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8TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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The Times

May 28, 1991, Tuesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 470 words

HEADLINE: Thatcher tells students to stick with perestroika

BYLINE: From Mary Dejevsky in Moscow

BODY:

MARGARET Thatcher told President Gorbachev yesterday that no one would forgive the Soviet Union if the gains of recent years were lost and said that perestroika needed to be given 'its second wind'. The former British prime minister's meeting with Mr Gorbachev on the first day of a private visit to Moscow was given first place in the main evening news bulletin, which described their discussions as 'frank and friendly'.

Few details of the meeting were available, but Mr Gorbachev was expected to ask Mrs Thatcher to use her influence with world leaders and with her successor, John Major, to ensure continued Western support for Soviet reforms. He is hoping, in particular, to be invited to the Group of Seven summit meeting in London in July.

Earlier, Mrs Thatcher had been accorded the sort of reception that eluded her in Britain, even in her heyday, except at Tory party conferences. Hundreds of Moscow students packed into the main hall of the State University's institute of international relations for a 20-minute address followed by questions. They gave her standing ovations on her arrival and departure, interrupted her speech with applause a dozen times and prefaced their questions with almost embarrassing praise. 'I wish we had someone of your class here,' one began. 'Would you accept becoming prime minister of our country?'

'You have made such a success of your perestroika (in Britain),' another said. 'If you stood in national elections in this country, you would win them ten times in a row.' The official Tass news agency said: 'The meeting with Margaret Thatcher will serve as an excellent lesson for future Soviet diplomats in rhetoric, eloquence and lucidity when discussing key international and internal policy issues.'

Uttered by anyone else, the message Mrs Thatcher brought would have been received coolly, even booed. From her lips, however, Moscow's cynical students would have listened to anything. What they heard was fulsome praise of their despised leader, and a plea that he be given the benefit of the doubt.

'Please do not underestimate the enormous advances in political terms in the Soviet Union,' she said. 'What we have now was almost unthinkable six or seven years ago.' She called for constancy and persistence. 'If you have an illness, you have to take some pretty awful medicines, which might make you feel not very good. But you go on and persist until you come through to a new, healthy society.'



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Reform in the Soviet Union, she said, had been possible largely because of Mr Gorbachev's 'vision and determination'. But she also had a message for the country's central planners: 'To resolve Soviet economic difficulties,' she said, 'the state should limit its interference in business and grant more rights to private entrepreneurs.'

TERMS:

Soviet Union



24TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Manchester Guardian Weekly

January 27, 1991

SECTION: Pg. 7

LENGTH: 538 words

HEADLINE: Star turn for Soviet Union's Mr America

BYLINE: By Martin Walker

BODY:

THE appointment of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh as the new Soviet Foreign Minister signals the priority which the Kremlin attaches to its relations with the United States as the perestroika programme stalls and violence comes to the Baltic states.

Mr Bessmertnykh, aged 57, is one of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's leading experts on US affairs, having spent more than half his career -- a total of 24 years -- working at the United Nations, the Soviet mission to the UN, said the Washington embassy.

The minister, whose name translates as "immortal," is the closest Soviet diplomacy can come to an American native. He even qualifies to be the father of an American citizen. His son Arseni was born recently in Washington's Sibley Hospital.

His appointment will come as a surprise in Germany and in other European countries, which had begun to assume that they were taking the lead in Moscow's relations with the wider world, and that the old duopoly of the nuclear superpowers had faded.

Mr Bessmertnykh's two main sponsors in his swift rise up the ranks of Soviet diplomacy were the veteran former foreign minister Andrei Gromyko, and a long-time Soviet ambassador to the US, Anatoly Dobrynin.

"Ambassador Dobrynin taught me that a diplomat must always report back the objective truth, even when he thinks or knows the authorities back home in Moscow would rather hear another message," Mr Bessmertnykh says.

He speaks perfect English and plays a strong game of tennis, an asset in George Bush's Washington, where the President tends to pick his friends among the diplomatic corps from those who make the best partners on the court.

Born the son of a civil servant in the picturesque hills of the Altai in southern Siberia in 1933, Mr Bessmertnykh has Russian nationality. His family connections and a gift for languages won him a coveted place at Mgimo, the Moscow state institute of international relations -- sometimes known as the Soviet Oxbridge.

Like so many of the reformers around President Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr Bessmertnykh came of age in the thaw of Nikita Khrushchev's 10-year period as Soviet leader. He graduated from Mgimo in 1957 and was appointed to the

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Foreign Ministry's press department, where he dealt with the English-speaking journalists.

In 1960, he was appointed to the UN Secretariat in New York, where he came to revere Dag Hammerskjold, then Secretary-General. In 1966 he returned to Moscow as second and then first secretary in the Foreign Ministry, dealing with both UN and US affairs, and in 1970 was sent to the Soviet embassy in Washington, where he was to remain for 16 years.

In 1983, he went back to Moscow as chief of the US department in the Foreign Ministry, where by 1988 he was promoted to first deputy, responsible for "global policy and US relations," during the crucial 1986-88 phase of convincing the US that perestroika was genuine.

