to receive this degree. I was one of those people who waltzed his way through college, I didn't really start taking education seriously until I stopped having it done to me and started doing it to myself. In that sense, my graduation really was a commencement. When I left college I commenced learning, and I take this honorary degree today as a sign that on some level it worked. I thank you for the honor. It means a great deal to me.

Actually, this is the first commencement I've attended since my own, 22 years ago...1968. The year many of you were born. I suppose you think that was a long time ago. It was. But I remember it vividly...except for one thing: I can't for the life of me remember who the speaker was. Or what his topic was.

So I stand before you appropriately humbled...and I promise not to delay you too long on the way to the rest of your life. Although as a political reporter, I can tell you I'm always wary of the candidate who says, "I have a few brief remarks." I'll bet you Fidel Castro probably starts his speeches—the five hour ones—that way...

In any case, I'm struck by the differences—in time, in mood—between my graduation and yours. One thing I do remember quite clearly is how angry I was. We all were. There was a war on, a war that a great many of us thought was immoral and illegal... Martin Luther King had been murdered two months earlier. Robert Kennedy would be shot the very next week.

We had a sense that all these horrible things were signs that great changes were about to take place, maybe even a revolution. We were going to sweep away the dead wood—the dead wood usually included capitalism, the nuclear family, our teachers, our parents, sobriety and chastity. We were gonna show 'em. We were going to remake the world.

I still think we were right about the war, but we were wrong about so much else. There was no revolution—and none was called for. And here we are, 22 years later, in exactly the opposite situation—the appearance of utter tranquility, peace, a beautiful day... and, ironically, in the midst of a much greater revolution than the one we imagined...

You've been watching it on TV for the past year. You saw the wall go down. You saw the people in the streets. It's so monumental that it's hard to do much more than just sit there slack-jawed and watch it... but it's time to start thinking about what it really means. A few months ago I went over to Russia to get a first hand look.

Now, let me say this: American journalists don't have a great track record when it comes to reading Russia. When I was in Moscow, I couldn't stop thinking of Lincoln Steffens—one of the greatest journalists of his day—who went to Russia, Stalin's Russia, I believe—and reported. "I've been over into the future...and it works." These days, a visitor's reaction is quite the opposite—in Moscow, I had the overwhelming sense of going back in time. And clearly, nothing worked.

There was, however, an incredible excitement. Moscow felt like the world's largest dorm room... everyone in town seemed to be staying up all night, drinking vast, dramatic quantities of vodka... and thinking deep thoughts.

There was an exhilaration to it all. The country was reinventing itself. Basic political questions were being asked: How much power should a president have? Is there such a thing as economic justice? Does a successful economy demand that some people be allowed to become as rich and egotistical and obnoxious as Donald Trump?

And then later on at night, some other important questions—is it true that in America you get more than four TV channels? Is it true that Japanese cars are better? Basic questions.

I don't pretend to know how it's all going to turn out. Watching the Soviet Union writhe and struggle these past few months, it's hard to imagine how Gorbachev will be able to survive the forces that are pulling his country apart—especially the economic forces. Russian history tells us that a backlash is inevitable.

And memories of dorm life remind us that hangovers are inevitable, too. We can only hope that when they come, they won't be lethal.

But you know, there's something far more important in all this speculation about whether or not the cold war's over, or if Gorby's going to make it. There are some lessons to be learned from what's happened in Eastern Europe...

And I'd like to mention two that occurred to me when I was over there. One of them is formal—political—the other more personal.

The first is pretty obvious: Centralized bureaucracy doesn't work. It's a relic of the industrial revolution, a time when efficiency meant putting vast numbers of machines and people in a row and having them churn out cars, refrigerators... whatever. Putting vast numbers of bureaucrats in a room and having them churn out standards and regulations doesn't work either—whether in Moscow or Philly or Washington D.C..

I think we're going to see a very new politics emerge from this realization in the 1990's... it will be decentralized, customized, and market oriented.

It will achieve liberal ends through conservative means.

I think we're beginning to see the first outcroppings of this American perestroika in some interesting areas—especially in the efforts to create an educational marketplace in the cities, and allow parents to choose the schools their kids attend.

Another sign is in the environmental movement, where some of the more creative young politicians—liberal and conservatives—are talking about controlling pollution through taxation rather than regulation. For example: Seattle has the most successful recycling program in the nation. Know why? Because people are charged —by the barrel—for the amount of trash they don't recycle.

An American perestroika will also mean we give the poor some choices, too—just because they don't have much money doesn't mean they can't make wise decisions. We should think about giving them vouchers for housing and education, and tax credits for day care, instead of mandating standardized, uniform government daycare centers.

In fact, here's a Soviet-inspired rule for government in the 1990s: Standards are okay. When it comes to quality or morality, there can only be one standard of excellence... but when it comes to programs, or procedures, anything that's standardized is wrong. Speed, flexibility, the ability to experiment, to create programs to fit specific circumstances—and then shut them down when they're no longer needed—are the keys to success for both business and government in the post-industrial age.

Which brings me to the second lesson we can learn from the Soviets—one that is both more obvious and more subtle than the first... I can tell you that the most memorable thing that happened to me in Russia was seeing us—seeing America—through their eyes. It was a revelation. It gave me a better sense of who we are. It reminded me—and this is going to sound corny, but so be it—just precisely why this is the greatest nation on the earth.

Not to put too fine a point on it, but 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 McDonald's.

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..."

But the Russians don't just like our things. They like us—as people. They like our informality, the way we just barge in and make friends. An image comes to mind: I was staying at an enormous Stalinist pile of a hotel with a huge lobby... and you'd see the German and Japanese businessmen just zip through that lobby, very efficiently.

Now I know this isn't precisely analagous, but there was a group of American farmers there... and you'd hear them before you'd see them—that sharp, classic midwestern twang, “Wal Clyde, wha don't we just stop here and talk to some Russkies?” And then you'd see them in their feed caps, and plastic windbreakers and grizzled faces. They kind of wandered across the lobby like a herd of cows, grazing on the Russkies, shakin' hands, makin' friends.

And that's what they like about us. When we're at our best, we're not like people from other countries. We don't look down on the Russians, like some Europeans and Asians do. We don't have any illusions about being superior, a master race. We're mongrels—just like they are. And that gives us a certain humility.

You're probably thinking: Americans, humble? What's this guy saying? But our national humility manifests itself in a very strange fashion: We're friendly... we don't put on airs.

A Russian friend said to me, “I'd give anything to learn how to smile the way you Americans do... we were taught never to show our feelings.” Of course they were—a stray emotion could mean Siberia in the old days.

And friendship, real friendship, someone you could really be honest with, was the rarest and most valuable commodity.

We do that so easily. We take it for granted. Our goofy, naive, informal friendliness might even be considered a form of idealism. It means we tend to trust people, take 'em at face value.

This is something I never really understood before: Our openness is a political statement. It has its roots in the most basic and profound reality of American life. This is a nation of outcasts, of rebels and failures, of people who couldn't make it someplace else, so they came here. That very fact makes us more tolerant.

We know it's possible to be a failure in Lancaster, then move to California and become king of the hill. We're always in the process of moving, changing, dreaming, starting something new, starting all over again. That's why we seem so wild and free—and American to the Russians and to the rest of the world. It's why America is seen as the land of hope.

Even across an ocean, even through an iron curtain—when it was still standing—the Russian people knew this about us. They could sense our informality in the bluejeans they were so desperate to buy, they could hear the restless energy of America in our rock and roll.

And, I think, it's something we should learn to appreciate about ourselves... especially now, as we prepare to compete against the proud, brilliant Japanese and Germans—and all the others—in the global economy.

We may not be as orderly or efficient or as hard-working as they are, but our diversity makes us more creative... and the fact that each of us has a failure—an outcast, a rebel, a slave in our past, a grandparent or great-grandparent—who ate dirt in Poland or Ireland or Korea or on a plantation in the Mississippi Delta—gives us the strength to be wild and free, to try new things. Because we know failure isn't the end of the world.

In America, it's just the start of the next adventure.

It's something you should think about before you settle into your lives—before you join the law firm, or raise the family.

It's my one piece of advice to you here today. Be a real American: Get crazy. Take a risk. Start your own business. Go teach some poor kids how to read. Live somewhere else for a while. But don't just settle in—it may even be your patriotic duty: because it's always been our wildness and freshness and friendliness that's made this country great. Thank you, and good luck as you go out and change the world...

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SEARCHING THE SOVIET SOUL

By Cathy Young



Do Russians really prefer universal poverty to unequal wealth?

On the first night of a month-long stay in Moscow last September, I flipped on the TV right in the middle of a special on "Enterprise in the

USSR." A young man interviewed on the street was saying, "We were taught for 70 years that an entrepreneur is an exploiter, a grabber. Actually, enterprise is not even motivated by the desire to get rich but by the desire to leave one's mark on the world." A man in his 40s, standing in front of Moscow's

famous McDonald's, offered this view: "We have always been told that capitalists were bad, but now we can see that they prosper themselves and help the rest of us."

Where were the Russians we always hear about? You know, the ones who prefer universal poverty to unequal wealth and want not to catch up with a more successful neighbor but to burn his house down? The ones who opt for the squalor of security over the rewards of risk-taking and favor communism for its social guarantees? Of course, the selection of responses in the documentary was probably somewhat tendentious, but it seemed that the camera crew did not have a very hard time getting pro-free-market comments.

Still, the belief that Russians are not taking well to market-oriented change has become

something of an axiom. To explain this by inherent genetic traits would smack of racism (even if it's not the kind that brings a knock on the door by the sensitivity police), but cultural heritage coupled with decades of communist indoctrination will do just fine.

"For great masses of Soviet people," writes Hedrick Smith in his best-selling *The New Russians* (published in late 1990), "capitalism is still a dirty word, and the fact that someone earns more, gets more, is a violation of the egalitarian ideal of socialism." Besides ideology, "this hostility toward those who rise above the herd reflects the collective ethic of the *obshchina*," the village commune which, in czarist times, apportioned equal strips of land to peasant households, made most farming decisions, and frowned at "anyone who tried to advance beyond his peers."

In this neat scheme, large parts of Russian history disappear into the memory hole. Smith does mention that the commune system was deliberately fostered by the czarist regime as a supposed bulwark of stability. What he does not say is that in 1906, when violent peasant rebellions had proved this belief quite wrong, Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin launched an ambitious land-reform program enabling households to withdraw from the commune and claim their plots as private property. Leo Tolstoy wrote to Stolypin denouncing the measure as evil, but many peasants apparently felt otherwise: By 1915 (when the Stolypin reform became a casualty of World War I), up to 50 percent had title to their land.

Smith also forgets that through most of the 1920s, after the specter of famine and revolt had forced the Communists to retreat from their hard-line ideological stance, nearly all Russian peasants worked as individual proprietors. They did so well that, in the 1930s, eliminating those who had grown too indecently prosperous and persuading the rest to join collective farms proved an arduous job that cost millions of lives.

The view offered by Smith is more than just a Western misconception. For the ultra-right Russian nationalists, it is an article of faith that Russians are not interested in material things, only in higher spiritual ones—presumably such as killing the Jews. ("The Russian is no money-grubber, no American," emoted one such "patriot" at a spring 1990 press

conference. He'd be chagrined to learn that when Soviets were asked in a recent poll what lifestyle appealed to them most, 65 percent said "American.")

But liberal Soviet intellectuals echo the same themes, often—perhaps unwittingly—romanticizing the very traits they wish to deplore. In the April 11 *New York Review of Books*, the prominent writer Tatyana Tolstaya argues that Russia, unlike the West, has always elevated emotion over reason: "How many scornful pages have great Russian writers dedicated to Western pragmatism, materialism, rationalism? They mocked the English with their machines, the Germans with their order and precision, the French with their logic, and finally the Americans with their love of money. As a result, in Russia we have neither machines, nor order, nor logic, nor money." It's a nice point, but Tolstaya overlooks the fact that great Western writers have not been far behind their Russian brethren in bashing Western materialism, rationalism, and technology.

There is also the tenacious notion that Soviet people are used to having the state provide, if meagerly, for their basic needs and to having it relieve them from the trouble of fending for themselves. Widespread among Western pundits—including many conservatives, who seem to see the Soviet Union as something of a bigger, poorer, nastier Sweden—this idea is also surprisingly popular among Soviet reformers and radicals, who ought to know better.

Irina Ratushinakaya, a poet and former political prisoner who emigrated in 1986, is much closer to the truth when she writes in her 1991 memoir, *In the Beginning*: "If you are what our radio hails as 'an ordinary Soviet citizen' and have no access to

special shops for the privileged...you will have learned from your childhood that you must fend for yourself, expect nothing from the state, and hope that the authorities will leave you alone."

While a Soviet citizen may have been provided with work, medical care, and cheap housing (though with *glasnost* have come shocking disclosures about homelessness and unemployment), the quality of these "benefits" was, in too many cases, not just low but unbearable: A family of five might be crowded into a damp, drafty room the size of an American prison cell. If you wanted or needed something better than what you had, you could either pester the authorities or trade with someone



else for their space; either way, you had to scramble and scheme for even the basics.

A middle-aged Soviet émigré once told me about a three-way apartment exchange her family had arranged to move from a communal apartment to a separate one. It sounded as complicated as a leveraged buyout and remained confusing even after she drew a chart to illustrate the deal. At no time in the history of the Soviet state were ordinary people relieved from the necessity of scrambling and scheming and foraging for clothes, furniture—even food beyond a few basic staples. A few years ago, a Muscovite shown on ABC News remarked that Soviet life was “like a chess game” where you always had to think about the next move.

Add to this the fact that most people from all walks of life have always dabbled in the “shadow economy,” inventing the most unlikely ways of making money. Burned-out light bulbs are sold so that people can quietly pocket a good light bulb at the workplace and replace it with the burned-out one. When the government issues an idiotic decree taking 100- and 50-ruble notes out of circulation, permitting only a limited amount of money to be exchanged for smaller bills, people quickly devise ways to get around that, such as buying railway tickets, which can be returned later for at least a partial refund.

When all is said and done, survival in Soviet society, even in the relatively “prosperous” 1960s, required far more energy and ingenuity than in any Western country. Meanwhile, the economy kept slipping, for the simple reason that all of this energy and ingenuity were applied to essentially nonproductive pursuits—not to making the pie bigger but to securing a slice of it.

This sort of “self-reliance” may not prepare people very well for the transition to a market economy. Over the years, Russians have developed specific survival skills required under socialism; many have even come to take satisfaction in their talent at beating the system. But a market economy requires a whole new set of skills. In many cases, economic reform has already disrupted the arrangements people had carefully devised for themselves over the years. On the other hand, Soviet émigrés have proven quite capable of fending for themselves once in the West; perhaps the central survival skill that people develop

under communism is adaptability.

Black-marketeering habits, entrepreneurial though they may seem, could also prove a mixed blessing for future Soviet capitalists. Much of this experience, after all, is based on deceit and trickery; real business, unlike scamming, demands not only ingenuity but responsibility. Still, such behavior is a perfectly “rational” response to the rules of an irrational system. Change the rules, and behavior will change, too—perhaps faster than most people think.

Property ownership is a great educator. Remember the movie *Trading Places*? As part of an experiment by two rich amateur sociologists, the petty thief played by Eddie Murphy is installed in a beautifully furnished house. His first move is to steal a vase. His “patrons” point out that he does not have to steal anything: Everything in the house is already his. Before long, having gathered his street friends for a wild party, he quickly realizes they are trashing his place and throws them out.

But the restoration of real property rights is exactly what the Gorbachev regime balks at. Land ownership has become an especially bitter and contentious issue. Gorbachev’s initial attempts to encourage individual farming by allowing people to lease plots of land as well as machinery from collective farms have completely failed to upgrade Soviet agriculture or improve food supplies. Is this because Soviet peasants have lost the habit of hard work? (How is it that, allowed to keep tiny personal plots and sell the produce grown there at unregulated prices, they somehow managed to produce 30 percent of the Soviet Union’s food on about 2 percent of its tillable land?) Are they reluctant to wean themselves from the security of collective farms and resentful of those who strike out on their own?

Even Hedrick Smith, wedded as he is to the “culture of envy” theory of the Russian character, concedes that “the fundamental failure [is] not the mind-set of the farmers but the failure of the reformers...to provide attractive and viable conditions for private farming on anything but the kitchen-garden scale.” Without real land ownership, the farmers remain “sharecroppers” at the mercy of local bosses (often the very same people who turn around and blame the lack of progress on the peasants’ poor attitudes).

Nor can they ever be certain that they’ll get to keep the fruit of their labors. Many still remember how, in the early 1960s, Khrushchev moved to cut the size of household plots and ban

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individual ownership of cows; the ban was later repealed, but few peasants ventured to raise cows again. A farmer who contributed a "My View" column to the weekly *Moscow News* last September went to the heart of the matter. If his property rights were guaranteed, he wrote, he would have no trouble getting his adult children to come back from town and work with him; but how could he risk it when in 10 years, the battered farmers might lose not only their land but their lives?

Moreover, selling produce in the cities is far from problem-free. The number of farm markets is small, and official restrictions help inflate the prices to levels far beyond the reach of the average (angry) citizen. The November 9 *Izvestia* ran a letter from a farmer who had raised two pigs and traveled to Moscow to inquire about selling the pork; he found that meat-selling spots at every market were limited by the state-appointed administrators, with long waiting lists for vendors, bribes to pay, and a high minimum sale price. He gave up, went home, and smoked the pork for his own family.

It is much the same in other sectors of the economy. Cooperatives and small businesses are dependent on the whims of various levels of local government—and of the central state. On a Moscow street last year, walking behind a couple in their early 30s, I overheard the man say, "Why start a business when I don't know if six months from now it's still going to be my business or not?" Overnight, a new decree can make your business illegal, triple your taxes, cut you off from vital supplies. Often, the restrictions represent barely disguised extortion: A 1989 package of legislation severely limited the scope of activities in which private businesses or "cooperatives" could legally engage unless they were "affiliated" with state enterprises, i.e., unless state enterprises were cut in on the profits.

To the credit of the Russians, these conditions have not killed their entrepreneurial drive, but they have warped it. The arbitrariness of the rules fosters a "take the money and run" mentality. If your company is built on quicksand, why worry about your reputation? The necessity of wangling shady deals with officials reinforces the habit of approaching a business venture as if it were a scam.

Lifelong communist indoctrination, which taught that private enterprise was just a different name for cheating, may also

play a perverse role: If it's all right to be an entrepreneur, many infer that it's all right to be a crook. Journalist Natalya Severin describes an example of this mindset in the September 1990 issue of the newspaper *Demokraticheskaya Rossiya*: Two young men in a Moscow park discuss an opportunity to make a quick million or two by turning an about-to-be-junked airplane into a passenger shuttle. ("The landing gear keeps giving out, but it'll hold out for a while.")

This incident prompts Severin to reflect sadly on the state of commerce in the Soviet Union now that "everyone is trading." Ventures of all kinds spring up and shut down almost immediately, not because they fail but because the entrepreneur makes a killing and moves on to greener pastures or simply quits on the entirely reasonable assumption that he might just as well "retire" on the money he's got while he can still keep it.

Ironically, Soviet "free enterprise" today resembles nothing so much as the old Soviet propaganda image of chaotic, jungle-like, fleece-your-neighbor, ethics-free capitalism—which could be seen as poetic justice if it weren't for the sad fact that those most responsible for the propaganda will suffer least, and vice versa. All Soviet entrepreneurs should not be tarred with the same brush, but unethical practices (to put it mildly) are sufficiently widespread to make popular resentment somewhat easier to understand. Is there also an element of envy in it? Sure there is. We don't have that kind of thing here in America, do we? Tell that to Michael Milken. Of course, affluent Americans are predictably less bothered than the pauperized Russians by the presence of the super-rich among them.

Many of my Soviet acquaintances who grumbled about cooperatives tried to make it clear that they were not against private enterprise, only against the sordid kind burgeoning in their society; some stressed the distinction between Soviet and Western business. ("This isn't like the West, you know," a young cab driver said. "There, any capitalist is concerned about putting out a good product and creating good conditions for workers." No wonder Ralph Nader was livid when he came back from a trip to Russia.) The readiness of vast numbers of Soviets to work for Western firms—despite their supposedly ingrained Marxist fear of exploitation by a private employer—is evident both from polls and from everyday life.

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What is difficult for people to understand, or at least to accept, is that until the market is saturated enough to become less skewed in favor of the seller and the employer, the conditions that offend them will persist. Perhaps the tragedy of all the countries making the transition to the market at this late point in history is ill timing. The initial stage of capitalist development, nearly always accompanied by hardships and disruptions, is taking place just as economies teeter on the brink of disaster and the public is teased by ubiquitous images of far higher living standards abroad.

Despite these complications, it seems clear that the majority of Soviet people now support some version of capitalism. Last August, a poll of Muscovites found that 75 percent of the population—including 82 percent of those under 60 and 70 percent of workers—favored the market, though most had reservations about the speed of transition and (rightly) about the government's plans to raise prices without deregulating the supply of goods. Even more interesting figures come from a survey of delegates at the first congress of Soviet miners in June 1990. Only 3 percent were in favor of a centrally planned economy, while 55 percent supported a "regulated market economy" with a social safety net and 34 percent endorsed a "free-market economy."

In her *New York Review of Books* essay, Tolstaya looks back on Russian history with its tortures, slaughters, and intolerance and seems to despair of the country's ability to ever choose freedom. Yet every country's past has its share of horrors. Even America's unusually benign history includes religious persecution, slavery, and a bloody civil war.

It would be silly to argue that nations do not develop distinctive habits or traits, but what we see from modern history is that "national character" is far from immutable. Japan, a non-Western country with no democratic or individualist tradition, has succeeded quite well at capitalism. True, it retains a strong collectivist ethos, but even that is being eroded by two generations of prosperity. Meanwhile, Holland, once a Calvinist pioneer of free enterprise, has gone down the path of permissiveness and welfare statism—and is beginning to worry about a younger generation that seems to be losing all sense of a work ethic.

Even the Soviet Union's ruling Communist elite, the *nomenklatura*, has probably given up hope of restoring the past; the structure that supported totalitarianism seems to have been broken beyond repair. But that does not mean the Communist bosses have given up their positions of privilege. Quite a few are now using their powers and their de facto control over valuable properties to set themselves up in private business. Radicals such as Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov speak of the dangers of a "*nomenklatura*-style privatization" in which Communist bosses will turn themselves, without batting an eye, into "capitalist" owners.

Popov and other free-market economists concede that even this oligarchic capitalism is better, in the long run, than no capitalism at all. Still, such a path is fraught with dangers. If the *nomenklatura* combines its new "capitalist" incarnation with its traditional hold on the levers of state power, it will be in a position to stifle the true entrepreneurs. In a speech at the Cato Institute in Washington last February, Popov suggested that the recent Soviet decree vastly expanding the KGB's powers to investigate private businesses for "improprieties" may be an attempt to protect Communist-officials-turned-businessmen from their competitors.

Perhaps more dangerously, under this scenario ordinary people can have no stake in privatization. It won't take long for the common folk to realize that their old oppressors have swindled them again, and this realization will come at a time when the celebrated Russian patience is wearing quite thin. Since the swindle will be passed off as a "transition to the market," one possible consequence could be a surge of support for Pamyat-type nationalists, who inveigh against capitalism as much as they inveigh against the Jews (and whose current following is about the same size as that of the LaRouchies in the United States).

Many Western commentators and liberal Russian intellectuals would, of course, see this as more evidence of the exotic and irrational nature of the Russian soul. In fact, if it does happen, it will be something else altogether: In one of the saddest ironies of modern times, new, reconstructed, profit-minded Communists will have succeeded in giving capitalism a bad name.

Curry Young is the author of *Growing Up in Moscow* (Ticknor & Fields).

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TALES FROM TWO CITIES (II)

MOSCOW

by James P. Pinkerton

If you can't afford a plane ticket to Moscow (\$1,100 round trip), rent the movie *Batman*. You'll save about \$1,097 and still see a gray city choking on pollution and corruption, where a few heroes fight for truth, justice, and, yes, the American Way. Moscow is a time warp to the film-noir forties: before pollution laws, consumer appliances, and Technicolor. It is a city of broad shoulders—and broad faces, and broad bottoms. Bruce Springsteen could write songs about the hard joes in hard jobs, old before their time, who go to work in a silent rage and come home in a drunken stupor to beat their wives. You could call it Gothamgrad. I should know: I saw the movie and took the trip.

I had to fly 10,000 miles to realize what an international disaster high-rise public housing has created. In the twenties, Le Corbusier proposed razing Paris to build a "radiant city" of skyscrapers. His millenarian plan to improve people by destroying their neighborhoods was adopted by modernist bureaucrats on a grand scale in the *Soyuz*. From the air, the miles and miles of brutalitarian monoliths arrayed in geometric patterns look pretty, like topiary. Up close they are as intimidating and demoralizing as they are decrepit. I saw enough material for two hours of "60 Minutes": power outages, broken elevators, standing water, piles of rubble, crumbling walls.

In my hotel room I looked around and asked myself, "What's wrong with this picture?" No tub! Not even a shower curtain or a stall—just a spigot. Won't everything get wet? Not to worry: there's a drain in the middle of the floor. The maids "clean" by squeegeeing dirt around, like a kid shuffling his food to convince Mom that he's eaten his Brussels sprouts. I never did see a true mop or sponge, and I mistook my bathroom towels for dishcloths. A Russian woman told me she was most impressed on her trip to America by the cleanness of the carpets. It's easy.

James P. Pinkerton works in Washington, D.C.

All it takes is a vacuum cleaner.

If you are subject to motion sickness, don't look down into the toilet of a Soviet train—the sight of the railroad tracks underneath will undo you. Flushing such a minimalist device in America violates anti-dumping laws. Plumbing in buildings isn't much better. Since the pipe infrastructure can't handle the volume of waste, Soviet sanitary engineers have developed a stand-by plan: they put a little can next to the potty for—ahem—used toilet paper. This is gross enough—I won't record how I figured this out.

My hotel had a full set of computers at the front desk, but they weren't used. Generally, Soviet ergonomics recalls the glory days of carbon paper, pneumatic tubes, and steno pools. In this bizarre society the clerks see you coming and walk the other way, on the antinomian paradigm that the customer is always wrong. A small example is the restaurant where we breakfasted three mornings in a row. The first morning, the waitress handed us a check. The second, we were told breakfast was complimentary. The third, they said we were not on the list to eat there.

