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'I will not go': Boris Yeltsin has vowed to remain as president of Russia until 1996.

Russia to place party on trial

By John Kampfner
LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH

MOSCOW — Russia's highest court ruled yesterday that the banned Communist Party should face trial for its 74-year rule and invited Mikhail Gorbachev to represent his former comrades.

In a decision that rejected an attempt to have the party made legal again, the Constitutional Court said its judges were empowered to hear charges that the party had broken the law, even under the old system.

Lawyers for President Boris Yeltsin's government suggested the case would be a symbolic repetition of the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals in 1945.

Opponents say it will resemble Stalin's political show trials of the 1930s.

[Mr. Yeltsin was quoted as saying yesterday that he would not resign as president no matter how much opposition he encounters but he has no plans to seek a second term in 1996, Reuters news agency said.

["I will not go, no matter how hard it gets. I will not step back," Itar-Tass news agency quoted him as saying at a meeting with workers in the town of Barnaul, near the Mongolian border.]

Mr. Yeltsin's reformist administration has emphasized it does not want to put individuals on trial but only seeks to prove the party's criminality and moral bankruptcy.

The ruling was bitterly condemned by the assembled Communists, a veritable Who's Who of the former party leadership, among them Yegor Ligachev and Vladimir Ivashko, at different times deputies to Mr. Gorbachev, who served as the party's general secretary.

Mr. Gorbachev was absent and will almost certainly not accept the invitation to attend the hearing when it resumes July 7.

Valery Zorkin — head of the panel of judges that voted 9-3, with one abstention, in favor of a trial — said that if Mr. Gorbachev and his allies chose not to appear, proceedings will go on without them.

The chief attorney for Mr. Yeltsin, Andrei Makarov, said: "The precedent for a hearing here without a mandated representative of the Communist Party is the Nuremberg trials, where the NSDAP [the Nazis] had no official representation."

Unlike at Nuremberg, nobody is likely to face criminal charges, even

see RUSSIA, *page A10*

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RUSSIA

From page A1

though evidence continues to mount that the Communist Party extorted hundreds of millions of dollars from state funds and financed terrorism and other illegal acts abroad.

Sergei Shakhrai, a close aide to Mr. Yeltsin, has promised to give details of the criminal activities of the party that Mr. Gorbachev headed during its last seven years.

Mr. Makarov and Mr. Shakhrai will try to argue that the Communist Party did not abide by the Soviet constitution because it behaved not as a social organization, but as a superior organ of government. This, they will also submit, violates accepted international norms.

The question will not be broadened to discuss whether the seizure of power during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was legal but will be confined to whether the party exceeded its jurisdiction in recent years.

The party, which from Lenin and the Stalin years through to the Gorbachev era controlled every aspect of life, was suspended after August's failed coup.

Mr. Yeltsin made the ban permanent in November.

The hearing yesterday was rich in symbolism, with the judges wearing black robes for the first time in an attempt to inject a sense of occasion into the packed courtroom just off Red Square.

It was one of the first, and by far the most important, case the Constitutional Court has been asked to hear since it was established a year ago by the Russian Federation.

Two busloads of police were on hand, but an expected pro-Communist demonstration did not materialize.

Introducing the proceedings live on Russian television, the presenter said: "This is the first time a court in the Western European style is meeting here."

The trial runs the risk of degenerating into farce, with former Communist judges trying a former Communist Party on behalf of many former Communists.

Mr. Yeltsin was party first secretary in Sverdlovsk, now Yekaterinburg, then head of the Moscow city party and a member of the ruling Politburo before he fell out with Mr. Gorbachev.

The case before the Constitutional Court originally was brought by a group of hard-line Communists to test the legality of Mr. Yeltsin's November decree.

They were hoping to convince the judges that his powers to rule by decree did not extend to banning political parties.

Ukraine alcoholics choose drink over food; many dying

By Lisa Popyk
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

KHARKOV, Ukraine — Alcoholics are literally dying for a drink in Ukraine — at a rate doctors say they've never seen before.

"It's because they've stopped eating. They can't afford food at today's prices," said Dr. Edward Pervomajsky, chief narcotics specialist at Kharkov's City Health Department.

Alcoholism has always been a problem here. But now alcoholics must choose between alcohol and food, between alcohol and life.

Alcohol — any form of it — wins. Vodka, local cognac, cheap wine, moonshine, even household products such as cologne and after-shave.

The heavy drinking and food abstinence lead to delirium tremens — a deadly state known here as "white fever." Patients lose touch with reality and fall into a state of paranoid delirium. They see demons and often are obsessed by visions of insects covering their bodies. Bodily functions fail. Kidneys malfunction, heartbeats become irregular, lungs collapse and blood flow slows. If a patient isn't helped in time, he dies.

"In the '70s and '80s, when we were teaching students about white fever in medical school, we used to search for case examples and rush the students, several classes at once, to the hospital when one turned up," Dr. Pervomajsky said. "Now [we see] four, five, six every day."

In 1990, Kharkov — a city of nearly 2 million with an estimated 27,500 alcoholics — had 218 cases of white fever. In 1991, there were 359. In the first three months of this year there already were 238 cases, said Dr. Valery Guryev, head doctor at Kharkov's Hospital 15.

About 6 percent of those cases die; still more suffer permanent brain damage or physical impairment.

Across Ukraine, the figures also are on the rise. In 1990, a total of 5,279 cases were reported; in 1991, 7,933; in the first three months of 1992, 10,228, according to the Ukraine Medical Institute in Kiev. Ukraine, populated by about 52 million, has an estimated 900,000 alcoholics.

In Kharkov, all patients with alcohol-related problems are taken to Hospital 15, the region's 204-year-old crumbling psychiatric clinic.

There, doctors use a special machine equipped with a rubber cap. Cold air is blown through the cap onto the patient's head to lower his body temperature to 73 degrees Fahrenheit, putting him in a state of near hibernation.

"That way, bodily functions slow down and death is delayed, and our medication and efforts have more time to take effect," Dr. Guryev said.

Sometimes, however, the patient is brought in too late or the medication fails to take effect.

Sergei Cheryren, a 41-year-old former factory worker, was brought in after going without food for two weeks and drinking himself into a stupor with vodka and after-shave. He's alive but brain-damaged.

Lying in one of 16 beds crammed side by side in a rank and dirty hospital room, Mr. Cheryren can't communicate and seems unable to understand activity around him.

The other beds were filled with half-dressed, mumbling, staring men, none of whom seemed completely in touch with his faculties.

Doctors at Hospital 15 said they'd like to think they've already seen the worst in the white fever upsurge. But they doubt it.

On today's market, 2 pounds of sausage sell for 180 rubles (two day's wages for the average worker), chicken for 200 rubles and a bottle of vodka for 80 rubles.

"If you buy a few bottles of vodka, there's not enough left for food," Dr. Guryev said. "As long as food prices remain so high, white fever will burn."

Photo Copy Preservation

Yeltsin vows to stay till term is up

By Janet Guttsman
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

MOSCOW — Boris Yeltsin was quoted as saying yesterday that he would not quit the Russian presidency no matter how much opposition he encounters but he has no plans to seek a second term in 1996.

"I will not go, no matter how hard it gets. I will not step back," Itar-Tass news agency quoted Mr. Yeltsin as saying during a meeting with workers in the town of Barnaul, near the Mongolian border.

The agency added: "[Mr. Yeltsin said] he did not aspire to a second term." His current term as Russia's first freely elected president expires in 1996, when he will be 65.

Mr. Yeltsin is widely seen as the only Russian leader with the popularity to force through a series of painful economic reforms designed to propel Russia into a market economy after 70 years of communism.

He has repeatedly denied rumors of poor health and heavy drinking. Russian television showed him apparently in good humor during his visit to Barnaul.

Russia launched its bold economic reform program at the start of this year, freeing most prices from government control and pledging tough moves to rein in government spending.

Most controls on energy prices were removed this month in a second stage of the plan, a move Mr. Yeltsin agreed would cause the price of "absolutely everything" to rise.

He told workers in Barnaul: "That will be the last objective lever for price increases. By the end of the year, the economy will start to stabilize and people's lives will start to improve."

Mr. Yeltsin is one of the key figures in the Commonwealth of Independent States that replaced the Soviet Union last year.

He said yesterday he would hold a summit with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to tackle a series of disputes that threaten to tear the shaky Commonwealth apart.

The meeting between the two, agreed to in a telephone conversation, is expected early next month, Mr. Yeltsin said.

The announcement of a new summit came amid signs a dispute between Russia and Ukraine over naval forces was hastening the end of joint Commonwealth conventional armed forecs.

Russia and Ukraine were two of the Commonwealth's founding members, but relations between their presidents have grown increasingly frosty in the last few months over the future of armed forces and economic policy.

Ukraine refuses to take part in the Commonwealth joint command, has seized control of all land forces on its territory and wants to take over much of the Black Sea Fleet, based in the Crimean port of Sevastopol.

Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, military chief for the C.I.S., effectively acknowledged yesterday that the future of Commonwealth forces, one of the foundation stones of the community when the Soviet Union was dissolved in December, was limited.

He said the 380-ship Black Sea Fleet would be removed from Commonwealth control and divided between Russia and Ukraine.

The move, announced by Marshal Shaposhnikov at a Moscow news conference, means the idea of a large conventional force under Commonwealth command has been virtually abandoned.

Nuclear forces will remain under joint control.

The Ukrainian leader, on an official visit to Estonia, took a conciliatory line toward the Commonwealth yesterday, saying the grouping had not yet exhausted its possibilities.

"The moment the Commonwealth starts working ... Ukraine will undertake huge efforts to strengthen it," Mr. Kravchuk told journalists in Tallinn, capital of Estonia. "Ukraine does not consider itself as the destroyer of the Commonwealth."



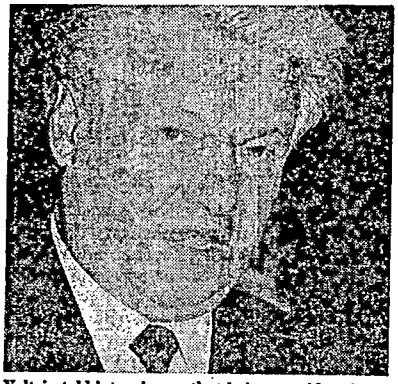
Reuters

Hard-liner Yegor Ligachev, former first deputy to Mikhail Gorbachev, listens as a suit against Boris Yeltsin turns into a trial of the Communist Party.

Take stock in America. UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

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Yeltsin Offers Moldova Troop Pullout



Yeltsin told interviewer that being president is so grueling, "I'm not going to be in the running."

Russian President Won't Seek 2nd Term

Associated Press

MOSCOW, May 27—Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in a newspaper interview today that his job had become so stressful that he will not run for a second term in 1996.

Yeltsin, 61, won the first direct presidential election in Russian history last June. He revealed his intention not to seek a second five-year term on Tuesday in an offhand comment paraphrased by the Russian Tass news agency. But the interview published today by the mass-circulation newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda amplified his pledge.

"I can tell you absolutely, certainly that at the next election, when my term runs out, I am not going to be in the running," Yeltsin was quoted as saying. "There is a limit to human abilities, physical and others," he also said in the interview. "Because my life is so hard, I feel that I am not going to extend my term artificially. Never."

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 27—Russian President Boris Yeltsin promised today to pull Russian troops out of the former Soviet republic of Moldova to prevent them from becoming embroiled in an intensifying ethnic conflict.

Yeltsin's announcement followed warnings by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur that his republic of 4.3 million people may find itself in a "state of war" with Russia. Snegur has accused the former Soviet 14th Army, now under Russian jurisdiction, of openly supporting Russian-speaking separatists who have established a self-proclaimed "Dniester Republic" in eastern Moldova.

"Don't worry, there won't be a war. We will pull back the 14th Army to Russian territory and will not permit Russia to be dragged into war," Yeltsin told local residents during a tour of Siberia's remote Altai region.

Yeltsin did not give any timetable for the withdrawal, and Moldovan officials expressed skepticism. "I don't believe it," said Dmitru Tara, Snegur's press secretary.

Any withdrawal is likely to be strongly resisted by nationalist Russian legislators, who regard the army as the sole effective protection for the Russian-speaking minority in the republic, most of whose people are ethnic Romanians. It could also run into opposition from officers stationed in Moldova who argue that Russia lacks housing and other facilities for them and their troops.

More than 100 people have been killed in two months of fighting between Moldovan security forces and militiamen loyal to the "Dniester Republic," which claims a chunk of Moldovan territory on the eastern bank of the Dniester River.

Today, Moldovan radio reported a new cease-fire between the two sides in advance of peace talks scheduled for Friday involving the foreign and defense ministers of Russia, Moldova, Ukraine and Romania. The western part of Moldova belonged to Romania before World War II, when it was annexed by the Soviet Union under a secret deal with Nazi Germany.

In a resolution adopted Tuesday, the Moldovan parliament accused the 14th Army of acting as an "occupying force" and "creating a beachhead for imperialist forces whose goal is the restoration of the Soviet Union." But it stopped short of ordering a full-scale mobilization of Moldovan citizens.

Special correspondent Chrystia Freeland in Kishinev, Moldova, contributed to this report.

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Anastasia
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TUESDAY 12 MAY '92

"SEMYONOV'S THE RED COMMANDER MARCHES ON"
only one aim in life: to survive

loves volleyball
Searched for the source of the river Vieva p. 29
as a boy dreamed of attend[g] an institute of ship building p 31
Sleep 3.5 hrs. / night
trained & coached teams
Lenin Street - travels thru USSR p. 33
thesis topic construction of a television tower p. 37 | 36 field sheets typed, got out of hospital

explorer, adventurer - trailblazer

skilled / trained in building ships - hired GS / government
[from government buildings to building government]!

12 specialized trades in construction

America, Da

By Mikhail S. Gorbachev

Moscow.

Yes, I'm defending America.

I'm defending it against a segment of American public opinion that can be extremely critical.

I encountered that attitude in many meetings during my recent trip — a trip that, in openness, novelty and substance, exceeded all expectations.

For the first time, I was able to get a truly close-up view of this great country. Unlike the impressions I got during previous visits, I did not find America self-satisfied, looking down at the rest of the world.

On the contrary, it is reflecting on its domestic problems and its place in this era of profound changes wrought by the end of the cold war. I see this as a sign of strength and vitality, and it gladdens me.

In discussions with politicians, I frequently stressed that changes in international cooperation and the atmosphere as a whole cannot occur solely at the expense of the country that was known as the Soviet Union.

Many Americans seem to realize everything must change, America included. But they also talked about what they felt was a crisis of political leadership. I think the primaries have yet to provide answers to the questions America faces. Intellectuals were the most critical, but I found a similar dissatisfaction — though less harsh — among the middle class. Small and mid-level business people complained that the Administration is more oriented toward big business. But big business was concerned, too — albeit with less anxiety — about American society and the economy.

Every class seems permeated with the sense that change is necessary and inevitable. That sense finds its clearest expression in movements for greater democracy and in leaders representing the black population. It is the latter — I recall in particular my meeting with Jesse Jackson — who raise fundamental questions about the political system and speak openly of "democracy in crisis."

But I do not think the system is in critical condition. There is no question that problems exist. What I saw in Los Angeles after the disturbances leaves no doubt as to their scale. The poverty is obvious. And the health-care system draws as many complaints as public education. These serious dangers alarm people.

All the more reason to defend the basic values and institutions of American democracy. America remains an open society in which opposing forces can surface and clash, a necessary precondition for their solution.

I saw a society that possesses not only economic might and political power but also the intellectual ability to analyze its own condition and develop new policies.

I learned something else on this trip as well. From the start of my own administration, I was aware that it was impossible to change the international situation without putting Soviet-American relations on a new level.

During one of our first meetings, I said to President Reagan: "Don't tell me America is like some shining city on a hill and the rest of the world is in the dark. That's all right for the press but not for me. I know America, I know its resources and its strengths, I know its weaknesses and problems."

> The primaries haven't supplied answers to critical questions.