"The guy is a professional who makes his country's case in a cool and non-confrontational way, even at the very worst of times," commented a US diplomat.

He is, said a Soviet journalist, "a genuinely nice guy, very relaxed. He did not bully his subordinates, did not suck up to his superiors too much . . . We like him."



28TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

January 16, 1991, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 9; Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: SOVIET CRACKDOWN: The Foreign Minister
Man in the News: Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh;
Soviet Master of Washington's Ways

BYLINE: By ROBERT PEAR, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 15

BODY:

In 1988, after assuring members of the Soviet Parliament that the treaty limiting medium-range nuclear missiles was good for Moscow, Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh, then a Deputy Foreign Minister, paused in the Kremlin to chat in English about the agreement with an American journalist.

The Soviet official was at ease as he talked about the political dimension of Soviet-American relations and the importance of the treaty. Such informality, common with American officials, was unusual for a top Soviet official.

But it was typical for Mr. Bessmertnykh, now 57 years old, who has spent most of his professional life working in or studying the United States. He became Soviet Ambassador to the United States in May 1990, arriving here to take up his diplomatic duties the same week President Mikhail S. Gorbachev arrived for summit meetings with President Bush.

So when Mr. Bessmertnykh was named Foreign Minister today, Bush Administration officials welcomed the appointment as a reassuring indication that Soviet-American relations would remain on track. Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, said: "We've all worked with him in a number of capacities. He's been very instrumental in shaping Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly through this gulf crisis."

In U.S. Many Years

American officials and Soviet scholars say nobody in the Soviet Foreign Ministry knows the United States better, and few Soviet officials have more experience dealing with Washington. Mr. Bessmertnykh -- the name is pronounced byeh-SMEHRT-nikh and means immortal -- worked at the United Nations Secretariat in the 1960's, served at the Soviet Embassy here from 1970 to 1983 and was later head of the Foreign Ministry department responsible for the United States and Canada.

Paul H. Nitze, the former arms control negotiator for the United States, said: "Mr. Bessmertnykh is very intelligent and friendly. His sympathies are basically with the United States. He knows the U.S., and I think he is fond of Americans." But Mr. Nitze said, "I don't think he will be as influential" as the last Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, whom Mr. Nitze described as

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"one of the two or three great men" of the Soviet Union today.

"Bessmertnykh is an attractive man, but not a great man," Mr. Nitze said, adding, "I'm very fond of him."

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, the son of a civil servant, was born Nov. 10, 1933, in Biysk, in south-central Siberia. He graduated in 1957 from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and has a degree in international law and political science. He gives the impression of being precisely what he is: a well-trained bureaucrat.

Worked Hard on Treaty

Acquaintances say that Mr. Bessmertnykh, as a diplomat here in the late 1970's, worked hard on a treaty to limit strategic arms, hoping it would contribute to a lasting improvement in Soviet-American relations. They recall that he was downcast after the treaty was shelved after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979.

Dimitri K. Simes, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said Mr. Bessmertnykh was "probably the best expert on the United States in the Soviet Foreign Service."

"If you wanted to find somebody who would be a good partner for Secretary of State Baker and has a longstanding relationship with the State Department, someone who understands how the U.S. political system functions -- the role of Congress and the news media, and constraints on the President -- I don't know anyone who would perform better than Mr. Bessmertnykh," Mr. Simes said.

Mr. Simes described Mr. Bessmertnykh as "an honorable man who displayed a great propensity for lying on behalf of his country when appropriate."

Defended Afghanistan Role

For example, he said, Mr. Bessmertnykh publicly defended the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a response to an invitation from Afghan officials, and Mr. Simes asserted that Mr. Bessmertnykh "would have no particular difficulty justifying to the world what the Soviets do in the Baltic republics, if Moscow decides to proceed with a crackdown."

Mr. Bessmertnykh took diplomatic lessons from a master, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the urbane former Ambassador to the United States. The two served together in the embassy here from 1970 to 1983. Mr. Bessmertnykh said Mr. Gorbachev chose him to be the Ambassador here last year because Soviet-American relations required "the professional touch."

As one of three First Deputy Foreign Ministers from 1988 to early 1990, Mr. Bessmertnykh was responsible for North America and the Middle East. In those years, he visited Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, among other countries.

Diplomats at the Soviet Embassy say Mr. Bessmertnykh is a connoisseur of art and classical music. "He took advantage of every spare moment to go to art galleries and art exhibitions" in Washington, said a Soviet diplomat. While working in Moscow, Mr. Bessmertnykh discovered some paintings in the Foreign Ministry archives and put them on display.