However forewarned one is about the long lines, shopping is a shock and a nightmare. The luxury goods available to ordinary citizens come from... Bulgaria. The system fails so completely to transport fresh fruit that it's profitable for farmers to fly 2,000 miles from Central Asia with an armload of cherries to hawk on a Leningrad street. Everyone drinks Pepsi, which is up to Soviet standards—and no higher. The Soviets view carbonation the way Birchers view fluoridation: as a dangerous foreign enemy. I saw items for sale that few Americans have seen since the rationing days of the Second World War—like a gizmo for repairing nylons.

One button I bought pictured Brezhnev, with the caption "King of Stagnation." Another depicted Stalin atop a mountain of skulls and read "King

Joseph the Bloody." The best buy, though, is a red-star lapel pin circling a tiny Gerberesque daguerreotype of Lenin as a baby. For 10 kopecks (about a penny), it's a guaranteed conversation-starter back home.

The system has also squandered a rich human inheritance. On Gogolevsky Boulevard, I made a pilgrimage to the Central Chess Club, which is to chess what Ebbets Field was to baseball. Like everything else in Moscow, the building had seen better days: ornate high ceilings rust-colored from water damage, once-thick carpets ground thin by dirt. Yet the club had the glow of old genius and the spark of young prodigy. Anyone wondering why Russians still excel at chess when Soviet power has so successfully stifled most forms of intellectual achievement will find the answer within. Superficially, chess is passive and contemplative, not at all the medium of radicals and daredevils. Yet, under its nerdy surface, chess is dynamic—perpetual perestroika. The stupid, brutal, literal bureaucrats who repressed writers, poets, and musicians never recognized the iconoclasm and intellectual entrepreneurship of chess. The psychic sanctuary of the sixty-four squares sheltered Russian grandmasters, enabling them to dominate world chess even in the darkest years of Stalinism. Perhaps Gary Kasparov, that media-savvy mix of Byron and Einstein, will popularize this silent sport and remind the world of the vast potential of a free Rus.

Ezra Karmark, a fully liberated Democratic activist from New York who would never be confused with a Stepford wife, made the profound observation that the USSR needs a woman's touch. Soviet society clanks along with the grace and sensitivity of a T-34 tank, grinding the feminine aesthetic under its macho tread. Only a minuscule percentage of the population has any decision-making power, and they're almost all men. In fact, the closest analogue to Soviet society in America is the mili-

tary. I'm all for a strong defense—our troops should patrol the ramparts of freedom, not walk the runways of Seventh Avenue. But imagine a whole country run like the Pentagon: the spontaneity of Ft. Leavenworth, the gastronomic pleasures of C-rations, and the unleashed creativity of Parris Island.

The Soviets are only slowly discovering that men can't think both for themselves and for women. In the West, female purchasing power sets the tone for everyday life: fashion, household goods, interior design, and so on. These "luxuries" are either pitiful or non-existent in the Soviet Union. The total absence of convenience and style in the state economy derives from the lack of a market. Going to Moscow made me see that much of the brightness of Home Sweet Home comes from commercial advertising. Soviet shopkeepers, who don't care if they actually sell anything, settle for monochrome, with an occasional dash of sepia. A typical storefront at a dairy shows a cow; raincoats are signified by a cloud, televisions by bunny ears, etc. This is not a society worried about subliminal seduction.

Meanwhile, Soviet men have created a stern environment, with its own samurai intensity. On a visit to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin, I was moved by the words on the plinth: "Your name is unknown but your deeds are immortal." A Soviet battle standard was draped over one edge asymmetrically, as if the soldier had dropped the flag as he fell, and his reverent comrades had bronzed it in place for eternity. Flowers cascaded over the memorial, often left by newlyweds sharing their vows with the spirit of their heroic forefathers.

Other shrines extol the dated proletarianism at the core of the Soviet ideology. The monument to the Soviet space program is shaped like a ski jump pointing into the sun. Friezes show glorious workers, guided by the ghost of Lenin, assaulting the heavens. I saw a couple of women in the scene, but this commemoration exudes testoster-

one. Men strain as they sweat and persevere, their muscles bulging under their overalls. Strange that a monument to advanced scientific undertaking should have the appearance of a Depression-era WPA mural dedicated to coal miners. The country abounds with columns, arches, and temples dedicated to the pre-Information Age articles of Bolshevik faith: Agriculture, Heavy Industry, War, and Revolution.

My final observance of the Soviet creed took me to Lenin's tomb. The guards kept the traffic moving, and the wait was shorter than I had expected—about an hour. I walked in, turned left, down the steps, hung a right, and there he was: Lenin, forever in mortuary amber. The forms of fidelity were omnipresent here, but it was hard to find the faithful. Glasnost permitted the Russian people to roll away the stone in front of Lenin's tomb. They discovered that the savior had not risen, that he was still there, physically intact but very much dead.

In 1937, Leonid Chekayev was arrested by the NKVD for opposing the destruction of a church in his hometown in the Urals and sent to Kolyma, an island of slave labor in the Gulag Archipelago near the Arctic Circle. As a typical *zek* working 12-hour shifts in the gold mines, Leonid wore rags in the 50-below winters and lived on bread. His ration left him short thousands of calories a week. Robert Conquest writes: "All in all, these conditions reflected one main truth. In the minds of its creators and organizers the conscious purpose of Kolyma, which had originally been the production of gold, with death as an unplanned by-product, had become the production, with at least equal priority, of gold and death." Nobody knows how much gold was produced at Kolyma, but an estimated three million people died there. Leonid was one of the lucky five percent who came back.

Leonid's daughter Alexandra recalls her late father saying that World War II, with all its carnage, was not nearly as horrendous for the Soviet people as the Stalinist Terror. Although Conquest, Solzhenitsyn, and many others have established that the death tolls were comparable, we cannot judge barbarism with mere arithmetic. Russian literature provides another gauge. In Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, Major Dudorov, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, recalls "... attack after attack, mile after mile of electrified barbed wire, mines, mortars, month after month of artillery barrage. They called our company the death squad ... and yet ... all that utter hell was nothing, it was bliss compared to the horrors of the concentration camp." Foreign in-

vasion was preferable to what Pasternak/Dudorov called "the inhuman reign of the lie."

Alexandra's family of four shares three rooms, a kitchen and a toilet with a married couple and their infant. No shower or bath: they use a public facility two blocks away. Alexandra wants a new deal for the Russians, starting with changing the name of her city back to Petrograd, or even St. Petersburg.

How do you get the truth in the *Soyuz*? You can't just pick up the newspaper or turn on CNN. The hottest rumor I heard was that Mary Jo Kopechne had been found, dry and alive, in East Germany. I felt the information deprivation immediately, but as time passed the sensation ebbed, like hunger pangs in the starving. The Iranian earthquake that killed 50,000 barely registered, because I didn't see it on TV.

The crisis of the Soviet spirit is not that they don't believe in anything; it's that, suddenly inundated by the Information Age, they'll believe *everything*. The twisted result of the 70-year cognitive blockade is a nation of high IQs and no judgment. The occult, ESP, and UFOs are as true to them as government grain production reports.

In Leningrad, amid the heroic statuary of the Champs de Mars, a guide told me that the site was dedicated to Alexander II, who had defeated Napoleon. Wait a minute ... *Wasn't it Alexander I?* I asked meekly. She smiled and said nothing. I turned to the KGB agents who were accompanying us in the back of the bus: Surely, if you flip through *War and Peace* ... No answer. And there's a non-Christian faith healer on daytime TV. Russians are pathetically ignorant of their Judeo-Christian heritage: at the Hermitage the guide told us that Rembrandt's "Abraham's Sacrifice" depicts God telling Abraham to kill Isaac to demonstrate his belief in Jesus Christ. People don't merely refuse to believe what the Soviet establishment tells them, they assume the opposite is true: Russian Hell's Angels, sporting *The South Will Rise Again* belt buckles, are absolutely convinced that America was victorious in Vietnam. Their "proof" that we won is that *Pravda* said we lost.

If knowledge is power, the Russians are very weak. Locked behind the Iron Curtain, they have become book-smart—with what books they could get. But any culture that writes—and more importantly, reads—thousand-page novels has a lot of raw intelligence. A lot of them have learned English. Why? Maybe so they could grow up to be Gulag administrators for the Kansas



City oblast after the final victory of the workers. Or maybe, in the back of their minds, they knew their god would fail, and English would help them get jobs as door-openers for joint-venturing foreign investors.

The party still controls TV news, but that won't do it any good, because Mike Deaver was right: the images flooding in from the wider and wider world shape opinion much more than words. I didn't understand a word of the powerful Soviet documentary I watched about water pollution, but millions of Russians saw the same spewing pipes and dead birds juxtaposed with bureaucratic talking heads. Other media are even freer: *Moscow News* is a lively rag—a cross between the *Village Voice* and *Human Events*—irreverent, and given to *ad hominem* attacks and exposés of Stalinist atrocities. Its 300,000 circulation could triple if it could get the newsprint. *Moscow Monthly* profiles Gorbachev's advisers, with a picture and bio for each.

Old Soviet leaders are having trouble with the new tricks. Most still orate. Their long spiels are usually well organized and well argued, but they haven't figured out that electronic eloquence consists of snappy sound bites. They have no sense of the camera: how to look, where to look, what to do with their hands.

The smarter Soviet pols play by the new rules. They are giving up their chauffeurs, donating money to buy syringes for AIDS-ravaged hospitals, and going on live TV to take phone calls from viewers. Inevitably, *apparatchiks*

cultivate the press, get on the "right" side of the issues, and distance themselves from failure. The media become visible hands. Such tactics seem calculated and familiar to Americans, but Soviet citizens are delighted by them. This is the *vox populi*, known today as feedback. The new interaction must surely shape the outlook of the leaders as well as the led. If you walk the walk and talk the talk, eventually you'll begin to think the think.

On my last day, I couldn't look at another green tomato or brown cold cut. I went to McDonald's. As I waited in line amidst happy Soviets, it occurred to me that the old Bolshevik slogan—"Peace, Land, Bread"—was finally being realized. And the capitalists had even thrown in meat! I saw smiles and efficiency behind the counter—was this the New Soviet Man that Lenin dreamed of?

As I munched on my Big Mac, I thought about Phil Sokolof, the Nebraska businessman crusading against fast-food fat. Something, perhaps, for overfed Americans to worry about, but Russians are more afraid of hunger than cholesterol. An old Soviet joke held that "Socialism is the road from capitalism to communism—but we didn't say anything about feeding you on the way!" A modern variant says that "Socialism is the tortuous road from capitalism to capitalism." In Moscow, the last stop on the history-ending Hegel Express is the McDonald-land Station. □

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Holidays and Anniversaries of the World

A Comprehensive Catalogue Containing Detailed Information
on Every Month and Day of the Year, with Coverage of 23,000 Holidays,
Anniversaries, Fasts and Feasts, Holy Days, Days of the Saints, the Blessed,
and Other Days of Heortological Significance, Birthdays of the Famous,
Important Dates in History, and Special Events and Their Sponsors

SECOND EDITION

Jennifer Mossman, Editor



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July 28 *Continued*

Religious Calendar

St. Victor I, pope and martyr; elected 189. [d. c. 199]
Rome 189.

St. Innocent I, pope; elected 402. [d. 417]

St. Samson, Bishop of Dol. Important figure in the evangelization of Cornwall and the Channel Islands. Also called **Sampson**. [d. c. 565]

St. Botvid, martyr; venerated as one of the apostles of Sweden.

1948 **Georgia Bright Engel**, U.S. actress; known for her role as Georgette on the television series, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, 1972-77.

Sally Ann Struthers, U.S. actress; known for her role as Gloria on the television series, *All in the Family*, 1971-78; two Emmy Awards.

1949 **Vida Rochelle Blue**, U.S. baseball player; Cy Young and Most Valuable Player Awards, 1971

1958 **Terrance Stanley (Terry) Fox**, Canadian runner; after losing his leg to cancer, began a marathon run across Canada to raise money for research; died before completing run. [d. June 28, 1981]

Historical Events

1402 **Timur Link (Tamerlane)** and his Mongols defeat and capture Ottoman ruler **Bajazet I** at the **Battle of Angora** (Ankara).

1461 **Charles VII** of France dies and is succeeded by **Louis XI**.

1540 **Thomas Cromwell**, Earl of Essex, is beheaded for heresy in the Tower of London after alienating **Henry VIII**; he had arranged Henry's brief and unsuccessful marriage to **Anne of Cleves**.

Henry VIII of England marries **Catherine Howard**, his fifth wife.

1588 **Spanish Armada**, anchored in Calais, is dispersed by English ships.

1637 A combined force from Plymouth, Massachusetts and Connecticut destroys remnants of **Pequot Indians** near New Haven (**Pequot War**).

1794 **Robespierre** and 71 others are guillotined, ending the **Reign of Terror (French Revolution)**.

1821 **Peru**, under the leadership of **José de San Martín** declares itself independent of Spain.

1868 The **14th Amendment to U.S. Constitution** is ratified, granting citizenship to U.S. blacks.

1904 **Vyacheslav Plehwe**, Russian Minister of the Interior, is assassinated.

1914 **Austria-Hungary** declares war on **Serbia (World War I)**.

1916 **Battle of Kovel** renews the successful Russian offensive against Austria in southern Galicia (**World War I**).

1926 Panama-U.S. Treaty is signed, protecting **Panama Canal** in time of war.

1932 **Bonus March** on Washington, D.C. is disbanded by federal troops; the march resulted from dissatisfaction on the part of soldiers over U.S. government's honoring of soldiers' bonus certificates.

1945 **Jose Luis Bustamante Rivero** becomes president of Peru.

1954 Elia Kazan's film, *On the Waterfront*, premieres in New York.

France begins evacuating its citizens and Vietnamese supporters from **Hanoi** after the mandated ceasefire takes effect. Under the terms of the partition treaty, the city belongs to the Viet Minh.

1956 **Manuel Prado Ugarteche** is inaugurated as president of Peru after the nation's first free election in 11 years.

St. Nazarius and St. Celsus, martyrs. [death date unknown]

The Beatified

Blessed Antony Della Chiesa, friar and prior. [d. 1459]

- 1963** **Fernando Belaunde Terry** is inaugurated as president of Peru.
- 1965** President Lyndon Johnson requests that fifty thousand additional soldiers be sent to Vietnam and doubles the draft (**Vietnam War**).
- 1972** Mexican President **Luis Echeverría** decrees the expropriation of some 500,000 acres of private estates and distribution of the land to peasants.
- 1973** U.S. astronauts **Alan L. Bean**, **Owen K. Garriott**, and **Jack R. Lousma** are launched into space for a 59-day mission in **Skylab**, demonstrating man's ability to withstand long periods in space.
- 1976** Two major **earthquakes**, occurring 16 hours apart and measuring 8.2 and 7.9 on the Richter scale, strike northeast **China**, resulting in nearly 750,000 deaths.
- 1977** First oil through the **Alaskan Pipeline** reaches Valdez, Alaska.
- 1979** The leader of a breakaway faction of the **Janata Party**, 77-year old **Charan Sinph**, is sworn in as Prime Minister of India but resigns within one month as Gandhi government regains power.
- 1985** **Alain Garcia Perez** is inaugurated as president of Peru.

July 29

Holidays

Peru

Independence Day

The second day of a two-day celebration.

Religious Calendar

The Saints

St. Martha, virgin; sister of Mary and Lazarus; ministered to Jesus. Patron of hotelkeepers, laundresses,

Birthdates

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| <p>1793 Jan Kollár, Slovak poet, philologist born in Hungary. [d. January 4, 1852]</p> <p>1794 Thomas Corwin, U.S. lawyer, legislator; U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, 1850-53. [d. December 18, 1865]</p> <p>1796 Christian Winther, Danish romantic poet; author of epic poem <i>Hjortens Flugt</i>. [d. December 30, 1876]</p> <p>1805 Alexis de Tocqueville, French writer; noted for his writings on American democracy; author of <i>La Démocratie en Amérique</i>. [d. April 26, 1859]</p> <p>1820 Clement Laird Vollandigham, U.S. public official, lawyer; leader of the <i>Peace Democrats</i> or <i>Copperheads</i> during the U.S. Civil War; vehemently opposed President Abraham Lincoln's policies during the Civil War; opposition resulted in his banishment to the Confederacy. [d. June 17, 1871]</p> <p>1828 John Sargent Pillsbury, U.S. manufacturer, politician; co-owner of C.A. Pillsbury Co.; Governor of Minnesota, 1876-82. [d. October 18, 1901]</p> <p>1869 (Newton) Booth Tarkington, U.S. author; popular for his novels portraying boyhood and life in the American Midwest; author of <i>Penrod</i> and <i>Seventeen</i>. [d. May 19, 1946]</p> <p>1877 (Charles) William Beebe, U.S. naturalist, author; Director of Tropical Research, New York Zoological Society; with Otis Barton developed the bathysphere, which was capable of record depth exploration of the ocean. [d. June 4, 1962]</p> <p>1883 Benito Mussolini, Italian dictator; founder of Fascism with the creation of <i>Fascio di Combattimento</i>, 1919; dictator of Italy, 1922-43. [d. April 28, 1945]</p> | <p>1887 Sigmund Romberg, U.S. composer; composed nearly 80 scores for stage plays and more than 2,000 songs; considered one of the most popular U.S. composers; wrote <i>The Student Prince</i>. [d. November 9, 1951]</p> <p>1892 William Powell, U.S. actor. [d. March 5, 1984]</p> <p>1896 Clark M(ell) Eichelberger, U.S. international relations specialist; director of League of Nations Association (later American Association for the United Nations), 1934-64. [d. January 26, 1980]</p> <p>1898 I(sidor) I(saac) Rabi, Polish-born physicist; Nobel Prize in physics for discoveries in spectroscopy, 1944. [d. January 11, 1988]</p> <p>1900 Eyvind Johnson, Swedish novelist, short-story writer; Nobel Prize in literature, 1974.</p> <p>1905 Dag Hammarskjöld, Swedish political economist; Secretary-General of United Nations, 1953-61; Nobel Peace Prize, 1961. [d. September 18, 1961]</p> <p>1907 Melvin (Mouyon) Belli, U.S. lawyer; known for his dramatic style and controversial status of his clients.</p> <p>1908 Edgar F(osburgh) Kaiser, U.S. industrialist; head of Kaiser Industries Corporation; son of Henry J. Kaiser (May 9). [d. December 11, 1981]</p> <p>1914 Marcel Bich, U.S.-French manufacturer, born in Italy; founder of Bic Pen Corporation, 1950.</p> <p>1918 Edwin (Greene) O'Connor, U.S. novelist. [d. March 23, 1968]</p> <p>1930 Paul (Belville) Taylor, U.S. modern dancer, choreographer; director of the Paul Taylor Dance Co., 1950-</p> |
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housewives, cooks, and those of service to the needy. [d. 1st century]

St. Simplicius, St. Faustinus and St. Beatrice, martyrs. Beatrice is also called **Viatrix**. [d. c. 304]

St. Felix II, antipope. [d. 365]

St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes. Also called **Loup**. [d. 478]

St. Sulian, founder of Luxulyan Monastery. Also called **Silin**. [d. 6th century]

St. Olaf of Norway, King of Norway and martyr; patron and national hero of Norway. Also called **Olaus**, or **Olave**. [d. 1030]

St. William Pinchon, Bishop of Saint-Brieuc. [d. 1234]

The Beatified

Blessed Urban II, pope. Elected 1088. [d. 1099]

1932 **Nancy Landon Kassebaum**, U.S. politician; Senator, 1979- ; daughter of Alf Landon.

1938 **Peter Charles Jennings**, Canadian-born journalist; Anchorman, *ABC World News Tonight*, 1983- .

1956 **Michael Spinks**, U.S. boxer; World Heavyweight Champion, 1985.

Historical Events

1030 **Olaf Haraldson**, Norwegian pretender, is defeated at the **Battle of Stiklestad** by **King Canute II**.

1565 **Mary, Queen of Scots** is married to her cousin, **Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley**.

1830 **Charles X** abdicates during the **Revolution of 1830** in France. He is replaced by the Bourbon Duc d'Orléans who will reign as **Louis-Philippe**.

1844 The **New York Yacht Club** is founded.

1848 **O'Brien's Rebellion**, the result of severe food shortages, is suppressed in Ireland, and rebellion leader **Smith O'Brien** is jailed.

1900 **Humbert I** of Italy is assassinated by anarchist **Gaetano Bresci**.

1946 Delegates from the Allied nations meet at the **Paris Peace Conference** to draft peace terms and establish boundaries for Axis powers and the countries which they occupied during World War II.

1953 Robert Heilbroner's classic survey of economic thought, ***The Worldly Philosophers***, is published.

1958 President Dwight D. Eisenhower establishes the **National Aeronautics and**

Space Administration (NASA) to conduct space exploration research.

1967 The aircraft carrier ***U.S.S. Forrestal*** is severely damaged off Vietnam by a fire; 134 lives are lost and 60 planes and helicopters destroyed or damaged (**Vietnam War**).

1968 **Pope Paul VI**, in an encyclical, ***Humanae Vitae***, upholds the Roman Catholic Church's prohibition against all artificial means of contraception.

Virtually all the governing bodies of the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist parties meet in **Cierna**, Czechoslovakia, to try to bridge the divisions between them.

1970 Alvin Toffler's book, ***Future Shock***, is published.

1975 Nigerian president, **Yakubu Gowon**, is overthrown in a bloodless coup.

The **Organization of American States** lifts economic and diplomatic sanctions imposed on **Cuba** in 1964.

1981 **Charles, Prince of Wales**, and **Lady Diana Spencer** are married in St. Paul's Cathedral, in London.

1987 Six former officials at the **Chernobyl** nuclear power reactor are convicted of gross safety violations that led to the April 26th accident in the Soviet Ukraine.

Giovanni Goria is inaugurated as premier of Italy, replacing **Bettino Craxi**.

July 30

Holidays

U.S.
(Louisiana)

Huey P. Long Day

Vanuatu

Independence Day

Commemorates the achievement of independence from Great Britain and France, 1980.

Religious Calendar

The Saints

St. Julitta, widow and martyr. [d. c. 303]

Birthdates

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| <p>1511 Giorgio Vasari, Italian painter, architect, art historian; author of <i>Lives of the Painters</i>, 1551, which provides a detailed account of the lives of the great Italian masters; referred to in several of Robert Browning's poems on Renaissance artists. [d. June 27, 1574]</p> <p>1818 Emily Jane (Ellis Bell) Brontë, British novelist, poet; author of <i>Wuthering Heights</i>. Sister of Anne (January 17) and Charlotte Brontë (April 21). [d. December 19, 1848]</p> <p>1856 Richard Burdon Haldane, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, British statesman, author; member of Parliament, 1885-1911; Lord Chancellor, 1912-15, 1924. [d. August 19, 1928]</p> <p>1857 Thorstein (Bunde) Veblen, U.S. social scientist, economist; author of <i>Theory of the Leisure Class</i>, 1899. [d. August 3, 1919]</p> <p>1863 Henry Ford, U.S. industrialist; founder and President of the Ford Motor Co.; introduced standardization and mass-production techniques in the automobile industry; established the Ford Foundation, 1936. [d. April 7, 1947]</p> <p>1870 Lavrenti Georgievich Kornilov, Russian general; commander of Russian Army after Revolution of 1917. [d. April 13, 1918]</p> <p>1880 Robert Rutherford (Colonel) McCormick, U.S. editor; publisher of <i>Chicago Tribune</i>, 1910-55; President of Tribune Co., 1911-55; founder, with his cousin Robert W. Patterson, of the <i>New York Daily News</i>, 1919. [d. April 1, 1955]</p> | <p>1881 Smedley Darlington Butler, U.S. Marine commander, prominent in World War I. [d. June 21, 1940]</p> <p>1889 Vladimir Kosma Zworykin, U.S. engineer, inventor, born in Russia; developed the iconoscope, which made possible the development of television. Called the Father of Television. [d. July 29, 1982]</p> <p>1891 Casey (Charles Dillon) Stengel, U.S. baseball player and manager; as manager of New York Yankees, 1949-60, led his team to 10 American League pennants and 7 World Series championships; elected to Baseball Hall of Fame, 1966. [d. September 30, 1975]</p> <p>1898 Henry Moore, British sculptor. [d. August 31, 1986]</p> <p>1939 Peter Bogdanovich, U.S. film director, producer, writer.</p> <p>1940 Patricia Scott (Pat) Schroeder, U.S. politician; Congresswoman, 1973- .</p> <p>1941 Paul Anka, Canadian singer, composer.</p> <p>1947 Arnold Schwarzenegger, Austrian-born body-builder, actor, author; Mr. Universe title, five times; Mr. Olympia title, six times; starred in <i>Conan the Barbarian</i> and <i>Twins</i>.</p> <p>1958 Kate Bush, British singer, songwriter.</p> <p>Daley Thompson, British athlete; winner of 1980 and 1984 Olympic decathlon events.</p> |
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Historical Events

- 1178** **Frederick I, Holy Roman Emperor**, is crowned King of Burgundy.

St. Abdon and St. Sennen, martyrs. Abdon also called **Abden**. [d. c. 303]

St. Peter Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna and Doctor of the Church. [d. c. 450] Feast formerly December 4. Optional Memorial.

The Beatified

Blessed Mannes, Augustinian monk. [d. c. 1230]

Blessed Archangelo of Calatafimi, hermit. [d. 1460]

Blessed John Soreth, Carmelite prior and reformer. [d. 1471]

Blessed Simon of Lipnicza, Franciscan Friar Minor. [d. 1482]

Blessed Peter of Mogliano, Observant Franciscan Friar. [d. 1490]

Blessed Edward Powell and Richard Fetherston, martyrs. [d. 1540]

Blessed Thomas Abel, priest and martyr. [d. 1540]

Blessed Everard Hanse, priest and martyr. [d. 1581]

1619 First legislative assembly in America, the **House of Burgesses**, is convened at **Jamestown, Virginia**.

1866 Armistice between Austria and Prussia ends the **Seven Weeks' War**.

1907 Foundation stone of **Carnegie Palace of Peace** at The Hague is laid.

1945 U.S. cruiser **Indianapolis** is sunk by Japanese submarine in the Philippine Sea with a loss of 880 lives (**World War II**).

1952 Peerage titles of pasha and bey are abolished in **Egypt**. Prisoners jailed for showing disrespect towards the nobility are freed.