But it is also true, I now realize, that my Western partners and I were not free of cold war stereotypes. We looked at each other through slits in the Iron Curtain, while wearing ideological blinders.

I read recently that the director of the C.I.A. admits the American side inaccurately assessed our resources and intentions, perhaps with some purpose in mind. Both they and others distorted information to prove the need for military programs, which in the end depleted much of the vitality of both countries.

In America, there are many people who think that at last the time has come when the United States can attain undisputed global leadership and assume the role of world policeman. Were this point of view to gain ascendancy, the consequences would be negative, first and foremost for Americans. Now profoundly changed, the world would reject such claims. Any such attempts would only reduce the United States's role instead of increasing it. □

This article first appeared in La Stampa of Turin. It was translated from the Russian by Richard Lourie.

YELTSIN STUMPING THROUGH SIBERIA

Back Home, Leader of Russia Warns of Hard Times — and of His Retirement

28 May 1992 NYT

MOSCOW, May 27 (AP) — On a trip through his native region to show sympathy for the pain that his economic reforms are causing, President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia promised cash-hungry Siberians today that a plane-load of rubles was on the way.

But he also said in an interview published today that his job had become so stressful that he would not run for a second term in 1996.

He had announced his intention not to seek a second term in an off-hand comment on Tuesday that was paraphrased by the Itar-Tass news agency. The interview published today amplified the comment.

"I can tell you absolutely, certainly that at the next election, when my term runs out, I am not going to be in the running," Mr. Yeltsin, who is 61 years old, told Komsomolskaya Pravda. "For me, this is one of the hardest questions."

Worse in Moscow, He Says

As Mr. Yeltsin began a four-day tour today, exasperated shoppers, mostly women, surrounded him in front of a food store in Barnaul, an industrial center 220 miles southeast of Novosibirsk.

"It's so hard to live," one woman said. "Our kids don't see anything good, nothing! It's very hard. Everything is so expensive!"

Mr. Yeltsin, holding a microphone, spoke both to the crowd and to television cameras that broadcast the encounter around the nation.

"No, no, it's not so expensive," he said. "It's cheaper to live here than in Moscow. I'll tell you something else — as I am not in the habit of lying — prices are going to go up even more."

Rubles on the Way

He was borrowing a tactic that his predecessor and former rival, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, used to great political advantage in the mid-1980's: plunging into factories, farmyards and supermarkets to talk candidly with ordinary people.

The crowd complained to Mr. Yeltsin that Barnaul, a city of 600,000 on the Ob River, was so short of rubles that workers might not get their full salaries.

"There is a plane following me with 500 million rubles," Mr. Yeltsin said. "So you'll get all your wages. As for the prices — Moscow does not dictate them anymore. It is the market price."

GIVE A CITY CHILD

Photo Copy Preservation

Finland is the devil's country. [A reference to the physical geography of the country, rather than to its inhabitants]

France

France is a meadow that cuts thrice a year.
He that will France win, must with Scotland first begin.
The day of France's ruin, is the eve of the ruin of England.
Every French soldier carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack. [This saying has been attributed both to Louis XVIII (1755–1824) and to Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821)]
The French would be the best cooks in Europe if they had got any butcher's meat.
Have the Frenchman for thy friend, not for thy neighbour.
The Frenchman is a scoundrel.
The English love; the French make love.
When the Ethiopian is white, the French will love the English.
The friendship of the French is like their wine, exquisite but of short duration.
Only a dog and a Frenchman walks after he has eaten.
Good Americans, when they die, go to Paris.
The Bourbons learn nothing and forget nothing. [The Bourbons were a ruling family of France and Spain]

Italy

The Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate.
All things are to be bought at Rome.
Genoa has mountains without wood, sea without fish, women without shame, and men without conscience.
See Naples and die. [A reference to the beauty of Naples and its environs]
The Neapolitan is wide-mouthed and narrow-handed. ["Narrow-handed" here means "tight-fisted, mean"]
A man would live in Italy, but he would choose to die in Spain. [The implication is that while Italy is the more pleasant place to live, the Catholic religion is more strictly practised in Spain]

Spain and Portugal

Nothing ill in Spain but that which speaks.
The Spaniard is a bad servant, but a worse master.
The Basque is faithful.
He who has not seen Seville, has not seen a wonder.
A bad Spaniard makes a good Portuguese. [This implies that the best of the Portuguese are no better than the worst Spaniards]

45. A blue eye in a Portuguese woman is a mistake of nature.

Germany

46. When a snake gets warm on ice, then a German will wish well to a Czech.
47. The German's wit is in his fingers. [The implication is that a German's practical skills are superior to his intellectual ability]

Holland

48. The Netherlands are the cockpit of Christendom. ["Cockpit" here refers to an area of civil strife and war. "The Netherlands" is used in the historical sense of "the Low Countries", namely Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg]
49. God made the earth but the Dutch made Holland.

Hungary

50. Outside Hungary there is no life; if there is any it is not the same.
51. Where there is a Hungarian there is anger; where there is a Slovak there is a song.
52. Do not trust a Hungarian unless he has a third eye on his forehead.

Poland

53. Poland is the peasant's hell, the Jew's paradise, the citizen's purgatory, the noble's heaven, and the grave of the stranger's gold.
54. What an Englishman cares to invent, a Frenchman to design, or a German to patch together, the stupid Pole will buy.
55. When God made the world He sent to the Poles some reason and the feet of a gnat, but even this little was taken away by a woman.
56. God save us from a Polish bridge!

Russia

57. In Russia as one must; in Poland as one wishes. [This Polish proverb was coined in the days of Russian serfdom]
58. Russian friendship does not get sour.
59. The cold is Russia's cholera.
60. Scratch a Russian and you'll find a Tartar.
61. If you can deal with an Armenian, you can deal with the devil. [Persian proverb]
62. Trust a snake before a Jew, a Jew before a Greek, but never trust an Armenian.

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

President, Slavic American Cultural Association, Inc.
President, American Russian Heritage Association
US Delegate, AIMAV/UNESCO
Commissioner, US NCH HOLOCAUST COMMISSION
U.S. Correspondent, Chartered Member International Press Club for Women Journalists

Chairman, Slavic American National Republican Heritage Council
Recipient, Congressionally sponsored Ellis Island Medal of Honor for Russian ancestry on the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty
Cultural Advisor, Pulaski Police Assoc., New York City Police Department

91 JUL 26 A8:43

TO:
Ms. Jenifer GROSSMAN
FAX: 202 456 6218
THE WHITE HOUSE - RESEARCH

DATE: July 26, 1991
FROM: Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski
FAX: 516 759 4614
NO. of pages including cover sheet: 4

MESSAGE:

As per our telephone conversation I am repating the quote in English transliteration: "vse flagi v gosti budut nam," which means "all flags will be our guests," which was said by Peter the Great in 1703, when he built Kronstadt, the most important naval base for Russia, and "opened the window to the west," bringing Russia out of the isolation. Kronstadt was and still is the major Naval Military base. Gorbachev who in some way considers himself like Peter the Great in his attitude toward the "western countires," likes this quote.

As far as the Holocaust committee is concerned, attached is the copy of the letter I will try to get to Bush. I am faxing it to Admiral Fort, Assistant Secretary of State (Administration), whom I met during my last visit to Leningrad and whom I saw recently in Washington. I am very much concerned with the fate of the former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, because though they are allowed to form a committee, financially they are in dismal situation, living on 80 -100 rubles a month! Not much is being done for their economic welfare, and no special privileges like there are in Poland or other western countries are given to them. To acknowledge their existence by mentioning them, will make quite a difference in the Soviet bureaucracy, which is still very much behind the "glasnost" and "perestroika."

If you have any further questions, please feel free to call. I am leaving for Lenignrad on July 31st.

Best wishes,

VVG.

P.S. presdient Bush, who is a veteran of World War Ii himself, I am confident, is sympathetic to the situation of the Warld War Ii victims such as the inmates of concnetration camps. A message to them or recognition would be very much appreciated.

July 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MK

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: MORE PROVERBS FOR BUSINESS BREAKFAST

1) "The one who leads makes a bridge for the others."

2) "You'll never get a headache from a profit."

3) "You'll never get rich by counting someone else's money."

4) In 1703, upon completing the port of Kronstadt, Peter the Great remarked: "All the flags of all the countries will now be our guest." Apparently, this is a quote much-liked by Gorbachev, who sees himself in the westward-looking tradition of Peter the Great.

5) ****If we mention anything about the American version of the free market, in keeping with the theme of morality/values, we could remark how the phrase "IN GOD WE TRUST" adorns our currency.

24 July, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARY KATE GRANT

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: ANECDOTES, QUOTES

1) The following is a quote by Abraham Maslow, an American psychologist many credit with the founding of humanistic psychology, which believes that individuals are controlled by their own values and choices, not by environment.

"The most valuable 100 people to bring into a deteriorating society would not be 100 chemists, or politicians, or professors, or engineers, but rather 100 entrepreneurs."

Cynthia Neu, American publisher of Nazavisimaya Gazeta (Independent Newspaper) here, says, "The Russians with whom I work love this quote and they wholeheartedly concur. They are not enthusiastic about major corporations like IBM, AT&T..etc. coming to the USSR to set up shop because they liken these major American corporations to the big and bureaucratic (organizations of)..thier government. They are extremely interested in how the smaller American business people make it."

2) Cynthia had invited some Russian friends to come and visit the States. They were walking out of customs at JFK, all smiles, when suddenly, they froze. "What's the matter?" asked Cynthia. "What does that sign mean?" they asked, pointing. She responded, "WATCH YOUR STEP, it means the airport management doesnt' want you to fall and hurt yourself." "Oh," they sighed with relief, "we thought your government was warning us Russians to be careful not to make any mistakes here in America."

QUOTES

1) "Some see private enterprise as a predatory target to be shot, others as a cow to be milked, but few are those who see it as a sturdy horse pulling the wagon."
--Winston Churchill

2) "Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him."
--Woodrow Wilson.

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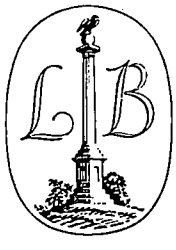
Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
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John Bartlett

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and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

1 I am the wound and the knife!
I am the blow and the cheek!
I am the limbs and the wheel—
The victim and the executioner![1]
Ib. L'Héautontimoroumenos

2 Here is the charming evening, the criminal's friend;
It comes like an accomplice, with stealthy tread.[2] *Ib. Le Crépuscule du Soir*

3 What is that sad, dark island?—It is Cythera,
They tell us, a country famous in song,
Banal Eldorado of all the old bachelors.
Look! after all, it is a poor land![3]
Ib. Un Voyage à Cythère

4 O Death, old captain, it is time! raise the anchor! *Ib. Le Voyage, VIII*

5 What do I care that you are good?
Be beautiful! and be sad![4]
Nouvelles Fleurs du Mal [1866–1868]. Madrigal Triste, st. 1

6 There can be no progress (real, that is, moral) except in the individual and by the individual himself.
Mon Coeur Mis à Nu [1887], XV

7 There are in every man, at every hour, two simultaneous postulations, one towards God, the other towards Satan. *Ib. XIX*

8 There exist only three beings worthy of respect: the priest, the soldier, the poet. To know, to kill, to create.[5] *Ib. XXII*

9 To be a great man and a saint for oneself, that is the one important thing.
Ib. LII

10 Theory of the true civilization. It is not to be found in gas or steam or table turning. It consists in the diminution of the traces of original sin. *Ib. LIX*

11 You must shock the bourgeois.[6]
Attributed

[1] Je suis la plaie et le couteau! / Je suis le soufflet et la joue! / Je suis les membres et la roue, / Et la victime et le bourreau!

[2] Voici le soir charmant, ami du criminel; / Il vient comme un complice, à pas de loup.

[3] Quelle est cette île triste et noire? — C'est Cythère, / Nous dit-on, un pays fameux dans les chansons, / Eldorado banal de tous les vieux garçons. / Regardez! après tout c'est un pauvre terre.

[4] Que m'importe que tu sois sage? / Sois belle! et sois triste!

[5] Il n'existe que trois êtres respectables: le prêtre, le guerrier, le poète. Savoir, tuer, et creer.

Sir Richard Francis Burton
1821–1890

12 Why meet we on the bridge of Time to 'change one greeting and to part?
The Kasidah of Haji Abdu El-Yazdi, I, 11

13 Indeed he knows not how to know who knows not also how to un-know.
Ib. VI, 18

14 Do what thy manhood bids thee do, from none but self expect applause;
He noblest lives and noblest dies who makes and keeps his self-made laws.
Ib. VIII, 37

Crowfoot[7]
1821–1890

15 What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.
Last words [1890]

Fëdor Mikhailovich Dostoevski
1821–1881

16 Petersburg, the most theoretical and intentional town on the whole terrestrial globe.
Notes from the Underground [1864],[8] *ch. 2*

17 Man is sometimes extraordinarily, passionately, in love with suffering. *Ib. 9*

18 Man grows used to everything, the scoundrel!
Crime and Punishment [1866],[8] *book I, ch. 2*

19 If you were to destroy in mankind the belief in immortality, not only love but every living force maintaining the life of the world would at once be dried up.
The Brothers Karamazov [1879–1880],[8] *bk. II, ch. 6*

20 I want to tell you now about the insects to whom God gave "sensual lust." . . . I am that insect, brother, and it is said of me especially. All we Karamazovs are such insects, and, angel as you are, that insect lives in you too, and will stir a tempest in your blood. Tempests, because sensual lust is a tempest — worse than a tempest! Beauty is a terrible

[7] Blackfoot warrior and orator.

and awful thing! It is terrible because it has not been fathomed, for God sets us nothing but riddles.[1] Here the boundaries meet and all contradictions exist side by side.
Ib. III, 3

1 What to the mind is shameful is beauty and nothing else to the heart. Is there beauty in Sodom? Believe me, that for the immense mass of mankind beauty is found in Sodom. Did you know that secret? The awful thing is that beauty is mysterious as well as terrible. God and devil are fighting there, and the battlefield is the heart of man. *Ib.*

2 I want to travel in Europe . . . I know that I am only going to a graveyard, but it's a most precious graveyard. *Ib. V, 3*

3 If the devil doesn't exist, but man has created him, he has created him in his own image and likeness. *Ib. V, 4*

4 Is there in the whole world a being who would have the right to forgive and could forgive? I don't want harmony. From love of humanity I don't want it. . . . I would rather remain with my unavenged suffering and unsatisfied indignation, *even if I were wrong.* Besides, too high a price is asked for harmony; it's beyond our means to pay so much to enter on it. And so I hasten to give back my entrance ticket . . . It's not God that I don't accept, Alyosha, only I most respectfully return Him the ticket. *Ib.*

5 Imagine that you are creating a fabric of human destiny with the object of making men happy in the end, giving them peace and rest at last, but that it was essential and inevitable to torture to death only one tiny creature . . . and to found that edifice on its unavenged tears, would you consent to be the architect on those conditions? Tell me, and tell the truth.[2] *Ib.*

6 So long as man remains free he strives for nothing so incessantly and so painfully as to find someone to worship. *Ib. 5*

7 We have corrected Thy work and have founded it upon *miracle, mystery* and *authority.* And men rejoiced that they were again led like sheep, and that the terrible gift that brought them such suffering, was, at last, lifted from their hearts. *Ib. 5*

8 "How will you escape it? By what will you escape it? That's impossible with your ideas."
"In the Karamazov way, again."
" 'Everything is lawful,' you mean?"
Ib.