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From his first marriage, Mr. Bessmertnykh has a daughter, Marina, who was born in 1961. His first wife died in April 1989. A year later he married Marina Vladimirovna, now 35 years old. They have a son, Arseni Aleksandrovich, born at a hospital here two and a half weeks ago.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh as he was nominated to be Foreign Minister yesterday at session of Supreme Soviet in Moscow. (Associated Press)

NAME: PEAR, ROBERT; BESSMERTYMKH, ALEKSANDR A (MIN)

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR)

MEMORANDUM

State of Alaska

TO: PEGGY DOOLEY
WHITE HOUSE

DATE: 7/24/91

FILE NO: _____

TELEPHONE NO: (907) 277-8622

FROM: E. McNALLY
District Attorney Office (DAO)
1031 W. 4th Ave., Suite 520
Anchorage, AK 99501

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4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Washington Whispers; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 62 words

BODY:

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

6TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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

March 25, 1985

SECTION: Pg. 27

LENGTH: 574 words

HEADLINE: Prospects for a Thaw: Process Will Be Slow

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times

March 21, 1985, Thursday, Home Edition

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

LENGTH: 588 words

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

BYLINE: By ART BUCHWALD

BODY:

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

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

"What should we watch for?"

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

"Why is Gorbachev getting such a good press?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE:
Column; Wire

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16TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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March 15, 1985, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; World News; A29

LENGTH: 758 words

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

BYLINE: By Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, March 14, 1985

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 861 words

HEADLINE: DEATH THINS RANKS OF SOVIET OLD GUARD

BYLINE: By Howard A. Tyner, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; GROUP; OFFICIAL; END

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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

20TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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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."

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

Thatcher Optimistic

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

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

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

Armored Vehicle

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

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

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

Times reporter George Skelton in Washington contributed to this story.

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

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March 14, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

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

LENGTH: 892 words

HEADLINE: NEWS SUMMARY;

BODY:

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1985 International

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYPE: Summary

SUBJECT: Terms not available



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March 12, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

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

LENGTH: 865 words

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

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

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 11

BODY:

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

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

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

'Looking Forward' to Meeting

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

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

'I Started Thinking About It'

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

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

'An Open Mind'

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

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

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

Other Commitments Cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Legitimate Agenda' Sought



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

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

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

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

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

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

GRAPHIC: photo of President Reagan (page A17)

SUBJECT: DEATHS; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS



OUSDP - SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
THE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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24 JUL 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JIM MORRISON

Subject: Information for President Bush's Speech


Information provided per the request for information for the President's speech. This is 100 percent coordinated for Soviet Military Power 1991 as of today.

PART I

U.S.-U.S.S.R. COMPARISON OF
PRODUCTION OF MATERIEL AND SHIPS - 1990¹

	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
Tanks	718	1,300
Other Armored Fighting Vehicles	627	4,400
Ballistic Missile Submarines	1	1
Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles	82	65
General Purpose/Attack Submarines	5	6
Fighters/Fighter Bombers	456	575
ICBMs	14	125

¹Total military production, including exports.


Michael C. Ryan
Lieutenant Colonel, USA
Military Assistant
Executive Secretariat

Attachment

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stockpiles. This is a great stride, but we have our eyes on an even greater, more distant goal. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.

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

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

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

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

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two

gpe

8/1

"Novgorod"

Novgorod - city assembly - medieval
north - serfdom never took hold
veche (vay-ay) - bell + assembly

word used in dissident period -

"bell calling us to democracy"

richness of Russian tradition -

bells not only for churches, but
for calling to assembly

bells heard again in Russia - not only
for churches, but the echoes of
the "veche" bells calling the city to
assembly

picture!

continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

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

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

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

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

These are just a few of the agreements we record today. I am proud of what we have accomplished. These agreements will advance the cause of peace. They are in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

Mrs W M M don't write, but people do.

*Mountains never meet mountains, but people meet people.
Mountains don't come together, but people can.*

Driscoll's 301/849-8103

Dr. Billington
707-5205 (w)
(534-2920 (h))

1 I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog.¹

*Speech at the Teamsters' Dinner,
Washington [September 23, 1944]*

2 All of our people all over the country—except the pure-blooded Indians—are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the *Mayflower*.

*Campaign speech in Boston
[November 4, 1944]*

3 The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that works both sides of a street. *Ib.*

4 Perfectionism, no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths to international peace.

*State of the Union Message
[January 6, 1945]*

5 We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world,² members of the human community.

*Fourth Inaugural Address
[January 20, 1945]*

6 More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.

*Address written for Jefferson Day
broadcast [April 13, 1945]³*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill

7 First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

*Atlantic Charter, drawn up aboard
the U.S.S. Augusta in Argentinia
Harbor, Newfoundland [issued
August 14, 1941]*

8 Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live

¹ It had been charged that the President's Scottie, Fala, allegedly stranded in the Aleutian Islands, had been brought home by a destroyer at a cost of millions.

² See Socrates, 79:7; Bacon, 180:13; Paine, 385:2; and Garrison, 505:10.

³ President Roosevelt died on April 12, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

out their lives in freedom from fear and want.⁴ *Ib.*

9 Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. *Ib.*

James Stephens

1882-1950

10 I hear a sudden cry of pain!
There is a rabbit in a snare.

The Snare

11 Forgive us all our trespasses,
Little creatures, everywhere!

Little Things, st. 5

12 In cloud and clod to sing
Of everything and anything.

The Pit of Bliss

13 They fell out over pigs, let them fall in over pigs.

In the Land of Youth [1924]

14 Women are wiser than men because they know less and understand more.

The Crock of Gold [1930], ch. 2

Virginia Woolf⁵

1882-1941

15 In people's eyes, in the swing, tramp, and trudge; in the bellow and uproar; the carriages, motor cars, omnibuses, vans, sandwich men shuffling and swinging; brass bands; barrel organs; in the triumph and the jingle and the strange high singing of some aeroplane overhead was what she loved; life; London; this moment in June.