Chesapeake Bay Bridge is dedicated in Washington, D.C.

1965 President Lyndon Johnson signs legislation establishing the **Medicare** and **Medicaid** health insurance programs.

1974 The U.S. House Judiciary Committee votes three articles of **impeachment** against President **Richard Nixon** (**Watergate Incident**).

The Quebec National Assembly passes the **Official Language Act**, making French the official language of the province.

1975 Leaders of 35 nations sign the **Helsinki accords**, agreeing on security, economic, and human rights issues.

1980 The **Republic of Vanuatu** (formerly **New Hebrides**) attains independence from Great Britain and France.

1981 Researchers report in the *New England Journal of Medicine* that the drug, **cyclosporin**, reduces the mortality rate in organ

transplant patients by selectively depressing the immune system.

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CHASE'S

Thirty-Fourth Year of Publication

ANNUAL EVENTS



Special Days, Weeks & Months in **1991**

An Almanac and Survey of the Year:

***A Calendar of Holidays, Holy Days, National and Ethnic Days,
Seasons, Astronomical Phenomena, Festivals and Fairs,
Anniversaries, Birthdays, Special Events and
Traditional Observances of all kinds, the World over.***

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1991 ☆ ☆ Chase's Annual Events ☆ ☆ July

OLD BEDFORD VILLAGE BLUEGRASS FESTIVAL. July 27-28. Bedford, PA. A host of the finest bluegrass bands will entertain you with your favorite knee-slapping, foot-stomping music. Also featured is an old-fashioned cookout. Info from: Old Bedford Village, Box 1976, Bedford, PA 15522.

TAKE YOUR HOUSEPLANTS FOR A WALK DAY. July 27. Walking your plants around the neighborhood enables them to know their environment, thereby providing them with a sense of knowing, bringing on wellness. Info from: Wellness Permission League, Tom Roy or Ruth Deck, PO Box 396, Mt Gretna, PA 17064.

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE BIRTHDAY. July 27. The first presidential cabinet department, called the Department of Foreign Affairs, was established by the Congress on July 27, 1789. Later the name was changed to Department of State.

VIRGINIA SCOTTISH GAMES. July 27-28. Alexandria, VA. Bagpipes, highland dance, drumming, fiddling, celtic harp competition, animal trials and Scottish athletic games competition and British antique car show. Scottish food and gifts are sold. Annually, the fourth weekend in July. Info from: Alexandria Convention and Visitors Bureau, 221 King St, Alexandria, VA 22314.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Leo Durocher, baseball player, manager, born at West Springfield, MA, July 27, 1906.

Peggy Fleming, figure skater, born at San Jose, CA, July 27, 1948.

Bobbie Gentry (Roberta Streeter), singer, songwriter, born at Chicasaw County, MS, July 27, 1942.

Norman Lear, TV scriptwriter, producer, born at New Haven, CT, July 27, 1922.

Betty Thomas, actress, born at St. Louis, MO, July 27, 1948.

Keenan Wynn, actor, born at New York, NY, July 27, 1916.

JULY 28 — SUNDAY

209th Day — Remaining, 156

COMEDY CELEBRATION DAY. July 28. Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, CA. A comedy extravaganza from local and nationally known comics to say thank you to the city that's nurtured so many comedic artists. Annually, the last Sunday in July. Sponsors: *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Robin Williams and Bay Area comedy clubs. Info from: Jose Simon, Exec Producer, 468 Dellbrook Ave, San Francisco, CA 94131.

DIETARY MANAGERS ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING AND EXPO. July 28-Aug 1. The Riviera, Las Vegas, NV. The DMA's annual meeting and product exposition provides education and networking opportunities for institutional food service managers. Info from: Maria Beer, Convention Mgr, Dietary Managers Assn, 400 E 22nd St, Lombard, IL 60148.

HEYWARD, THOMAS: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 28. American Revolutionary soldier, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Born July 28, 1746. Died Mar 6, 1809.

JUNIOR NATURE CAMP. July 28-Aug 11. Camp Giscowheco, Wheeling, WV. This camp is designed for the young camper, 11 to 15 years of age, and focuses on nature and the environment. Sponsor: Oglebay Institute Nature Education Dept, Oglebay Institute, Wheeling, WV 26003.

KOOLA KOALA BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY. July 28. To celebrate the only magical koala and all cuddly koalas worldwide. Legend says that if you place your wish in Koala's magic wish pouch, and your intentions are good, it may come true. Info from: Martha Rutty, Box 24552, Lyndhurst, OH 44124.

LAKE ATWOOD 10-MILE RACE. July 28. Atwood, KS. A 10-mile race on a certified course. Top national runners participate. Info from: Atwood Chamber of Commerce, Kim Muff, PO Box 243, Atwood, KS 67730.

MUSLIM FESTIVAL: IMAMAT DAY. July 28. Imam Day is observed by Ismaili (Shiite) Muslims. Muslim calendar date: Muharram 16, 1412. Gregorian calendar date of observance may vary by one day.

ONASSIS, JACQUELINE LEE BOUVIER KENNEDY: BIRTHDAY. July 28. Widow of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th president of the US, born at Southampton, NY, July 28, 1929. Later married (Oct 20, 1968) Aristotle Socrates Onassis, who died Mar 15, 1975.

PERU: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE DAY. July 28. At defeat of Spain by Simon Bolivar, Peru became independent, 1824.

RANCH RODEO. July 28. Burwell, NE. A new concept in rodeo where ranch hands compete against the clock while performing tasks that are part of their everyday life. Info from: Convention and Visitors Bureau, PO Box 475, Burwell, NE 68823.

SINGING TELEGRAM BIRTHDAY. July 28. Anniversary of the first singing telegram, said to have been delivered to singer Rudy Vallee on his 32nd birthday, July 28, 1933. Early singing telegrams often were delivered in person by uniformed messengers on bicycle. Later they were usually sung by telephone.

SPACE MILESTONE: RANGER 7 (US). July 28. Televised back to Earth 4,308 close-up photographs of moon. Launched July 28, 1964.

SPACE MILESTONE: SKYLAB 3 (US). July 28. Launched on July 28, 1973, Alan L. Bean, Owen K. Garriott, Jack R. Lousma started record 59-day mission to test man's space flight endurance. Pacific splashdown Sept 25.

STEILACOOM SALMON RACE. July 28. Sunnyside Beach, Steilacoom, WA. Grilled salmon prepared on the shores of Puget Sound complemented by corn-on-the-cob, clam nectar, fruit pies, salads and beverages. Special activities include canoe and kayak races and music. Annually, the last Sunday in July. Sponsor: Steilacoom Historical Museum Assn, PO Box 88016, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

SUMMERFEST. July 28. Hillandale Park, Harrisonburg, VA. To provide a showcase of talent in western Virginia to highlight the uniqueness of the history, nature and arts of the Shenandoah Valley. Arts and crafts, drama, dance and music. Annually, the last Sunday in July. Info from: Dept of Parks and Recreation, 305 S Dogwood Dr, Harrisonburg, VA 22801.

TERRY FOX DAY. July 28. Birthday of Terrence Stanley Fox, Canadian youth who captured the hearts and admiration of millions during his brief life. Stricken with cancer, requiring amputation of the athlete's right leg at age 18, Fox determined to devote his life to a fight against the disease. His "Marathon of Hope," a planned 5,200-mile run westward across Canada, started Apr 12, 1980, at St. John's, Newfoundland, and con-



tinued 3,328 miles to Thunder Bay, Ontario, Sept 1, 1980, when he was forced by spread of the disease to stop. During the run (on an artificial leg) he raised \$24 million for cancer research and inspired millions with his courage. Terry Fox was born at Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 28, 1958, and died at New Westminster (near Vancouver), British Columbia, Canada, June 28, 1981.

July ☆ ☆ Chase's Annual Events ☆ ☆ 1991

VALLEE, RUDY: 90TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 28. American singer, saxophone player and radio idol of millions during the 1930s. Born Hubert Prior Vallee, at Island Pond, VT, on July 28, 1901, the crooner used a megaphone to amplify his voice and introduced his performances with the salutation "Heigh-ho-everybody!" Vallee appeared in a number of movies, including *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*. Among his best remembered songs are: "I'm Just a Vagabond Lover," "Cheerful Little Earful," "If I Had a Talking Picture of You," "Say It Isn't So," and his signature song, "My Time is Your Time." Vallee died at North Hollywood, CA, on July 3, 1986, while watching Statue of Liberty centennial ceremonies on television.

VETERANS BONUS ARMY EVICTION: ANNIVERSARY. July 28. Some 15,000 unemployed veterans of World War I marched on Washington, DC, in the summer of 1932, demanding payment of a war bonus. After two months' encampment in Washington's Anacostia Flats, eviction of the bonus marchers by the US Army was ordered by President Herbert Hoover. Under the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur, Major Dwight D. Eisenhower and Major George S. Patton, Jr (among others), cavalry, tanks and infantry attacked. Fixed bayonets, tear gas and the burning of the veterans' tents hastened the end of the confrontation. One death was reported.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Bill Bradley, US Senator (D, New Jersey), born at Crystal City, MO, July 28, 1943.
Georgia Bright Engel, actress, born at Washington, DC, July 28, 1948.
Darryl Hickman, actor, born at Los Angeles, CA, July 28, 1931.
Linda Kelsey, actress, born at Minneapolis, MN, July 28, 1946.
Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, editor, widow of John F. Kennedy and Aristotle Onassis, born at Southampton, NY, July 28, 1929.
Jacques Piccard, inventor, explorer, born at Brussels, Belgium, July 28, 1922.
Sally Anne Struthers, actress, born at Portland, OR, July 28, 1948.
Rick Wright, singer, musician, born at London, England, July 28, 1945.

JULY 29 — MONDAY

210th Day — Remaining, 155

ENGLAND: CHAMPAGNE MUMM ADMIRAL'S CUP 1991. July 29-Aug 16. Cowes, Isle of Wight and Plymouth, Devon. Three inshore races, one long inshore race and 2 offshore races including the Fastnet race which finishes in Plymouth. Registration on July 29. Prizegiving for all races Aug 16 in Plymouth, Devon. Info from: Royal Ocean Racing Club, 20 St. James's Place, London SW1A 1NN, England.

FINLAND: LAHTI ORGAN FESTIVAL. July 29-Aug 4. Lahti. Concerts, seminars and master classes. Info from: Lahti Organ Fest Office, Kirkkokatu 5, SF-15110, Lahti, Finland.

KENTUCKY MUSIC WEEK. July 29-Aug 2. Bellarmine College, Louisville, KY. Workshops in dulcimer, hammered dulcimer, fiddle and banjo. Crafts, singing and complete children's program. Info from: KMW, Inc, Box 651, Bardstown, KY 40004.

MUSSOLINI, BENITO: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 29. The anniversary of birth of Italian Fascist leader, at Dovia, Italy, July 29, 1883. Self-styled "Il Duce" (the leader), Mussolini gov-

erned Italy, first as prime minister and later as absolute dictator, 1922-1943. Reportedly, under his regime "the trains ran on time." It was Mussolini who said: "War alone . . . puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to face it." But military defeat of Italy in World War II was Mussolini's downfall. Repudiated and arrested by the Italian government, he was temporarily rescued by German paratroops in 1943. Later, as they attempted to flee in disguise to Switzerland, he and his mistress, Clara Petacci, were shot and killed by Italian partisans near Lake Como, Italy, Apr 28, 1945.

NORWAY: OLSOK EVE. July 29. Commemorates Norway's Viking king St. Olav, who fell in battle at Stiklestad near Trondheim, Norway, July 29, 1030. Bonfires, historical pageants.

PERU: NATIONAL HOLIDAY. July 29. Public holiday in Peru celebrated with a military parade and a gala horse race in Monterrico Race Track.

QUAYLE, MARILYN TUCKER: BIRTHDAY. July 29. Wife of the 44th vice president of the US, J. Danforth Quayle, born at Indianapolis, IN, on July 29, 1949.

RAIN DAY IN WAYNESBURG, PENNSYLVANIA. July 29. Legend has it that rain will fall in Waynesburg, PA, on July 29 as it has most years for the last century, according to local records in this community, which was laid out in 1796 and incorporated in 1816.

ROOSEVELT, ALICE HATHAWAY LEE: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 29. First wife of Theodore Roosevelt, 26th President of the US, born at Chestnut Hill, MA, July 29, 1861. Died Feb 14, 1884.

TARKINGTON, BOOTH: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 29. American novelist, born at Indianapolis, IN, July 29, 1869. Died there May 19, 1946.

ZAMBIA: MUTOMBOKO CEREMONY. July 29. Ancient annual ceremony to honor Senior Chief, the traditional leader of the Luunda peoples of the Luapula Province in north-central Zambia. Joyous communal party and cultural get-together.



BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Melvin Belli, lawyer, author, born at Sonora, CA, July 29, 1907.
Peter Jennings, journalist, born at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, July 29, 1938.
Nancy Landon Kassebaum, US Senator (R, Kansas), born at Topeka, KS, July 29, 1932.
Patty Scialfa, singer, born at Deal, NJ, July 29, 1956.
Michael Spinks, boxer, born at St. Louis, MO, July 29, 1956.
Paul Taylor, dancer, choreographer, born at Allegheny, NY, July 29, 1930.
David Warner, actor, born at Manchester, England, July 29, 1941.

July
1991

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14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

1991



Chase's Annual Events



July

JULY 30 — TUESDAY

211th Day — Remaining, 154

BRONTE, EMILY: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 30. English novelist, one of the Bronte sisters, best known for *Wuthering Heights*. Born July 30, 1818. Died Dec 19, 1848.

CANADA: CHESTICO DAYS. July 30–Aug 4. Port Hood, Nova Scotia. Fiddle music, step dancing and harness races are featured. Info from: Chestico Days, PO Box 38, Port Hood, NS, Canada B0E 2W0.

FORD, HENRY: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 30. Automotive pioneer, born in Dearborn Township, MI, July 30, 1863, remembered especially for developing an assembly line production system, introducing a \$5-a-day wage for automotive workers and for his statement: "History is bunk." Ford died at Dearborn, MI, Apr 7, 1947.

HOFFA, JAMES: DISAPPEARANCE ANNIVERSARY. July 30. Former Teamsters Union leader, 62-year-old James Riddle Hoffa, was last seen July 30, 1975, outside a restaurant in Bloomfield Township, near Detroit, MI. His 13-year federal prison sentence had been commuted by former President Richard M. Nixon, in 1971. On Dec 8, 1982, seven years and 131 days after his disappearance, an Oakland County judge declared Hoffa officially dead as of July 30, 1982.

VANUATU: INDEPENDENCE DAY. July 30. Vanuatu became an independent republic on July 30, 1980, and observes its national holiday on this day.

VEBLEN, THORSTEIN: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. July 30. American economist, born at Valders, WI, July 30, 1857. Died at Menlo Park, CA, Aug 3, 1929. "Conspicuous consumption," he wrote in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, "of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure."

WORLD FOOTBAG CHAMPIONSHIPS. July 30–Aug 4. Golden, CO. 6-day sports event spotlights competition of footskills—the Superbowl of footbag! Now in its 12th year, it attracts the World's top competitors from the US and 8 other countries. Prize money exceeds \$20,000. Sponsor: Whamo and The World Footbag Assn. Info from: Bruce Guettich, Dir, The World Footbag Assn, 1317 Washington Ave, Ste 7, Golden, CO 80401.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

Paul Anka, singer, songwriter, born at Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, July 30, 1941.

Peter Bogdanovich, producer, director, born at Kingston, NY, July 30, 1939.

Delta Burke, actress, born at Orlando, FL, July 30, 1956.

Kate Bush, singer, songwriter, born at Lewisham, England, July 30, 1958.

Edd Byrnes, actor, born at New York, NY, July 30, 1933.

Bill Cartwright, basketball player, born at Lodi, CA, July 30, 1957.

Ken Olin, actor, born at Chicago, IL, July 30, 1954.

Arnold Schwarzenegger, body builder, actor, born at Graz, Austria, July 30, 1947.

Eleanor Marie Cutri Smeal, feminist, born at Ashtabula, OH, July 30, 1939.

JULY 31 — WEDNESDAY

212th Day — Remaining, 153

DOLL SHOW. July 31. Broadway Market Square, Baltimore, MD. Open to girls and boys 14 years of age and older. 12 different categories of dolls. Trophies and prizes for winners. Info from: Office of Adventures and Fun, Recreation Pier, 1715 Thames St, Baltimore, MD 21231.

FEAST OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA. July 31. 1491–1556. Founder of the Society of Jesus and Jesuits. Canonized in 1622.



FIRST US GOVERNMENT BUILDING. July 31. The cornerstone of the Mint, the first US government building, was laid on this day in 1792.

KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT DEDICATION: ANNIVERSARY. July 31. New York's International Airport at Idlewild Field was dedicated by President Harry S. Truman on July 31, 1948. It was later renamed John F. Kennedy International Airport.

KENNEDY-CHENG UNITED NATIONS MEMBERSHIP SUMMIT: ANNIVERSARY. President John F. Kennedy agreed during talks held with General Chen Cheng July 31–Aug 1, 1961, to support Nationalist China in its bid for UN membership and oppose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

REEVES, JIM: DEATH ANNIVERSARY. July 31. Country music star Jim Reeves died at age 41, July 31, 1964, when the single-engine plane in which he was traveling crashed in a dense fog. Reeves's biggest hit was "He'll Have to Go" (1959), and he was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1967.

US PATENT OFFICE OPENS: ANNIVERSARY. July 31. On July 31, 1790, the first US Patent Office opened its doors and the first US patent was issued to Samuel Hopkins of Vermont for a new method of making pearlsh and potash. The patent was signed by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

BIRTHDAYS TODAY

William J. Bennett, Drug Czar, born at Brooklyn, NY, July 31, 1943.

Geraldine Chaplin, actress, born at Santa Monica, CA, July 31, 1944.

Milton Friedman, economist, journalist, born at Brooklyn, NY, July 31, 1912.

Evonne Goolagong, tennis player, born at Barellan, Australia, July 31, 1951.

Curt Gowdy, sports commentator, born at Green River, WY, July 31, 1919.

Irv Kupcinet, TV talk show host, columnist, born at Chicago, IL, July 31, 1912.

Don Murray, actor, born at Hollywood, CA, July 31, 1929.

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THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

OCTOBER 1990

A MONTHLY REVIEW EDITED BY R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.

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Andrew Ferguson in Metairie, Louisiana

Duke of Deception



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TALES FROM TWO CITIES (I)

PETERSBURG

by Maurice Cranston

Leningrad claims, with some justice, to be one of the most beautiful cities in the world, displaying, like Venice and Amsterdam, its finest buildings along the banks of rivers and canals. It is also one of the most depressing cities in the world because these rivers and canals are deserted. The Soviet regime does not approve of boats, which can be sailed down to the Gulf of Finland and on to freedom. So all you see are police launches and pleasure craft for tourists or, further downstream, the occasional jetfoil for important passengers. As you wander beside the wide Neva, or the Fontanka or Griboyedova canals that wind through the center of the city, you pass hundreds of landing stages where no vessel has tied up for over seventy years; and from pre-revolutionary prints and photographs you can see that there was once more navigation here than in Venice itself.

Italian architects designed so many of the principal monuments and buildings that you might not believe you were in Russia but for the gold-encrusted domes and towers of the Church of the Savior's Blood, or the massive functionalist barracks which serves as the Leningrad Hotel. Venice is said to be crumbling, but Leningrad is in much worse shape. Many of the old noblemen's mansions and grand bourgeois apartment blocks are dismal shells enclosed in rusty scaffolding, from which fragments sometimes drop on passersby. The streets are thunderous with traffic and the air is thick with the vile fumes of low-octane gasoline. Since there are no barges on the waterways to carry heavy freight, trucks in endless convoys carry stone and rubble for a giant dam being built somewhere down the Neva. Many of the better-paid workers and petty party functionaries drive nasty little East European models, battered and unwashed.

At the end of the day traffic stops, because the main bridges close every

night. In effect, it is a curfew. On summer nights, when there is hardly any darkness this far north, there is a strange, sad beauty about the silent city, the river so wide that one can see at the same time the splendid palaces of the Hermitage, the noble fortress of Peter and Paul, and the proud Rostral columns of the Strelka, incongruous amidst the bankrupt socialism of Leningrad today.

Those grand Imperial buildings have been preserved and restored, while the houses of private families have been left to rot. Although it is the monuments that tourists come to see, restoration has not been for tourists' sake; the Communist regime has long had imperial dreams of its own. Stalin saw himself increasingly as the successor of Peter the Great and other heroic Emperors, and made Soviet relics of Imperial relics. At the Hermitage, or the Winter Palace or the Peterhof or Tsarskoye Selo, infinite pains are taken to reproduce eighteenth-century moldings and carvings in the palace rooms to the standard of the Emperor's skilled artisans, while in the stores of Leningrad there is hardly a stick of furniture for the ordinary housewife. There is not much food either.

In Leningrad this summer, everyone said that the food shortages were worse than they had been for several years. Outside the *gastronom*, or food shop, you would see a line of people with empty baskets: that was a sign there was something for sale. No line, no food. By way of explanation one hears the word *perestroika*. Gorbachev's policy is blamed for the failure of the economy, and one can see why—people work if they are rewarded or if they are afraid. Under Gorbachev, workers are neither afraid nor yet rewarded with anything worth having, so work slackens, or there are strikes and productivity declines still further.

Crime is becoming widespread. Of the foreign writers with whom I traveled, one was mugged outside the Kirov opera house, another had his watch discreetly removed, two, unwisely using the Soviet airline Aeroflot, lost their

baggage; I had shirts and coats stolen from my hotel room. Touts are everywhere, trying to sell pots of caviar or buy foreign currency for rubles by offering tourists four or five times the official rate. Even solid working-class people are eager to accumulate enough dollars or deutschmarks to go to Yugoslavia and buy second- or third-hand cars to drive around Leningrad.

I write of Leningrad, but that may not be its name much longer. At the Writers' Union meetings I attended, every speaker referred to the place as Petersburg, and since then the local council has asked the government to restore the original name—although strictly speaking that should be St. Petersburg, because the city was dedicated to the Apostle, not to the Emperor. Lenin is not loved in the place where he arrived in a sealed train from Switzerland in April 1917 to overthrow the constitutional monarchy of Kerensky; at the Lenin Museum on Khalturina Street, the custodian said: "Only foreigners come here nowadays."

At the Writers' Union, the members were bitterly divided among themselves. The split was not simply between "conservatives" and "radicals": it was between the mediocre writers who would be lost without the patronage of the state and the good writers who welcomed both the opportunities and the risks of free press. As it is, the party hacks envy the success of good authors who can get their work published abroad. The hacks know that if there were a free market at home they would be lucky to be published at all. The Writers' Union itself might go, or, at any rate, cease to be a club where writers with a union card enjoy far better meals than anyone can at home or in restaurants open to the public.

The Soviet Union has so far kept intact the main structures of organized privilege. If you follow the rules you may do quite well: if you try to go your own way, you are lost, even as a foreigner. Jean-Jacques Rousseau being my special subject, I asked permission

to pursue some research at the Saltykov-Shchedrin library on some Rousseau manuscripts which landed there as part of the archive that Catherine the Great bought from Diderot in the eighteenth century. I wrote the librarian for permission, took a taxi to the premises, and presented my card to the directorate, but all I heard was "*Ne vkhodit*," which even I could understand meant no. So I turned to the bureaucracy of the Writers' Union, and four hours later I was driven by a chauffeur to a side-door of the Saltykov-Shchedrin and ushered into a vast reading room, where I sat alone in the presence of the world's richest French Enlightenment archives. I noticed that the list of readers had had no names added since Arthur M. Wilson of Dartmouth College had worked there on his biography of Diderot some forty years ago.

I would have expected the Soviets to make more of Diderot, since his opinions were at one stage very like those of Stalin on such subjects as atheism, determinism, imperialism, and even art. Perhaps the Soviets also remember that, after a few weeks' experience of enlightened despotism in the empire of Catherine the Great, Diderot changed his mind altogether and ended his days as a champion of Montesquieu's kind of conservative liberalism.

One writer honored in today's Leningrad is the poet Anna Akhmatova. The small apartment where she lived on the Fontanka canal has been turned into a museum, and foreign tourists are encouraged to visit; there are moving souvenirs of her achievements and sufferings under Stalin, and of the persecution of her upper-class family under Lenin. Freedom of speech has undoubtedly made its debut in Leningrad, and Gorbachev has said he wants it to prevail, both in the press and in broadcasting. But in the absence of economic freedom, the media remain at the mercy of those who control the instruments of publishing—the printing presses, the paper mills, the transmitters, and the studios. Such people, like the party hacks at the Writers' Union, are often sworn enemies of freedom.

Maurice Cranston is professor of political science at the London School of Economics.

What ordinary people would make of free expression is another question altogether. Soviet television already transmits hour after hour of parliamentary debates, party congresses, and council meetings, so monumentally boring that the public pays no attention to them. There is hardly such a thing as "public opinion" in Russia. Unlike Budapest or Prague or Warsaw, where folk memories of liberty make it easier to visualize democracy being restored, Leningrad has never known anything like democracy. Despotism is so deeply entrenched in its history that you can almost smell it; Lenin and his successors have left people cowed, bewildered, and hungry. If there were a McDonald's in Leningrad as there is in Moscow, there would be the same mile-long line of customers; the same two- or three-hour wait for a hamburger.

Perhaps due to their past as a religious people, the people of Leningrad put up with things that would drive other nations to riot. For example, the ballet is to them what the opera is to the Italians, a form of theater they both know about and care about. At the Kirov they have one of the finest dance companies in the world—but the best seats at the Kirov go to foreigners and state guests. The Leningrad public is offered other companies in theaters where the standards are by no means the same and even competent dancers have to perform to incredibly bad recorded sound. On the Nevski Prospekt, the Fifth Avenue of Leningrad, people look in vain for necessities in the big department stores, while foreigners with hard currency can stock up on luxuries at the tax-free shops. The vast Leningrad Hotel has two sorts of restaurants—those selling bread and cheese for rubles, and those selling caviar and wine for dollars.