9 Men reject their prophets and slay them, but they love their martyrs and honor those whom they have slain. *Ib. VI, 3*

10 The jealous are the readiest of all to forgive, and all women know it.
Ib. VIII, 3

11 Who doesn't desire his father's death?
Ib. XII, 5

12 Our fatal troika dashes on in her headlong flight perhaps to destruction, and in all Russia for long past men have stretched out imploring hands and called a halt to its furious reckless course. And if other nations stand aside from that troika that may be not from respect, as the poet would fain believe, but simply from horror. And well it is that they stand aside, but maybe they will cease one day to do so and will form a firm wall confronting the hurrying apparition and will check the frenzied rush of our lawlessness, for the sake of their own safety, enlightenment and civilization. *Ib. 9*

13 They have their Hamlets, but we still have our Karamazovs! *Ib.*

14 But profound as psychology is, it's a knife that cuts both ways. *Ib. 10*

15 For a moment the lie becomes truth.
Ib. Epilogue, ch. 2

16 We have all come out of Gogol's *Overcoat.*[3] *Attributed*

[1] See Einstein, 764:1.

[2] "Do you remember the passage where he [Rousseau] asks the reader what he would do if he could make a fortune by killing an old mandarin in China by simply exerting his will, without stirring from Paris?" "Yes." "Well?" "Bah! I'm at my thirty-third mandarin." "Don't play the fool. Look here, if it were proved to you that the thing was possible and you only needed to nod your head, would you do it?" "Is your mandarin well stricken in years? But, bless you, young or old, paralytic or healthy, upon my word . . . The devil take it! Well, no."—BALZAC.

[3] This statement, traditionally attributed to Dostoevski and quoted by most writers on Dostoevski and on Russian realism, appears in EUGÈNE MELCHIOR, vicomte de Vogüé [1848–1910], *Le Roman Russe* [1886], ch. 3: The more I read the Russians, the more I understand the observation one of them made to me . . . "We have all come out of Gogol's *Overcoat.*" We see further how evident the connection is with Dostoevski: the formidable novelist is all in his first book, *Poor People,* and *Poor People* has its origin in the *Overcoat.*

De Vogüé reiterated this statement in the speech he made on the occasion of unveiling a centennial monument

1 She whom I love is hard to catch and conquer,
Hard, but O the glory of the winning were she won! *Love in the Valley [1883], st. 2*

2 Darker grows the valley, more and more forgetting:
So were it with me if forgetting could be willed.
Tell the grassy hollow that holds the bubbling well-spring,
Tell it to forget the source that keeps it filled.
Ib. st. 5

3 Civil limitation daunts
His utterance never; the nymphs blush, not he.
An Orson of the Muse (Walt Whitman) [1883]

4 A witty woman is a treasure; a witty beauty is a power.
Diana of the Crossways [1885], ch. 1

5 What a woman thinks of women is the test of her nature. *Ib.*

6 The well of true wit is truth itself.
Ib.

7 Ireland gives England her soldiers, her generals too. *Ib. 2*

8 How divine is utterance! . . . As we to the brutes, poets are to us. *Ib. 16*

9 With patient inattention hear him prate.
Bellerophon [1887], st. 4

10 Full lasting is the song, though he,
The singer, passes.
The Thrush in February [1888], st. 17

11 Behold the life at ease; it drifts,
The sharpened life commands its course.
Hard Weather [1888], l. 71

12 Cannon his name,
Cannon his voice, he came.
Napoléon [1898], I

Dante Gabriel Rossetti
1828–1882

13 The blessed damozel leaned out
From the gold bar of Heaven;
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
Of waters stilled at even;
She had three lilies in her hand,
And the stars in her hair were seven.
The Blessed Damozel [1850], st. 1

14 And the souls mounting up to God
Went by her like thin flames. *Ib. st. 7*

15 One thing then learned remains to me—
The woodspurge has a cup of three.
The Woodspurge [1870], st. 4

16 Tell me now in what hidden way is
Lady Flora the lovely Roman?
Where's Hipparchia, and where is Thaïs,
Neither of them the fairer woman.
Where is Echo, beheld of no man
Only heard on river and mere—
She whose beauty was more than human? . . .
But where are the snows of yesteryear?
The Ballad of Dead Ladies (After François Villon) [1870], st. 1

17 A sonnet is a moment's monument—
Memorial from the soul's eternity
To one dead deathless hour.
Sonnets from the House of Life [1870–1881].[1] *Proem*

18 Beauty like hers is genius.
Ib. 18, Genius in Beauty

19 And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond—
Still, leagues beyond those leagues, there is more sea. *Ib. 73, The Choice—III*

20 My name is Might-have-been;
I am also called No-more, Too-late, Farewell.
Ib. no. 97, A Superscription

21 When vain desire at last, and vain regret
Go hand in hand to death, and all is vain,
What shall assuage the unforgotten pain
And teach the unforgetful to forget?
Ib. 101, The One Hope

22 The Stealthy School of Criticism.[2]
Letter to the Athenaeum [1871]

23 I have been here before,
But when or how I cannot tell;
I know the grass beyond the door,
The sweet keen smell,
The sighing sound, the lights around the shore. *Sudden Light [1881], st. 1*

Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoi[3]
1828–1910

24 The hero of my tale, whom I love with all the power of my soul, whom I have tried to

[1] See Buchanan, 643:10.
[2] Reply to Buchanan's attack.
[3] Of course you have read Tolstoi's *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. I never had that exquisite felicity before the summer, and now I feel as if I knew the *perfection* in the representation of human life. Life indeed seems less real than his tale of it. Such infallible veracity! The impression haunts me as nothing literary ever haunted me

portray in all his beauty, who has been, is, and will be beautiful, is Truth.

Sevastopol in May 1855 [1855]

1 "What's this? am I falling? my legs are giving way under me," he thought, and fell on his back. He opened his eyes, hoping to see how the struggle of the French soldiers with the artilleryman was ending, and eager to know whether the red-haired artilleryman was killed or not, whether the cannons had been taken or saved. But he saw nothing of all that. Above him there was nothing but the sky—the lofty sky, not clear, but still immeasurably lofty, with gray clouds creeping quietly over it.

War and Peace [1865–1869],[1] *bk. III, ch. 16*

2 Three days afterwards the little princess was buried, and Prince Andrey went to the steps of the tomb to take his last farewell of her. Even in the coffin the face was the same, though the eyes were closed. "Ah, what have you done to me?" it still seemed to say.

Ib. IV, 9

3 In historical events great men—so called—are but the labels that serve to give a name to an event, and like labels, they have the least possible connection with the event itself. Every action of theirs, that seems to them an act of their own free will, is in an historical sense not free at all, but in bondage to the whole course of previous history, and predestined from all eternity.

Ib. IX, 1

4 The strongest of all warriors are these two —Time and Patience. *Ib. X, 16*

5 He [Platon Karataev] did not understand, and could not grasp the significance of words taken apart from the sentence. Every word and every action of his was the expression of a force uncomprehended by him, which was his life.

Ib. XII, 13

6 For us, with the rule of right and wrong given us by Christ, there is nothing for which we have no standard. And there is no greatness where there is not simplicity, goodness, and truth.

Ib. XIV, 18

7 Pure and complete sorrow is as impossible as pure and complete joy.

Ib. XV, 1

8 The subject of history is the life of peoples and of humanity. To catch and pin down in words—that is, to describe directly the life, not only of humanity, but even of a single people, appears to be impossible.[2]

Ib. epilogue, pt. II, ch. 1

9 Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way.

Anna Karenina [1875–1877], pt. I, ch. 1

10 Ivan Ilych's life had been most simple and most ordinary and therefore most terrible.

The Death of Ivan Ilych [1886][3]

11 Ivan Ilych saw that he was dying, and he was in continuous despair.

In the depth of his heart he knew he was dying, but not only was he not accustomed to the thought, he simply did not and could not grasp it.

The syllogism he had learned from Kiezewetter's Logic: "Caius is a man, men are mortal, therefore Caius is mortal," had always seemed to him correct as applied to Caius, but certainly not as applied to himself. That Caius—man in the abstract—was mortal, was perfectly correct, but he was not Caius, not an abstract man, but a creature quite, quite separate from all others.

Ib.

12 Six feet of land was all that he needed.

How Much Land Does a Man Need? [1886]

13 The more is given the less the people will work for themselves, and the less they work the more their poverty will increase.[4]

Help for the Starving, pt. III [January 1892]

14 Art is a human activity having for its purpose the transmission to others of the highest and best feelings to which men have risen.

What Is Art? [1898], ch. 8

Roscoe Conkling

1829–1888

15 He [President Grant] will hew to the line of right, let the chips fall where they may.[5]

Speech [June 5, 1880]

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before.—WILLIAM JAMES, *letter to Henry James* [1872], in *Letters of William James, vol. II* [1896], *p. 48*

Tolstoi stands unshaken; his authority is tremendous, and while he lives, bad taste in literature, all sorts of vulgarity, insolence and sentimentality, all kinds of shoddy irascible vanities will remain deep in the shadow.—CHEKHOV, *Letter to M. O. Menshikov* [January 28, 1900]

[1] Translated by CONSTANCE GARNETT.

[2] See Francis Parkman, 592:7.

[3] Translated by AYLMER MAUDE.

[4] If you stop supporting that crowd, it will support itself.—SENECA [4 B.C.–A.D. 65], *Epistle 20, 7*

[5] See Anonymous, 917:2.

1 Get me to the church on time!
Ib. II, iii

2 Why can't a woman be more like a man?
Ib. iv

3 I've grown accustomed . . . to her face.
Ib. vi

4 Don't let it be forgot
That once there was a spot
For one brief shining moment that was known
As Camelot. *Camelot [1960], end*

5 On a Clear Day You Can See Forever.
Title of musical [1965]

6 Pleasure without joy is as hollow as passion without tenderness.
The Street Where I Live [1978]. My Fair Lady

7 Coughing in the theater is not a respiratory ailment. It is a criticism. *Ib.*

8 Men die but an idea does not. *Ib.*

Edwin O'Connor
1918–1968

9 The Last Hurrah.
Title of novel [1956]

Anwar al-Sadat
1918–

10 Land is immortal, for it harbors the mysteries of creation.
In Search of Identity [1978], ch. 1

11 A man's village is his peace of mind.
Ib. 2

12 Most people seek after what they do not possess and are thus enslaved by the very things they want to acquire. *Ib.*

13 Without a vocation, man's existence would be meaningless. . . . [Each man] should first recognize and be loyal to his real entity within . . . for it is this alone which will enable him to belong and owe allegiance to that Entity which is greater, vaster, and more permanent than his individual self. *Ib. 3*

14 Only when he has ceased to need things can a man truly be his own master and so really exist. *Ib.*

15 There can be hope only for a society which acts as one big family, and not as many separate ones. *Ib.*

16 Peace is much more precious than a piece of land.
Speech in Cairo [March 8, 1978]

17 Let there be no more war or bloodshed between Arabs and Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith.
On signing the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty, Washington, D.C. [March 26, 1979][1]

Alexander Solzhenitsyn
1918–

18 A great writer is, so to speak, a second government in his country. And for that reason no regime has ever loved great writers, only minor ones. *The First Circle [1964]*

19 The sole substitute for an experience which we have not ourselves lived through is art and literature. *Nobel Lecture [1972]*

20 Literature transmits incontrovertible condensed experience . . . from generation to generation. In this way literature becomes the living memory of a nation. *Ib.*

21 World literature is . . . a kind of collective body and a common spirit, a living unity of the heart which reflects the growing spiritual unity of mankind. *Ib.*

22 Violence does not and cannot exist by itself; it is invariably intertwined with *the lie.*
Ib.

23 The Kolyma was the greatest and most famous island, the pole of ferocity of that amazing country of Gulag, which, though scattered in an archipelago geographically, was, in the psychological sense, fused into a continent—an almost invisible, almost imperceptible country inhabited by the Zek people.
The Gulag Archipelago 1918–1956, [1974, in translation], I, preface

24 The Western world has lost its civil courage, both as a whole and separately, in each country, each government, each political party, and of course in the United Nations.
The Exhausted West. Commencement Address at Harvard University [June 8, 1978]

25 I have spent all my life under a Communist regime, and I will tell you that a society without any objective legal scale is a terrible one indeed. But a society with no other scale but the legal one is not quite worthy of man either. *Ib.*

[1] See Begin, 88I:14.

Toast of Chairman Khrushchev to Ike
The White House
September 15, 1959

Khrushchev: "We believe our system to be better -- and you believe yours to be better.... Let history judge which of us is right."

Radio and Television Address to the People of the Soviet Union
July 2, 1974

Nixon: "One of the greatest of your writers, Leo Tolstoy, once told this story. A very old man was planting apple trees. He was asked: 'What are you planting apple trees for? It will be a long time before they bear fruit, and you will not live to eat a single apple.'

"The old man replied, 'I will never eat them, but others will, and they will thank me.'"

Arrival Ceremony in Moscow
May 29, 1988

Gorbachev: "Aware of your [Reagan's] interest in Russian proverbs, let me add another one to your collection: 'It is better to see once than to hear a thousand times.'"

Remarks at the Ratification of the INF Treaty
Moscow
June 1, 1988

Gorbachev: "The first lines have already been written into the book of a world without wars, violence, or nuclear weapons. I believe that no one can now close that book and put it aside."

Arrival Ceremony for Gorbachev
The White House
May 31, 1990

Bush: "Fourteen years ago, [Sakharov] wrote: 'I am convinced that guaranteed political and civil rights for people the world over are also guarantees of international security, economic and social progress.' Sakharov knew that lasting peace and progress are inseparable from freedom, that nations will only be fully safe when all people are fully free."

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Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

Daniel B. Baker, Editor


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friend ... one of the great landmarks civilized. —William O. Douglas, *An*

born there/ Will I give up my life./ I defend. —Edna St. Vincent Millay,

of social forces in conflict, not the *the Failure of Socialism*, 1955

terested in four sandwiches than four *es*, Mar 29, 1955

o masses but rather men alert enough *eedom?*, 1955

n Civil Liberties Union) ACLU, title,

rchy of degrees of freedom, on a caste because we claim freedom, but because Jun, 1956

ands the power to decide, at each step, s not block the exercise of that power. , 1957

is neither Communism nor capitalism, rnal desire to be free and independent. 1957

elf-discipline. ... Should we persistently sing pressure on government to redress ppear. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, fifth

freedom finally to be pushed back to nited States. It can't be done. There's nhower, remarks in Washington, D.C.,

n, *Here I Stand*, 1958

note freedom to err. —Mohandas K.

he world, then freedom is endangered ashington, D.C., Oct 2, 1960

—Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., *Putting First*

spreads wherever it can capture the est", *The Points of My Compass*, 1960

erations have been granted the role of not shrink from this responsibility—I 20, 1961

of growth. —John F. Kennedy, speech

1435. Freedom is not something that anybody can be given; freedom is something people take and people are as free as they want to be. —James Baldwin, "Notes for a Hypothetical Novel", *Nobody Knows My Name*, 1961

1436. We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves; that is our only commitment to others. —John F. Kennedy, message to Congress, May 25, 1961

1437. If the self-discipline of the free cannot match the iron discipline of the mailed fist, in economic, political, scientific, and all the other kinds of struggles, as well as the military, then the peril to freedom will continue to rise. —John F. Kennedy, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr 20, 1961

1438. The best road to progress is freedom's road. —John F. Kennedy, message to Congress, Mar 14, 1961

1439. The cost of freedom is always high, but Americans have always paid it. —John F. Kennedy, radio and television address, Oct 12, 1962

1440. History suggests that capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom. Clearly it is not a sufficient condition. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1441. The kind of economic organization that provides economic freedom directly, namely, competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in this way enables the one to offset the other. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1442. Freedom in economic arrangements is itself a component of freedom broadly understood, so economic freedom is an end in itself ... Economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1443. The wave of the future is not the conquest of the world by a single dogmatic creed but the liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men. —John F. Kennedy, speech at the Univ. of California, Berkeley, Mar 23, 1962

1444. Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was "Civis Romanus sum". Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner." ... All free man, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, "Ich bin ein Berliner." —John F. Kennedy, speech in West Berlin, Jun 26, 1963

1445. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. —Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from the Birmingham Jail", Jan 16, 1963

1446. No cause is left but the most ancient of all, the one, in fact, that from the beginning of our history has determined the very existence of politics, the cause of freedom versus tyranny. —Hannah Arendt, "Introduction", *On Revolution*, 1963

1447. Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. —John F. Kennedy, speech in West Berlin, Jun 26, 1963

1448. The free way of life proposes ends, but it does not prescribe means. —Robert F. Kennedy, "Berlin East and West", *The Pursuit of Justice*, 1964

1449. There can be no real freedom without the freedom to fail. —Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change*, 1964

1450. We must dare to think about "unthinkable things", because when things become "unthinkable," thinking stops and action becomes mindless. If we are to disabuse ourselves of old myths and to act wisely and creatively upon the new realities of our time, we must think about our problems with perfect freedom. —J. William Fulbright, speech in the U.S. Senate, Mar 25, 1964

The Associated Press, June 9, 1988

Monsignor James McCarthy said O'Connor, four other cardinals and 10 priests visiting Moscow for the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Chrisitianity in this land, said Mass for about 70 people at downtown Moscow's St. Louis Church.