Mrs. Dalloway [1925]

16 Those comfortably padded lunatic asylums which are known, euphemistically, as the stately homes of England.⁶

The Common Reader [1925].

Lady Dorothy Nevill

17 Trivial personalities decomposing in the eternity of print.

Ib. The Modern Essay

⁴ See Roosevelt, 780:13.

⁵ The talent of this generation which is most certain of survival.—REBECCA WEST, *Ending in Earnest* [1931]

⁶ See Felicia D. Hemans, 470:13.

Majority

the head pulls harder than
DANISH PROVERB

who doesn't know that adorns
RUSSIAN PROVERB

as a dirty wife.
PROVERB (*Dink*=neat)

all maids to be wed.
SPANISH PROVERB

Dog, Enigma, Fancy-Girl, Happiness, Heart, Spinster, Tears, Virgin.

the country.
LITICAL MAXIM, first recorded c. 1888

Maine, the land of the nest earth, the richest and what is better, the best, and what is best in under the sun.
ED: Speech at Portland, Maine, Aug. 7, 1900

Vermont.
Statement to the press, Maine and Vermont were carried by Alfred M. Republican candidate for the Presidency (C.).

ought always to be ob-
st number should not
power.
republica, II, c. 50 B.C.

the majority is to be
*Liber singularis regu-
larum*, c. 210

we have, by the consent
of a community, they
that community one
act as one body, which
determination of the
acts any community,
of the individuals of
y must move one way,
should move that way
it, which is the con-

es on Government, II,
1690

will of the majority

SON: *Letter to James
Madison*, Dec. 20, 1787

Majority

I readily suppose my opinion wrong, when op-
posed by the majority.
THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to James
Madison*, 1788

The voice of the majority is no proof of justice.
J. C. F. SCHILLER: *Mary Stuart*, II, 1800

Life to the great majority is only a constant
struggle for mere existence, with the cer-
tainty of losing it at last.
ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER: *The World as
Will and Idea*, IV, 1819

The majority, compose them how you will, are
a herd, and not a very nice one.
WILLIAM HAZLITT: *Butts of Different
Sorts*, 1829 (The Atlas, Feb. 8)

The great majority of men seem to be minors.
R. W. EMERSON: *The Poet*, 1844

A majority is always the best repartee.
BENJAMIN DISRAELI: *Tancred*, II, 1847

A government in which the majority rule in all
cases cannot be based on justice, even as far
as men understand it.
H. D. THOREAU: *An Essay on Civil Dis-
obedience*, 1849

Decision by majorities is as much an expedient
as lighting by gas.
W. E. GLADSTONE: Speech in the House of
Commons, Jan. 21, 1858

One, on God's side, is a majority.
WENDELL PHILLIPS: Speech at Harper's
Ferry, Nov. 1, 1859

A majority held in restraint by constitutional
checks and limitations, and always changing
easily with deliberate changes of popular
opinions and sentiments, is the only true
sovereign of a free people.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN: Inaugural address,
March 4, 1861

The fact disclosed by a survey of the past that
majorities have been wrong, must not blind
us to the complementary fact that majorities
have usually not been entirely wrong.
HERBERT SPENCER: *First Principles*, I, 1862

Neither current events nor history show that the
majority rules, or ever did rule.
JEFFERSON DAVIS: To J. F. Jaquess and
J. R. Gilmore, July 17, 1864

One, with God, is always a majority, but many
a martyr has been burned at the stake while
the votes were being counted.
THOMAS B. REED: Speech in the House of
Representatives, 1885 (Cf. PHILLIPS,
ante, 1859)

Rule is evil, and it is none the better for being
majority rule.
BENJAMIN R. TUCKER: *Instead of a Book*,
1893

The voice of the majority saves bloodshed, but
it is no less the arbitrament of force than is
the decree of the most absolute of despots
backed by the most powerful armies.
IBID.

I not only believe majority rule is just, I be-
lieve it is best. All men know more than a
few; all experience is better than new and
untried theory.
E. W. HOWE: *Success Easier Than Failure*,
1917

One with the law is a majority.
CALVIN COOLIDGE: Speech of acceptance,
July 27, 1920

Seven never wait for one. RUSSIAN PROVERB
[See also Ballot, Blood and Iron, Innovation,
Law, Majority and Minority, Mob, Public.

Majority and Minority

In all companies there are more fools than wise
men, and the greater part always get the
better of the wiser.
RABELAIS: *Pantagruel*, II, 1533

On a candid examination of history, we shall
find that turbulence, violence, and abuse of
power, by the majority trampling on the
rights of the minority, have produced fac-
tions and commotions which, in republics,
have, more frequently than any other cause,
produced despotism.