"Openness" is a favorite word of Mr. Gorbachev. But how can that disposition be acquired by a people nurtured on suspicion? After my hotel bedroom was burglarized, I reported to a Leningrad police unit that specializes in dealing with tourists, and brought a friend to interpret. The officers were from central casting: one uniformed, smart, handsome, and stern; the other fat, untidy, and jovial—the classic interrogation team of the bully and the false friend. I would not like to have met them if I had been in any real trouble. They did not show much interest in my lost clothes, but zoomed in on my interpreter. She had a Polish accent, they said. Why did she claim to be English? What was she doing in Leningrad, anyway? They suspected that she was some kind of spy, and were reluctant to let her leave with me.

Fear of espionage remains deep-seated. You cannot buy anything as simple as a street map in Russia; such things

would betray information to potential enemies. I was told by Kremlinologist Robert Conquest that even the unpublished street maps of Moscow are deliberately distorted. Conquest is highly regarded in the Soviet Union nowadays, since he is almost alone among Western scholars in having published the grim truth about Stalin's crimes.¹ The liberal American "experts" who whitewashed the Lenin-Brezhnev era are held in great and deserved contempt.



Along with some other foreign writers, I signed a petition to Gorbachev to restore Soviet citizenship to exiled intellectuals who had been deprived of their passports for having defected. The petition was granted to several, but would exiles really wish to return? They are certainly much needed as a counterpoise to the dead weight of the party hacks, almost all of whom see Stalinism as a corrupt form of a valid philosophy, Marxism, just as the New Left intellectuals of the West have since the 1960s. Although I did not meet any academics in Leningrad, I heard some of that New Left jargon from students who had been in touch with West Germany. It is ironic that while Chancellor Kohl is thrusting credit onto Mr. Gorbachev in hopes of creating a market economy in the Soviet Union, West German universities continue to spread the doctrine that capitalism is evil.

I was not in the Soviet Union in 1989, but I am told that people still thrilled to words like *perestroika* and *glasnost* and that Gorbachev was the national idol. They were not bored by public debates, and crowds still gath-

ered around TV screens to watch Yeltsin argue with Gorbachev.

Andrei Bitov, the courageous author of one of the few international bestsellers to come out of the Soviet Union in the 1970s, suggested in Leningrad that seventy years of Communism had so distorted the Russian language that it is almost impossible to articulate anything except authoritarian ideas. "Even people who oppose the

old regime, express their opposition in an authoritarian idiom."

When rigid censorship held sway, dissidents imagined that it hid a treasure trove of literary and artistic creation. As censorship has been lifted over the past five years, nothing along these lines has emerged. The new generation of writers shows considerable talent for journalism, but not much for literature, and the young artists are as old-fashioned as their elders. What Bitov calls "Stalinist taste" lingers on. Similarly, minds shaped in the Stalinist mold cannot readily entertain the method of systematic doubt that underlies philosophy. They can more easily accommodate the dogmatic structuralism and Marxist humanism imported from West Germany.

In politics the situation is even more serious. Observers in the West have an altogether romantic image of the average Soviet politician. On our television screens we are introduced to such urbane and cultivated figures as Nikolai Ryzhkov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Boris Yeltsin, and, of course, Gorbachev himself. But these people belong to a minuscule elite that has about as much in common with the average Soviet office-holder as a medieval nobleman had in common with the average serf.

Gorbachev was trained in the KGB's own college, which has been compared both to a Jesuit seminary and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in Paris for the sophistication it imparts to its graduates. His closest collaborators come from similarly privileged backgrounds.

Conversely, the various national, regional, and local assemblies are packed with authoritarian dullards, for it is only such men who were ever wanted in the so-called legislative bodies established by the Soviet constitution. If the average Soviet citizen does not know what to think, the average Soviet legislator does not even know *how* to think. According to Leninism, the party thinks for the people, and the leaders think for the party. People have never been asked to reflect, and reflection itself has been considered subversive. It is not simply that the party knows best; the party alone *knows*.

I talked to a factory worker who was an official of her union. She was worried by developments in East Germany, where factories had been overmanned under Communism as extensively as was her factory outside Leningrad. She feared that if her workforce were reduced to an economically efficient number—as has happened in Dresden—about 40 percent of her fellow workers would lose their jobs. Wretched as the situation was now, she argued that at least a man or woman with a job could earn enough to pay the rent and buy enough cigarettes and tea and vodka, if not enough for food and clothing. The unemployed would not even have that. When I suggested to her that the unemployed in East Germany would soon find new jobs in better-managed factories, she said that was because East Germany had a rich big brother in the West to put up unlimited capital. "Who is going to invest in us? Mrs. Thatcher? Mr. Bush?"

When I pointed out that Mr. Kohl was already heading the queue of potential Western investors in the reformed Soviet economy, she retorted: "He's trying to buy off Gorbachev's opposition to the reunification of Germany as cheaply as he can." A cynical remark, perhaps, but not an unintelligent one.

I arrived in Leningrad by train from Moscow, and left by air for Frankfurt. There is no more reassuring sight in any Communist country than a Western jet on the runway when you have a ticket in your pocket and the right to leave. The people who live there, of course, do not have that right. The country they inhabit is still a gigantic prison camp, and Mr. Gorbachev's reforms have a long way to go before they make it anything else. □

¹An updated edition of Conquest's 1968 classic *The Great Terror* was published this year by Oxford University Press (\$24.95).

TALES FROM TWO CITIES (II)

MOSCOW

by James P. Pinkerton

If you can't afford a plane ticket to Moscow (\$1,100 round trip), rent the movie *Batman*. You'll save about \$1,097 and still see a gray city choking on pollution and corruption, where a few heroes fight for truth, justice, and, yes, the American Way. Moscow is a time warp to the *film-noir* forties: before pollution laws, consumer appliances, and Technicolor. It is a city of broad shoulders—and broad faces, and broad bottoms. Bruce Springsteen could write songs about the hard joes in hard jobs, old before their time, who go to work in a silent rage and come home in a drunken stupor to beat their wives. You could call it Gothamgrad. I should know: I saw the movie *and* took the trip.

I had to fly 10,000 miles to realize what an international disaster high-rise public housing has created. In the twenties, Le Corbusier proposed razing Paris to build a "radiant city" of skyscrapers. His millenarian plan to improve people by destroying their neighborhoods was adopted by modernist bureaucrats on a grand scale in the *Soyuz*. From the air, the miles and miles of brutalitarian monoliths arrayed in geometric patterns look pretty, like topiary. Up close they are as intimidating and demoralizing as they are decrepit. I saw enough material for two hours of "60 Minutes": power outages, broken elevators, standing water, piles of rubble, crumbling walls.

In my hotel room I looked around and asked myself, "What's wrong with this picture?" No tub! Not even a shower curtain or a stall—just a spigot. Won't everything get wet? Not to worry: there's a drain in the middle of the floor. The maids "clean" by squeegeeing dirt around, like a kid shuffling his food to convince Mom that he's eaten his Brussels sprouts. I never did see a true mop or sponge, and I mistook my bathroom towels for dishcloths. A Russian woman told me she was most impressed on her trip to America by the cleanness of the carpets. It's easy.

James P. Pinkerton works in Washington, D.C.

All it takes is a vacuum cleaner.

If you are subject to motion sickness, don't look down into the toilet of a Soviet train—the sight of the railroad tracks underneath will undo you. Flushing such a minimalist device in America violates anti-dumping laws. Plumbing in buildings isn't much better. Since the pipe infrastructure can't handle the volume of waste, Soviet sanitary engineers have developed a stand-by plan: they put a little can next to the potty for—ahem—used toilet paper. This is gross enough—I won't record how I figured this out.

My hotel had a full set of computers at the front desk, but they weren't used. Generally, Soviet ergonomics recalls the glory days of carbon paper, pneumatic tubes, and steno pools. In this bizarre society the clerks see you coming and walk the other way, on the antinomian paradigm that the customer is always wrong. A small example is the restaurant where we breakfasted three mornings in a row. The first morning, the waitress handed us a check. The second, we were told breakfast was complimentary. The third, they said we were not on the list to eat there.

However forewarned one is about the long lines, shopping is a shock and a nightmare. The luxury goods available to ordinary citizens come from . . . Bulgaria. The system fails so completely to transport fresh fruit that it's profitable for farmers to fly 2,000 miles from Central Asia with an armload of cherries to hawk on a Leningrad street. Everyone drinks Pepsi, which is up to Soviet standards—and no higher. The Soviets view carbonation the way Birchers view fluoridation: as a dangerous foreign enemy. I saw items for sale that few Americans have seen since the rationing days of the Second World War—like a gizmo for repairing nylons.

One button I bought pictured Brezhnev, with the caption "King of Stagnation." Another depicted Stalin atop a mountain of skulls and read "King

Joseph the Bloody." The best buy, though, is a red-star lapel pin circling a tiny Gerberesque daguerreotype of Lenin as a baby. For 10 kopecks (about a penny), it's a guaranteed conversation-starter back home.

The system has also squandered a rich human inheritance. On Gogolevsky Boulevard, I made a pilgrimage to the Central Chess Club, which is to chess what Ebbets Field was to baseball. Like everything else in Moscow, the building had seen better days: ornate high ceilings rust-colored from water damage, once-thick carpets ground thin by dirt. Yet the club had the glow of old genius and the spark of young prodigy. Anyone wondering why Russians still excel at chess when Soviet power has so successfully stifled most forms of intellectual achievement will find the answer within. Superficially, chess is passive and contemplative, not at all the medium of radicals and daredevils. Yet, under its nerdy surface, chess is dynamic—perpetual perestroika. The stupid, brutal, literal bureaucrats who repressed writers, poets, and musicians never recognized the iconoclasm and intellectual entrepreneurship of chess. The psychic sanctuary of the sixty-four squares sheltered Russian grandmasters, enabling them to dominate world chess even in the darkest years of Stalinism. Perhaps Gary Kasparov, that media-savvy mix of Byron and Einstein, will popularize this silent sport and remind the world of the vast potential of a free *Rus*.

E laine Kamarck, a fully liberated Democratic activist from New York who would never be confused with a Stepford wife, made the profound observation that the USSR needs a woman's touch. Soviet society clanks along with the grace and sensitivity of a T-34 tank, grinding the feminine aesthetic under its macho tread. Only a minuscule percentage of the population has any decision-making power, and they're almost all men. In fact, the closest analogue to Soviet society in America is the mili-

tary. I'm all for a strong defense—our troops should patrol the ramparts of freedom, not walk the runways of Seventh Avenue. But imagine a whole country run like the Pentagon: the spontaneity of Ft. Leavenworth, the gastronomic pleasures of C-rations, and the unleashed creativity of Parris Island.

The Soviets are only slowly discovering that men can't think both for themselves and for women. In the West, female purchasing power sets the tone for everyday life: fashion, household goods, interior design, and so on. These "luxuries" are either pitiful or non-existent in the Soviet Union. The total absence of convenience and style in the state economy derives from the lack of a market. Going to Moscow made me see that much of the brightness of Home Sweet Home comes from commercial advertising. Soviet shopkeepers, who don't care if they actually sell anything, settle for monochrome, with an occasional dash of sepia. A typical storefront at a dairy shows a cow; raincoats are signified by a cloud, televisions by bunny ears, etc. This is not a society worried about subliminal seduction.

Meanwhile, Soviet men have created a stern environment, with its own samurai intensity. On a visit to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin, I was moved by the words on the plinth: "Your name is unknown but your deeds are immortal." A Soviet battle standard was draped over one edge asymmetrically, as if the soldier had dropped the flag as he fell, and his reverent comrades had bronzed it in place for eternity. Flowers cascaded over the memorial, often left by newlyweds sharing their vows with the spirit of their heroic forefathers.

Other shrines extol the dated proletarianism at the core of the Soviet ideology. The monument to the Soviet space program is shaped like a ski jump pointing into the sun. Friezes show glorious workers, guided by the ghost of Lenin, assaulting the heavens. I saw a couple of women in the scene, but this commemoration exudes testoster-

one. Men strain as they sweat and persevere, their muscles bulging under their overalls. Strange that a monument to advanced scientific undertaking should have the appearance of a Depression-era WPA mural dedicated to coal miners. The country abounds with columns, arches, and temples dedicated to the pre-Information Age articles of Bolshevik faith: Agriculture, Heavy Industry, War, and Revolution.

My final observance of the Soviet creed took me to Lenin's tomb. The guards kept the traffic moving, and the wait was shorter than I had expected—about an hour. I walked in, turned left, down the steps, hung a right, and there he was: Lenin, forever in mortuary amber. The forms of fidelity were omnipresent here, but it was hard to find the faithful. Glasnost permitted the Russian people to roll away the stone in front of Lenin's tomb. They discovered that the savior had not risen, that he was still there, physically intact but very much dead.

In 1937, Leonid Chekayev was arrested by the NKVD for opposing the destruction of a church in his hometown in the Urals and sent to Kolyma, an island of slave labor in the Gulag Archipelago near the Arctic Circle. As a typical *zek* working 12-hour shifts in the gold mines, Leonid wore rags in the 50-below winters and lived on bread. His ration left him short thousands of calories a week. Robert Conquest writes: "All in all, these conditions reflected one main truth. In the minds of its creators and organizers the conscious purpose of Kolyma, which had originally been the production of gold, with death as an unplanned by-product, had become the production, with at least equal priority, of gold and death." Nobody knows how much gold was produced at Kolyma, but an estimated three million people died there. Leonid was one of the lucky five percent who came back.

Leonid's daughter Alexandra recalls her late father saying that World War II, with all its carnage, was not nearly as horrendous for the Soviet people as the Stalinist Terror. Although Conquest, Solzhenitsyn, and many others have established that the death tolls were comparable, we cannot judge barbarism with mere arithmetic. Russian literature provides another gauge. In Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago*, Major Dudorov, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, recalls "... attack after attack, mile after mile of electrified barbed wire, mines, mortars, month after month of artillery barrage. They called our company the death squad ... and yet ... all that utter hell was nothing, it was bliss compared to the horrors of the concentration camp." Foreign in-

vasion was preferable to what Pasternak/Dudorov called "the inhuman reign of the lie."

Alexandra's family of four shares three rooms, a kitchen and a toilet with a married couple and their infant. No shower or bath: they use a public facility two blocks away. Alexandra wants a new deal for the Russians, starting with changing the name of her city back to Petrograd, or even St. Petersburg.

How do you get the truth in the *Soyuz*? You can't just pick up the newspaper or turn on CNN. The hottest rumor I heard was that Mary Jo Kopechne had been found, dry and alive, in East Germany. I felt the information deprivation immediately, but as time passed the sensation ebbed, like hunger pangs in the starving. The Iranian earthquake that killed 50,000 barely registered, because I didn't see it on TV.

The crisis of the Soviet spirit is not that they don't believe in anything; it's that, suddenly inundated by the Information Age, they'll believe *everything*. The twisted result of the 70-year cognitive blockade is a nation of high IQs and no judgment. The occult, ESP, and UFOs are as true to them as government grain production reports.

In Leningrad, amid the heroic statuary of the Champs de Mars, a guide told me that the site was dedicated to Alexander II, who had defeated Napoleon. Wait a minute ... *Wasn't it Alexander I?* I asked meekly. She smiled and said nothing. I turned to the KGB agents who were accompanying us in the back of the bus: Surely, if you flip through *War and Peace* ... No answer. And there's a non-Christian faith healer on daytime TV. Russians are pathetically ignorant of their Judeo-Christian heritage: at the Hermitage the guide told us that Rembrandt's "Abraham's Sacrifice" depicts God telling Abraham to kill Isaac to demonstrate his belief in Jesus Christ. People don't merely refuse to believe what the Soviet establishment tells them, they assume the opposite is true: Russian Hell's Angels, sporting *The South Will Rise Again* belt buckles, are absolutely convinced that America was victorious in Vietnam. Their "proof" that we won is that *Pravda* said we lost.

If knowledge is power, the Russians are very weak. Locked behind the Iron Curtain, they have become book-smart—with what books they could get. But any culture that writes—and more importantly, reads—thousand-page novels has a lot of raw intelligence. A lot of them have learned English. Why? Maybe so they could grow up to be Gulag administrators for the Kansas



City oblast after the final victory of the workers. Or maybe, in the back of their minds, they knew their god would fail, and English would help them get jobs as door-openers for joint-venturing foreign investors.

The party still controls TV news, but that won't do it any good, because Mike Deaver was right: the images flooding in from the wider and wider world shape opinion much more than words. I didn't understand a word of the powerful Soviet documentary I watched about water pollution, but millions of Russians saw the same spewing pipes and dead birds juxtaposed with bureaucratic talking heads. Other media are even freer: *Moscow News* is a lively rag—a cross between the *Village Voice* and *Human Events*—irreverent, and given to *ad hominem* attacks and exposés of Stalinist atrocities. Its 300,000 circulation could triple if it could get the newsprint. *Moscow Monthly* profiles Gorbachev's advisers, with a picture and bio for each.

Old Soviet leaders are having trouble with the new tricks. Most still orate. Their long spiels are usually well organized and well argued, but they haven't figured out that electronic eloquence consists of snappy sound bites. They have no sense of the camera: how to look, where to look, what to do with their hands.

The smarter Soviet pols play by the new rules. They are giving up their chauffeurs, donating money to buy syringes for AIDS-ravaged hospitals, and going on live TV to take phone calls from viewers. Inevitably, *apparatchiks*

cultivate the press, get on the "right" side of the issues, and distance themselves from failure. The media become visible hands. Such tactics seem calculated and familiar to Americans, but Soviet citizens are delighted by them. This is the *vox populi*, known today as feedback. The new interaction must surely shape the outlook of the leaders as well as the led. If you walk the walk and talk the talk, eventually you'll begin to think the think.

On my last day, I couldn't look at another green tomato or brown cold cut. I went to McDonald's. As I waited in line amidst happy Soviets, it occurred to me that the old Bolshevik slogan—"Peace, Land, Bread"—was finally being realized. And the capitalists had even thrown in meat! I saw smiles and efficiency behind the counter—was this the New Soviet Man that Lenin dreamed of?

As I munched on my Big Mac, I thought about Phil Sokolof, the Nebraska businessman crusading against fast-food fat. Something, perhaps, for overfed Americans to worry about, but Russians are more afraid of hunger than cholesterol. An old Soviet joke held that "Socialism is the road from capitalism to communism—but we didn't say anything about feeding you on the way!" A modern variant says that "Socialism is the tortuous road from capitalism to capitalism." In Moscow, the last stop on the history-ending Hegel Express is the McDonald-land Station. □

John Corry Remembers
Jerzy Kosinski

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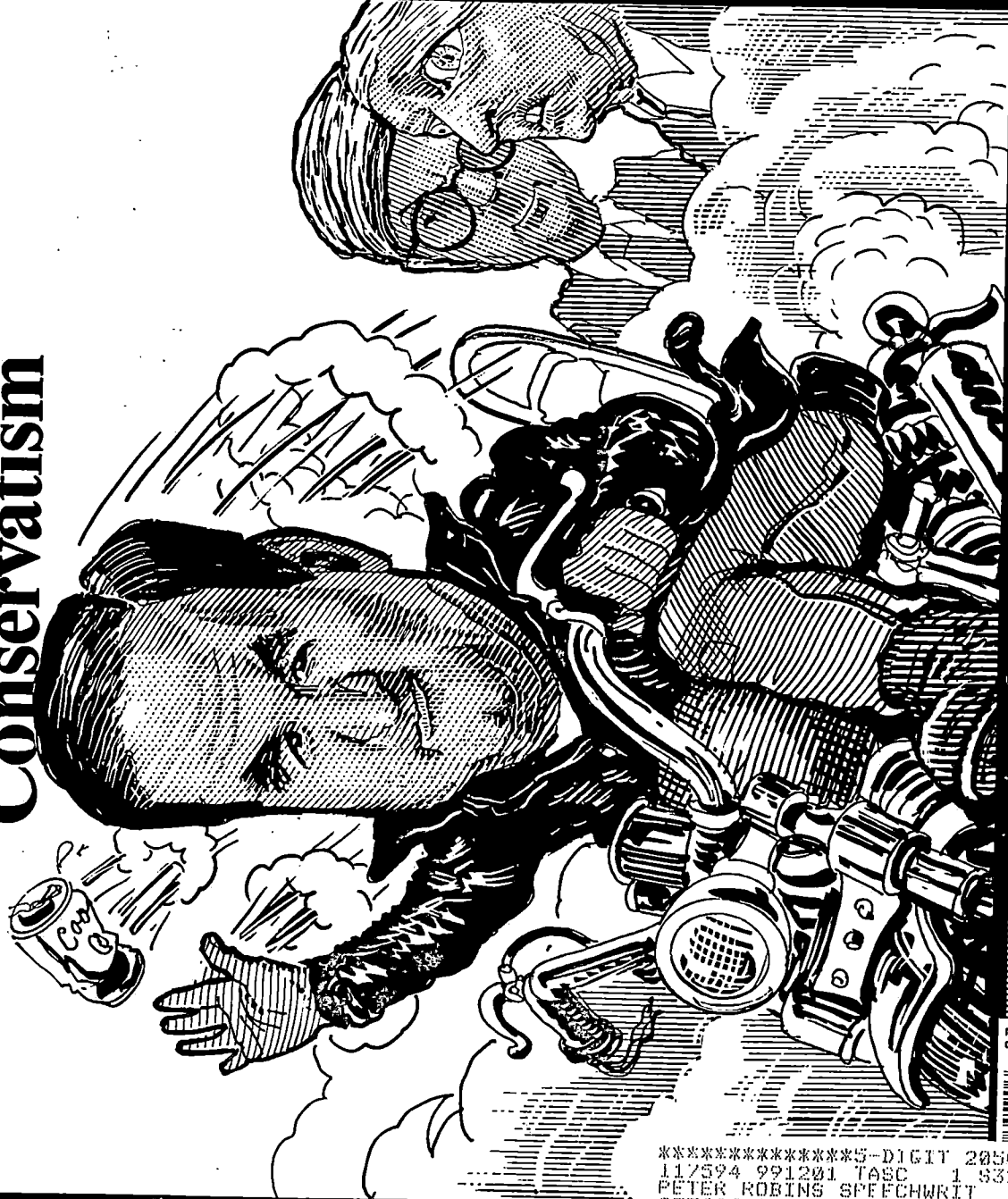
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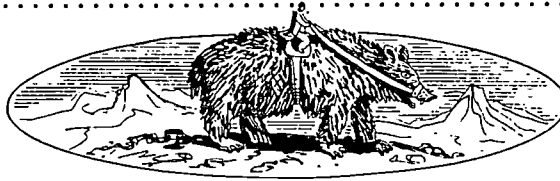


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SOVIET PRESSWATCH



THE GORBY CLUB

by Cathy Young

The beleaguered Mikhail Gorbachev has a fan club—and no, its president is not Stephen F. Cohen. An interview with the general director of the Klub Gorbi, as the Moscow-based organization is known, appeared on March 25 in the Moscow weekly *Stolitsa* ("The Capital"). Ilya M. Osadchuk says he became a Gorby fan in 1984, when Gorbachev was made the youngest member of the Politburo. Around that time, he happened to lay eyes on Raisa Gorbachev's now-famous doctoral dissertation on the sorry state of the Soviet village. Fired with enthusiasm, Osadchuk headed for Gorbachev's birthplace, where he discovered that young Misha had been a born leader who often led older boys in raids on fruit orchards. In 1986, he decided to start a club in support of his pin-up

boy's new ideas. Strangely, his plan did not meet with official support (perhaps because he had never been a party member) and the club did not open until the spring of 1990, when, Osadchuk says regretfully, Gorby's best days were over.

But Osadchuk's troubles were not. A Communist functionary was appointed to oversee the club's work, and its "best ideas" were being stolen by the establishment. Osadchuk was so aggrieved he handed in his resignation—but history intervened. "The Baltic crisis began, and the club's board of directors scattered. I haven't been able to find anyone since January. It's not respectable and even dangerous to be a Gorbachev supporter these days. So there are now four people left in the club. Just like the Beatles: a Lonely Hearts Club Band."

While he is upset by Gorbachev's recent tendency to appoint hardliners to key posts, Osadchuk insists that this is nothing more than strategy, and blames

the democrats who chose to follow Yeltsin, leaving poor Gorby all alone to fight the KGB and the generals. Meanwhile, he fears that if dictatorship comes, he will be jailed or shot: "I have become a hostage to Gorbachev's ideas even more than Gorbachev himself. And I have not gotten anything out of it for myself—no car, no country home, no apartment." He has never even met his idol.

Score Two for Freedom of the Press . . .

Osadchuk's reverence for the Soviet president does not prevent him from collecting Gorby cartoons, and he can now add an exotic new item to his files. The April 22 edition of *Kommersant* reports that on April 16, one Galina Egorenkova was detained outside a metro station for selling copies of the Riga-based "erotic gazette" *Eshcho* ("More"). It featured, among other things, a collage that showed Gorbachev watching a couple in sexual congress, while a nearby headline read "Profession: Pimp." The lady was hauled into court on charges of distributing pornography and insulting the president. On April 18, she was found innocent on all counts: the newspaper had been properly registered, and the headline, it seems, referred not to the collage but to the profile of an actual pimp on the same page.

Striking another blow for press freedom, the Soviet Journalists' Union has finally expelled the infamous radio and television chief Leonid Kravchenko. The decision was made by the secretariat of the Moscow section of the Journalists' Union in Kravchenko's absence (which apparently can be done in certain cases), prompting an outburst of angry accusations from *Pravda* and *Sem Dnei* ("Seven Days"), the TV and radio guide published by the State Broadcasting Company. The editorial in *Sem Dnei* characterized the action as "reprisals against a journalist for taking a stand, for defending his professional and personal principles." Which, apparently, include silencing those whose "principles" are different. Letters from veteran Soviet journalists in the same issue accuse the Journalists' Union of "intoler-

ance" and "suppressing dissent," which surely ought to be brought to the attention of the organization that hands out those annual doublespeak awards.

. . . And One for Cold War Propaganda

A sample of Kravchenko's recent fare is provided by an April 5 TV special whose very title, "Alien Voices," is rather ominously reminiscent of the bad old times, the "alien voice" being Radio Liberty. The program, made by and starring one Oleg Tumanov—a KGB mole in the Munich office of Radio Liberty who became head of the Russian service before his spectacular defection to the Motherland in the early 1980s—was broadcast right after *Vremya*, pushing back a scheduled "Soccer Revue." It opened with the assertion that "since 1988, jamming of Radio Liberty has been virtually stopped."