O'Connor, who arrived with a Vatican delegation Wednesday, also traveled to Zagorsk, a city about 35 miles northeast of the Soviet capital for the closing session of a four-day Russian Orthodox Church council dedicated to the millennium, McCarthy said.

While in Zagorsk, the site of a medieval monastery that now houses a seminary, the 68-year-old O'Connor met church officials of various faiths including Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk, head of external affairs for the Russian Orthodox Church, and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, the cardinal's secretary said.

The Roman Catholic delegation to the millennium was honored at a dinner given by Russian Orthodox church leaders Thursday evening.

"It was a very open, warm and cordial dinner with an honest exchange" between the two delegations, McCarthy said.

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LEVEL 1 - 18 OF 60 STORIES

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April 18, 1988

SECTION: WASHINGTON WHISPERS; Pg. 27

LENGTH: 98 words

HEADLINE: A monastery too far

BYLINE: Edited by Charles Fenyvesi

BODY:

Ronald Reagan's political advisers turned down a suggestion that he visit the medieval monastery and theological seminary at Zagorsk, about an hour's drive from Moscow, during next month's summit. Zagorsk is one of the most sacred sites in Russian Christendom, which is celebrating its millennium this year, and some administration Sovietologists wanted the President to pay his respects to the historic roots of the church. Instead, the White House, which claims a trip to Zagorsk would involve too much travel, hopes the President will be able to visit a monastery closer to Moscow.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 20 STORIES

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January 3, 1991, Thursday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 10; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 139 words

HEADLINE: Investigator in Soviet priest's death found slain

BYLINE: Associated Press

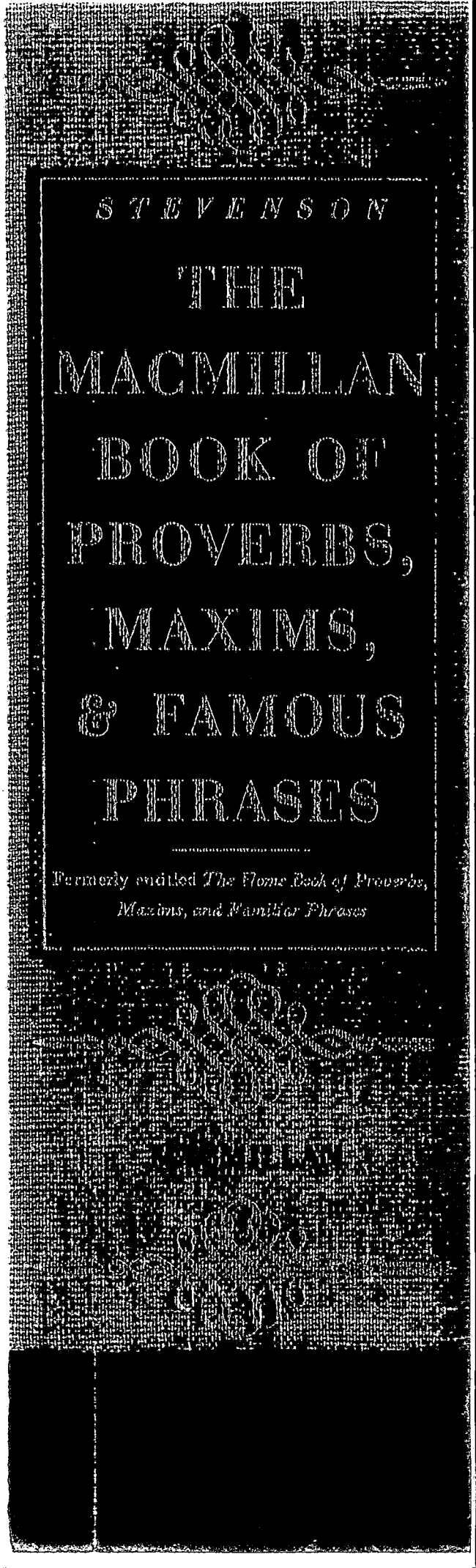
DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

A member of a church commission investigating the murder of a prominent Russian Orthodox priest has been killed, the independent Interfax news agency reported Wednesday.

Interfax quoted police as saying Hegumen Lasar died during an attempted burglary of his Moscow apartment, but that unidentified "close associates

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They say so, is half a Lie.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 4970.(1732)
Hearsay is half lies.
C. H. SPURGEON, *John Ploughman's Talk.* Ch. 6. (1869) The French say, "On dit est souvent un grand menteur" (They say is often a great liar). Also, "On dir va partout" (They say goes everywhere).

9
To scatter dark rumors amongst the crowd. (Spargere voces | in volgum ambiguas.)
VERGIL, *Aeneid.* Bk. ii, l. 98. (19 B.C.)
Rumor, of all evils the most swift. Speed lends her strength, and she gains vigor as she goes. (Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum, | mobilitate viget virisque adquerit eundo.)
VERGIL, *Aeneid.* Bk. iv, l. 174.
These rumors the foul goddess spreads here and there upon the lips of men. (Haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.)
VERGIL, *Aeneid.* Bk. iv, l. 195.
The rumor forthwith flies abroad throughout the little town. (Fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem.)
VERGIL, *Aeneid.* Bk. viii, l. 554.

10
A hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, a voice of iron. (Linguae centum sint, oraque centum, | ferrea vox.)
VERGIL, *Georgics.* Bk. ii, l. 44. (29 B.C.) The French is, "La déesse aux cent bouches."

RUN

11
In the common run of Mankind.
JOSEPH ADDISON, *The Spectator.* No.287.(1712)
The ordinary run of Readers.
THOMAS GRAY, *Letters* (Bohn), i, 165. (1747)
The general run of laws.
BLACKSTONE, *Commentaries,* i, 101. (1765)
The ordinary run of human beings.
HELPS, *Social Pressure.* Ch. 7. (1875)

12
An ill run at dice.
JOHN VANBRUGH, *Aesop.* Act iv, sc. 2. (1697)
He had . . . an uncommon run of luck.
FRANCES BURNEY, *Cecilia.* Bk. iv, ch. 3. (1782)
There has been a run on the red.
DISRAELI, *Vivian Grey.* Bk. v, ch. 6. (1826)
A confounded run on the red.
THACKERAY, *Pendennis.* Ch. 38. (1850)
They had had a run of ill luck.
JOHN RUSKIN, *Works* (1908), xxxiv,654.(1884)

13
To have a run for one's money.
UNKNOWN, *Slang Dictionary,* p. 274. (1874)
[They] have had what is called in some circles a good run for their money.
Pall Mall Gazette, 19 Jan., 1889, p. 1/1.

RUNNING

14
They ran as swifte as a pudding would creepe.
ROBERT ARNIM, *Nest of Ninnies,* p. 23. (1608)

15
My son, if thou runnest thou wilt not attain.
BEN SIRA, *Book of Wisdom* (*Ecclesiasticus*), xi, 10. (c. 190 B.C.) *See also under* HASTE.

1
He that runs fastest gets most ground.
JOHN CLARKE, *Paroemiologia,* p. 319. (1639)
RAY, *English Proverbs,* p. 138. (1670)
He that runs fast will not run long.
H.G.BOHN,*Handbook of Proverbs,*p.392.(1855)

2
He that runs, may rally.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 2272.(1732)

3
Running for one's all. (*περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμου τρέχειν.*)
HERODOTUS, *History.* Bk.viii, sec.74.(c.445 B.C.)
To run for one's life. (*τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον θεῖν.*)
ARISTOPHANES, *The Wasps,* l. 375. (422 B.C.)
ERASMUS quotes as proverbial another phrase by Aristophanes, *ἐκ δυοῖν ποδοῖν καταφεύγειν* (To run away on both feet).

4
He may yll renne, that can not go.
JOHN HEYWOOD, *Proverbs.* Pt. ii, ch. 9. (1546)
Though I can scarcely go, I needs must run.
BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.* Act ii, sc. 5. (c. 1610)
They hardly can run, that cannot go.
WILLIAM CAMDEN, *Remains,* p. 334. (1605)
He may ill run that can not go.
JOHN RAY, *English Proverbs,* p. 138. (1670) The Scots say, "He can run ill that canna gang."

5
He runnth far that neuer turnth againe.
JOHN HEYWOOD, *Proverbs.* Pt. ii, ch. 9. (1546)
He runneth farre, that neuer commeth agayne.
RICHARD TAVERNER, *Proverbs,* fo. 28. (1550)
He runneth far that neuer returneth.
JOHN LYLY, *Euphues* (Arber), p. 197. (1579)
It is a long run that never turns.
JOHN RAY, *English Proverbs,* p. 117. (1670) A Latin proverb says, "Satius est recurrere quam currere male" (It is better to run back than to run wrong).

6
You look like a runner, quoth the Dee'l to the lobster. Spoken to those who are very unlikely to do what they pretend to.
JAMES KELLY, *Scottish Proverbs,* p. 389. (1721)
FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 5934. (1732)
"You're a *racer,* to be sure,"
Cried the Devil to the crab.
JOHN WOLCOT (PETER PINDAR), *The Middlesex Election.* (1802)

7
Like a raging Indian . . . he runs a mucke (as they cal it there) stabbing every man he meets.
ANDREW MARVELL, *The Rehearsal Transposed,* i, 59. (1672)
I'm too discreet
To run amuck, and tilt at all I meet.
POPE, tr., *Horace: Satires,* ii, 1, 70. (1735)

8
[They] nede neither roune at rouers, nor liue in ley mens houses.
SIR THOMAS MORE, *Works* (1557), p. 228/2. (1528) To run at rovers, to follow wild courses.
His hart or mynde, whiche now runneth at rouers.
NICOLAS UDALL, *Terence,* fo. 191. (1533)
You run at random, shoot at rovers.
JOHN CLARKE, *Paroemiologia,* p. 228. (1639)
Running at rovers, having too much liberty.
J. O. HALLIWELL, *Dictionary: Rovers.* (1847)

9
He that runs in the night stumbles.
JOHN RAY, *English Proverbs,* p. 19. (1670)
He that runs in the dark, may well stumble.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 2271.(1732)

10
But yet I run before my horse to market.
SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III,* i, 1, 160. (1592) To run before one's horse to market is to count one's chickens before they are hatched.
Resolution without Deliberation . . . is like running before one's mare to market.
RICHARD KINGSTON, *Apophthegmata Curiosa,* p. 79. (1709)

11
He runs like a deer.
THOMAS SHELTON, tr., *Don Quixote.* Pt. ii, ch. 19. (1620)
The black lad . . . running like a deer.
HENRY KINGSLEY, *Geoffrey Hamlyn.* Ch. 40. (1859)

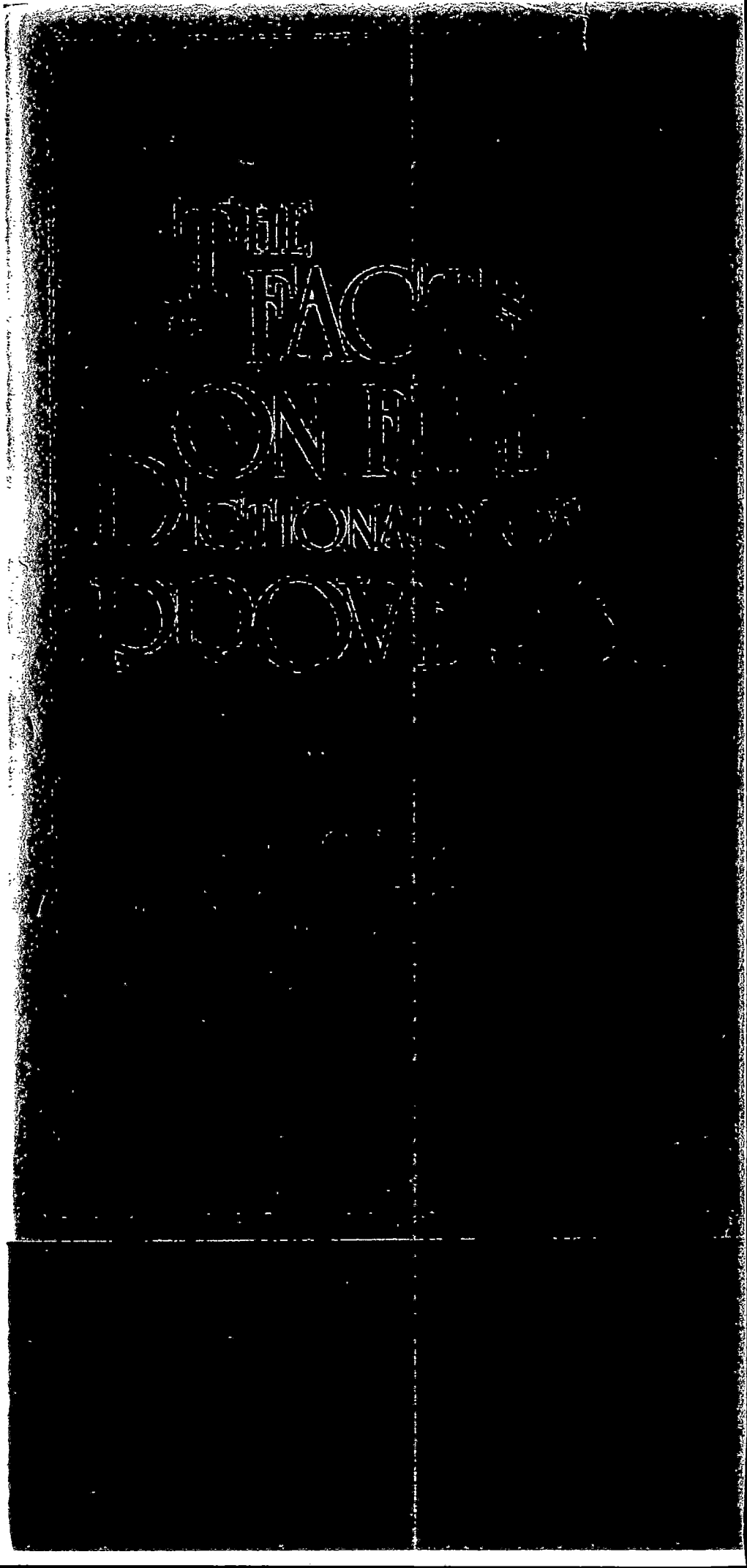
12
We fancy we've been making the running, and suddenly we find ourselves nowhere.
THACKERAY, *The Newcomes,* ii, 50. (1855)
Silence was not dear to the heart of the Honourable John, so he took up the running.
ANTHONY TROLLOPE, *Dr. Thorne.* Ch. 5. (1858)
Which quite put her out of the running.
KINGSLEY, *Water-Babies,* p. 31. (1863)
He doesn't count, does he? He is . . . out of the running.
W. E. NORRIS, *Adrian Vidal.* Ch. 21. (1885)