JAMES MADISON: Speech in the Virginia
Convention, June 16, 1788

Though the will of the majority is in all cases
to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be
reasonable; the minority possess their equal
rights, which equal laws must protect, and to
violate would be oppression.
THOMAS JEFFERSON: Inaugural address,
March 4, 1801

The minority of a country is never known to
agree, except in its efforts to reduce and op-
press the majority.
J. FENIMORE COOPER: *The American
Democrat*, VIII, 1838

Shall we judge a country by the majority, or by
the minority? By the minority, surely.
R. W. EMERSON: *The Conduct of Life*, VII,
1860

The history of most countries has been that of
majorities — mounted majorities, clad in iron,
armed with death, treading down the ten-
fold more numerous minorities.
O. W. HOLMES: Address to the Massachu-
setts Medical Society, Boston, May 30,
1860

If by the mere force of numbers a majority
should deprive a minority of any clearly
written constitutional right, it might in a
moral point of view, justify revolution — cer-
tainly would if such a right were a vital one.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN: Inaugural address,
March 4, 1861

The numerical majority is ready, is eager to delegate its power of choosing its ruler to a certain select minority. It abdicates in favor of its elite, and consents to obey whoever that elite may confide in.

WALTER BAGEHOT: *The English Constitution*, IX, 1867

The oppression of a majority is detestable and odious: the oppression of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and odious.

W. E. GLADSTONE: Speech in the House of Commons, Feb. 8, 1870

A minority may be right; a majority is always wrong.

HENRIK IBSEN: *An Enemy of the People*, IV, 1882

The majority submits to principles consciously, because they meet the demands of reason, and the minority unconsciously, because they have become public opinion.

LYOF N. TOLSTOY: *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, 1893

When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong. The minority are right.

EUGENE V. DEBS: Speech before the jury in the Federal court, Cleveland, Sept. 12, 1918

The moment a mere numerical superiority by either states or voters in this country proceeds to ignore the needs and desires of the minority, and for their own selfish purpose or advancement, hamper or oppress that minority, or debar them in any way from equal privileges and equal rights—that moment will mark the failure of our constitutional system.

F. D. ROOSEVELT: Radio address, March 2, 1930

The thing we have to fear in this country, to my way of thinking, is the influence of the organized minorities, because somehow or other the great majority does not seem to organize. They seem to feel that they are going to be effective because of their known strength, but they give no expression of it.

ALFRED E. SMITH: Speech at Harvard, June 22, 1933

Minorities are the stars of the firmament; majorities, the darkness in which they float.

MARTIN H. FISCHER (1879—)

[See also Democracy, Minority.]

Malaria

[See Ague.]

Male and Female

Male and female created he them.

GENESIS I, 27, c. 700 B.C.

The male is by nature superior to the female.

ARISTOTLE: *Politics*, c. 322 B.C.

As deep drinketh the goose as the gander.

JOHN HEYWOOD: *Proverbs*, 1546

[Male birds] are almost always the woovers; and they alone are armed with special weapons for fighting with their rivals. They are generally stronger and larger than the females, and are endowed with the requisite qualities of courage and pugnacity.

CHARLES DARWIN: *The Descent of Man*, XXI, 1871

All females save woman seek the male only in the Spring.

FRENCH PROVERB

[See also Celibacy, Dog, Envy, Female, Man and Woman, Propriety, Sex.]

Malefactor

Malefactors of great wealth.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: Speech at Provincetown, Mass., Aug. 20, 1907

Malevolence

The malevolent have secret teeth.

PUBLILIUS SYRUS: *Sententiæ*, c. 50 B.C.

[See also Woman.]

Malice

Malice is cunning.

CICERO: *De natura deorum*, III, 45 B.C.

Malice is blind.

LIVY: *History of Rome*, XXXVIII, c. 10

Wit larded with malice, and malice forced with wit.

SHAKESPEARE: *Troilus and Cressida*, v, c. 1601

Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate, Nor set down aught in malice.

SHAKESPEARE: *Othello*, v, 1604

Malice is mindful.

JOHN CLARKE: *Paræmiologia Anglo-Latina*, 1639

Malice hath a strong memory.

THOMAS FULLER: *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, III, 1650

Malice drinketh up the greater part of its own poison.

THOMAS FULLER: *Gnomologia*, 1732

Malice will always find bad motives for good actions.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to James Madison*, 1810

Malice seldom wants a mark to shoot at.

H. C. BOHN: *Handbook of Proverbs*, 1855

A blind mule kicking by guess.

H. W. SHAW (JOSH BILLINGS): *Josh Billings' Comical Lexicon*, 1877

[See also Charity, Friendship, Injury, Murder.]

encourages them to improve its productive powers, and to augment its annual produce to the utmost, and thereby to increase the real revenue and wealth of the society.

Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, IV, 1

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away.

FDR, Fourth Inaugural Address, January 20, 1945

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AN INQUIRY INTO
THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF
The Wealth of Nations

BY
ADAM SMITH

Edited by EDWIN CANNAN, M.A. LL.D.