Journalist Vladimir Voina, who dissected the film in the April 13 issue of *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* ("Independent Gazette"), wonders just what "virtually" could mean, adding that more sophisticated interference methods had reappeared lately in place of the crude static din of old: the Liberty signal sometimes fades, and sometimes gets crowded out by other frequencies or music of mysterious origin. "Alien Voices," however, seems to have been only slightly more sophisticated than its Cold War-era forerunners. Radio Liberty was described as a tool of the CIA. (So what, says Voina: it was one of the precious few sources from which Soviet people could learn the truth about their society—and who cares where the money came from? And, he adds, what about the cozy relationship between Gosteleradio and the KGB?) On a more threatening note, it was said that the Soviet miners' strike committees were getting their instructions straight from RL broadcasts—that is to say, from the CIA via RL.

RL was also accused of helping the CIA study the causes and manifestations of discontent in the Soviet Union, fomenting ethnic violence, and recruiting Soviet citizens abroad as CIA spies. On the latter point, Voina writes, not

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without a shade of regret, that when he was in Germany last summer and freelanced for *RL*, "no one was tempted to buy my immortal soul." Nor did anyone try to recruit him during a ten-month stay in America. "I even began to suspect," writes Voina, "that one has to try really hard to become a paid agent of the CIA. After all, its budget is not unlimited, and there are plenty of takers."

"Alien Voices" concluded with Tumanov opining that "if the American government were to show its good will, Radio Liberty would cease to exist." What better evidence that the "good will" of the American government should be put on hold?

NRA Communists

The confusion between the terms "left" and "right," or "conservative" and "liberal," as used in the Soviet Union and in the West, has generated much awkwardness. Only recently, Gorbachev gleefully pointed out that the people who were calling themselves "left-wing" in Russia were really "right-wing," since it is generally the right that stands for private property and free enterprise. And American conservatives are sometimes understandably rattled when the C-word is used as a label for hardline Marxists like Yegor Ligachev. Charles Krauthammer has even suggested that the habit of calling such folks "conservatives" and their pro-capitalist opponents "liberals" was some sort of plot by our left-liberals to claim the good guys for themselves. With all due respect, that's how the terms are used by the Russians themselves.

But a more interesting and somewhat touchy question is whether there are any areas of agreement between Soviet and American conservatives. It is only natural that there should be: once the Soviet system had become established, its champions had to espouse *some* policies needed to preserve social stability, such as strong families. Today, Soviet conservatives—whether of a Communist or nationalist bent—are the prime guardians of old-fashioned sexual morality. They also favor a tough stand on criminals, while the "liberals" tend to oppose the death penalty. Most recently, two items caught my eye in the leading "conservative" newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*.

One (April 25) was an article by N. Lukyanova entitled "Victims of Demagoguery: What the 'Liberalization' of Our Psychiatry Has Wrought." The writer asserts that after the 1988 relaxation of rules that allowed psychiatric patients to be treated without their consent, it has become difficult to hospitalize or treat the truly insane. She cites cases of newly discharged patients who harmed or killed others, and quotes psychiatrists who complain about assertive patients refusing treatment and

dangerous people being turned loose.

There's no blatant nostalgia here for the good old days when psychos and dissidents alike were packed off to the loony bin; Lukyanova is either too progressive or too subtle for that. She not only acknowledges past political abuses of psychiatry (claiming, however, that they only affected a tiny fraction of patients) but admits that under the strict old rules, people suffering from nothing more than a mild temporary neurosis often found themselves caught in wheels of the psychiatric machine. Lukyanova seems merely to argue for a rational middle ground: "It makes no sense for an aggressive paranoid and a quiet kleptomaniac to have equal opportunities to run their own lives. . . . 'Humanitarianism' in psychiatric matters, taken to an absurd extreme, has contributed to the fact that we have more destitute people lacking care: those who beg on public transport or in pedestrian underpasses are often former patients of mental hospitals. Granted formal rights to an independent life, they cannot, in fact, make use of them. . . . Under the guise of civil rights, such people have been deprived of the right to health."

Since respectful references to all things American are now in vogue, Lukyanova points to the mental patients' rights movement in the United States and the human tragedy of deinstitutionalization. On the other hand, she commends Americans for their more compassionate and accepting attitude toward the mentally ill, noting that in the Soviet Union, "a person under psychiatric observation is still seen as an outcast" and mental hospitals resemble prisons.

An appropriate companion piece is "Weapons Against Fear" by S. Karkhanin (April 30), which deals with letters in response to a January 16 article, "How to Save Yourself From a Criminal," written, no less, by a special investigator in the office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. The investigator, Leonid Proshkin, advocated private ownership of handguns for self-defense. Not one of the letters unequivocally opposed the idea, and many endorsed it. The consensus, writes Karkhanin, was that "weapons are circulating all over the country anyway and fall into the hands of criminals, while decent people have no way of resisting them."

Proshkin is currently wrapping up the case of an armed gang that broke into apartments, forcing people to give up their valuables and committing an occasional murder: "They left empty-handed on just three occasions, when they encountered armed resistance." The investigator concludes that if more citizens were armed, some criminals

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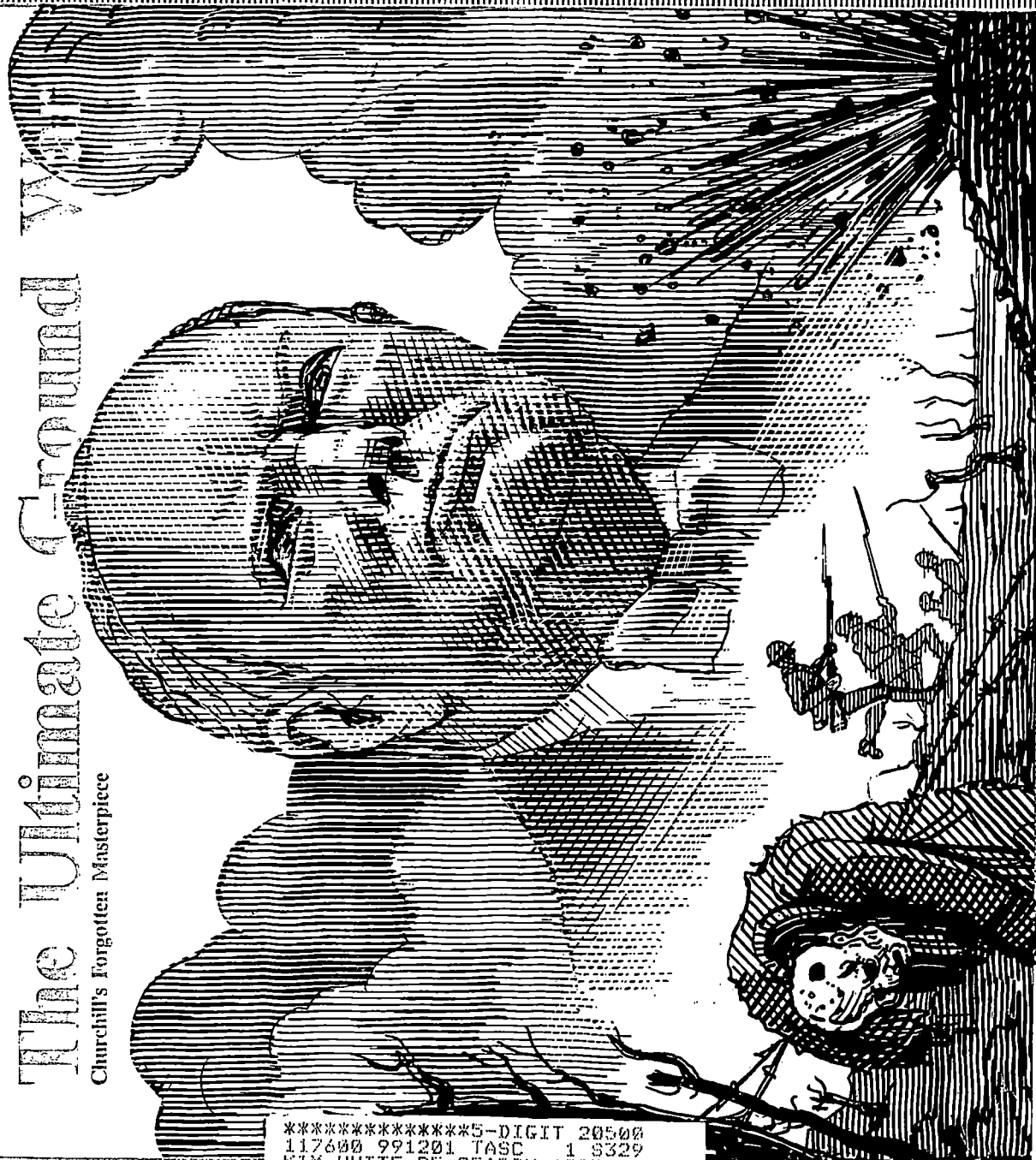
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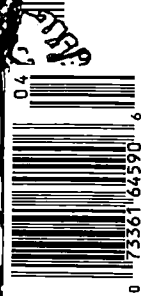
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SOVIET PRESSWATCH



SAVING FACE

by Cathy Young

In Nikolai Gogol's classic tale *Taras Bulba*, the fierce Cossack hero exclaims, as he shoots his son who has defected to the enemy: "I have given thee life and I shall kill thee!" Alluding to this famous phrase, a headline over a story on Gorbachev's relations with the press in the January 21 issue of the Moscow weekly *Kommersant* reads, "The President and Glasnost: I Have Given Thee Life . . ."

In the reports of the first casualties of the Soviet crackdown on the media, there was one that caused me personal sadness. Last July at the Democracy and Independence conference in Prague (*TAS*, October 1990), I encountered a small group of producers and journalists from an independent Soviet TV show called "Authors' Television," or ATV, who complained they still could never be sure a controversial segment would not be followed by loss of access to state-run TV facilities. Two months later, at the Cato Institute's conference in Moscow, ATV reporter Alexander Chukhov invited me to be on their next show—a four-hour late-night program on central TV's Channel 2 consisting of documentary shorts followed by informal panel discussions. I saw one of these programs during my stay; it was rambling but lively, with a segment about a young man who had bought a horse (in the USSR, that can get you on TV) and another that poked fun at delegates to the Russian Communist party congress denouncing the liberal media. I declined Chukhov's offer for lack of time, telling myself that I could do the show on my next trip to Moscow. In January, ATV was shut down. For now, the clods from the RCP congress have had the last laugh.

Still, it must be said that Soviet broadcast journalists have put up enough resistance to save face, if not to save their freedom. On January 16, the staff of central television's weather forecasting service went on a brief strike

to protest the killings in Vilnius and the renewal of censorship, leaving the evening "Vremya" program with no weather forecast. ("Let us hope that the weather service is, as always, wrong," deadpanned the "Vremya" anchor, proving that government lapdogs can be trained to have a sense of humor.)

On January 13, Tatiana Mitkova, the most popular anchor on the brisk Television News Service, or TSN, refused to read the text prepared by Pyotr Reshetov, first deputy director of Gosteleradio (the state agency that supervises broadcasting), after Reshetov had killed nine out of ten pages of TSN's original broadcast scripts for that night's show. The text, giving the official version of the Vilnius events, had to be read by someone else. On the next day, TSN anchor Sergei Dorenko was briefly suspended "for an inappropriate, sarcastic tone" in reading this sentence: "Yeltsin's mission and his latest statements have been condemned by President Gorbachev, the servicemen of the Vilnius compound of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Russian-speaking deputies in Estonia."

At a January 17 meeting, the program's staff decided to accept Gosteleradio's terms, reserving the right to inform viewers that the program was being subjected to political censorship and "to seek free airwaves" (*Kommersant*, January 21). Those who seek may not always find. Gosteleradio (which, in the hands of its new TASS-schooled chief Leonid Kravchenko, is turning—quips *Kommersant*—into "the Presi-

dent's channel") still holds a monopoly on the airwaves, and Russian TV, heralded as a source of alternative broadcasting, is being stifled in the bud. According to a February 5 report from the new independent news service Novosti, some members of the Union of Journalists have moved to expel Kravchenko for infringing on freedom of the press. The union's Moscow section is expected to vote on the motion soon.

The pro-Yeltsin Radio Russia, as newspapers in the U.S. have reported recently, has been taken off the two most widely heard frequencies. There was no word of any reprisals against Moscow Echo, an independent radio station that usually broadcasts from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. but was on the air at 10 a.m. on January 13, covering the events in Lithuania in a thirteen-hour marathon. There were reports from a stringer in Vilnius and in-studio commentary by Soviet radicals, including world chess champion Garry Kasparov. One reporter phoned in from the Lithuanian mission in Moscow to say that its registry books had run out of space to record sympathetic phone calls. According to *Moscow News* (January 20), a number of people called the station asking if the staff needed food, coffee, or smokes.

On the downside, investigative journalist and cult figure Alexander Nevzorov showed his true colors in the short documentary film, "Our Boys," broadcast twice on January 16, wherein

he declared that the "boys" in question had saved Lithuania from eternal disgrace and that all the victims of the television tower raid had died of heart attacks or in traffic accidents. (I guess getting run over by a tank qualifies as a traffic accident.) While Nevzorov had won many hearts by trumpeting his anti-Communism, some people had suspected him all along of working for certain dark forces by whipping up hysteria about crime which could be used as a pretext for a crackdown. Now, all suspicions have been dispelled. "Bye-bye, Shurik" (a Russian nickname for Alexander), read a sign at the massive January 20 freedom rally in Moscow. The day before, reports *Moscow News* (January 27), an "alternative" rally sponsored by groups with names like "Unity for Leninism and Communist Ideals" and "Women for the Socialist Future of Our Children" gathered 300 people in defense of Nevzorov and Saddam Hussein. They might have had a better turnout in Lafayette Park.

A letter signed by twenty-three members of the Soviet Cinematographers' Union (including Elem Klimov, who rose to the top of that organization as a loyal Gorbachevite) appeared in *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* (The Russian Gazette) on January 18 and in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (The Independent Gazette) on January 19. It denounced the Nevzorov film—which shows a special-forces platoon supposedly waiting for a Lithuanian sniper attack—as "a staged falsification quite obvious to the professional eye of a director, cameraman, or reporter," and appealed to viewers not to believe it: "They're lying to you, trying to set you against Lithuania and Lithuanians and thus whitewash the murderers and those behind them."

The hands of the censors have not yet reached the print media, theoretically protected by the 1990 Law on the Press—though on January 16, Gorbachev suggested that it might be a good idea to suspend the law in order to "guarantee objectivity." He did not push for suspension of the law but had the Supreme Soviet vote to recommend that the Committee on Glasnost work



Cathy Young is the author of *Growing Up in Moscow* (Ticknor & Fields).

on "measures to ensure objectivity in the media." In the "I Have Given Thee Life . . ." article, *Kommersant* analysts Maksim Sokolov and Alexander Sukhanov regard Gorbys's tactic as a clever one: had the Law on the Press been explicitly suspended, republican parliaments might have stepped in, drawing the central government into a new "war of laws." Setting up "objectivity commissions," write Sokolov and Sukhanov, may prove far smarter: "One possible option is that 'objectivity commissions' will issue findings of bias, on the basis of which directors of printshops (most of which are owned by the Communist Party) and the owners of premises will have the right to annul service contracts or lease agreements."

Kommersant asked several prominent editors to comment on the proposed restrictions. Most voiced anger, sarcasm, or apprehension (Vladimir Sungorkin, deputy chief editor of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*: "There is some anxiety on our staff, and some gallows humor . . . : 'What are we going to do when a National Salvation Committee shows up here?' "). On the other hand, deputy editor of *Pravda* Anatoly Karpichev, said, "I'm not ready for your question—your call was very unexpected. This question is too serious for me to make up my mind in one minute."

Literary Gazette's editor-in-chief Fyodor Burlatsky replied, via his secretary, that "he was going to be very busy in the next few days and could not say anything." Since his past record suggests a certain streak of opportunism, one might wonder if he was very busy holding a finger to the wind. Yet during a visit in the United States in February, Burlatsky expressed alarm over the encroachments on press freedoms, especially in broadcasting. So far, according to Burlatsky, newspapers and magazines that have become independent, such as *Literary Gazette*, *Ogonyok*, or *Moscow News*, have not been subjected to arm-twisting or to cutoffs of newsprint or paper. He added, however, that newspapers still owned by the party or the government are under pressure to adopt a more hardline stance. A move to oust Igor Golembiovsky, a top editor of the democratic-leaning *Izvestia*, was warded off by staff resistance.

Literary Gazette has been unequivocally pro-Lithuanian in the aftermath of the "Bloody Sunday" in Vilnius; the staff held a rally and passed a resolution condemning the use of force in the Baltics. The January 16 issue of the weekly devoted three pages to the Vilnius tragedy. The fateful events of January 13 have made clear the sharp dividing line between "right-wing" and

"left-wing" newspapers. In the liberal and radical press, weeping Lithuanian mothers were looking for their dead children in morgues, headlines shouted "Attempted Military Coup in Lithuania," "They Were Shooting at You!" and "Do You Hear the Stomping of Army Boots?" and photographs showed the dead and wounded of Vilnius. In *Pravda*, *Rabochaya Tribuna* (Workers' Tribune), the military *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star), and their ideological clones, there were plots by "nationalist extremists seeking to restore a bourgeois order," heroic soldiers displaying their weaponry, and letters from "common workers" in the Baltics pleading with the troops to "act firmly and decisively."

The January 15 issue of *Izvestia* carried an appeal for forgiveness and non-violence from Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Alexis; a statement by the Soviet Journalists' Union proclaiming that "glasnost is in danger"; a report on a press conference by Boris Yeltsin, who said that ignoring the shift toward the sovereignty of republics was "a major strategic error of the American administration"; and a survey of responses to the Lithuanian crisis in various parts of the Soviet Union. In the city of Karaganda in northern Kazakhstan, "the official circles are completely silent, while workplace discussions take place only in smoking rooms. The republican and local newspapers have not printed even brief news dispatches from Lithuania." In Ufa (Bashkiria), the republic's Democratic Youth Alliance stated, "We believe that tanks and weapons are not a proper method of resolving complex political issues," in an open letter in a youth newspaper called, of all things, *Leninets*—"Leninist." In the provincial Russian town of Voronezh, "the party press justifies the military intervention, while the youth paper condemns it." The happiest of Soviet cities is Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan: "The central newspapers, *Izvestia* and *Trud*, have not come out here in two weeks for lack of paper. Therefore, important national news events are bypassing this region: Central TV's Channel 4, the only one received here, is made up of entertainment programs."

And how are ordinary Soviet people reacting? On January 25, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* ran a selection from over a hundred telegrams it had received, overwhelmingly pro-Lithuanian. "I do not need the land of others. Hands off neighboring nations," writes Vyacheslav Chirkun, "a Russian worker." And this sarcastic letter from "Private Volovik": "My heartfelt congratulations to Marshall Yazov on an outstanding victory, the capture of the

Vilnius TV station. May our valiant commando troops score new triumphs in battles against civilians." Even the Komsomol Committee of the Kharkov Polytechnic Institute calls for "negotiations with the legitimate government of the republic," the prosecution of Lithuania's National Salvation Committee, and the resignation of Yazov, Kravchenko, Internal Affairs Minister

Boris Pugo, and KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov.

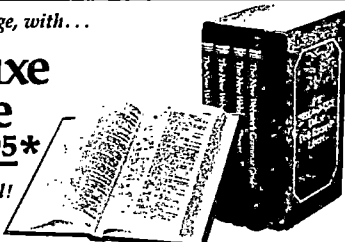
Yet nothing captures the national mood as perfectly as this gem of a letter, in the same issue of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, from one E. Snegur in the town of Zainsk: "I'd like to go as a volunteer to the Persian Gulf, to join the Americans or Hussein—I don't care, as long as I get out of here. . . ." □

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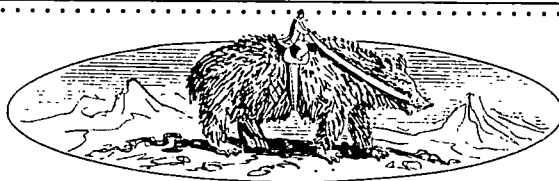
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THE MOSCOW SPECTATOR



GLOOM CITY

by Robert D. Novak

In the dreary winter of 1991, talk of the comeback of hard-line Communism abounded. And in the prototypical modern police state there seemed more policemen around than ever. Even members of the Soviet parliament complained the militia had become more obstreperous in clearing guests through security. The KGB enlists more and more young men. Censorship on state television has been reimposed.

Yet a Westerner who had last visited Moscow three or four years ago would be impressed. Russians in the street talk freely to foreigners. A democratic opposition exists, with elected legislators denouncing the system, the Bolshevik legacy, and Mikhail Gorbachev. They declare their desire to make this a "civilized country" after seventy years of "criminal rule." Visiting Western journalists are ignored by the omnipresent state security system.

Nobody knows what will come of this clash between the first tender buds of democracy and the massive apparatus of repression Gorbachev has at his disposal. The apparatchiks are determined not to join their German, Polish, and Hungarian imitators in oblivion, while the generals fear for their country's superpower status, now that German reunification and the loss of Eastern Europe have been followed by the humiliation of their clients and arms in Baghdad. The result is gloom.

The coldest Russian winter in years, with temperatures falling regularly to twenty below, provides an ironic backdrop to the grimness of everyday life. Stores are empty, lines endless, shabbiness and disrepair ubiquitous. In Leningrad, the most Westernized of Russian cities, where I spent three days, citizens are heartsick over the physical deterioration of the place they were hoping would soon again be called St. Petersburg.

Robert D. Novak is a syndicated columnist, a television commentator, and the publisher of the Evans and Novak Political Report.

The hopelessly devalued ruble is both a cause and a symptom of this malaise. Whereas until 1989 most everyone was afraid to accept the dollar here, now it is all that anyone wants. It is demanded by the privately owned restaurants ("cooperatives") and by the Finnair-owned Savoy, the one Western-style hotel in Moscow. These establishments charge \$100 for dinner, \$350 for a room—out of sight for Ivan Ivanovich.

The dollar is the currency of choice in the gray-to-black markets, the only thriving sectors of the Soviet economy. Drivers and translators I hired wanted cash in dollars, on which they would not pay the 70 percent-plus tax. Taxis are hard to hail in Moscow, but private cars will pick you up and take you to your destination for a few dollars in hard cash. Policemen stop autos for alleged traffic violations and haggle, in full public view, over the fine, which they try to collect on the spot.

Scarce sausages and a worthless ruble are behind the KGB's crackdown on private enterprises, which are accused of "economic sabotage"—an ominous term recalling the Stalinist terror.

Vitaly Kliuchnikov, owner of one of Moscow's first private restaurants, reflects the unhappy mood here. He has expanded his prosperous operation and is about to enter into a joint venture with a German firm. The night before we spoke, Communist hard-liners had

ousted him as chairman of the Kalinin District Soviet, a position he had used to promote more than fifty private businesses in the district.

Gorbachev is moving to save socialism. The troops he is assigning to patrol the cities are greeted with outrage by the elected soviets (legislatures) in the republics. In Moscow, I spotted only one team of young conscripts accompanied by hardened policemen, but it was a frightening omen. Outside Communist ranks, I heard few kind words for the Nobel Peace laureate. I did hear disbelief that the Bush Administration fails to understand that Gorbachev is the problem not the solution.

The solution—universally agreed upon by all proponents of reform—is Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic. I came here to interview him for a *Reader's Digest* article and (incidentally) a CNN Evans-Novak broadcast. He had stiffed us six months ago, simply not showing up at the TV studio for a scheduled interview, but friends said he was sorry and wanted to make amends. Nothing is easy in the Soviet Union, and I had to extend my visit five days before I got to see Yeltsin.

This gave me time to spend a weekend in Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia. Compared to what I saw in Moscow and Leningrad, Tbilisi seemed

like Palm Beach. The central government's writ in the ancient kingdom of Georgia runs thin. The Soviet flag is nowhere to be seen, statues of Lenin (not to mention of favorite son Joseph Stalin) have been torn down. The non-Communist government of the Georgian republic runs its own show. The Kremlin has responded by tightening the screws on food and energy. The hotel was so cold that diners wore their overcoats to partake of the limited menu (cabbage soup and meat of an undesignated source—fried). But the Kremlin had not dared to send soldiers to patrol Tbilisi. When the Red Army comes, it will have to be in force. Remembering April 9, 1989—when troops mowed down civilians in the Georgian capital—the populace has armed itself to the teeth.

Civil war? When we returned to Moscow and did indeed get two hours with Yeltsin, he flatly said yes, there will be civil war if the army tries to enforce Gorbachev's will. The main hope for averting calamity is Gorbachev's chronic indecision. He flinched after the January bloodshed in Vilnius, declining to proceed with the planned military overthrow of the Landsbergis government.

The Communist apparatus has spread the word to Western diplomats and news correspondents that the people yearn for the good old days of Brezhnev, Khrushchev, and even Stalin. This is manifestly preposterous. On the few occasions they've had so far to cast free ballots, the Soviet people have invariably voted down the Communists. Nonetheless, democratic leaders—mainly intellectuals among whom physicists are preponderant—fret about the "Russian in the street." Yeltsin is their link to the masses, who recognize and admire his rejection of the high life of the high *nomenklatura*.

On retrieving my coat and hat after I'd seen Yeltsin, the checkroom attendant—a typical late-middle-aged *babushka*—noticed I was carrying his autobiography bearing the Russian president's picture on the dust jacket. "That's our darling," she said. □



THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Richard Pipes/Alfred A. Knopf/944 pp. \$40

Craig S. Lerner

In the early morning of July 17, 1918, in a basement in Ekaterinburg, members of the Bolshevik security police, the Cheka, murdered the ex-czar Nicholas II, his wife, their son and four daughters, three servants, and the family doctor. It was more difficult work than expected. After a three-minute barrage at point-blank range, several of the victims survived. The Chekists approached them with bayonets. Their leader complained, "When one of the girls was stabbed, the bayonet would not go through her corset." The bodies were undressed, covered with sulfuric acid, and dumped in an abandoned gold mine.

Though Lenin had written in 1911 of the necessity of beheading "at least one hundred Romanovs," Soviet authorities to this day deny his responsibility for the executions, insisting that they were undertaken at the initiative of local Communists. Richard Pipes, Baird Professor of History at Harvard, doesn't buy it.