RUSSIA

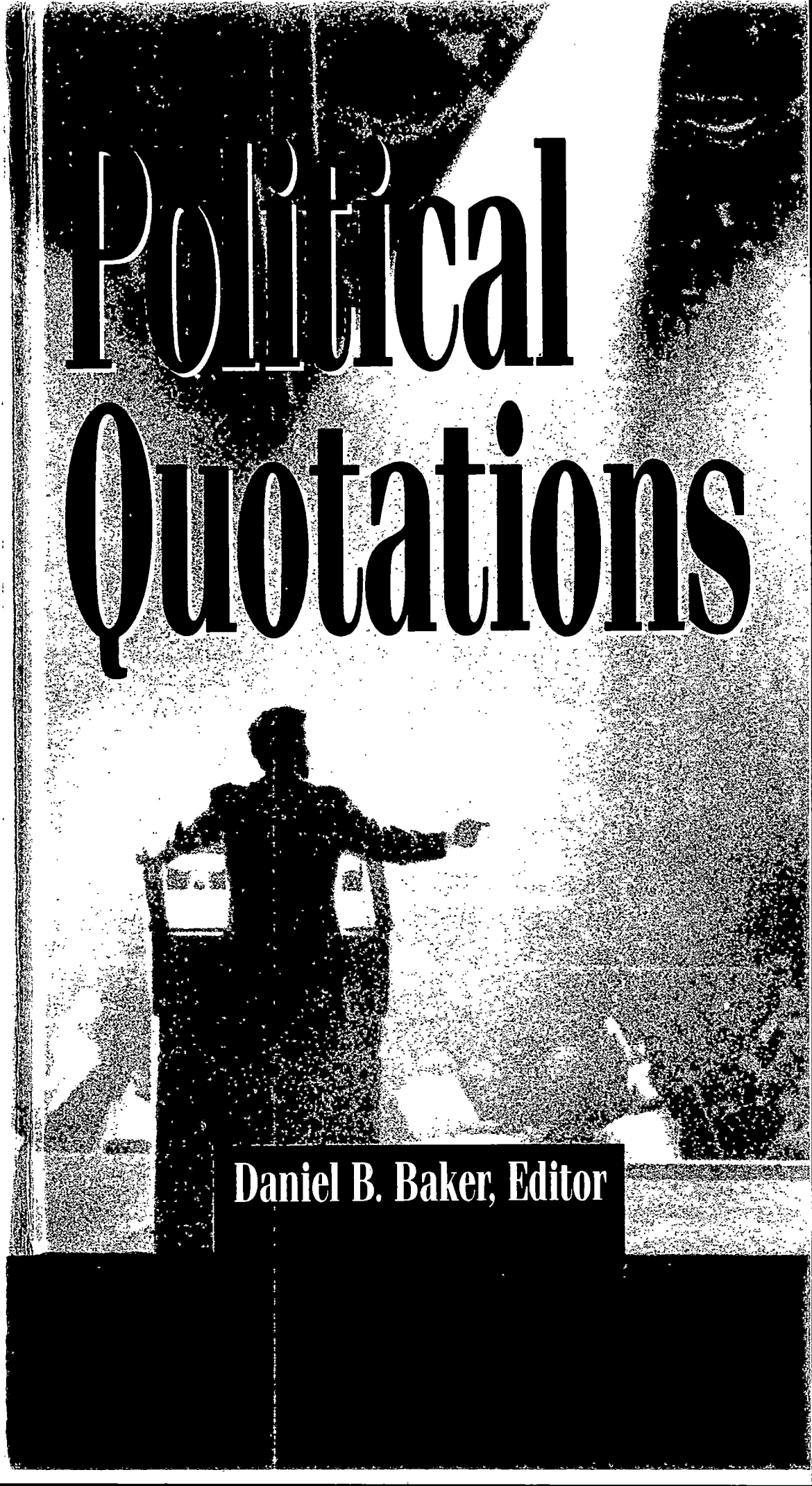
13
Scratch the Russian and you'll find the Tartar. (Grattez le russe et vous trouverez le tartare.)
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *Sayings at St. Helena.* (c. 1816) *See* HUGO, *Le Rhin: Conclusion,*vii.
Grattez le Russe et vous trouverez le Tartare. . . . It requires but little rubbing to disclose the Tartar blood so freely circulated through the Muscovite veins.
FREDERICK G. BURNABY, *A Ride to Khiva.* Ch. 9. (1876)
I don't put any faith in Russians. . . . "Scratch a Russian and you'll come to a Tartar."
MRS. OLIPHANT, *The Second Son.* Ch. 4. (1888)

14
Russia has two generals in whom she can confide—Generals Janvier and Février.
NICHOLAS I, *Remark.* Quoted with cartoon in *Punch,* 10 March, 1853. Two years later, 2 March, 1855, Nicholas died, and *Punch* printed another cartoon, showing Death standing at the Czar's head, and the caption, "General Février turns traitor."

15
Russia is always defeated but never beaten.
UNKNOWN, *The Spectator,* 26 April, 1913, p. 687. Quoted as a saying.



Political Quotations



Daniel B. Baker, Editor

ut it must be after a full, fair, and candid
use of Representatives, May 18, 1888

e must die. —Alexander Crummell, speech
ılo, New York, Nov 20, 1888

are, like the living tissue, always a-making.
e people: and we cannot escape the burden
Middletown, Connecticut, Apr 30, 1889

f the people by the people for the people.
", *Fortnightly Review*, Feb, 1891

ighest form of government: but because of
type nowhere at present existing. —Herbert

and we ought not to succeed unless we do
, letter to Andrew Carnegie, Jan 13, 1899

an the people. —William McKinley, speech

ent, and it has the obvious disadvantage of
William Ralph Inge, *Possible Recovery?*

nment as a set of principles. —Woodrow

able benevolent despot, what chance has
capable voters. —George Bernard Shaw,

etent many for appointment by the corrupt
tionists", *Man and Superman*, 1902

, you and I. —Theodore Roosevelt, speech

government; but it is also the most difficult.
gress, Dec 5, 1905

not in the least in the concentration of
able hands. It lies in having the power
held responsible to the people for its use.
e, easily reached, quickly held to account.
ongress, Dec 8, 1908

will soon cease to be great or a democracy.
Nov 5, 1910

by a great aristocracy which has furnished
ns; even a democrat like myself must admit
Nov 15, 1913

safeguard against ignorant tyrants: it is an
Valter Lippmann, "The Golden Rule and

rnment, because it is the form under which
to do anything in particular. —Woodrow

382. A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. —John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 1916

383. Only governments and not people initiate wars. ... Democracy, therefore, is the best preventive of such jealousies and suspicions and secret intrigues as produce wars among nations where small groups control rather than the great body of public opinion. —Woodrow Wilson, interview, Nov 5, 1916

384. Democracy is not a tearing-down; it is a building-up. ... It does not destroy; it fulfills. ... It is the alpha and omega of man's relation to man. ... Its foundation lays hold upon eternity. —Calvin Coolidge, speech in Springfield, Massachusetts, Jul 4, 1916

385. A democracy is a state which recognizes the subjection of the minority to the majority, that is, an organization for the systematic use of violence by one class against the other, by one part of the population against another. —Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *The State and the Revolution*, 1917

386. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty. —Woodrow Wilson, speech to Congress, Apr 2, 1917

387. No democracy has ever long survived the failure of its adherents to be ready to die for it. ... My own conviction is this, the people must either go on or go under. —David Lloyd George, 1st Earl Lloyd-George, speech in London, Jan 18, 1918

388. In the last analysis, my fellow countrymen, as we in America would be the first to claim, a people are responsible for the acts of their government. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Columbus, Ohio, Sep 4, 1919

389. Democracy is a form of government which may be rationally defended, not as being good, but as being less bad than any other. —William Ralph Inge, "Our Present Discontents", *Outspoken Essays: First Series*, 1919

390. It was the bitter experience of all public men from George Washington down that democracies are at least contemporarily fickle and heartless. —Herbert Hoover, in 1919 as quoted, *Memoirs*, 1952

391. Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard. —H.L. Mencken, "Sententiae", *A Book of Burlesques*, 1920

392. The most valuable of all human possessions, next to a superior and disdainful air, is the reputation of being well to do. Nothing else so neatly eases one's way through life, especially in democratic countries. —H.L. Mencken, *Prejudices: Third Series*, 1922

393. It would be folly to argue that the people cannot make political mistakes. They can and do make mistakes. But compared with the mistakes which have been made by every kind of autocracy they are unimportant. —Calvin Coolidge, speech in Evanston, Illinois, Jan 21, 1923

394. Americans ought ever be asking themselves about their concept of the ideal republic. —Warren G. Harding, speech in Kansas City, Missouri, Jun 22, 1923

395. Whatever democracy may be theoretically, one is sometimes tempted to define it practically as standardized and commercial melodrama. —Irving Babbitt, *Democracy and Leadership*, 1924

396. There is one thing better than good government, and that is government in which all people have a part. —Walter Hines Page, *Life and Letters*, 1922-25

397. It is evident that our whole political machinery pre-supposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can safely afford to bicker; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict. May it always be so. —Arthur Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour, introduction to Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, Nov, 1927

le generations. It throws civilization into
nerican people have any stomach for and
:. —Harry S Truman, quoted by William

win it. —Douglas MacArthur, speech to

uman mind can invent peace with justice.

dom to the weak or the timid. We must
purpose. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, first

d, every rocket fired signifies, in the final
those who are cold and are not clothed.
; spending the sweat of its labourers, the
–Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech to the
3

: death a "peace conference," you can be
new battleships and airplanes. —Joseph

./ And famine grew, and locusts came;/
scribbled name. —Dylan Thomas, "The
3

) heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.
1 20, 1953

-Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The New York*

: kindly said—namely that I inspired the
as it proved, unconquerable. It fell to me
l round the globe that had the lion's heart.
so hope that I sometimes suggested to the
1 S. Churchill, 80th birthday address to

struction. —Jawaharlal Nehru, *London*

eutenant leading a platoon when you are
l remarks, Mar 17, 1954

efore, it must be continued. [*La guerre*
nue.] —Charles De Gaulle, *Mémoires de*

d, we saw an entire city disappear. I wrote
—Capt. Robert Lewis, comments on 10th
9, 1955

my present chair who has not been raised
tanding of where slashes in their estimates
ppen while we still have the state of tension
at could happen in this country. —Dwight
1956

3888. You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge of war without getting into the war is the necessary art. —John Foster Dulles, *Life*, Jan 11, 1956

3889. Warfare, no matter what weapons it employs, is a means to an end, and if that end can be achieved by negotiated settlements of conditional surrender, there is no need for war. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

3890. If our air forces are never used, they have achieved their finest goal. —Gen. Nathan F. Twining, *The New York Times*, Mar 31, 1956

3891. Mr. Dulles has just frightened most of our allies to death with a statement that there is an art in actually threatening war and coming to the brink but retreating from the brink. —Eleanor Roosevelt, letter to Gus Ranis, Jan 23, 1956

3892. I have always been opposed even to the thought of fighting a "preventive war." There is nothing more foolish than to think that war can be stopped by war. You don't "prevent" anything by war except peace. —Harry S Truman, *Memoirs*, 1955-56

3893. If you live among dogs, keep a stick. After all, this is what a hound has teeth for—to bite when he feels like it! —Nikita S. Khrushchev, interview in Japanese newspaper, Jul 9, 1957

3894. The more bombers, the less room for doves of peace. —Nikita S. Khrushchev, speech on Moscow radio, Mar 14, 1958

3895. It is far more important to be able to hit the target than it is to haggle over who makes a weapon or who pulls a trigger. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, on unification of the three military services, Apr 17, 1958

3896. A general and a bit of shooting makes you forget your troubles ... it takes your mind off the cost of living. —Brendan Behan, *The Hostage*, 1958

3897. A government needs one hundred soldiers for every guerrilla it faces. —Fulgencio Batista, telephone interview, *El Caribe*, Jan 1, 1959

3898. I like to believe that people, in the long run, are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, radio and television broadcast, London, England, Aug 31, 1959

3899. The new and terrible dangers which man has created can only be controlled by man. —John F. Kennedy, speech at the Univ. of California, Nov 2, 1959

3900. Youth is the first victim of war; the first fruit of peace. It takes twenty years or more of peace to make a man; it takes only twenty seconds of war to destroy him. —Baudouin I, address to joint session of U.S. Congress, May 12, 1959

3901. It is an unfortunate fact that we can secure peace only by preparing for war. —John F. Kennedy, campaign speech in Seattle, Washington, Sep 6, 1960

3902. The major deterrent (to war) is in a man's mind. —Adm. Arleigh Burke, *US News & World Report*, Oct 3, 1960

3903. It would indeed be the ultimate tragedy if the history of the human race proved to be nothing more noble than the story of an ape playing with a box of matches on a petrol dump. —David Ormsby-Gore, *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct 25, 1960

3904. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, farewell address, Jan 17, 1961

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LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 55 STORIES

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WAYNES HUIZENGA'S GROWTH COMPLEX

BYLINE: BY RICHARD SANDOMIR; Richard Sandomir writes about television sports and sports business for The Times.

BODY:

On a mild winter's afternoon in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., H. Wayne Huizenga slams the door of his Mercedes and bounds into a video store on U.S. 1. The stocky, 53-year-old chairman of Blockbuster Entertainment Corporation is engaged in an unannounced inspection of a part of his empire, and he is not one for dawdling. In shirt sleeves, red tie swinging, he marches along the spotless blue-carpeted aisles under bright fluorescent lights. Every so often Huizenga

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stops -- to punch up a film preview on a television monitor or to ask the store manager about potato chip sales -- and then he soldiers on.

Along the way, the chairman allows that he himself watches films just twice a month and rarely ventures inside a movie house. That in turn reminds him of a former rival in video retailing who had a different attitude toward the product. "He felt it was his job to go to the movies every day in the middle of the afternoon," Huizenga says. "Then at night he'd watch two more. He couldn't understand why I didn't do the same thing."

Huizenga pauses a beat. "Well, we bought him out." Another pause, a chuckle, a steady gaze from ice-blue eyes. "He'd have done better if he stayed in the office."

Wayne Huizenga (it's pronounced HIGH-zing-a) tends to business. Since 1987, he has made Blockbuster the largest national video-store chain, with 1,582 company-owned and franchised stores last year. And Blockbuster is just the latest example of Huizenga's growth complex. He bought dozens of garbage haulers to create Waste Management, his first billion-dollar company. Another buying frenzy transformed a handful of his own holdings into a prosaic potpourri, including a portable-toilet rental business (Port-O-Let) and a lawn care company (Tru Green).

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At first glance, Huizenga's acquisitive ways may seem to be the only common denominator in a career that has caromed from garbage to videos. Not so. In virtually all cases, he has been attracted to companies that are part of a fragmented industry filled with small, undercapitalized operators. What he adds is a determination to cobble together a company with a national presence -- plus the capital and managerial muscle to make that happen.

Though Huizenga shows no great intellect or charisma in everyday conversation, those who have worked with him paint a different picture. In the business setting, they say, he is an irresistible force -- disciplined, demanding, inspired. J. Ronald Castell, Blockbuster's senior vice president of programming and communications, describes his boss as "a classic skip thinker. He takes your thoughts one step further and you have to work hard to catch up with him." Says Luigi Salvaneschi, a former president of Blockbuster: "Wayne creates discontent. He leaves you feeling what you've done isn't good enough, that you can do more -- quicker."

However they express the thought, Huizenga's associates point to the remarkable fit between his abilities and his expansionist goals as an entrepreneur. "Wayne's skills," says Dean L. Buntrock, a co-founder and the current chairman of Waste Management, "require a business ready for change."

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Huizenga has worked his changes on the video market and lately he has turned his restless energies in an unlikely new direction -- professional sports. Having bought 50 percent of Joe Robbie Stadium, as well as 15 percent of the home football team, the Miami Dolphins, he proceeded to organize and underwrite an all-out campaign to bring major league baseball to the stadium. Many a high-flying entrepreneur has been drawn by the glamour and excitement of big-time sports; not Huizenga. What attracted him, he says, was the stadium, itself: "It's an underutilized asset."