With a new Preface by George J. Stigler

Two Volumes in One

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one another, this doctrine supposes that, if the balance be even, neither of them either loses or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one side, that one of them loses, and the other gains in proportion to its declension from the exact equilibrium. Both suppositions are false. A trade which is forced by means of bounties and monopolies, may be, and commonly is disadvantageous to the country in whose favour it is meant to be established, as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter.¹ But that trade which, without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally so, to both.

By advantage or gain, I understand, not the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, but that of the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, or the increase of the annual revenue of its inhabitants.

Where there is an even balance and the exchange consists wholly of native commodities two countries trading will gain nearly equally.

If the balance be even, and if the trade between the two places consist altogether in the exchange of their native commodities, they will, upon most occasions, not only both gain, but they will gain equally, or very near equally: each will in this case afford a market for a part of the surplus produce of the other: each will replace a capital which had been employed in raising and preparing for the market² this part of the surplus produce of the other, and which had been distributed among, and given revenue and maintenance to a certain number of its inhabitants. Some part of the inhabitants of each, therefore, will indirectly derive their revenue and maintenance from the other. As the commodities exchanged too are supposed to be of equal value, so the two capitals employed in the trade will, upon most occasions, be equal, or very nearly equal; and both being employed in raising the native commodities of the two countries, the revenue and maintenance which their distribution will afford to the inhabitants of each will be equal, or very nearly equal. This revenue and maintenance, thus mutually afforded, will be greater or smaller in proportion to the extent of their dealings. If these should annually amount to an hundred thousand pounds, for example, or to a million on each side, each of them would afford an annual revenue in the one case of an hundred thousand pounds, in the other, of a million, to the inhabitants of the other.

¹ [Below, vol. ii., pp. 10, 11.]

² [Ed. 1 does not contain 'and preparing for the market'.]

Alexis de Tocqueville

DEMOCRACY
IN AMERICA

Edited by
J. P. MAYER

A NEW TRANSLATION BY GEORGE LAWRENCE

Anchor Books

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queville scholar. He is author of many books
sociology and is currently teaching at the
ngland.

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DE TOCQUEVILLE (edited with A. P. Kerr)

of the prisons better. The public was roused by their exhortations, and the reform of criminals became a popular cause.

New prisons were then built. For the first time the idea of reforming offenders as well as punishing them penetrated into the prisons. But that happy revolution in which the public cooperated with such eagerness and which the simultaneous efforts of the citizens rendered irresistible could not be accomplished in a moment.

Alongside the new penitentiaries, built quickly in response to the public's desire, the old prisons remained and housed a great number of the guilty. These seemed to become more unhealthy and more corrupting at the same rate as the new ones became healthy and devoted to reform. This double effect is easily understood: the majority, preoccupied with the idea of founding a new establishment, had forgotten the already existing ones. Everybody's attention was turned away from the matter that no longer held their master's, and supervision ceased. The salutary bonds of discipline were first stretched and then soon broken. And beside some prison that stood as a durable monument to the gentleness and enlightenment of our age, there was a dungeon recalling the barbarities of the Middle Ages.

Tyranny of the Majority

How the principle of the sovereignty of the people should be understood. Impossibility of conceiving a mixed government. Sovereign power must be placed somewhere. Precautions which one should take to moderate its action. These precautions have not been taken in the United States. Result thereof.

I regard it as an impious and detestable maxim that in matters of government the majority of a people has the right to do everything, and nevertheless I place the origin of all powers in the will of the majority. Am I in contradiction with myself?

There is one law which has been made, or at least adopted, not by the majority of this or that people, but by the majority of all men. That law is justice.

Justice therefore forms the boundary to each people's right.

A nation is like a jury entrusted to represent universal society and to apply the justice which is its law. Should the jury representing society have greater power than that very society whose laws it applies?

Consequently, when I refuse to obey an unjust law, I by no

The Omnipotence of the Majority

means deny the majority's right to give the sovereignty of the people to the sovereign.

There are those not afraid to say that a nation cannot go completely itself a nation cannot go completely justice and reason and that there is therefore total power to the majority representing it of a slave.

What is a majority, in its collective capacity with opinions, and usually with interests, called the minority? Now, if an individual, called the minority, is invested with omnipotence can abuse it and not admit the same concerning a majority together, changed their character? By becoming more patient of obstacles?³ For that, and I will never grant to several things which I refuse to a single man.

It is not that I think that in order to mix several principles within the same government that they will be really opposed to one another.

I have always considered what is called a chimera. There is in truth no such government (in the sense usually given to the word) one finds in the end some principle of the others.

Eighteenth-century England, which has the example of this type of government, was a state, although it contained within itself great differences for laws and mores were so designed that they always prevail in the long run and man wished.

The mistake is due to those who, considering the great in conflict with those of the people about the struggle and have not paid attention to which was more important. When a society is a government, that is to say, one equally invested with principles, either a revolution breaks out or a new government is formed.

I therefore think it always necessary to have a social power superior to all others, but I

³No one would wish to maintain that a nation has the right to go to war against another nation. But parties form something like a nation, and the relations between them are like those of a nation.