For Pipes, there is a profound significance to the events in Ekaterinburg. Regicide was not unknown to Europe, says Pipes, but, "as is the case with so much that concerns the Russian Revolution, while the superficial features of events are familiar, all else is unique." Unlike Charles I and Louis XVI, Nicholas was never brought to trial. Only in the Russian case did the victims include the monarch's family and servants. "The deed, perpetrated in the dead of night, resembled more a gangster-type massacre, than a formal execution." Finally, Trotsky's justification for the massacre, that it was needed to "shake up our own ranks," suggests to Pipes that the Bolsheviks had entered "an entirely new moral realm."

The chapter on the murder of the imperial family, one of eighteen in *The Russian Revolution*, is typical of Pipes's disdain for "ethical nihilism" and of his unfashionable willingness to pass value judgments. He defines the "culminating period" of the revolution as the quarter-century from the student revolts of 1899 to the death of Lenin in 1924. (The present work ends around 1919; the promised sequel will continue

to 1924.) Pipes writes with forceful clarity, though *The Russian Revolution* lacks the anecdotal verve that launched Simon Schama's recent history of the French Revolution into bestsellerdom. This is history without frills. If you want to know what happened in Russia at the beginning of the century, read this book. If you want romance and adventure in a war-torn world, go to a video store and rent *Reds*.

"In Russia," Pipes has written in an earlier work, "the struggle for political liberty was waged from the beginning exactly in the manner that Burke felt it ought never to be waged: in the name of abstract ideals." Because the nobility and bourgeoisie were never politically significant in Russia, it was left to an intelligentsia mesmerized by Western ideas to check royal power. In the opening chapters, Pipes describes the numerous skirmishes engaged in by the autocracy and the intelligentsia from 1906 through 1917 in the pseudo-parliamentary Duma. Nicholas II, determined to play the part of an autocrat but lacking the strength or talent to do so, repeatedly promised concessions, only to renege later. For its part, the intelligentsia would settle for nothing less than the institution of one-man, one-vote parliamentary democracy. That such a form of government might be ill-suited to a country in which the vast majority of the population were illiterate peasants seldom intruded upon their consciousness.

Roughly the second half of the book covers the Bolshevik conquest of Russia. Beginning with the seizing of St. Petersburg in October 1917, Pipes describes the Bolsheviks' almost immediate construction of a one-party state with a centralized economy and a terror apparatus. He focuses on the great importance of Lenin to the Bolsheviks. "What held them together was not a program or a platform—these could change from one day to the next in conformity with the leader's wishes—but the person of the leader." Pipes reconstructs the mind of Lenin, focusing on hatred rather than idealism as his principal motivation. Marxism's appeal for Lenin lay not in its vision of a perfect future; rather, Pipes argues,

it supplied a justification for his nihilistic and destructive impulses.

Lenin surrounded himself with like-minded fellows; his "Commissar of Justice" exhorted, "We must execute not only the guilty. Execution of the innocent will impress the masses even more." But, in terms of murderous hatred, Lenin was simply in a class by himself. Pipes credits him with the introduction of the vocabulary of pest control to political discourse. "The kulaks are the most beastly, the coarsest, the most savage exploiters," Lenin told a crowd of industrial workers in 1918. "These bloodsuckers have waxed rich during the war. . . . These spiders have grown fat at the expense of peasants. . . . These leeches have drunk the blood of toilers. . . . These vampires have gathered and continue to gather. . . . merciless war against the kulaks! Death to them!" The easiest way to disabuse someone of his belief in a "humane" or "democratic" Leninism is to read him some words of the man himself.

The Bolsheviks, it is sometimes said, were forced to use drastic measures to restore order to Russia in the chaotic years that followed the revolution. The *Soviet Historical Encyclopedia*, for example, writes that "War Communism," the attempt to introduce state control of the economy, was "dictated by the exceptional difficulties caused by the civil war [and] economic devastation." Pipes shows that the Bolsheviks were themselves largely responsible for these "exceptional difficulties": their pricing policies curtailed the food supplies reaching the cities, and they intentionally wrecked the bourgeois economy with hyperinflationary monetary policies.

The Bolsheviks' early program was dictated not by circumstance, but by the deliberate application of violence and terror to secure power. The Cheka was founded in December 1917, before any organized opposition had emerged. With Lenin's enthusiastic support, it quickly became the dominant organ of the government. By 1919, its leader presided over the construction of a network of concentration camps. "One can perceive here, not only in principle but also in practical detail, Stalin's concentration camp empire: it differed from Lenin's only in size," writes Pipes.

According to Pipes, the history of Russia is marked by continuity: the germinal totalitarianism of czarist Russia emerged, fully grown, in the Soviet regime. Pipes first developed this thesis in *Russia Under the Old Regime*, the predecessor of the present volume, which traced Russian history through the late nineteenth century. "Unlike most historians," he wrote, "who seek the roots of twentieth-century totalitar-

ianism in western ideas, I look for them in Russian institutions." For Pipes, Soviet totalitarianism is the product of a "patrimonial" political culture indigenous to Russia. The peasantry never acquired an understanding of property or law and was thus never fit material for citizenship; the czars, meanwhile, treated the country like a private estate. In the book's final chapter, "Towards the Police State," Pipes argued that

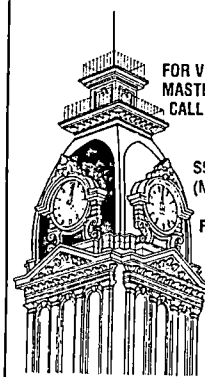


THE PRIVATIZATION REVOLUTION

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Craig S. Lerner has written for *Commentary* and the *New Criterion*.

"the legal and institutional bases . . . for a bureaucratic-police regime with totalitarian overtones" were laid in the late nineteenth century.

In *The Russian Revolution*, Pipes harps once again on the patrimonial mentality of rulers and ruled; the behavior of the peasant is explained, often unpersuasively, with reference to the "centuries of serfdom in his bones" or his "primitive anarchism." Pipes repeatedly identifies czarist precedents for Bolshevik actions, e.g., "in spirit . . . War Communism resembled most the patrimonial regime (*tiagloe gosudarstvo*) of medieval Russia." He occasionally resorts to his earlier thesis in its full-blown form: "The system of government which the Bolsheviks set in place within two weeks of the October coup marked a reversion to the autocratic regime that had ruled Russia before 1905: they simply wiped out the twelve intervening years of constitutionalism."

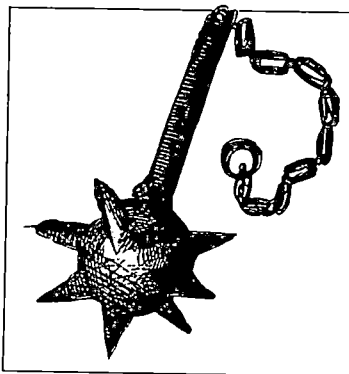
Elsewhere, however, Pipes emphasizes the radical novelty of the Bolsheviks, the "entirely new moral realm" they had entered. To explain this novelty, Pipes looks to the influence of modern ideas. Around the seventeenth century, he argues, thinkers ceased to content themselves with the mere contemplation of nature; they sought to manipulate and exploit it to benefit man. This new philosophy inspired a brand of intellectuals, who first appeared during the French Revolution, intent on changing the world. Under their influence, the goals of politics have soared as the reality of politics has plunged into depths previously unknown. To understand the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism, according to this line of argument, one should look less to a peculiarly Russian "patrimonial" mentality than to a modern mentality regarding the status of man and the world.

These two lines of argument co-exist uneasily in *The Russian Revolution*, particularly in the final chapter, on the Red Terror. On page 799, regarding certain Bolshevik legal procedures, Pipes writes, "Those living under Bolshevik rule found themselves in a situation for which there was no historic precedent." Then on page 800, regarding related procedures, he writes, "These measures returned Russian judiciary procedures to the practices of the seventeenth century." On page 832, Pipes tells us that "in its fully developed form, the concentration camp . . . was Bolshevism's major contribution to the political practices of the twentieth century," only to excavate on page 835 a czarist precedent: "Russian governments had an old tradition of exploiting convict labor. . . . The Bolsheviks revived this tradition." It's as if Pipes first tells us how horrible, how uniquely horrible, the Bolsheviks are, then shrugs and

says, "Well, they're just behaving like Russians always have."

Barring a new wave of purges and repression, *The Russian Revolution* will soon be appearing in translation in the Soviet Union, where it is certain to have a wide readership. After all, the present debate within the Soviet Union about the future is defined by the past. Hard-liners defend the seventy-five years of Bolshevik rule and recommend staying the course; other Communists hope for "democratic socialism." Russian nationalists, including Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, would jettison the whole Soviet legacy and turn for guidance to Russian history. Others advocate a total break with the Soviet and Russian past and the adoption of liberal democracy.

Pipes has bad news for everybody. To



Communists, he suggests that Bolshevism was evil from the start. To Russian nationalists, he warns that there is practically nothing worth recovering in pre-revolutionary Russia. Brutalizing squalor and vast ignorance in the countryside; perverted idealism, fanaticism, and cowardice in the intelligentsia; flunkysism and incompetence in the government: when one plays "If I Could Have Been Born Anywhere," Pipes's czarist Russia is not the sort of place that comes to mind. (Solzhenitsyn, who emphasizes the discontinuity between czarist and Soviet Russia, responded to Pipes in a 1980 essay in *Foreign Affairs* entitled "The Mortal Danger: How Misconceptions About Russia Imperil America.")

Moreover, Pipes's emphasis on continuity, on the Russians' undeveloped sense of property and law—not something one is apt to cultivate under Soviet Communism—raises doubts that liberal democracy will take hold. Russians can nowadays be heard saying that they want democracy, but not multiple parties, or, for that matter, the private sale of land. Exactly what democracy would mean in the absence of competing political parties and a market economy it is difficult to say, but it is certain to bear little resemblance to liberal democracy as the West has come to know it. □

THE POWER AND THE GLITTER: THE HOLLYWOOD-WASHINGTON CONNECTION

Ronald Brownstein/Pantheon/437 pp. \$24.95

Fred Barnes

Before the 1988 presidential campaign hit full stride, TV producer Norman Lear invited each of the Democratic candidates to his house in ritzy Brentwood for strenuous auditions, over dinner, before a group of powerful figures from the entertainment industry. The candidates, especially Senator Joe Biden of Delaware, hated the grilling. Biden was hectorated over his opposition to school busing for desegregation. Bruce Babbitt was hounded about South Africa, a peripheral issue. Despite the unpleasantness, the candidates were afraid not to come, Hollywood being a rich vein of liberal money.

Lear and his pals operated on the assumption that they were the rightful keepers of the liberal flame, while the leading Democrats were political weasels, compromisers, sellouts, or worse. If this was high-handed and elitist, Lear didn't notice. In *The Power and the Glitter: The Hollywood-Washington Connection*, Ron Brownstein notes, "If a similar screening session had been organized by conservative corporate leaders, many of the same people attending Lear's sessions would probably have condemned them as a plutocratic plot."

Hollywood's new attitude toward Washington and politics is reflected perfectly in the Brentwood dinners. Respect for officials in Washington, even reliable liberals like Senator Edward Kennedy, has disappeared. Rather than listen to visitors from Washington, Hollywood liberals want to lecture them. Stars used to be flattered to appear on the same stage with presidential candidates. It meant they were taken seriously. Now, the stars figure it is they who are bestowing seriousness on the candidates, or at least on those few (Dukakis, Jackson, Hart) who measure up.

Brownstein, a political reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, deftly captures this world-upside-down quality in his engrossing chronicle of the stormy, sometimes silly relationship between Washington and Hollywood. His book is extraordinarily well reported, and overflows with riveting anecdotes. It's also fair-minded. I suspect he has some sympathy with the liberal set in Holly-

wood, particularly the younger actors and actresses, but he never lets that bias his analysis or color his reporting. He skewers everyone. After watching Justine Bateman, a star of the TV show "Family Ties," stump for the Democratic ticket in 1988, Brownstein concluded that her portrayal of Michael J. Fox's daffy sister in that series was "drawn entirely from personal experience."

Not just Bateman, but most folks in Hollywood are not like you and me. They're isolated. "Hollywood lives so differently from ordinary Americans that its perceptions of the political mainstream are often skewed," Brownstein writes. Once, Democratic Representative Lee Hamilton of Indiana, the former chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, addressed some sixty-five Hollywood liberals at a fancy home. He took questions for half an hour, then paused for a question of his own. How many of the group had ever been to Indiana? Two or three hands went up. How many had been to Nicaragua? "Instantly," says Brownstein, "he faced a forest of upraised palms."

Stars are often too self-absorbed and sanctimonious to understand how ridiculous their political posturing appears to the average person. "It would not be unusual at events where the young stars were the advertised draw to find them mingling solely with each other, protecting themselves from the assembled public with the impenetrable aura of superiority that people in the movie industry seem to perfect as soon as they acquire an agent," Brownstein writes. In 1988, actress Elizabeth Perkins, who starred in the movie *Big*, "hounded a blue-collar, largely Hispanic audience in Stockton about the assault of the wealthy on the middle class under the Reagan administration. It was like watching a Beverly Hills staging of *Waiting for Lefty*: here was a group of rich young people trying to incite into class warfare what appeared to be an assemblage of enormously content middle class families looking for a mild Sunday morning outing." When Perkins gave the same crazed speech the next day to college students in San Diego, someone yelled back, "But you're rich." No doubt the irony was lost on her.

Fred Barnes is a senior editor of the *New Republic*.

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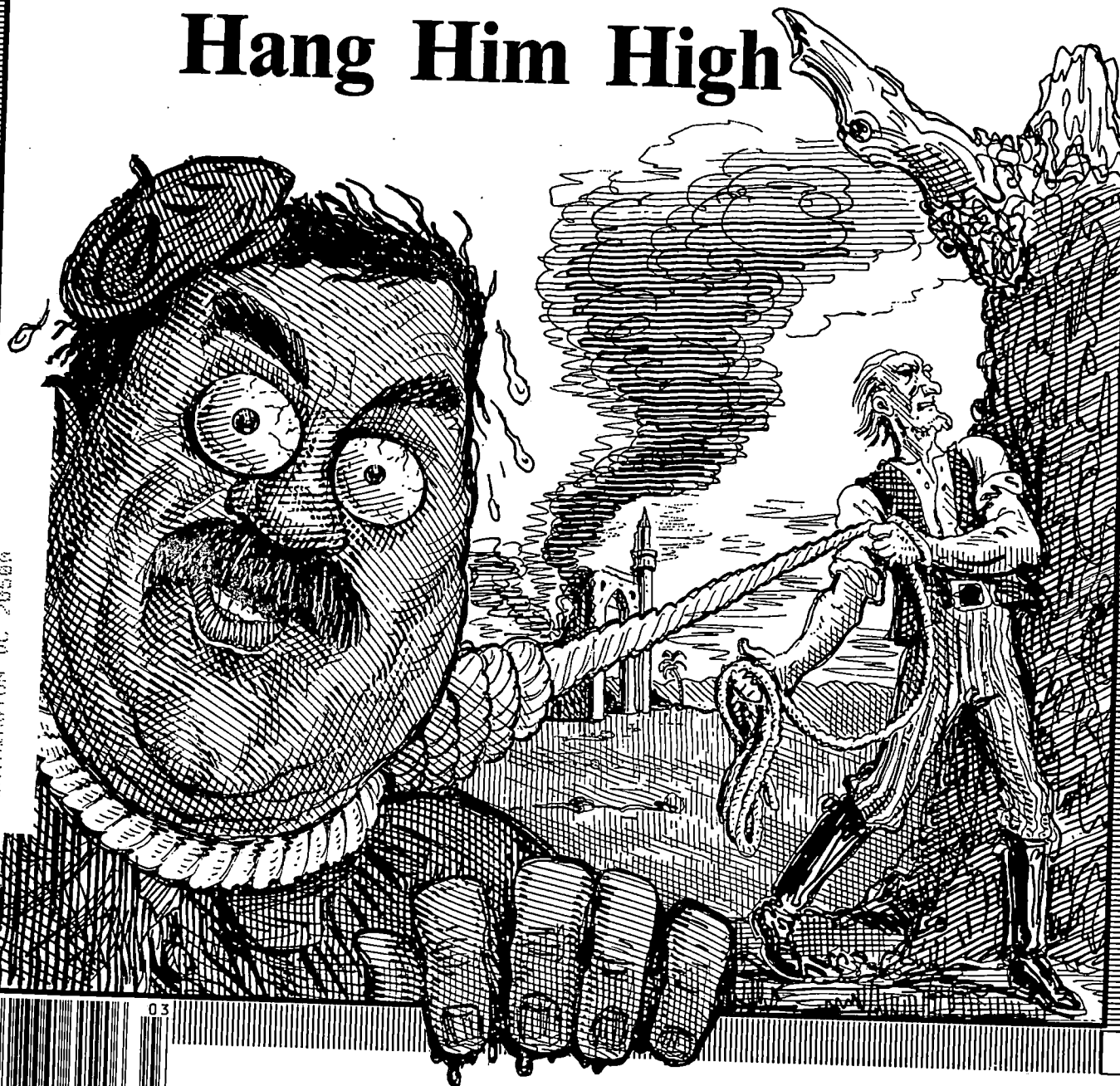
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

MARCH 1991

A MONTHLY REVIEW EDITED BY R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.

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SOVIET PRESSWATCH



TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS

by Cathy Young

Today, we take a lens to the Soviet media in trying times. Independent news agencies have their phones cut off; provocative TV shows are canceled and Baltic TV stations liberated (*déjà vu* all over again) by Soviet tanks; Gorbachev moves to silence the pesky press.

Scouring the Soviet press of the past few weeks for foreshadowings of these grim events, one comes upon a *Moscow News* piece (December 23) on the ominous re-emergence of TV "journalist" Mikhail Leshchinsky, who used to do "upbeat reports from Afghanistan," which Soviet soldiers dubbed "Fairytale Hour." Once the winds changed, Leshchinsky tried to carve out a new niche for himself covering the plight of disabled veterans, but the veterans didn't like it. He disappeared for a while—only to surface late last year as *Vremya's* correspondent in Riga, talking "in a familiar breathless tone . . . about the persecution of Communists and of his beloved Army men." The *Moscow News* writer asks, "Are we, perhaps, being readied for a new adventure in which the friendship of nations will be cemented by tanks?"

While the KGB makes its comeback, optimists may point to proof that it is a new, capitalist-minded KGB. The year-old weekly *Kommersant* ("The Tradesman") reports in its December 3, 1990, issue that the KGB is offering economic espionage data to "Soviet organizations doing business on the international market." This was first disclosed by the deputy chief of the Moscow KGB press service, Major Andrei Oligov, on the TV program, "Good Evening, Moscow!" on November 24. In an exclusive interview, Oligov told *Kommersant* that this new KGB venture comes from the recommendations of KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov, and that "cooperation" between Soviet firms and a friendly KGB was already taking place. He wouldn't identify recipients of KGB espionage data, except to say that they included government firms and cooperatives affiliated with such, as well as joint ven-

tures. "In principle," this broad-minded new KGB "can cooperate with any enterprises, including privately owned ones." Oligov also wouldn't say whether the KGB was charging a fee for its services—which include "confidential evaluation of the commercial viability and performance records of foreign partners"—but, a New Capitalist Soviet Man to the end, he "expressed the opinion that, in the long term, it should charge such fees."

A related *Kommersant* editorial notes that "market-style relations are penetrating into the Soviet way of life after all, albeit in somewhat exotic forms," and gibes that clients might be assessed "a special surcharge for dangerous work conditions if, while obtaining the data in question, the KGB agent was expelled from the country where he was stationed, or otherwise mistreated." Businessmen wondering whether the KGB would be willing to work on their behalf to check out whether a Soviet firm might be an unreliable business partner can contact them at: KGB, Dzerzhinsky St., 2, Moscow (tel. 921-0762).

Russians and Polls

Gorby fans like to say that one reason their pin-up boy doesn't always live up to Western expectations is that he has to deal with all those backward Rus-

sians thirsting for the old iron hand. Hedrick Smith, in *The New Russians*, is only the latest to endorse this view (though he providently laced his tome with enough disclaimers about the rise of democratic forces more radical than Gorbachev to be able to assert, in a letter to the *New York Times Book Review*, that the book is not in the least "Gorbocentric").

Well, in a poll taken in October 1990 and published in the November 18 issue of *Moscow News*, Soviets in twenty-one cities were asked, "What steps would be most likely to improve the situation in the Soviet Union today?" Nine percent answered "further strengthening of presidential power," while 16 percent chose "the establishment of a government willing to restore order with a firm hand"; 15 percent mentioned "the implementation of the Shatalin/Yavlinsky economic program," 8 percent spoke of "the establishment of a new central government that has the public's confidence," and 25 percent—the largest single group of respondents—opted for "the governments of the republics taking full power." In other words, we have 25 percent for "an iron hand" against 48 percent for an anti-imperial and/or democratic solution. Nine percent felt that nothing at all could improve the situation.

A November poll published in the

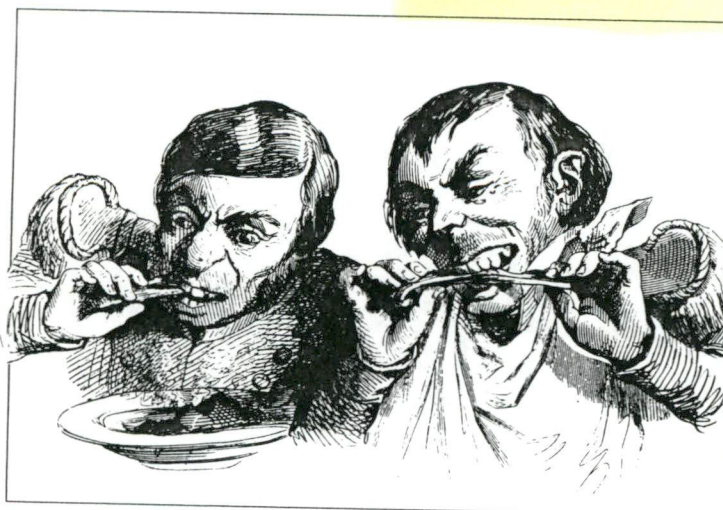
December 9 issue of *Moscow News* sought to fathom Soviets' feelings about the coming winter. Three percent felt confident and 15 percent "hopeful"; "fear" was felt by 16 percent, but "anxiety" was the big winner with 61 percent. Questioned about their expectations for the next six months, 17 percent predicted "economic stabilization," while 27 percent expected "mass famine." Fifty-eight percent believed that "a wave of strikes" would begin; only 20 percent said that it would not. Forty-four percent expected the Soviet Union to disintegrate, while 34 percent said no.

Those surveyed were asked to select from a list of names the ones that they thought "would have great significance for the peoples of the USSR in the year 2000." Fifty-six percent named Jesus; Sakharov got 48 percent, Lenin 36 percent, and Gorbachev 26 percent. Some years ago, we may recall, John Lennon claimed that the Beatles would soon be more important than Jesus; hard to say, because the Beatles were not on the list.

Finally, the respondents were cruelly asked whose living standards the Soviet Union (or its erstwhile components) would match in the year 2000. One percent bravely chose "the most developed capitalist countries," while 15 percent more humbly selected "capitalist countries of mid-level development." Thirty-eight percent picked "developing countries" and 20 percent "the least developed countries of Asia and Africa."

Beria the Dead

Even as Gorbachev is quickly losing his image as the leader of reform, a most unexpected proponent thereof emerges from the murky recesses of Soviet history. On January 3 and 4, *Izvestia* published an account, with excerpts from recently declassified transcripts, of the July 1953 plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU—the one at which Lavrenty Beria, Stalin's dreaded minister of internal affairs, was proclaimed an enemy of the people and expelled from the party (soon to be shot as "an agent of international imperialism"). Beria has since become



Cathy Young is the author of *Growing Up in Moscow* (Ticknor & Fields).

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policy as part of an aggressive new Republican strategy to oppose quotas. But this was not the case, as most in the media eventually figured out. Williams acted purely (and naively, as he later said) as a law enforcement official. While profiles of Williams noted his previous tenure in the Civil Rights Division of the Reagan Justice Department, none of them understood its relevance. At Justice, civil rights lawyers often learn about possible violations of law from media accounts; at Education they often wait for complaints to roll in. Williams took his Justice approach to Education, responding to a situation he had learned about in media accounts. Moreover, he dared to acquaint the world of higher education with a law his predecessors had generally ignored. What everyone took to be a new policy was not really new—it had just not been taken seriously. Yet for taking it seriously Williams was reviled by the *New York Times* as “a zealot gone mad.” It was implied that conservative government is okay, as long as it does nothing.

On December 13, the White House let it be known that (1) President Bush had problems with the Education policy and (2) neither he nor anyone else close to him had known what Williams was doing. On December 14, the *Washington Post* and other news organizations reported that the Education policy was now “under review.” The *Post* reporters apparently did not ask why the White House had not undertaken a “review” when Williams first notified the Fiesta Bowl on December 4. But the answer was implicit in the story. “There was serious hysteria here,” Kenneth J. Cooper and Ann Devroy quoted “one official” as saying. One reason for the hysteria in the White House was the hysteria in the newspapers and on television, which Lesley Stahl of CBS typified: “Someone [who? Stahl herself?] said to me today: ‘This is Willie Horton Goes to College.’”

There were a fair number of *Time*-like advocacy pieces calling for a retreat from Williams’s policy. On December 15, the *Washington Post* described how the Education Department (as the headline went) “Had Rejected Analysis Now Used in Ban on Race-Based Scholarships.” Because opponents of Williams’s policy were typically arguing from what the department had done before—i.e., from precedent, as opposed to federal statutes, the Constitution, and the Supreme Court’s rulings—this story told it their way. The *Post* redeemed itself somewhat on December 17 with a piece that gave equal time to both sides.

One of the better accounts was the *New York Times*’s enterprising article (December 17) on how the policy had “highlighted a rift between established

civil rights groups and a small but growing number of blacks who question whether members of racial minorities should get preferential treatment.” Reporter Karen DeWitt noted the anti-racial preference views of author Shelby Steele, economist Walter Williams, and housing expert Robert Woodson. *Newsweek* carried a similar piece in its December 24 issue, quoting Steele: “The whole ruckus over preferences is a distraction from all the expense and effort it would take to bring black students up to par in elementary and secondary schools.” It is notable, too, that the Education policy won the support of liberal columnists Richard Cohen and Clarence Page.