Wayne Huizenga's capacity for hard work was bred in the bone. His grandfather, born in the Netherlands, founded Huizenga & Sons, a Chicago garbage-hauling company, in 1894. Wayne's father, G. Harry Huizenga, was a cabinetmaker and house builder, and as a teenager Wayne was called upon to help out in his father's shop and to truck dirt from local construction sites. He was 15 when his family moved to Fort Lauderdale, where he played center on his high school football team. His parents were members of the Dutch Christian Reformed Church, and he remembers sneaking out of the house to see a movie or go dancing.

In 1955, Huizenga went back north and ran a bulldozer for two years before enrolling at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Mich. He left before his sophomore year, eventually finding his way back to Florida. Then a family friend persuaded him to manage his three-truck trash-hauling operation in Pompano Beach, and Huizenga was intrigued. First and foremost, it was a simple, basic business

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that required no elaborate training, had repeat customers and minimal overhead. When he had an opportunity to buy a garbage route of his own in 1962, he took it.

Each day Huizenga set out on his route at 2 A.M., picking up garbage and toting it to the dump until the early afternoon. Then he'd shower, dress up and spend the rest of the day calling on homeowners, supermarkets and retail stores, soliciting new business. As his accounts increased, he hired helpers and bought more trucks -- until he started buying other haulers. By 1969, his Southern Sanitation Service operated 20 trucks on routes in Fort Lauderdale, Miami, Tampa and Key West.

The year before, Southern Sanitation had joined with three Chicago-based companies -- Ace Partnership, Acme Disposal and Atlas Refuse Service -- to create Waste Management. For Huizenga, it was a kind of reunion: Both Ace and Atlas were successors to Huizenga & Sons, his grandfather's operation, and Ace was now run by Dean Buntrock, who had married one of Wayne Huizenga's cousins. In 1971 Waste Management went public at $16 a share.

The vision of a nationwide sanitation company had been Buntrock's. Huizenga was to be the deal maker, the grand acquisitor, though the intention was to proceed at a moderate pace. "We had a three-year plan," Huizenga says. "It

62

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called for selective acquisitions of people we knew." But the plan went out the window as the industry was roiled by a wave of buyouts. Browning-Ferris Industries was snapping up the small- to medium-sized haulers -- $3 million to $8 million companies -- that Waste Management craved.

So over a dazzling nine-month stretch in 1972, Huizenga and Buntrock bought 90 trash haulers, some with their own landfills. All too often, Huizenga recalls, he would eat each of the day's three meals in a different city. But it was during this frenzied time that he developed some of the key strategies and skills that he would later use to run his other companies.

The buyouts were made primarily with Waste Management stock, not debt: Huizenga and Buntrock preferred to dilute their ownership stakes rather than risk onerous interest payments that could bury the company in a downturn. And they generally kept the former owners on as managers, reasoning that if their companies were good enough to acquire, so was their expertise.

Early on, Buntrock had recognized the impact the environmental movement could have on their business, and Huizenga positioned the company to capitalize on the coming flood of Federal and state regulations governing solid and hazardous waste. The company also moved rapidly into international trash disposal and street cleaning.

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Then and now, Huizenga is quick to defend the waste disposal industry. An unpleasant business? "I liked it," he says. "It's not scrounging around in the garbage anymore." Mob-controlled? "That reputation," he says, "comes from your part of the country, up north." As it happened, Huizenga and Waste Management did have their share of legal problems.

Accusations ranging from illegal dumping to price fixing to mob connections to bribery were leveled against the company by many states and cities, and a number of fines resulted. A Georgia subsidiary, for example, was fined $375,000 for conspiring to violate Federal monopoly laws. Last November, the company paid $19.5 million to settle class-action suits filed in Philadelphia that accused Waste of price fixing between 1978 and 1987. Waste Management -- now a $6 billion company -- remains under attack by environmental groups and government agencies for alleged violations. In 1976, Huizenga himself signed a consent decree -- without admitting guilt -- on charges by the Securities and Exchange Commission that the company had made improper political contributions in Florida.

By 1980, Huizenga was ready to move along. He was commuting weekly from company headquarters in Oak Brook, Ill., to Fort Lauderdale to be with his second wife, Marti, a former secretary at Southern Sanitation. (The family includes two sons from his first marriage, and a son and a daughter from

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hers.) Weary of being office-bound, he found himself living vicariously through his managers. "These guys would come back from the field," he says, "and I'd ask, 'What did you do? How did things go?' You think to yourself, I wish I was there."

When Huizenga stepped down as vice chairman in 1984 and the Fort Lauderdale-to-Oak Brook shuttle finally ended, he considered retiring from business altogether. "A frightening thought," says Marti Huizenga. "It lasted five weeks."

The notion that Huizenga could remove himself from the world of business was not credible. He is totally devoted to the chase. Seated at the cluttered desk in his headquarters -- a rented, two-story stucco building in downtown Lauderdale -- he defines his goals in a typically simple fashion: "I enjoy building something good and having a successful product and making money."

Everything else is trappings, and Huizenga is not interested. His office is decked out with scratched furniture and framed Audubon bird prints, acquired at an auction of the assets of South Florida Savings; the furnishings serve as a constant reminder that he lost his $1 million investment in the thrift when it became insolvent. Lunch is a turkey-on-croissant with potato chips at the desk. The only symbols of power are a framed 50th birthday greeting from then-Vice

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(c) 1991 The New York Times, June 9, 1991

President George Bush and photographs of Huizenga with Bush and former President Gerald R. Ford. A Republican fund-raiser, Huizenga has hosted dinners for Vice President Dan Quayle and other party stalwarts.

Huizenga's small features and sober mien invite comparisons with British actor Donald Pleasence. He sits with his arms folded, seemingly unflappable; only his eyes suggest banked fires. When Huizenga is upset, says one associate, his eyes become "very purposeful" and several other aides describe them as "Wayne's lasers."

In 1983, Huizenga had formed a holding company called Waco Leasing (later renamed Huizenga Holdings because people pronounced it "Wack-o"). Borrowing against his Waste Management stock (he is still the largest individual share holder), he began buying small businesses and then tapping their cash flow to pursue more businesses. Over a frenetic three years he acquired more than 100 companies that provided such services as auto-parts cleaning, dry cleaning, lawn care and portable toilet rentals.

The Huizenga formula was apparent. Despite the seeming variety, each company satisfied his criteria: a pedestrian service business, with a steady cash flow, in an industry of under-capitalized mom-and-pop companies ripe for consolidation.

(c) 1991 The New York Times, June 9, 1991

Huizenga methodically shopped until he found the right set of circumstances, and then he pounced. He was attracted to bottled water, and he purchased a company in the industry that was grossing about $4,000 a month; before he was done, he had acquired 16 more bottlers.

As he built up his list of companies, Huizenga also made substantial investments in commercial buildings, shopping centers and undeveloped Florida acreage. By the end of 1986, he says, his collection of prosaic businesses had annual revenues of $100 million. And he would soon spot his next great opportunity.

Just a year earlier, a 34-year-old Texas entrepreneur named David P. Cook had set up the first Blockbuster video store. It was built on the premise that consumers were unhappy with the usual mom-and-pop video store's selection, often limited to current hit titles, and their short hours; dissatisfied with the nondescript ambiance of the stores; tired of having to bring empty video boxes to a clerk who would then have to find the appropriate tapes -- assuming they were still in stock.

To meet these objections, Cook developed the video superstore concept that remains to this day the heart of the Blockbuster approach. The typical store is spacious, a brightly lit 6,000-square-foot browser's feast, with a minimum of

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Business Remarks

TALKING POINTS
on the New Independent States
for Incorporation into
the President's Remarks to the U.S.-Russia Business Summit

-- President Yeltsin, Secretary Franklin, ladies and gentlemen: I want to welcome you to the U.S.-Russia Business Summit, a very important component of the new relationship between the United States and Russia. This business summit is unprecedented, and shows that business and trade are at the forefront of our bilateral relations.

- The transformation of Russia and the other former Soviet republics to market economies and to democratic governments is the most important challenge of our time. The initiatives in the Freedom Support Act I submitted to Congress on April 1st spearhead our effort, and we are working closely with other nations in a combined effort.

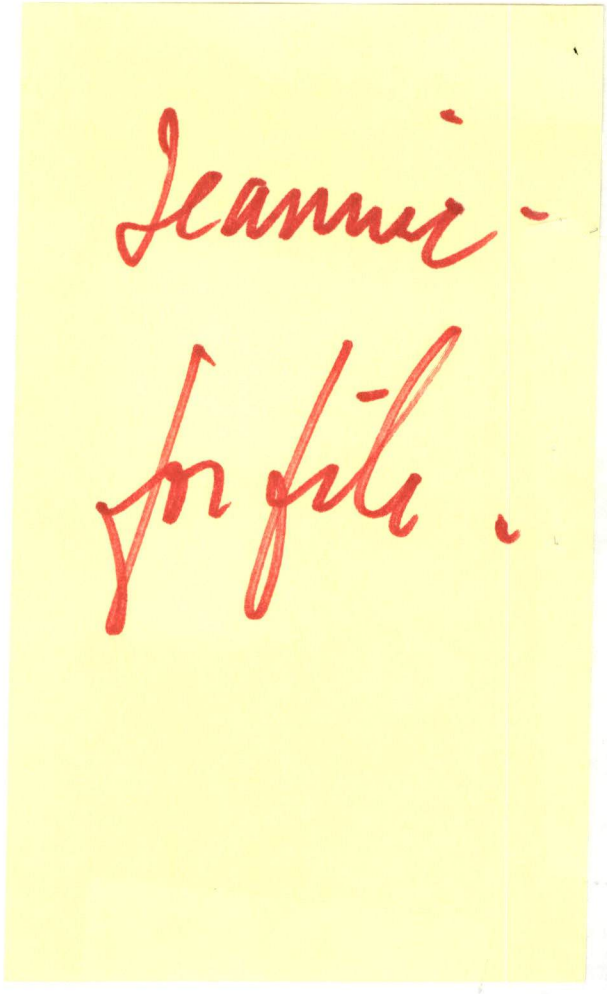
- But neither U.S. government programs nor multilateral assistance will be enough. Business participation in the economies of Russia and the other new states -- and particularly American business participation -- on a vast scale is the only way to get the job done.

- The ingenuity and know-how of American business can and will help transform Russia and the other new states into market economies. President Yeltsin, I want to tell you that America's goal is to become Russia's largest and best trading partner and to become Russia's largest foreign investor.

- My Administration is taking far-reaching steps to lay the groundwork for business. We are dismantling the trade barriers of the cold war. We have repealed restrictions on export financing. We have extended investment guarantee programs, are ready to implement a trade agreement, and are ready to conclude an investment agreement.

-- We are welcoming Russia and the other new states into the community of international economic organizations. Russia just entered the International Monetary Fund and we are looking forward to the day when Russia and the other new states will become members of GATT.

-- And, in a step we would have found unthinkable even a year ago, we plan to invite Russia and other states pursuing reform to join with COCOM members in a new informal COCOM Cooperation Forum. The forum will provide significantly wider access by these countries to goods that otherwise would remain denied.


Jeanne-
Jo file.

- I have asked Secretary of Commerce Barbara Franklin to take the lead in my Administration in building trade and investment with Russia and the other new states and to take steps in building bilateral business as rapidly as possible.

- Just yesterday, she and Russian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Aven held the first meeting of the intergovernmental Business Development Committee, to begin eliminating obstacles to trade and investment and clear the way for business. She also opened a new Business Information Center to advise American companies on trade and investment opportunities in Russia and the other states. She will be leading a series of trade missions to get U.S. business moving all over Russia.

- Business has already started growing. American manufactured goods exports to Russia and the other new states have grown by 40 percent in the last year. And this is just the beginning of what will become one of the most important two-way trading relationships in the world.

- This historic business summit, bringing together leading Russian and American firms to begin doing business, is a key part of that effort. This afternoon, in the industry sector meetings, I hope that ideas will be generated that will lead to billions of dollars of business.

WHAT STYMIES CONCLUSION OF NEW DEALS WITH RUSSIA AND THREATENS EXISTING JOINT VENTURES

Examples from American Business Experience

Commerce

Will Russia Honor USSR's Contracts

-- Russian ministries slow to provide reconfirmation for operating joint ventures (JV's) in Russia which were authorized by USSR. Western banks require such reconfirmation to extend credits needed for operations.

-- Operating JV has rights to work and improve 3 Russian oil fields. JV approved by USSR Council of Ministers and registered in USSR. Now local authorities claiming authority over one of three sites. Lack of certainty jeopardizes development of this site.

Lack of Contract Sanctity and Legal Recourse

-- Project declared "not expedient" after an American company transferred its technology in a ten-year licensing agreement to be repaid over 10 years. U.S. company received first payment; brought Russian technicians to U.S., shared its technology; now further payments and project stopped. No recourse under Russian legal system.

-- Company has $250 million contract to supply steel pipe for the oil industry; Russians want to pay in oil, but not for 2 or 3 years. What assurance does the company have that commitment to payment in product will be honored? There is no legal recourse if its contract isn't honored.

Lack of Clear Decision Authority: Who's in Charge

-- Company negotiating major project; Moscow says great; regional authority drags its feet; have to get to top (Yeltsin, Gaidar) to get decisions.

-- Negotiations far along; key minister is fired; start over.

-- American firm's computer, destined for oil exploration organization, sitting on dock in Germany for 5 months awaiting decision on release of payment.

Taxes Upon Taxes

-- Single biggest problem. No tax policy. Companies can't plan because tax rates keep changing, new taxes keep being added with no notice.

-- 60 percent personal income tax on foreigners: established JV's about to pull non-Russian personnel out from Russia.

-- Export taxes of 40 percent and more imposed. Then payment changed from 60 days after lading to payment before goods leave Russia. Suddenly without notice new $3.50 per ton loading fee payable in advance imposed. JV has $9 million in oil sitting on dock and ship in port waiting for tax/loading payments to be sorted out.

Hard Currency Charges/Frozen Assets/Uncertainty

-- Company's arrangement to hire 100 Russian scientists almost derailed by requirement that Russian organizations turn over 40 percent of hard currency earnings to government.

-- Hard currency assets of many companies and their customers frozen. Companies' operations hampered by inability to access funds they legitimately earned.

-- Companies are earning rubles; uncertain whether and under what conditions will be able to convert them when ruble becomes convertible. Uncertainty inhibits initiatives.

WHAT WOULD HELP

INVESTMENT OMBUDSMAN OR VICE PRESIDENT FOR DEVELOPMENT:
Someone who could resolve who's in charge, what laws apply, speed up decisions.

ALLOW BINDING INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION IN RUSSIA:
To provide recourse in case of problems, disputes, damages until Russia develops a body of commercial law and a court system for recourse, an international arbitration body should be allowed to establish branches in Russia and its decisions should be binding on companies and governments.

GRANDFATHER CONTRACTS AND TAX REGIMES:
Investor confidence and investments would be increased if contracts and tax regimes under which investments were established were grandfathered and guaranteed.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 5, 1992

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Public Statements for the State Visit of Russian President Yeltsin

Draft public statements are attached for the President's use during Yeltsin's State Visit June 16-17, 1992.

W. Robert Pearson
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

Tab 1 - Arrival statement.
Tab 2 - Toast for White House dinner.
Tab 3 - Toast for Russian dinner.

UNCLASSIFIED

THE PRESIDENT'S DRAFT ARRIVAL STATEMENT

FOR THE VISIT OF BORIS YELTSIN

PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

It is with great pleasure today that I welcome the President of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, to the United States. Your visit here, President Yeltsin, is a monumental occasion. It is the first state visit to our country of the leader of a democratic Russia. It is a visit that signifies the growing partnership that is developing between the United States and Russia. This is a partnership based not just on common interests -- such as greater global security and economic prosperity -- but above all common values -- such as democracy, respect for human rights, and economic freedom.

Together, America and a democratic Russia can work to build a new and enduring peace between our peoples -- a democratic peace. Such a peace will be founded on the twin pillars of political and economic freedom. It will be a genuine peace -- a peace that endures because it flows from a common philosophy and way of life: freedom.