If it is agreed that a nation can be tyrannical, can one deny that a party can be so toward another?

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refuse to obey an unjust law, I by no

means deny the majority's right to give orders; I only appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of the human race.

There are those not afraid to say that in matters which only concern itself a nation cannot go completely beyond the bounds of justice and reason and that there is therefore no need to fear giving total power to the majority representing it. But that is the language of a slave.

What is a majority, in its collective capacity, if not an individual with opinions, and usually with interests, contrary to those of another individual, called the minority? Now, if you admit that a man vested with omnipotence can abuse it against his adversaries, why not admit the same concerning a majority? Have men, by joining together, changed their character? By becoming stronger, have they become more patient of obstacles?³ For my part, I cannot believe that, and I will never grant to several that power to do everything which I refuse to a single man.

It is not that I think that in order to preserve liberty one can mix several principles within the same government in such a way that they will be really opposed to one another.

I have always considered what is called a mixed government to be a chimera. There is in truth no such thing as a mixed government (in the sense usually given to the words), since in any society one finds in the end some principle of action that dominates all the others.

Eighteenth-century England, which has been especially cited as an example of this type of government, was an essentially aristocratic state, although it contained within itself great elements of democracy, for laws and mores were so designed that the aristocracy could always prevail in the long run and manage public affairs as it wished.

The mistake is due to those who, constantly seeing the interests of the great in conflict with those of the people, have thought only about the struggle and have not paid attention to the result thereof, which was more important. When a society really does have a mixed government, that is to say, one equally shared between contrary principles, either a revolution breaks out or that society breaks up.

I therefore think it always necessary to place somewhere one social power superior to all others, but I believe that freedom is

³ No one would wish to maintain that a nation cannot abuse its power against another nation. But parties form something like little nations within the nation, and the relations between them are like those of strangers.

If it is agreed that a nation can be tyrannical toward another nation, how can one deny that a party can be so toward another party?

in danger when that power finds no obstacle that can restrain its course and give it time to moderate itself.

Omnipotence in itself seems a bad and dangerous thing. I think that its exercise is beyond man's strength, whoever he be, and that only God can be omnipotent without danger because His wisdom and justice are always equal to His power. So there is no power on earth in itself so worthy of respect or vested with such a sacred right that I would wish to let it act without control and dominate without obstacles. So when I see the right and capacity to do all given to any authority whatsoever, whether it be called people or king, democracy or aristocracy, and whether the scene of action is a monarchy or a republic, I say: the germ of tyranny is there, and I will go look for other laws under which to live.

My greatest complaint against democratic government as organized in the United States is not, as many Europeans make out, its weakness, but rather its irresistible strength. What I find most repulsive in America is not the extreme freedom reigning there, but the shortage of guarantees against tyranny.

When a man or a party suffers an injustice in the United States, to whom can he turn? To public opinion? That is what forms the majority. To the legislative body? It represents the majority and obeys it blindly. To the executive power? It is appointed by the majority and serves as its passive instrument. To the police? They are nothing but the majority under arms. A jury? The jury is the majority vested with the right to pronounce judgment; even the judges in certain states are elected by the majority. So, however iniquitous or unreasonable the measure which hurts you, you must submit.⁴

⁴ At Baltimore during the War of 1812 there was a striking example of the excesses to which despotism of the majority may lead. At that time the war was very popular at Baltimore. A newspaper which came out in strong opposition to it aroused the indignation of the inhabitants. The people assembled, broke the presses, and attacked the house of the editors. An attempt was made to summon the militia, but it did not answer the appeal. Finally, to save the lives of these wretched men threatened by the fury of the public, they were taken to prison like criminals. This precaution was useless. During the night the people assembled again; the magistrates having failed to bring up the militia, the prison was broken open; one of the journalists was killed on the spot and the others left for dead; the guilty were brought before a jury and acquitted.

I once said to a Pennsylvanian: "Please explain to me why in a state founded by Quakers and renowned for its tolerance, freed Negroes are not allowed to use their rights as citizens? They pay taxes; is it not right that they should vote?"

"Do not insult us," he replied, "by supposing that our legislators would commit an act of such gross injustice and intolerance."

The Omnipotence of the Majority

But suppose you were to have a legislature represented the majority without being swayed by passions, an executive power having a judicial power independent of the other two, and the majority would still have a democratic government with any remaining risk of tyranny.

I am not asserting that at the present time there are frequent acts of tyranny. I do say that there are reasons for it against it there and that the reasons for it must be sought in circumstances and laws.

Effect of the Omnipotence of the Majority Power of American President

The freedom which American law leaves to the individual in the sphere marked out for them

It is important to make the distinction between despotism and tyranny. Tyranny can use even the law, then it is no longer arbitrary; arbitrary power is in the interest of the ruled, and then it is not tyranny.

Tyranny ordinarily makes use of arbitrary power without it.

In the United States that omnipotence favors the legal despotism of the legislature over the power of the magistrate. The majority, both of lawmaking and of the executive, controls both rulers and ruled, regarding the law as a mere instrument.