On December 18 Michael Williams held his second press conference within a week, this time to announce what the media had widely predicted would be a policy reversal. While most accounts stuck to the story line of a reversal or retreat, the *New York Times* reported that the “U.S. Lets Stand Curb on College Aid Keyed to Race.” This was inaccurate, if for no other reason than Williams now was going to allow the Fiesta Bowl to give Alabama and Louisville race-exclusive scholarships after all.

On the other hand, part of “the curb on college aid keyed to race” did stand: universities receiving federal assistance may not lawfully use money from their own general operating budgets for race-exclusive scholarships. Most of the funding for those grants is found precisely there; it does not come from private parties such as the Fiesta Bowl. Some of the stories of the “policy reversal” muddled this rather large point and the law behind it. This is surprising, as Title VI is so clear that not even the White House politicians could rewrite it, although they did prevail upon Education to relax its enforcement apparatus for four years, to give colleges and universities time to review their scholarship programs.

I can sympathize with the journalists who were trying to cover the administration’s revised policy. It was the strange product of a White House confused on matters of principle and law, lacking a civil rights strategy, and vulnerable to charges of “insensitivity” toward blacks. The post-mortems on the minority scholarship story made these points, though they failed to note the media’s own role in fueling the hysteria that led to the policy revision. Nor did they observe the most important point: President Bush had missed an opportunity to encourage the nation to move away from programs of naked racial preference, and to invite it to “think anew,” to borrow the President’s favorite Lincoln quote, about matters of race and equal opportunity. □

lucky it "gave away the Canal." It was a strange coincidence that brought together a feckless President and a dictator who looks in retrospect like the only person who could have galvanized international support in turning the Canal treaties into an issue of imperialism—for, even if the Torrijos revolution was bogus, the international upshot of it was not. Koster and Sánchez are probably correct that keeping the Canal was not in the interests of the United States, but wrong that North Americans would eventually have recognized as much. If Carter had not

given the Canal away, it would not have been given away at all.

All it will take for a complete history of Panama since 1968 to be written will be a full confession by Manuel Antonio Noriega, the files of several dozen intelligence agencies, the ledgers of organized crime syndicates from Tripoli to Taipei, and the resurrection of Omar Torrijos, Hugo Spadafora, and Father Gallego. Until that happens, it will be hard to find a better account of Panama's twenty-one years in purgatory than this brave, intelligent, and honest book. □

THE HIDDEN NATIONS: THE PEOPLE CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION

Nadia Diuk and Adrian Karatnycky/William Morrow/284 pp. \$22.95

SOVIET DISUNION: A HISTORY OF THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM IN THE USSR

Bohdan Nahaylo and Victor Swoboda
The Free Press/432 pp. \$29.95

Peter Keresztes

Mikhail Gorbachev was eating lunch in the Kremlin the day Lithuania's president, Vytautas Landsbergis, phoned to denounce the massacre of civilians in Vilnius by Soviet troops. The Soviet premier, according to news reports from Lithuania, either declined or was not allowed to take the call. Although Gorbachev later claimed the decision to open fire was made without his knowledge, he nonetheless endorsed the crackdown.

As Adrian Karatnycky wrote in these pages last month, "Something has to give," and so it has: there can no longer be any doubt as to which way Gorbachev is leaning on the nationality question. His use of force to keep the evil empire intact amounts to a direct attack against its constituent nations. In the long run, determination, time, and demographics will favor the parts over the whole.

In *The Hidden Nations*, Karatnycky and his wife Nadia Diuk suggest three possible outcomes: the replacement of glasnost and perestroika with Brezhnev-style neo-Stalinism; the collapse of the USSR into independent nation-states; or the establishment of a confederation or commonwealth—"a low-budget Eurasian version of the European Community." The last the authors see as a possible "transitional phase" toward full sovereignty for the republics.

Bohdan Nahaylo and Victor Swoboda add a fourth alternative: the "genuine federalization or 'Yugoslavization' of the USSR." While such a federalization is behind the Union treaty now be-

ing drafted, it is hardly a long-term solution. As the book observes, "genuine democratization and the preservation of empire, however disguised, are incompatible."

Both works debunk numerous myths about Soviet nationality policy. Western conservatives, for instance, cherish the notion that if only the USSR adopted an efficient market economy, prosperity would make happy capitalists of disgruntled separatists. Such thinking is merely that of Americans projecting "their own domestic arrangements onto a Soviet setting," as Diuk and Karatnycky put it. "The call of the people is for something far more profound than, simply, the necessary amelioration of economic injustices."

Similarly trapped are Gorbachev's liberal admirers, who fret that his failure would reverse the human rights progress the country had been making until recently. Their logic ignores Gorbachev's arbitrary power to roll back the rights of individuals in the interest of the empire. As dissident Vladimir Bukovsky said in a statement from prison in 1975, human rights are inseparable from national rights. Bukovsky declared his solidarity with the non-Russian majority among Soviet political prisoners, concluding, as Nahaylo and Swoboda recount, "that if those who were imprisoned for defending the rights of their nations were 'nationalists,' then he too was one, 'for democracy means freedom both for individuals and for separate nations.'"

No less pernicious is the theory that the Soviet system's disintegration, in Gorbachev's words, "is fraught with the destabilization of the political situ-

ation in Europe and the world." The notion overlooks that such conjurings of a global catastrophe merely exploit a fundamental confusion regarding nationalism in today's Soviet Union. National movements in non-Russian republics, Diuk and Karatnycky write, "have much in common with the liberal nationalism that swept Europe in 1848 and little in common with the revanchism, imperialism, and fascism that provided the coloration of European nationalisms of the 1920s and 1930s."

The Hidden Nations starts off with a brief, comprehensive survey of the historical, cultural, and economic coercion by the "master" Russians of the fourteen "imprisoned" nations and eighty-seven other large and small ethnic groups. The authors then take a detailed look at each major region of the Soviet empire: the Ukraine, the Baltics, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Russia itself. Diuk, a historian who works as an East European specialist at the National Endowment for Democracy, and Karatnycky, research director for the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, based much of their book on travels throughout the Soviet Union. The result is top-flight journalism enriched with anecdotes, interviews, and firsthand observations.

In Latvia they encountered Eduard Berklaivs, a disillusioned former Communist, more accurately a "national Communist," who wound up in Siberia for his efforts to slow the influx of Russians into his country. "They branded me a 'bourgeois nationalist'—me! a son of poor workers who had never owned anything in his life." Poor Berklaivs. He thought the Kremlin cared more for ideology than for empire.

In the Ukraine the authors found that four years after Chernobyl more than half the children in an area stretching as far as fifty-six miles from the reactor suffer from thyroid disorders. Diuk and Karatnycky take the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the three major U.S. television networks to task for ignoring "the national dimension of the catastrophe."

In the Caucasus, where ferment in 1987 awakened some in the West to the fact that the USSR was far from a harmonious family of nations, the authors met the likes of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian Helsinki monitor who is convinced that many interethnic conflicts are orchestrated from Moscow as a way of exercising its "imperial policy," an assessment corroborated by Soviet defense minister Dmitri Yazov, who admitted that the military crackdown in the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute in Baku in January 1990 took place to preempt Azerbaijani nationalists from taking over the republic's government.

The Hidden Nations puts to rest another myth—that a "superior" pro-consul is necessary to keep the *chernozhopy* ("black asses," the Russian pejorative for Armenians and Azerbaijanis) from butchering one another. Anti-Armenian pogroms in Baku had already subsided by the time martial law was introduced, according to leaders of the Azerbaijani Popular Front. More significantly, the Armenians, disillusioned with Moscow's maneuverings, negotiated directly with the Azerbaijanis and achieved a temporary truce and agreements in principle on other issues.

In Central Asia, where the rapidly growing Muslim and Turkish populations are beginning to realize that they can provide a powerful counterbalance to pan-Slavism, the authors are struck by a Tashkent statue of Karl Marx, bearing "more resemblance to Genghis Khan than to a German or Jewish extraction." Exploited by the cotton monoculture forced on the region, the indigenous population is allowed to work only in the countryside, while Russian factory workers and bureaucrats occupy the dismal cities. For the Central Asians it adds up to a socialist apartheid. "It's like being an immigrant in your own country," one Uzbek says.

The "Elder Brother"—the Russians, whom the authors describe as "the most relentlessly and consistently successful expansionist ethnic group in history"—is indeed *primus inter pares*. But Russians now constitute only about half of the Soviet population of 285 million, and are losing ground to the other, more fecund peoples, especially in Central Asia. There is a growing sense among Russians of being "under siege."

The Russian nationalists' complaint, according to Diuk and Karatnycky, is that it was their nation which suffered the most from the policies of "a Russian-speaking, ethnically Russian, but fundamentally totalitarian antinational ruling elite." The price of empire, they feel, was a loss of the Russians' "own spiritual roots and national identity."

This quest for identity explains the rise of the Russian ultranationalist group Pamyat, with its simple solutions, xenophobia, conspiracy theories, anti-democratism, and anti-Semitism. Andrei Fadin, a leader in the Club for Democratic Perestroika, says that, because dissolution of the empire would affect 25 million Russians who live in the non-Russian republics, he can't see the Russians allowing secessions. "The Russian psyche is not prepared to accept minority status."

Diuk and Karatnycky concede, on the other hand, that Boris Yeltsin's narrow victory as president of the Russian Federation may be a "sign of the beginnings of a Russian retreat from the empire." In January, Yeltsin wasted no time in

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denouncing the Vilnius crackdown and paying a personal visit to Latvia. He has plenty of Russian supporters in Moscow and Leningrad, who have taken to the streets in solidarity with the Balts.

One can assume, then, that the future will bear some resemblance to the turbulent past. *Soviet Disunion* is a lucid account of that history by Bohdan Nahaylo, a British-born writer and broadcaster on Soviet Affairs who is a senior research analyst for Radio Liberty in Munich, and Victor Swoboda, honorary research fellow at the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies in the University of London. The book chronicles from the days of Lenin the fierce fight for survival by the Soviet Union's non-Russian nations in face of a relentless consolidation effort. Lenin himself, aware that force would never suffice in holding the empire together, engineered concessions for non-Russians, though he didn't shrink from using the Red Army to capture Baku in 1920 for its oil deposits. From the outset, his Bolshevik followers mixed guile with fire to deny the aspirations to autonomy of peoples in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Stalin, determined to consolidate the empire once and for all, shot, starved, and deported potential "independents." He shipped off peoples most Westerners have never heard of—Kalmuks, Karachai, Balkars, Chechens, Ingushi, and Meshkhetians—like bulk commodities from a warehouse. On May 16, 1944, for instance, a quarter of a million Crimean Tatars were packed into railway oil tankers and wagons for transport to Central Asia; 46 percent died en route. By 1968, their survivors and descendants had collected over 3 million signatures in support of their right to return to Crimea.

Stalin and each of his successors underestimated the survival instincts of the "hidden" nations. Non-Russians have resisted Russification and political encroachments on their cultures. As of 1970, for instance, half of non-Russians and three out of four Central Asians couldn't communicate in Russian. Ukrainian and Baltic guerrillas remained active until 1952-53; Georgian independents rioted in 1956; Armenian masses demonstrated in 1965; and Crimean Tatars resorted to self-immolation to dramatize their grievances in 1978.

The "nationalist genie" supposedly unflashed by Gorbachev's glasnost has always been on the loose. All previous attempts to entrap it have failed. The tanks and troops in the Baltics will be no more successful, except in crushing the ultimate myth that Mikhail Gorbachev was somehow different from his predecessors. □

THE JAPAN THAT CAN SAY NO

Shintaro Ishihara/Simon and Schuster/158 pp. \$18.95

Peter Hannaford

Shortly after this book appeared in Japan, the U.S. Department of Defense, alarmed by its rhetoric, ordered a translation. Although the translation was a poor one and sections were omitted, it soon found its way through many a Washington photocopier and produced an outcry from assorted politicians. Author Shintaro Ishihara has given us an updated English-language edition, minus a section written by Sony chairman Akio Morita. Ishihara is a popular novelist, ocean-racing yachtsman, and member of the Diet. A one-time cabinet minister and candidate for his party's presidency (which would have made him premier), he has long believed in speaking his mind, and prizes this quality in Americans. He concedes that he is thought "a bull in the china shop" by many in Japan. Ishihara is like the legendary fellow who hit the mule with a two-by-four "to get his attention." He hits his American readers with several two-by-fours, then discusses his supporting arguments reasonably and, in the final analysis, sympathetically.

It bothers Ishihara greatly that, nearly half a century after the end of World War II, Japan is still playing yes-man to the United States, particularly on defense and foreign policy. When he speculates about the possibility of Japan using its prodigious microchip output to supply not the U.S., but, say, the USSR, he is hitting us with the two-by-four. The same goes for his assertion that we Americans single out Japan for criticism—just as we dropped atom bombs on it—because of our inherent racism. He says that "American racism stems from pride in cultural superiority," and has raised this point with a number of Americans, all of whom were uncomfortable talking about it. One can argue that it is suspicion about a very different culture, rather than racism, that fuels some American criticism of Japan. And, while Ishihara does not take note of Japan's notorious ethnocentrism, he does say, "I'm not suggesting Japanese are without fault. Discrimination is still widespread in Japan." Nonetheless, his

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urging that we frankly confront and discuss the basis of our differences is beyond argument.

Time and time again Ishihara returns to the controversy surrounding the FSX fighter aircraft, which could have demonstrated Japan's ability to stand on its own while applying its advanced technology to an aircraft uniquely designed for homeland defense. Instead, the U.S. insisted on "co-production" and one-sided technology transfer arrangements, which Ishihara regards as lingering symptoms of Japan's post-World War II subservience.

Critics often describe Ishihara as "nationalistic," raising the specter of past Japanese militarism. A careful reading of his views yields a different picture. He says, "Without nationalism—a strong sense of roots and identity—there cannot be internationalism, only a shallow cosmopolitanism." He is really speaking to an underlying concern that young Japanese are in danger of losing their culture, heritage, and values if they mistake the superficial allure of Western music, fashion, and so on for a substitute.

More than a few American policymakers have, in recent years, called on Japan to take on a greater share of the world's burdens, as befits a great economic power. That, of course, is what Ishihara is urging his country to do. He recognizes that "Americans are upset, frustrated and worried about their country," but he cautions us not to use Japan as a scapegoat for our own problems. When the Rockefeller Group sold Rockefeller Center to Mitsubishi, they had already put the property on the market to seventeen Japanese firms! It took two to tango. Washington's deliberate policy of reducing the dollar against the yen in 1985—intended to reduce the trade deficit by making U.S. exports more competitive—led to the increased Japanese interest in U.S. properties.

Ishihara cites familiar cause-and-effect arguments for the declining competitiveness of U.S. companies, but he also lists remedies in the form of two American studies: "Made in America: Regaining the Productive Edge," by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

(1989); and "Global Competition: The New Reality," by the President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness. To sweeten the mix, Ishihara says that he and "fifteen like-minded politicians who want U.S. industry to regain its competitive edge" developed a list of suggestions he thinks should have been on the agenda for the bilateral Structural Impediments Initiatives (SII) talks. The U.S. initiated SII, presumably to get at the underlying causes of the trade barrier. Its delegation produced over 200 recommendations, while the Japanese countered with only a handful. Ishihara complains that, while Japan accepted a number of the major American proposals (such as a massive increase in public works spending), the U.S. delegation either turned down or responded vaguely to the Japanese ones. Ishihara's list of recommendations includes tightening the use of credit cards and reducing corporate dividend payments from quarterly to semi-annually. It deserves serious consideration.

He sees the future of Japan and the U.S. as closely linked, with each drawing upon the strengths of the other (provided Japan learns when to say no and when to say yes) to pull the less-developed parts of the world forward. He proposes we form a Group of Two, making use of the American lead in basic research and Japan's knack for management.

Meanwhile, Japan's cat's cradle of product distribution needs to be untangled (the Tokyo resident pays 40 percent more for goods than the New Yorker). He also thinks Japan should cast aside all of its arguments for preventing entry of U.S. rice into its market—a position viewed as heresy in Japan.

Despite its advanced billing as an "America-bashing" book, *The Japan That Can Say No* reflects the outlook of a man who admires such American characteristics as directness, initiative, loyalty, and innovation. Customary Japanese circumspection is absent from Ishihara's criticisms. He calls former Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone a "yes-man" in his relations with the U.S. He reserves special ire for what he sees as an obsequious and pusillanimous Japanese foreign ministry, calling for half of Japan's embassy staffs to be drawn from the private sector.

The author skips back and forth among his topics, with some duplication. He does, however, draw the threads together as he reaches his conclusion that the destinies of Japan and the United States are linked, that his country must get used to the fact that it is a world power and act accordingly, and that Americans must heed the old Chinese proverb, "When things go wrong, look in the mirror." □

George Gilder on
New York's Vile Boob

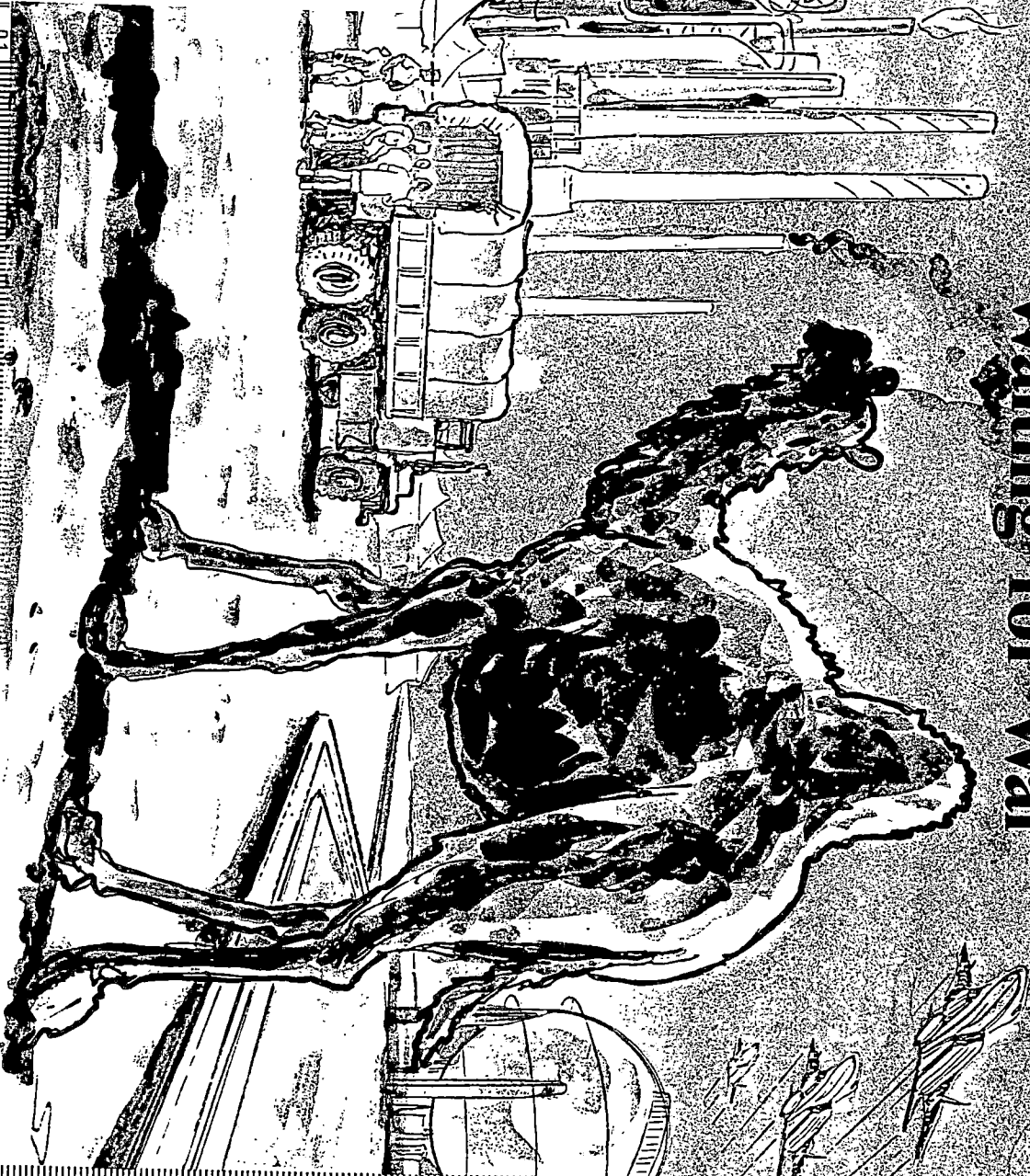
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

A MONTHLY REVIEW EDITED BY R. EMMETT FERRALL, JR.

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SPECTATOR'S JOURNAL



MOSCOW À GO-GO

by Cathy Young

Travelers who have noted a pleasant change in the manners of guards at Soviet border checkpoints—from “What are you doing in our country, imperialist pig?” scowls to “How nice of you to come!” smiles—credit the new guidelines issued to the young soldiers manning the glass booths at Sheremetyevo Airport. True enough. However, border guards are certainly not directed to ask a Soviet-born American visitor, “So how’s life in America—better than here, uh?” And when the guest, having acknowledged the fact, tries to be nice and adds that the USSR is a very interesting place to visit, it is unlikely that the new guidelines call for the border guard to respond, with a puzzled, almost pitying look, “Well, what’s so interesting about it?”

Such, at any rate, was my welcome when I arrived in Moscow for the “Transition to Freedom” conference, organized by the libertarian Cato Institute. Among the American speakers were Charles Murray, James Buchanan, and George Gilder; on the Soviet side, Moscow’s radical mayor Gavriil Popov, his Leningrad counterpart Anatoly Sobchak, and some well-known free-market economists—all three of them. Stanislav Shatalin, author of the 500-day reform plan, was too busy to attend. There were the usual mishaps associated with holding conferences in what is generally not a user-friendly city. Because of the “Two-Plus-Four” meetings taking place on the reunification of Germany, we were bounced at the last minute from the deluxe Oktyabrskaya hotel to one located on the godforsaken outskirts of the city.

This did not deter the Russians from attending. Not that all were satisfied; quite a few had come with dollar signs in their eyes (and I don’t mean Ayn Rand’s mystical visions) and saw the word “American” in combination with

“businessman,” not “intellectual.” That these Americans were interested in free-market theory rather than practice was not easy to explain. The shrewd-looking, oily co-owner of an electronics consulting center (who, asked if he had any desire to emigrate, patted me on the shoulder and pronounced, “My dear, have you ever heard of a gold prospector leaving the Klondike at the very start of the gold rush?”) told me that if the Americans were here to convince the Russians of the benefits of the free market, they were wasting their time—the Russians were already convinced. What they needed was advice on *how* to privatize the economy.

Not surprisingly, the short paper delivered by Paul Craig Roberts, which actually outlined a privatization plan, was a hit; the Russian-language copies were quickly snapped up, leaving many would-be readers vocally unhappy. A Cato Institute book on deregulation was also an object of interest, as was, for that matter, all the literature brought by Americans—even when it was in English. Those members of the audience who were not yet consumed by the

gold fever were impressed by Charles Murray, who spoke of how an egalitarian state with cradle-to-grave social protection robs men and women of responsibility for their own lives and thereby of true happiness. And George Gilder even found some long-time Russian fans: Larisa Piyasheva and her husband Boris Pinsker, economists who had read *Wealth and Poverty* and were ecstatic to have an autographed copy.

To introduce Soviets (including managers, journalists, college instructors of economics, and the like) to the thinking of Americans who are not John Kenneth Galbraith was a great idea—though it would have been helpful to explain not only free-market theory but the real-life failures of the Scandinavian welfare state, still a potent lure to all too many Russians who reject Communism. Some of the Beltway libertarians were excited by the idea that the Soviet Union, with its “advantage” of starting from scratch, was in a position to build a purer capitalism than the adulterated Western version. This would make perfect sense except for such inconvenient facts as the dire poverty in which so many Soviets live and the resulting demands for a strong safety net. (“Do you mean,” a Moscow TV reporter pressed Cato president Ed Crane, “that our capitalism will be better because it can incorporate our achievements in social guarantees?”)

Seduced by the Milton Friedmanite rhetoric so popular in Moscow these days, American free-market enthusiasts often fail to see that most of these Russian Friedmanites favor a mixed economy and fairly large social programs. The reason they sound so radical is that their point of departure is total statism. So we get what Gettysburg College economist Edwin Dolan, who now teaches a business course at Moscow State University, aptly described as Jeffersonian rhetoric and Swedish substance.

Other misunderstandings were even richer in irony. Pinsker lashed out scathingly at Ralph Raico, professor of history at State University College at Buffalo, for characterizing the U.S. military as a parasite sucking the life out of the American taxpayer: “We are here in this room together not least because your country was willing to back its moral fortitude and devotion to the ideals of freedom with military might, and not only to fight for its principles and ideals but also to spend enormous amounts of money on this.” Some of the Americans looked as if they were witnessing a disastrous public *faux pas*. On the other hand, most of the Russians seemed to agree with Pinsker.

Economist Vasily Selyunin scoffed at attempts by one or two American speakers to prove that Marx was no enemy of free enterprise, ostensibly in order to make the latter more palatable to the Soviets. Reversing roles, “progressive” communist Otto Latsis chided Charles Murray for failing to see that Marx and Lenin were *not* champions of egalitarianism and that freedom of initiative and individual responsibility were perfectly compatible with socialism. He did not define the latter. A sarcastic deputy of the Moscow City Council later quipped, alluding to Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, that Latsis offered a fine example of a creature in the process of re-education from “Four legs good, two legs bad” to “Four legs good, two legs better.”

The re-education of Soviets at times takes bizarre turns. At the opening-night banquet, welcoming remarks by the mayors of Moscow and Leningrad were followed by a floor show in which the dancers were losing more and more of their clothes from one number to the next, until they were left in G-strings and fish-net tops. This spectacle, in a way, epitomized the Soviets’ rush to emulate all things Western without any understanding of the context—of the fact that what goes in a go-go bar may not go at a conference on the free market. Or maybe it’s just



Cathy Young, our Soviet Presswatch columnist, is the author of *Growing Up in Moscow* (Ticknor & Fields).

that the Russians, starting as they are from scratch, can achieve a more perfect sexual revolution than we have.

Two days after the conference, I was carrying on the good fight, marching in a huge rally staged to protest the moderate reform plan presented by Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov and demand his resignation. My Soviet relatives had tried to talk me out of it: protest rallies in Moscow are reputed to be a dangerous activity. I suffered no worse damage than a bad cold from a two-hour trek in the damp, chilly weather, a small price to pay for the opportunity to yell "Down with the KGB!" in the very heart of Moscow—a delicious feeling but something that it would be unwise to try solo.