Mr. President, the American people have observed your sincere and courageous commitment to establishing democracy and free market economics in Russia with great respect. We saw how

tens of millions of Russians cast ballots last June to vote for your vision of a democratic Russia and chose you as the first popularly elected leader in Russia's history. We watched as you stood on a tank in Moscow last August and defied the forces of totalitarianism. Now, we stand with you in support of the reforms you are pursuing at home. We welcome Russia into the community of nations built on democracy and economic freedom for all.

Our meeting this week, Mr. President, is more than a meeting between the leaders of two great countries. It also represents a meeting of the American and Russian peoples. We are removing the atavistic political and ideological barriers that kept our people apart for the last several decades, and in doing so finding that we have much in common. The pioneer spirit is strong in both Russians and Americans. We also share the desire to reach out and work with people of other lands and cultures. Already we have seen, that with the end of the Cold War, the level of contact between our peoples has grown tremendously. We are studying each other's language, exchanging our students and scholars, and creating joint business ventures like never before. Openness is the new by-word in our relationship, and it allows us to build helpful and lasting ties that will promote the mutual well-being of our peoples.

Mr. President, we are forging this partnership during a time that presents us with great opportunities and great challenges. Now that Russia and Eastern Europe have discarded

the communist experiment, we have the opportunity to work together with our allies in securing an enduring democratic peace. We can pursue further reductions in our strategic arsenals, accelerate the safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear weapons, and cooperate in preventing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time we can also turn our attention to new areas of post-Cold War cooperation -- in halting international drug-trafficking, countering terrorism, and forestalling environmental decline.

As you spend time in our country these next few days, Mr. President, you will find that the American people have an extremely high level of interest in what is happening in Russia. You will also find here an almost universal hope for the success of the democratic transition taking place in Russia. There is no shortage of commitment here to working with the Russian people and their democratic leaders in building a durable partnership with Russia. We welcome Russia as a partner, and we welcome you and Mrs. Yeltsin as our guests.

DRAFT TOAST FOR YELTSIN STATE DINNER

President Yeltsin, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. Tonight we celebrate the triumph of an idea -- rule by the people, of the people and for the people -- and of the end of tyranny in a great nation. The American people stand united in admiration for the courageous leadership you have shown, Mr. President, in securing the twin blessings of political and economic freedom for the people of Russia. We will never forget how you faced down the forces of reaction last August, and have seen over and over since then your personal courage and commitment to freedom -- and we salute you.

Thanks to the changes you are bringing to Russia, Mr. President, we are redefining how our peoples deal with each other. This is now the challenge: to shape a new era of partnership between our two great nations. Our peoples have demonstrated their shared commitment to protect and advance freedom. Now, with our agreement on Open Lands, normal contacts between American and Russians will never again be constrained by mutual fear, closed areas, or bureaucratic obstruction.

Already, we are seeing results from our new partnership. Less than two months after the final collapse of the Soviet Union, Americans were on the ground, actively involved in our partnership to help you meet humanitarian needs. It has become an every day event for American experts and their Russian counterparts to work together on problems as diverse as the protection of fisheries, the safety of nuclear power plants and the latest techniques for heart operations for sick children.

The American people have enormous respect and admiration for the Russian people, whose struggle to be free of the suffocating burden of communism you personify, Mr. President. They recognize the kindred spirit of a continental nation willing to work hard to build a better life for future generations and one that knows the value of a freedom bought and maintained at great cost. To support Russia's efforts, the United States will continue to do all we can to expand and normalize the opportunities for contacts between our peoples, that we might learn from and assist one another.

And so I raise my glass, in expectation of a grand future, to the people of the Russian Federation and the United States: may a new spirit of trust and friendship bring about our fondest wishes for the peace and prosperity of both our great peoples.

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT RUSSIAN DINNER

Thank you, Mr. President, Mrs. Yeltsin, Ambassador and Mrs. Lukin and all our Russian hosts, for this magnificent dinner. The hospitality of the Russian people is well known, and this dinner has been to us a particularly warm, heartfelt example of that tradition. Tradition is a value that we in America hold very dear. But, we also stand for progress, just as you represent the progress that has taken place in Russian society in the past ten months.

These twin concepts, tradition and progress, mark the accomplishments of our meetings yesterday and today. The Washington Charter for Russian-American Partnership and Friendship represents a dramatic stride forward in the way our governments conduct their relations and provides a foundation for us to build on as we continue to develop our new tradition of friendship and cooperation between all the citizens of Russia and the United States of America.

Our new cooperation is also manifested in the economic agreements signed this afternoon. They will create in Russia a healthy climate for the private-sector investment that will be so vital in rebuilding the Russian economy.

The progress we have made has allowed the creation of a new structure for peace and security that spans the globe from Vancouver to Vladivostok. Expanding our military cooperation, including expanding military-to-military ties, creates another way for our people to know each other better, create new traditions and eliminate the old fears. Nothing demonstrates better just how much those fears have dissolved than the agreements we have reached on further reductions in strategic offensive arms, on eliminating nuclear warheads and chemical weapons, and on cooperation in ballistic missile early warning and defense.

Mr. President, you and I have been blessed with countries with enormous natural resources and tremendously talented people. I ask you to join with me in a toast to the people of the Russian Federation, and to continuing progress and the bright prospects for creating new traditions between the people of Russia and the United States.

3½ pages

THEMES FOR GB REMARKS: YELTSIN VISIT

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

(Note: These are important remarks because they will draw maximum public exposure and set the tone for the visit. They should be fairly dramatic and far-reaching, and set out a vision for our future with Russia. Should also be broad and thematic.)

1) -Welcome--first State visit of President of an independent Russia;

-New relationship and a new kind of summit--a meeting of friends and partners, and not of adversaries;

-Friends and partners who share common interests, and common values;

2) -Homage to Yeltsin: Strong U.S. support for courageous and visionary leader;

-Like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia itself and Russia's role in the world;

-Emphasize Yeltsin as democratic leader with political legitimacy;

3) -New Russian revolution presents opportunity for a democratic peace in Europe and lasting security for the American and Russian peoples;

-Yeltsin arrives at a critical time: the ~~third~~ chance this century for a lasting peace in Europe--U.S. will work to make this one succeed by a policy of active engagement and support;

-This summit a pivotal event in century--two greatest powers working together as friends, partners, to secure the peace:

--With USSR's demise and Russia's ascendency, we have already reduced threat of nuclear and conventional war that hung over us for forty years

--This is an awesome achievement that benefits every American and every Russian

--Our challenge together is to forge a peace that will lead us into a new era in the next century--a permanent peace between the two most powerful countries.

--Over next two days, will discuss possibility of new agreements to reduce radically levels on both sides; new levels of mil. cooperation to permanently reduce risk of war;

--Will also discuss new economic relationship--expanded American business ties to help Russia integrate into world economic system; G-7 package of support for Russia's reforms; Freedom Support Act;

5) -End with de Toqueville prophecy

-American people want peace with Russia. We respect the Russian people and welcome them as partners.

STATE DINNER TOAST

(Note: We would like to focus these remarks on the bilateral relationship--and the importance of expanding ties between the American and Russian people)

1) -Emphasize point about new kind of summit, contrast with past; meeting of friend and partners, but not of adversaries; common agenda and common values;

2) -Importance of reform in Russia to the U.S.

-Security: threat of nuclear war and conventional war in Europe has declined dramatically--the world is a safer place for Americans and Russians. Need now to pursue even stronger security ties and cooperation; in Space Cooperation, non-proliferation, denuclearization;

-Economic: Need to grow closer together, expand private sector ties, and pursue goal of supporting market reforms in Russia; U.S. will continue humanitarian and technical assistance;

-Societal: Changes should lead to greater level of exchanges between Russians and Americans. Cold War separated us; we now need to know each other better in order to work effectively together. GB could call for private sector and universities to bring thousands of Russian students here.

--Also refer to the Open Lands agreement--for the first time, our officials and private citizens will be able to travel freely in each others' countries; and to our aim of establishing an American management institute in Vladivostock.

3) -More kind words for Yeltsin

ADDRESS TO U.S.-RUSSIA BUSINESS CONFERENCE

(Note: These should be ten-minute remarks. Audience will be several hundred American and Russian business leaders. Focus should be on the economic agenda, specifically on expansion of trade and investment opportunities. Yeltsin will follow President to podium.)

1) -Welcome business leaders on both sides. Special reference to Sec. Franklin.

-Private sector is key to challenge of helping Russia reform--to integrate Russia into the western system, and help produce growth and trade.

-To succeed, Russia will require billions in capital and technologies over the next decade--those funds will come, not from governments, but from private businesses.

2) -U.S. therefore committed to laying foundation for a much greater level of trade and investment:

-Key elements of new foundation: Trade, BIT and Tax treaties, new OPIC and EXIM programs, Freedom Support Act which clears away all barriers to trade from U.S. side;

-GB should encourage American firms to work from this foundation to invest and trade;

3) -GB should also call upon Russia to improve investment conditions for American firms:

--lower barriers to trade, keep taxes manageable;

--Refer to creation of Business Development Committee and participation of our private sector;

--U.S. willing to meet halfway through creation of COCOM Cooperation Forum;

4) -Need for creative, energetic response and call for massive U.S. investment--unusual circumstances call for an unusual approach.

RETURN DINNER TOAST

--Focus on democracy in Russia

-homage to the reformers--mention Solzhenitsyn, Lukin, Gaydar

-Praise for Yeltsin's stewardship of reform on political and economic front--how he handled the Congress and respected role and rights of Parliament--rule of law and not of people;

-Support for market reform--prosperous, free economy best guarantor of democracy.

RESEARCH FOR THE SOVIET UNION TRIP by, Carol

Eric Johnson, Library of Congress (202-707-9490)
He just spent a month in the Baltics, and two weeks in Moscow.

McDonald's in Moscow serves 50,000 meals a day; easily the busiest restaurant in the world. The wait in line has been reduced from four hours to 40 minutes. The employees are young teenagers who are polite and responsible. The service is amazingly efficient and friendly. They greet all customers with a hello and a smile. Working at McDonald's teaches them about efficiency, responsibility, and cleanliness. The windows, floors, and counters are constantly being cleaned. It has been said that the hardest job in the Soviet Union is to work at McDonald's. The interior of the restaurant is one of the most beautiful sights in Moscow.

Music big shots include Madonna and Michael Jackson. Madonna is, by far, the most popular. Her records, posters, and videos are found everywhere.

Television news in Estonia consists of Miami Vice and Dallas. CNN airs for free for 2 hours every day in Latvia. There is CNN for free sparingly in Moscow, too, although it is mostly illegal bootleg airings.

Entertainment television in Moscow -- Disney's "Duck Tales" is the hottest thing right now. Disney made an agreement with the Soviet Union to give them 80 free episodes. The show airs every Sunday, and is the most popular show with children and adults alike. Mickey Mouse is not as big. There is a lot of Mickey paraphernalia that is illegally produced; he's just not a very big deal anymore. The European edition of MTV is fairly widespread.

Movie industry favorites include Ah-nold and Sylvester Stallone. That's it. They are the two hottest stars in the Soviet Union. Never before have they had action adventure films with quite the special effects as these movies have. Rambo is a favorite. Citizens buy bootleg posters and videos all the time. Batman is another big movie, as well as any slasher/horror films (e.g. Freddy Krueger, Jason, etc.). The only female movie actress that is a big deal is Marilyn Monroe. There are posters of her to purchase; she's not really popular, but she's really the most-mentioned. They mention Meryl Streep and Michelle Pfeiffer, but not with as much publicity as they have in America.

Gossip does not have the appeal as it does here in the states. Magazines like People do not exist in the public domain, because the Soviets just aren't interested in what's behind the stories of their home-grown stars. They'd rather find out the behind-the-scenes stuff about Arnold and Stallone.

Magazines such as older issues of Time and Newsweek can be found in the kiosks, but not with much regularity. There is a magazine out called Moscow Magazine. It is equivalent to Washingtonian. It is a Dutch-Soviet venture that is staffed by Americans. It is printed in English, and just gives a general gist of what to do, where to go, what's hot/what's not in Moscow.

From Dierdre Solomon, Soviet Studies
Fiance in Soviet Union, roommate just came over a month ago. (212)262-1501

Soviets are very envious of Americans travelling in Moscow because Americans and other foreigners can carry around hard cash and go into the stores and buy whatever they want. Soviet citizens can barely afford McDonald's and Pizza Hut, unless their income comes from the black market. They sometimes save for months and months just to have one meal in Pizza Hut or McDonald's.

Soviets tend to produce movies of a gentle nature. They enjoy comedies, and don't watch too many sexy movies. When Didi was there a few months ago, "Tango and Cash" was a big hit. All her friends had bootleg videos of that and other movies. The videos of movies and MTV are shown all over clubs in Moscow.

From Alfredo Duarte, Asst. Dir. of Soviet Media, Emery University
(404)420-5151

Program One is the largest Soviet network, covering 90% of Soviet territory. "Vremya" ["Time"] is the most-watched evening newscast. It is produced by State Radio and TV Broadcasting Co. It is watched by 90% of those with televisions in the Soviet Union -- nearly 200 million watch it every night. It airs at 9 p.m. Moscow time. The program is authoritative and influential, as it reflects the views of the executive branch.

American movies, especially the shoot-em-up knock-em-down variety are a big hit in Moscow. Their entertainment broadcasting consists more of American movies than television.

American television has been seen more frequently recently in Moscow. For the Fourth of July, Soviets were treated to an entire week of American television programming. They were shown such shows as Dallas and the Flintstones. FYI -- in Russian, Fred says, "Yee-bee-dee-beep-doop!!!" TBS last year gave them some programming, including commercials, such as the Winn-Dixie commercial with dancing vegetables.

The most popular radio station is Moscow Echo. It is very critical and well-received.

American-style game shows have been attempted. There is a show called "Field of Miracles -- Capital Show" that is a version of "Wheel of Fortune". I wonder if the audience gets to chant in the beginning of it... "Field.... of.... Miracles!!! Look at this showroom full of fabulous prizes...a loaf of bread, a stick of butter..." There is also a big-budget production of a show called "Lucky Chance". It's a combo of Trivial Pursuit and Family Feud. It's basically families on teams for Trivial Pursuit.

President Bush is mentioned in the news nearly every night. Everything he does that is related to American foreign policy, pertaining to the Soviet Union as well as other countries, makes the news. He is treated extremely well by the Soviet press.

As for **news shows**, the most popular is on Russian TV, by the Russian Network, RTR, called "Vesti" [an old Russian word for "news"]. It is by far the best news program. It is 15 minutes in length, and airs twice a day. It is fast-paced and critical. Its broadcasts are often very opinionated about central government.

There are no **magazines** as personality-centered as is People. Although Soviets enjoy reading about American celebrities, they've discovered because of glasnost, it's open season on everyone. They're much more interested now in finding out the dirt about their more home-centered issues.

FUN FACT -- When Program One first broadcasted sessions of Parliament, people actually stayed home from work just to watch it. Production went down nearly 20%. Eventually they stopped broadcasting live, taped it, and showed it after work hours.

Since January, 1991, Program One has been changing from a primarily public affairs format, to a more entertainment format. The government sees television as an electronic pacifier.

Fred Starr, author, music expert, Oberlin College President
(on sabbatical until February)
(216)775-8400

In the early years after the war, when the United States and the Soviet Union were at the point of the worst relations (1945-53), it is most interesting that the music from a film called "Sun Valley Serenade" was being played all over the country. The Red Army Band even played the Glen Miller hits from the film. At the same time in the United States, Americans were being treated to the music of Prokofiev and Shostakovich.

The American-Soviet Youth Orchestra is something that everyone at a state dinner would be aware of. It is the first thing that Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev -- both honorary chairmen -- collaborated on. It has been in operation for the past three years.

There is an old Russian custom that when you are getting ready to go on a long journey, you sit down for a quiet moment and pray. The President and Gorbachev have come a long way in their relations, and they have a journey ahead of them. This is a time to be thankful and pray for guidance for the trip ahead.