"So, with you, Negroes do have the right to appear?"

"Certainly."

"Then how was it that at the electoral meeting you did not see a single one of them in the meeting?"

"That is not the fault of the law," said the man, "Negroes have the right to be present at electoral meetings from appearing."

"That is extraordinarily modest of them."

"Oh! It is not that they are reluctant to appear, but they may be maltreated. With us it sometimes happens that the majority does not support the law with the strongest prejudices against Negroes, strong enough to guarantee the rights granted by the law."

"What! The majority, privileged to make laws, has the privilege of disobeying the law?"

power finds no obstacle that can restrain it
to moderate itself.

It seems a bad and dangerous thing. I think
of man's strength, whoever he be, and that
is potent without danger because His wisdom
is equal to His power. So there is no power
worthy of respect or vested with such a sacred
right to let it act without control and dominate
whenever I see the right and capacity to do all
whatsoever, whether it be called people or
tyranny, and whether the scene of action is a
city, I say: the germ of tyranny is there, and
the laws under which to live.

It is against democratic government as organized
that is not, as many Europeans make out, its
its irresistible strength. What I find most
is not the extreme freedom reigning there but
the seeds against tyranny.

Liberty suffers an injustice in the United States,
is it? To public opinion? That is what forms
the legislative body? It represents the majority
to the executive power? It is appointed by
the majority as its passive instrument. To the police?
The majority under arms. A jury? The jury
with the right to pronounce judgment; even
judges are elected by the majority. So, however
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In the War of 1812 there was a striking example of
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The assembly assembled again; the magistrates having failed
the prison was broken open; one of the journalists
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American: "Please explain to me why in a state
renowned for its tolerance, freed Negroes are not
its citizens? They pay taxes; is it not right that they

replied, "by supposing that our legislators would
be unjust and intolerant."

But suppose you were to have a legislative body so composed that
it represented the majority without being necessarily the slave of its
passions, an executive power having a strength of its own, and a
judicial power independent of the other two authorities; then you
would still have a democratic government, but there would be hardly
any remaining risk of tyranny.

I am not asserting that at the present time in America there are
frequent acts of tyranny. I do say that one can find no guarantee
against it there and that the reasons for the government's gentleness
must be sought in circumstances and in mores rather than in the
laws.

Effect of the Omnipotence of the Majority on the Arbitrary Power of American Public Officials

*The freedom which American law leaves to functionaries within
the sphere marked out for them. Their power.*

It is important to make the distinction between arbitrary power
and tyranny. Tyranny can use even the law as its instrument, and
then it is no longer arbitrary; arbitrary power may be used in the
interest of the ruled, and then it is not tyrannical.

Tyranny ordinarily makes use of arbitrariness, but it can at need
do without it.

In the United States that omnipotence of the majority which
favors the legal despotism of the legislator also smiles on the arbitrary
power of the magistrate. The majority, being in absolute command
both of lawmaking and of the execution of the laws, and equally
controlling both rulers and ruled, regards public functionaries as its

"So, with you, Negroes do have the right to vote?"

"Certainly."

"Then how was it that at the electoral college this morning I did not
see a single one of them in the meeting?"

"That is not the fault of the law," said the American. "It is true that
Negroes have the right to be present at elections, but they voluntarily abstain
from appearing."

"That is extraordinarily modest of them."

"Oh! It is not that they are reluctant to go there, but they are afraid
they may be maltreated. With us it sometimes happens that the law lacks
force when the majority does not support it. Now, the majority is filled
with the strongest prejudices against Negroes, and the magistrates do not feel
strong enough to guarantee the rights granted to them by the lawmakers."

"What! The majority, privileged to make the law, wishes also to have the
privilege of disobeying the law?"

its duration. In democratic republics the power directing⁶ society is not stable, for both its personnel and its aims change often. But wherever it is brought to bear, its strength is almost irresistible.

The government of the American republics seems to me as centralized and more energetic than the absolute monarchies of Europe. So I do not think that it will collapse from weakness.⁷

If ever freedom is lost in America, that will be due to the omnipotence of the majority driving the minorities to desperation and forcing them to appeal to physical force. We may then see anarchy, but it will have come as the result of despotism.

President James Madison has given expression to just these thoughts. (*The Federalist*, No. 51.) [Everyman edition, pp. 266 f.]

"It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. . . . Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been and ever will be pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger; and as, in the latter state, even the stronger individuals are prompted, by the uncertainty of their condition, to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves; so, in the former state, will the more powerful factions or parties be gradually induced, by a like motive, to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful. It can be little doubted that if the state of Rhode Island was separated from the Confederacy and left to itself, the insecurity of rights under the popular form of government within such narrow limits would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of factious majorities that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it."

Jefferson also said: "The executive, in our government is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal, object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislature is the most formidable dread at present and will

⁶ Authority may be centralized in an assembly, and in that case it is strong but not stable. Or it may be centralized in one man, and in that case it is less strong but more stable.

⁷ There is no need to remind the reader that here, and throughout this chapter, I am speaking not of the federal government but of the governments of each state, where a despotic majority is in control.