For a few hours, tens of thousands of ordinary Moscow men and women had gained a sense of power, at least power to defy: the victory of unity over fear. Hundreds of large red-white-and-blue flags—the colors of free Russia—flapped wetly over the crowd, and enterprising young fellows were selling smaller ones. Spectators, some also with tricolors, waved from windows and balconies and shouted greetings. Sales clerks in their dingy white smocks came out of the stores and cafes and stood on the sidewalk gaping with no discernible expression except curiosity. The police stood on the sidelines, reacting with equanimity to something that most certainly hadn't been part of their police academy training. Some were grinning at cheeky posters bobbing over the motley stream of heads and umbrellas, such as a drawing of the Lenin mausoleum with a sign over the entrance saying, "BEER." One handmade poster proclaimed, "For wrecking the economy Ryzhkov should get the firing squad!" Other slogans were less bloodthirsty but just as forthright: "Communism is the Plague of the 20th Century," "Communist Party, Give Your Loot Back to the People," "Down With Communist Ministers," "Put the CPSU on Trial," "The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is a Fig Leaf over Bolshevik Obscenity," and one to gladden the hearts of the Cato crowd: "We Support Immediate Privatization of Property!" "I wonder how many of these people actually know what they want," I said to my companion for the day, a cub reporter for the Russian-language Latvian newspaper *Baltic Times*. The young man giggled mischievously. "That's the kind of question independent journalists aren't supposed to ask."

A moment of irony was provided by a road sign over a short tunnel through which the marchers passed at one point, a bizarre consequence of the

Communist rulers' passion for slapping revolutionary names on everything: "Insurrection Square—1 km." However, the column took a different route and peacefully reached Manezhnaya Square, right by the walls of the Kremlin. I left soon after the speeches began, but not before witnessing the world record for flip-flopping. Victor Aksyuchits, a Christian Democrat deputy in the Russian parliament, called on the people, in the spirit of goodwill they had (according to him) exhibited at the rally, to give the Ryzhkov government one more chance. Drowned out by a storm of howls and boos, he quickly wrapped up his speech by shouting, "Ryzhkov must resign!"

As I walked toward the nearest open metro stop, a well-dressed, soft-spoken woman heading the same way heaved a doleful sigh and said, "It's all very scary. . . . There are devils out there, you know."

"What do you mean, devils?" I asked uneasily, wondering if I was being accosted by a lunatic.

"Just that. Forces of darkness," she explained, with no demented intensity in her voice, just quiet desperation. "You know what this means? Something very dangerous is going to be set loose, and blood is going to flow, and we are all going to weep and weep a lot . . ."

Something moved me to tell her that I lived in the United States, and she gasped and wailed, "Oh, how *lucky* you are! Oh, *how* lucky you are!" Did I know what it was like? Had I seen the empty shelves in the stores, the lines. . . ? She had to shop on the farm market, and the 1,000-ruble monthly salary she was earning at a cooperative was barely enough to survive. . . . I was back from the world of people power to a world that may seem too absurd to be called real but nonetheless is so to most Muscovites most of the time, except for the 1,000-ruble salary: the average person earns about one-fifth of that.

These days, conversations in the homes of educated professionals in Moscow almost inevitably turn to the food problem, and one feels rather awkward when people start making hunger jokes. ("We don't know if we'll end up eating Jessie this winter or she will end up eating us," said the owner of a rather skinny black Labrador.) For them to laugh about it is sportsmanlike; for someone like myself—soon to be sauntering down the aisles of Shop-Rite—it's rather tactless, though to set oneself apart and *not* laugh would be even worse. I was spared embarrassment when, having finished a small chicken cutlet, I was about to ask for seconds—and just then, my hostess

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SOVIET PRESSWATCH



SURRENDER THE PINK

by Cathy Young

It is one thing to watch the Soviet press from a comfortable American distance, and quite another to be on the spot. When you turn on the television in Moscow and a man sporting the red badge of a People's Deputy says, "The press, owned by the [Communist] Party, was helping this partocracy kill the human soul [with] all this Bol-

shevik ideology and incitement of class hatred . . . we must free the people of Russia from the stupefying poison of Bolshevism"—it gives you something of a shock, no matter how theoretically prepared you might be for glasnost. In some ways, Soviet television can now be said to be "freer" than ours. After eleven, one can see shots of a nude man and woman frolicking on a beach on non-cable TV. On the local nightly news shows on the Moscow and

Leningrad channels ("Moscow Teletype" and "600 Seconds"), crime reports feature prolonged, nauseatingly graphic shots of murder or accident victims, such as the naked body of a man found hacked to death in a park.

The main news program, "Vremya," remains rather staid, but now it has a competitor in the more lively and irreverent TSN, or "Television Service of News" with snappy Western-style graphics. In contrast to its older and duller sibling, the after-midnight TSN actually opens its broadcasts with the day's biggest event, not the one involving the Soviet Union's highest-ranking officials. The anchors and reporters editorialize with a flagrant sarcasm that exceeds the worst of American liberal media negativism. (Even on a "Vremya" program, the anchorwoman introduced a segment about some new charitable undertaking with a comment about "our heartless, indifferent society.") A not atypical TSN report (September 22) showed nine- and ten-year-old schoolchildren in the Northern province of Komi forced to work in the fields, pulling up beets and scraping them clean with large knives. A teacher supervising their labor explained that children were so employed every year, with weeks of schooltime lost: "This year, the harvest is bad so we hope that they won't have to work so much and will soon go back to their classes." Concluded the TSN reporter: "Let us finish this sad story on a happy note. Congratulations on a bad harvest, kids!"

vik and Minister of Culture Nikolai Gubenko) were adamantly opposed to the destruction of monuments to the *vozhd* (Russian for führer), though they did admit that these monuments were too numerous and that they had come to symbolize an oppressive regime. Virtually every single person interviewed, from academics to men and women in the streets, spoke against taking down the monuments, even though a *Moscow News* poll published in the October 7 issue showed that one-third of Soviet citizens have no problem with such landscape beautification. Most arguments were in a pragmatic rather than ideological vein—people should work and get the economy on its feet, not distract themselves by tilting at monuments—but the bias was blatant.

Even more heavy-handed was the editing to score emotional points: old footage of mourners trudging behind Lenin's coffin in the snow, juxtaposed with shots of wrecked monuments; a quick cut from a Bucharest crowd applauding as the city's huge statue of Lenin is being taken down, to Stalin clapping his hands on the Lenin mausoleum; and the unkindest cut of all, from an anti-Lenin rally to a deranged Moscow neo-Nazi leader ranting about "Zionists."

The panelists stressed that, however good or bad Lenin was, smashing or defacing statues and busts was an expression of "blood-lust" and "mob mentality." Still, the program plainly suggested that Lenin was more good than bad, and one of the panelists even said that "as long as there are rich and poor in this world, as long as there are people who are oppressed, Lenin will be perceived as the leader of the working class."

Just how far the Soviet Union has come can be gauged by the fact that a program like this sticks out like a sore thumb. Only a few days later, a documentary on the textile-producing town of Pavlov-Posad juxtaposed clips from an interview with a local Communist honcho who praises the working and fighting spirit of Soviet youth, and in-

Ghosts in the Machine

Yet every once in a while, the lingering state party control over the media will rear its head. A particularly egregious example was the "Pozitsiya" [Position] program of September 15, examining the controversy over monuments to Vladimir I. Lenin (him again), which are being taken down or vandalized in many parts of the USSR, to say nothing of Eastern Europe. All four panelists (who included veteran Soviet TV propag—er, journalist Genrikh Boro-

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interviews with local boys and girls who speak of the squalor and hopelessness of their lives and sheer at Communist youth organizations. Asked about political pluralism, the party veteran snaps, "Frankly, I don't think a multi-party system will do anything for our country."

Correspondent: "And what has the one-party system done for us?"

Honcho: "It has turned a backward agricultural country into a great industrial power."

Cut to dismal shacks and antiquated, run-down textile factories.

Howdy, Pozner

September 21 saw the premiere of a new evening news program on Soviet national TV, "Telescope." A variety show with everything from political and cultural commentary to friendly spoofs of popular TV programs and polls gauging the popularity of various TV personalities, it ended up with a segment called "Repentance." This glasnost-age version of "True Confessions" is to be a regular feature of the program: a well-known person apologizes for his sins of collaboration with the *ancien regime*. And the first penitent was—none other than our old friend Vladimir Pozner. Staring manfully into the camera, he held forth roughly thus:

"Everyone has his sins, and it is good to confess them once in a while. . . . There were times when it was the duty of every decent man at the very least to keep silent, and probably to speak out. . . . There were two occasions that still cause me to feel disgust for myself. The first was the campaign against Sakharov, to which I joined my voice, though not as loudly as many others. [Here, he explained that his voice was intended more for the West, via Radio Moscow, than for home consumption.] The second was the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Both times I found excellent arguments to defend these actions, above all to myself. . . . Every time I think of that, I get a feeling of revulsion. There is nothing worse than fear—fear for one's own hide. My one hope is that others may learn a lesson from my example."

Especially a lesson in PR. The genius of this is that very few people in the Soviet Union know about Pozner's past. To them, he is Mr. Progressive TV, and his confession may seem a bold act of conscience with no ulterior motives: after all, he might have easily kept his mouth shut. Except that, of course, too many people in the West do know his record, and with today's easy communications, exposure would have been only a matter of time. What better, then, than a pre-emptive strike—at the bargain price of confessing to about one percent of his sins?

Red Goes Pink

Conservatives were always knocking the Soviets' Evil Empire with no proper appreciation of the fact that it was one of the world's remaining bastions of unapologetic heterosexism. Now that we've beaten Communism, gay liberation is coming to Mother Russia. Several articles championing that cause have appeared in the daily *Moskovsky Komsomolets* [The Moscow Young Communist]. A September 22 piece entitled "Gays, Children of the Earth" made the fanciful claim that the word "gay" comes from the name of Gaia, the ancient Greek goddess of the Earth, as well as the less original but probably just as preposterous claim that "the children of the earth" represent 10 percent of the population. The July 9 issue of the Russian-language Latvian weekly *Baltic Times* features a back-page interview with Roman Kalinin, head of something called the Association of Sexual Minorities. Asked about the association's membership, he says that "just as Israel considers all Jews to be its citizens, we regard all Soviet homosexuals as our members"—which he estimates, more modestly, at five percent of the population. However, Mr. Kalinin goes on to point out that heterosexuals are just as small a minority, whereas most people are bisexual: "A very big problem of our society is that a person cannot explore his possibilities. He may lead an exclusively heterosexual life without even suspecting that there is something else in his subconscious, his psyche. This adversely affects a person's psychology, his work, and ultimately the life of society as a whole." Now we know why all those Soviets in the street look so glum and tense. And what does Mr. Kalinin think of Gorbachev? "I suppose it's the best of the currently possible options. . . . However, I wouldn't want to sleep with him." Raisa, you can rest easy.

Alexander Cockburn's Ragtime Band

Meanwhile, unreconstructed stalwarts of the Evil Empire got to say their piece at the recent founding congress of the Communist party of Russia, which received rough treatment at the hands of the Soviet press, such as the *Izvestia* of September 14. Amidst the delegates' loud complaints about the "propaganda of the bourgeois way of life" and "attacks on that which is most dear to Soviet man" (i.e., Communist ideology), *Izvestia* quotes one true gem: "We know that already, some private businesses are engaging in exploitation. Can the local party organization do anything about these businesses? Comrades, we know we can't, because the exploited workers, receiving much higher pay for the same or even for less work than they would at a state enterprise,

are not likely to come to us for help."

With such remarkable intellectual power to discern and analyze exploitation, the embattled party hacks needn't lose any sleep over their future. If they lose their *nomenklatura* jobs, they can always get a teaching job on a U.S. campus.

And Finally . . .

A note of warning: Unless the Soviet

economy shapes up, Soviet Presswatch may soon die of natural causes. On September 20, an official announced on the "Vremya" broadcast that in a matter of weeks, the Soviet press may have to shut down for technical reasons. Not only is there a paper shortage, but they're running out of newsprint as well. Is it mere coincidence that this happens right after the USSR finally gets a law abolishing state censorship? □

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sessions of a Regional Administrative Radio Conference held in 1986 in Geneva, and in 1988 in Rio de Janeiro, under the auspices of the ITU. The Agreement is consistent with the proposals of and the positions taken by the United States at the 1988 conference. Given the history of harmful interference to U.S. AM broadcasting stations in the existing AM radio band from various countries in the Region (particularly Cuba), the United States, at the time of signature, submitted statements on this subject that were included in a Final Protocol to the Agreement. The specific statements, with reasons, are given in the report of the Department of State.

I believe that the United States should become a party to this Agreement, which provides for the expansion in an orderly manner of the AM broadcasting service in the Western Hemisphere into the band 1605-1705 kHz. It is my hope that the Senate will take early action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George Bush

The White House,
July 30, 1991.

Remarks to Soviet and United States Businessmen in Moscow

July 31, 1991

Good morning. May I pay my respects and thanks to our able Ambassador, Ambassador Matlock. This gives me a good opportunity to thank him for the fantastic job he has done for the United States of America, and I think also that he's done an awful lot to further understanding between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

May I say good morning to Mr. Bunich, Mr. Vladislavlev, Mr. Tikhonov, and say that I've been looking forward to this meeting.

As Jack said, I was a businessman once myself. That was first in the oil drilling equipment business and then as a drilling contractor. And the risks were high. But I enjoyed that phase of my life. As entrepreneurs and businessmen and risk-takers, you

really do hold a key to the future prosperity of the Soviet Union. You possess the power to create a better life for yourselves and your countrymen. There's an old Russian proverb: The one who leads makes a bridge for the others. Businessmen, such as yourselves, are building that bridge to a new and prosperous Soviet Union.

All around the world we see that a free society rests upon the twin pillars of political and economic liberty. For only when free markets and free people work together can we build a better life for all people. You understand that opportunity arises when people act freely, relying on their own talents. Call it what you want—ingenuity, resourcefulness, a can-do attitude—but it all comes down to this: People must be free to work, save, to own their own homes, to take risks, to invest in each other; in essence, to control their own lives.

No conclave of government experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Government does have legitimate responsibilities such as enforcing contracts and protecting private property rights, providing the boundaries of acceptable business behavior. Government must establish rules of fairplay—what we call a level playing field—that builds trust and stability. Once established in the Soviet Union, the rule of law will further attract foreign know-how and investment. There is no question about that.

The United States stands ready to help. We're going beyond loans and subsidies. We're offering our best expertise. We endorsed last year's Soviet observership in the GATT, to help establish normal relations with the trading nations of the world. And to accelerate market reforms and your integration into the global economy, at the recently concluded G-7 meeting in London, special association for the Soviet Union in the IMF—International Monetary Fund—and the World Bank was proposed.

When I return to Washington I will be submitting the United States-Soviet trade agreement to Congress for approval which will generate trade between our countries.

We will also seek most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union. And I'll ask that certain restrictions, technically known as the Stevenson and Byrd amendments, be lifted so that American businesses can better compete for export sales here.

We're also negotiating bilateral tax and investment treaties, and I'd like to see them completed by year's end. They will create a better investment climate between us, help expand our economic partnership as much as possible. In sum, we want to do everything to ensure that our economic relationship expands as quickly as your reforms permit. Freedom brings the opportunity to succeed and, yes, the risk of failure.

The government can act as referee perhaps, but it cannot guarantee success. Free markets are based on the impulsive energy of man's imagination and creativity. And of course, there are risks. I know that from firsthand experience years ago. But there are also rewards for success. Who would have predicted that 15 years ago a group of college students—university students in the United States—working in a garage, would redefine the computer industry in America? Or that a trash collector—a garbage collector from Philadelphia 30 years ago—would today be the head of a \$6-billion waste management firm in the United States?

When opportunity is at work, you can be a mechanic or a millionaire, and in my country some mechanics are millionaires. Pursuing one's destiny means building a better life. Russian values and traditions are compatible with free enterprise, and they should be preserved. Look at the members of the G-7—Western European nations. Each an industrialized democracy; each with its own values and traditions. The culture and climate of American business may be different than other places, but the power of the idea is universal. It's been applied in thousands of ways by millions of people all over the world.

Those who succeed here should not be insulted and labeled as speculators and exploiters, because they're not. They are the people who will fill the shelves in your stores, put your people to work. We understand now why socialism's attempt to create the new Soviet man simply didn't work, because human nature cannot be destroyed and created anew. We seek instead to build

upon the strengths of human nature, to allow men and women to control their own destinies in whatever way works best for them.

This notion of free markets and free people—opportunity for all—this joint venture between political and economic liberty, this is the spirit of democratic capitalism. Everywhere we hear the voices of men and women yearning for freedom, for the chance to control their own destiny, for a stronger link between effort and reward. Some call it the American dream, but it's more than that. It's a universal dream. And it's a dream that the Soviet people are now striving to make real for themselves.

And after talks here, I believe the leaders are grasping this concept. Each of you can bring that dream alive. The creation of small- and medium-sized businesses means meeting payrolls, hiring good men and women, producing goods and services that are most needed by consumers, and improving technologies and methods so as to stay competitive.

Free market principles don't just mean that one or two people go out and get rich quick. It is so much more than that. As our President Woodrow Wilson said: Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him. For you and your employees, it means the dignity and self-respect that come with the job. It means making a difference in your community. And as more and more businesses evolve—business opportunity evolve—it means bringing back hope to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your task will be difficult, but let me risk some advice. The story goes that a young man became the manager of a company. And his predecessor handed him three envelopes and said that if he was ever in trouble to open the envelopes. So, one day when the business was not going well, the man decided it was time to open up envelope number one. The message inside said: Blame your predecessor. So he did, and things improved for a while. But then they got worse again. So he decided to open up envelope number two. It read: Blame the accounting department. So he did that. But sales continued to go downhill. And finally, with much hesitation, he opened envelope

number three. And it said: Prepare three envelopes. [Laughter]

The moral of that story, I think, is that there are no right or wrong answers. I wouldn't be bold enough to try to tell you in three envelopes how to transform this economy from "command and control" to "buy and sell." You must find what works best for each of you and for your customers. You must make the dreams of your own people, in whatever way you can, come alive for them. You must define your own brand of democratic capitalism, one that is consistent with Russian cultures and values.

Remember the words of Tolstoy: The strongest of all warriors are these two, time and patience. Bringing free markets to life will of course take time and patience. But it can be done, because everyone in this room today possesses something that simply cannot be bought or sold. You possess the power of an idea. And I salute you as pioneers for your vision and for your drive.

It's been a great pleasure for me to meet with this very special group today. And I wish you well in the tasks that lie ahead. May God bless you. And thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:46 a.m. in the Composer's Hall of the Radisson Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack F. Matlock; Pavel G. Bunich, president of the Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurship of the U.S.S.R.; Aleksander P. Vladislavlev, Deputy Chairman of the League of Scientific and Industrial Associations of the U.S.S.R.; and Aleksander A. Tikhanov, president of the Agricultural Academy of the U.S.S.R. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks by President Gorbachev and President Bush at the Signing Ceremony for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty in Moscow
July 31, 1991**

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. In a few moments the President of the United States

and I will put our signatures under the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. This completes many years of efforts that required hard work and patience on the part of government leaders, diplomats, and military officials. They required will, courage, and the rejection of outdated perceptions of each other. They required trust.

This is also a beginning—the beginning of voluntary reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, a process with unprecedented scope and objectives. It is an event of global significance, for we are imparting to the dismantling of the infrastructure of fear that has ruled the world, a momentum which is so powerful that it will be hard to stop.

In both countries we face the complex process of the ratification of the new treaty. There will be critics. Here in Moscow some will point to our unilateral concessions, while in Washington there will be talk about concessions made to the Soviet Union. Some will say the new treaty does not really fulfill the promise of a peace dividend since considerable resources will be required to destroy the missiles. And if the missiles are not destroyed, critics will say they're obsolete and must be replaced with new ones, and that will be even more expensive.

Sharp criticism is to be expected also from those who want to see faster and more ambitious steps toward abolishing nuclear weapons. In other words, the treaty will have to be defended. I'm sure we have achieved the best that is now possible and that is required to continue progress.

Tremendous work has been done and unique experience has been gained of cooperating in this enormously complex area. It is important that there is a growing realization of the absurdity of overarmament now that the world has started to move toward an era of economic interdependence, and that the information revolution is making the indivisibility of the world ever more evident.

But the policymakers have to bear in mind that as we move toward that era we will have to make new, immense efforts to remove the dangers inherited from the past and newly emerging dangers, to overcome

Note: The remarks began at 3:42 p.m. in St. Vladimir's Hall in the Kremlin. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Toasts at a Dinner Hosted by President Bush in Moscow
July 31, 1991

President Bush. Welcome, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbayev, President Ter-Petrozian, Mayor Popov—so many distinguished guests. I just want to welcome you here to Spaso House, and I am delighted to have you to this American home in Moscow in the hope of repaying, at least in some very small way, the warmth of the hospitality that's been shown to us by the Soviet people and by many of you in this room since our arrival.

I believe in these meetings we've launched a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we've seen that despite political differences, we can move forward together. I would particularly thank those who worked on the START agreement—so many in this room having committed so much of their time, of their lives, to achieve the end that I was privileged to sign on behalf of our country today.

And I believe the signing of that treaty offers hope beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, beyond the borders of the United States of America, all across the world. I really believe that from the bottom of my heart. And let me say to our friends from the Soviet Union, Americans, more and more, look upon this country with profound curiosity and hope. And they want to work with all levels of Soviet society.

We live in an exciting time, when we all seek understanding in the larger society—among businessmen, students, artists, scientists, people engaged in every imaginable profession and endeavor. As we leave, let me just simply assure you that we are ready to work with the people, to establish a partnership in the new world order based on the rule of law and the promise of freedom and the consent of the governed.

This relationship is built on respect. And you've brought incredible transformation in just a few years. And once again, we are very honored to host such a distinguished group of guests, men and women who will lead the Soviet Union to a new era of democracy; a new hope of a better life for all.

May I particularly salute the three Presidents of the Republics that are with us tonight: significant, important, and I am delighted that they are here. May I salute the mayor, Mayor Popov of Moscow. If his problems are anything like the problems of the cities in the United States, he's going to need our best wishes. *[Laughter]*

May I salute the human rights activists such as Yelena Bonner and artist Anatoly Rybakov, whose works fill in the blank pages of Soviet history under Stalin's rule.

And finally, there is my host on this whole visit, a man that I respect and admire, a man whose deeds during the past 6 years have given hope to those who believe, as I do, that one individual can change the world for the better. I salute President Gorbachev, then, and I say that we leave confident, more confident than when I came here, that we can, together, build a lasting peace and, with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

I'm told that there's an old Russian proverb: You can't tie a knot with one hand. Well, tonight, the United States offers our hand as we tie the knot of friendship and peace together. And may I propose a toast to the health and happiness and prosperity of the Soviet people, with heartfelt thanks to our host and hostess, President and Mrs. Gorbachev.

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. Today has been a busy day. A considerable amount of work has been accomplished. We have had meaningful discussions with the President in an atmosphere of openness and trust. We have reviewed a large gamut of problems pertaining to our bilateral relations. We discussed the role that our two countries play on the world scene, as well as their relations with other countries.

Today we signed a landmark agreement that will reduce the strategic arsenals of our two countries. And although I have already had a chance to describe what I believe is

the purport and purpose of that treaty, let me now share with you some thoughts regarding this important document.

An important work that had covered almost a decade culminated in this landmark treaty, which has been the witness of many days of difficult and tense relations between our two countries during the cold war and in the postwar period. We have managed to fulfill the task that world history had assigned to our two countries.

I want now to pay particular tribute to our partners for the immense contribution that they made to the signing, the preparation, and negotiation of this important treaty. And most of all, I want to pay tribute to the President of the United States, Mr. George Bush.

While perhaps this is not really the most appropriate audience to say this, but nevertheless, let me break a secret that today, as we were putting the final touches on the treaty that we signed today, we discovered, much to our consternation, that we had approached a number of subjects which even the most sophisticated of our negotiators could not find their way through. You can imagine the tasks, the challenges, and the problems that our experts had to address if I simply tell you that assistants to President Bush had to bring over two volumes of documents just to explain one small point that he wanted to have cleared up.

This is a fact, and we all know this for a fact. And therefore, let me, here in your presence, pay tribute to our scientists who have managed to find the key that opened this ultimate and final vault which really led us through to the final stage of this treaty.

A recurrent theme in our discussions today was the fact that our signatures that we put under the treaty marked only a point of departure in our future endeavors in order to maintain and preserve and bolster the momentum that our negotiations have already gathered. Today we are asking ourselves whether our perception of the world today and of the future of the civilization is correct, and how accurate our forecasts for the future are, and whether or not we will be able to meet the challenges of the future. Let me explain why I believe those questions should be answered in the positive.

Never in its history has humankind been faced with such risks and dangers engendered by its own progress. And if we are to meet this challenge, what we need is bringing together the intellectual and moral resources of our civilization. It is no accident that the idea of a new world order has struck an important chord in the heart of the people of the world. And very important political and spiritual leaders of our countries have pitched into this effort.

Our two countries possess a tremendous potential for future cooperation and development of our relations for their joint participation in this important endeavor. And it gives me particular pleasure to say that during our discussions at Novo Ogaryevo today, the recurring theme of our talks was just how we can cooperate in the future in order to move our relationship and our cooperation ahead. And it is not a play of ambitions; it is an important statement of an important fact. And that fact is the role and responsibility of our countries, both to our nations and to the world at large.

Perhaps it is just a lucky historical coincidence, but who knows, maybe it is not. At this crucial moment in our history, when we are faced with very important challenges, our countries are headed by people who can meet those challenges.

Mr. President, today at this house, we had a chance to shake hands with many of those who shared this responsibility and who made an important and active contribution toward building a new relationship between our countries. Mr. President, I want to raise this glass to your health, sir, to the health of Mrs. Barbara Bush, to the peoples of the United States who are our partners. And we are looking forward to developing cooperation and friendship with you. And this is our choice.

Note: President Bush spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the ballroom of Spaso House, the residence of U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack F. Matlock. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa of the Soviet Union; President Boris N. Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia; President Nursultan A. Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan; President Levan Ter-Petrozian of the Republic