The Bride's Book of Etiquette
(sorry I couldn't resist)

At Russian weddings, guests give gifts to the couple, and the guests receive gifts in return -- gifts like little trinkets, picture frames, or something representing the family heritage. This handy fact has been provided in case any of you get invited to a Russian wedding.

Chekhov

"We shall find peace. We shall hear the angels, we shall see the sky sparkling with diamonds."

"To Moscow, to Moscow, to Moscow!"

"All Russia is our orchard."

"People don't notice whether it's winter or summer when they're happy. If I lived in Moscow I don't think I'd care what the weather was like."

"Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he's been given."

"Man is what he believes."

Theodore Roosevelt

"Russia's sufferings have been sore, but it is not possible to overestimate Russia's tremendous tenacity of purpose and power or endurance." -- 1916

Irene Thompson, Director of Slavic Studies, GWU
202-994-7081

Some sayings and proverbs:

"You can't tie a knot with one hand."

"One who sows peace reaps happiness."

"Faith will keep us strong."

"Faith will move mountains."

"There is no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship."

Toasts:

"Za mir!" -- "To peace!"

"Za budushcheye nashikh narodov!" -- "To the future of our countries!"

Etiquette Hints: (she really did send me a list -- here are some of the better ones)

-- Russians talk louder than Americans.
-- Russians may switch topics without warning in a conversation.
-- Do not put feet up on furniture.
-- For the ladies; do not cross your legs. Cross only as high as the ankles.
-- Russians are known to be heavy drinkers. Americans are no match. Don't try to keep up!
-- Russians do not appreciate being slapped on the back, on the shoulder, or being hugged in public. They don't know how to react.
-- If Russians look poker-faced to you, don't think they are unhappy or being unfriendly. Russians simply smile less than Americans, especially when dealing with people they do not know well.

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HEADLINE: Vows of Friendship;
Bush, Yeltsin to trade visits, set new talks on arms

BYLINE: By Saul Friedman. WASHINGTON BUREAU

DATELINE: Washington

KEYWORD: GEORGE BUSH; BORIS YELTSIN; GOVERNMENT; NUCLEAR; WEAPONS; ARMS CONTROL; PROPOSED; COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES; SUMMIT MEETING; STATISTICS; UNITED STATES

BODY:

Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin, meeting yesterday in the wintry sun at Camp David, declared themselves friends and allies "in a new era" and pledged to exchange summits this year in each other's country.

The two presidents, meeting at Bush's Maryland retreat in direct talks for the first time since the fall of the Soviet Union, signed the Camp David Declaration on New Relations, which said that "Russia and the United States do not regard each other as potential adversaries. From now on their relationship will be characterized by friendship and partnership, founded on mutual trust and respect and a common commitment to democracy and economic freedom."

They also declared, "We will work to remove any remnants of Cold War hostility, including taking steps to reduce our strategic arsenals," promote free trade and economic cooperation and support as allies "our shared values of democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, including minority rights, respect for borders and peaceful change around the globe."

They repeated such vows as they met with reporters. Bush said the first summit would take place in Washington in the spring, with the second late in the year in Russia, possibly after the November election.

Asked whether the remaking of the old Soviet Union into the new Commonwealth of Independent States would succeed, Yeltsin said, "You can't forget that the commonwealth is only 2 months old. This is still a baby in diapers. You've got to take care of it; you've got to handle it carefully so you don't drop it."

Bush and Yeltsin, who is making his international debut as the most powerful leader of the new commonwealth, sidestepped the differences in their proposals to reduce the American and Russian strategic nuclear arsenals and Yeltsin's offer to change the targeting of each side's long-range missiles.

Those issues were left to a new, detailed set of negotiations that are to begin in two weeks, when Secretary of State James A. Baker visits Russia and

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other former Soviet Republics, where hundreds of the missiles remain deployed.

Bush noted that yesterday's three-hour discussion was the first such session between an American chief executive and the elected president of an independent Russia, saying that their "historic meeting was yet another confirmation of the end of the Cold War and the dawn of a new era."

Yeltsin said he was "very grateful to my friend George," adding that "today one might say that there has been written and drawn a new line, and crossed out all of the things that have been associated with the Cold War."

Even as Bush hailed Yeltsin's courage and his "total" commitment to democratic reform, he demonstrated a difficulty in adjusting to the new world order, referring three times to the new commonwealth and to Russia as "the Soviet Union."

The two men had been political adversaries when Bush sought to support then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Yeltsin sought the demise of the old Soviet system and radical reform, but at Camp David they sought to establish a personal relationship, said a senior official who asked not to be named.

Bush said his "respect" for Yeltsin had become " friendship. " He added, "I have a very warm feeling in my heart about what he has done and is trying to do. And I consider him my friend. "

Yeltsin laid it on even thicker. "I consider that I was very lucky in life," he said, "but as a political person and just as a man, to have met George Bush . . . I'm just tremendously impressed by his wisdom. I think he has incredible qualities . . . as a person, as a really great political figure of the United States."

Bush, who has declared victory in the Cold War, was "in a listening mode," the official said, and remained noncommittal as Yeltsin pushed his hopes for an American-Russian political and economic alliance.

Bush acknowledged that Yeltin "has gone a long way" with his proposal to reduce to 2,500 the 6,000 strategic nuclear warheads permitted to each side under the pending Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. Bush has proposed more modest reductions (to 3,600 warheads) and has demanded that Russia dismantle the big, land-based missiles at the heart of its force while leaving the heart of the U.S. arsenal, submarine-based missiles largely intact.

Bush left the issue up to a new round of negotiations, which Baker will seek to begin. Similarly, Bush took under advisement a Yeltsin proposal for a joint U.S.-Russian version of the Star Wars space-based missile defense system, called Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or G-PALS. And the United States is taking a wait-and-see stance on Yeltsin's unilateral pledge to change the programs in Russian-controlled missiles so that they are no longer targeted to strike the United States.

When Yeltsin was asked why he didn't call for eliminating all nuclear weapons, his reply could not have pleased Bush or the Pentagon more. "The thing is that there are still adventurers, terrorists and irresponsible politicians in some countries of the world against whom we have to have a certain arsenal of nuclear weapons for restraining them," he said.

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Yeltsin repeated his hope that Americans can help put commonwealth scientists to work in a new joint research center, among other places, to prevent them from leaving Russia and selling their knowledge. Bush agreed with the idea, though an official said no decision has been made.

The burly, white-haired Russian, who marked his 61st birthday yesterday, was especially emotional as he described the need for economic and political support in Russia and the commonwealth.

"I didn't come here just to stretch out my hand and ask help," said Yeltsin. "No. We're calling for cooperation for the whole world. Because if reform in Russia goes under, that means there will be a Cold War - the Cold War is going to turn into a hot war."

Slowing Down the Nuclear Race

A look at the recent escalation and then decline of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms race.

What the Weapons Are

Sea-launched warheads: Fired from Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) or Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCMs). Each missile can carry three to 10 warheads.

Air-launched warheads: Are in bombs or are fired from short-range attack missiles (SRAMs) or air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs). Bombs often are carried by B-52s, B-1s and B-2s. Cruise missiles carry eight to 20 warheads

Land-launched warheads: Fired from Intercontinential Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), long-range ballistic missiles based on land. Each ICBM can carry from one to 10 warheads.

1986 levels

In May, 1986, President Ronald Reagan announced that the United States would no longer be bound by the SALT II agreement and by the end of the year, the United States had 2,000 more warheads than the Soviet Union, its second-highest year-end total ever.

	U.S.	USSR
Sea-launched warheads	5,632	2,888
Air-launched warheads	4,589	800
Land-launched warheads	2,165	6,420
Total	12,386	10,108

1991 levels

Before the START Treaty, the United States held a significant edge in both air-launched and sea-launched nuclear weapons, while the Soviets had more land-launched nuclear weapons. Here are the numbers of existing warheads when the Soviet Union and the United States signed the START Treaty.

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	U.S.	USSR
Sea-launched warheads	5,440	2,760
Air-launched warheads	3,712	1,490
Land-launched warheads	2,450	6,627
Total	11,602	10,877

START levels

Subhead: The START Treaty trimmed both the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals by roughly one third, still allowing each country to keep superiority in certain areas. It also put levels the maximum number of bombers and missiles that each side could have.

	U.S.	USSR
Sea-launched warheads	2,760	1,872
Air-launched warheads	3,692	2,040
Land-launched warheads	1,444	3,028
Total	8,592	6,940

Further Cuts?

President George Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin both proposed further cuts in nuclear weapons last week. Bush's proposal included a willingness to reduce the U.S. advantage of submarine-launched warheads. Yeltsin proposed to reduce warhead levels to between 2,000 and 2,500.

The Impact of Bush's Proposal

	U.S.	USSR
Sea-launched warheads	2,300	2,320
Air-launched warheads	1,900	1,536
Land-launched warheads	500	600
Total	4,700	4,456

Path Toward Reduction

How many nuclear weapons the United States and Soviet Union have had annually since 1960.

SOURCE: The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, The Arms Control Association, ACA-Congressional Research Service, Natural Resource Defense Council

GRAPHIC: AP Photo- Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush at Camp David yesterday. Newsday Chart by Brigitte Zimmer- Slowing Down the Nuclear Race. Subhead: A look at the recent escalation and then decline of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms race (See end of text).

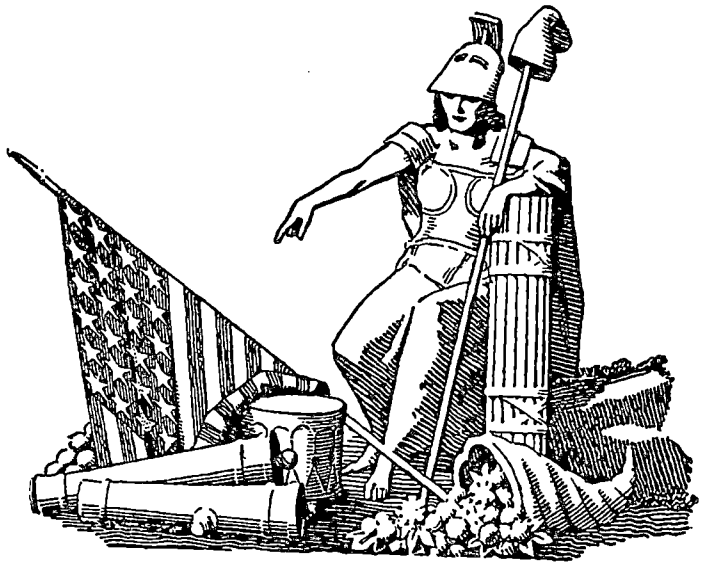
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Democracy IN AMERICA

By *ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE*

THE HENRY REEVE TEXT
AS REVISED BY FRANCIS BOWEN
NOW FURTHER CORRECTED AND EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, EDITORIAL NOTES,
AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES BY
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Chapter XXVI

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON WAR IN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITIES

When the principle of equality is spreading, not only among a single nation, but among several neighboring nations at the same time, as is now the case in Europe, the inhabitants of these different countries, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of language, of customs, and of laws, still resemble each other in their equal dread of war and their common love of peace.[1] It is in vain that ambition or anger puts arms in the hands of princes; they are appeased in spite of themselves by a species of general apathy and goodwill which makes the sword drop from their grasp, and wars become more rare.

As the spread of equality, taking place in several countries at once, simultaneously impels their various inhabitants to follow manufactures and commerce, not only do their tastes become similar, but their interests are so mixed and entangled with one another that no nation can inflict evils on other nations without those evils falling back upon itself; and all nations ultimately regard war as a calamity almost as severe to the conqueror as to the conquered.

Thus, on the one hand, it is extremely difficult in democratic times to draw nations into hostilities; but, on the other, it is almost impossible that any two of them should go to war without embroiling the rest. The interests of all are so interlaced, their opinions and their wants so much alike, that none can remain quiet when the others stir. Wars therefore become more rare, but when they break out, they spread over a larger field.

Neighboring democratic nations not only become alike in some

[1] It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that the dread of war displayed by the nations of Europe is not attributable solely to the progress made by the principle of equality among them. Independently of this permanent cause, several other accidental causes of great weight might be pointed out, and I may mention, before all the rest, the extreme lassitude that the wars of the Revolution and the Empire have left behind them.

respects, but eventually grow to resemble each other in almost all.[2] This similitude of nations has consequences of great importance in relation to war.

If I inquire why it is that the Helvetic Confederacy made the greatest and most powerful nations of Europe tremble in the fifteenth century, while at the present day the power of that country is exactly proportioned to its population, I perceive that the Swiss have become like all the surrounding communities, and those surrounding communities like the Swiss; so that as numerical strength now forms the only difference between them, victory necessarily attends the largest army. Thus one of the consequences of the democratic revolution that is going on in Europe is to make numerical strength preponderate on all fields of battle and to constrain all small nations to incorporate themselves with large states, or at least to adopt the policy of the latter.

As numbers are the determining cause of victory, each people ought of course to strive by all the means in its power to bring the greatest possible number of men into the field. When it was possi-

[2] This is not only because these nations have the same social condition, but it arises from the very nature of that social condition, which leads men to imitate and identify themselves with each other.

When the members of a community are divided into castes and classes, they not only differ from one another, but have no taste and no desire to be alike; on the contrary, everyone endeavors, more and more, to keep his own opinions undisturbed, to retain his own peculiar habits, and to remain himself. The characteristics of individuals are very strongly marked.

When the state of society among a people is democratic – that is to say, when there are no longer any castes or classes in the community, and all its members are nearly equal in education and in property – the human mind follows the opposite direction. Men are much alike, and they are annoyed, as it were, by any deviation from that likeness; far from seeking to preserve their own distinguishing singularities, they endeavor to shake them off in order to identify themselves with the general mass of the people, which is the sole representative of right and of might to their eyes. The characteristics of individuals are nearly obliterated.

In the ages of aristocracy even those who are naturally alike strive to create imaginary differences between themselves; in the ages of democracy even those who are not alike seek nothing more than to become so and to copy each other, so strongly is the mind of every man always carried away by the general impulse of mankind.

Something of the same kind may be observed between nations: two nations having the same aristocratic social condition may remain thoroughly distinct and extremely different, because the spirit of aristocracy is to retain strong individual characteristics; but if two neighboring nations have the same democratic social condition, they cannot fail to adopt similar opinions and manners, because the spirit of democracy tends to assimilate men to each other.

ble to enlist a kind of troops superior to all others, such as the Swiss infantry or the French horse of the sixteenth century, it was not thought necessary to raise very large armies; but the case is altered when one soldier is as efficient as another.

The same cause that begets this new want also supplies means of satisfying it; for, as I have already observed, when men are all alike they are all weak, and the supreme power of the state is naturally much stronger among democratic nations than elsewhere. Hence, while these nations are desirous of enrolling the whole male population in the ranks of the army, they have the power of effecting this object; the consequence is that in democratic ages armies seem to grow larger in proportion as the love of war declines.

In the same ages, too, the manner of carrying on war is likewise altered by the same causes. Machiavelli observes, in *The Prince,* "that it is much more difficult to subdue a people who have a prince and his barons for their leaders than a nation that is commanded by a prince and his slaves." To avoid offense, let us read "public officials" for "slaves," and this important truth will be strictly applicable to our own time.

A great aristocratic people cannot either conquer its neighbors or be conquered by them without great difficulty. It cannot conquer them because all its forces can never be collected and held together for a considerable period; it cannot be conquered because an enemy meets at every step small centers of resistance, by which invasion is arrested. War against an aristocracy may be compared to war in a mountainous country; the defeated party has constant opportunities of rallying its forces to make a stand in a new position.

Exactly the reverse occurs among democratic nations: they easily bring their whole disposable force into the field, and when the nation is wealthy and populous it soon becomes victorious; but if it is ever conquered and its territory invaded, it has few resources at command; and if the enemy takes the capital, the nation is lost. This may very well be explained: as each member of the community is individually isolated and extremely powerless, no one of the whole body can either defend himself or present a rallying-point to others. Nothing is strong in a democratic country except the state; as the military strength of the state is destroyed by the destruction of the army, and its civil power paralyzed by the cap-