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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: DUBERSTEIN, KENNETH: FILES.
Office of the Chief of Staff
 File Folder: Gorbachev Meetings (1of2)
 OA-18344 Box 1

Archivist: kdb/bcb
 Date 7/27/99

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Tom Korologos to Thomas Griscom re Summit, 2p. <i>(p2, PARTIAL)</i>	11/17/87	P5 B6

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
 - P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
 - P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
 - P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
 - P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
 - P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: DUBERSTEIN, KENNETH: FILES:
Office of the Chief of Staff

Archivist: kdb/bcb

File Folder: Gorbachev Meetings (1982)
~~GA-18344~~ Box 1

Date 7/27/99

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Tom Korologos to Thomas Griscom re Summit, 1p.	11/17/87	P5

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 2, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN DUBERSTEIN

FROM: LESLYE A. ARSHT 

Subject: Roundtable of print reporters to discuss
RR-Bush-Gorbachev meeting in N.Y. and US-USSR
relationship

The group will include:

N.Y. Times	Julie Johnson
L.A. Times	Lee May
Chicago Sun-Times	Jerry Watson
U.S. News Mag	Doug Stanglin

A number of reporters we proposed for the roundtable are not working today. The Mags were invited but only U.S. News is available.

The pre-brief session would be at 2:00 p.m.
The roundtable at 2:15 p.m. for 30 minutes.

cc: Marlin Fitzwater

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN DUBERSTEIN

FROM: LESLYE A. ARSHT



Subject: Talking points for Print Roundtable Interview on
Friday, December 2.

The attached talking points have been approved by the NSC. They can serve as the basis of your comments to print reporters tomorrow, for their weekend pieces on the RR/Bush/Gorbachev meeting next week.

cc: Marlin Fitzwater
Mari Maseng

Background

- When General Secretary Gorbachev made it clear that he would be attending the United Nations, it was mutually agreed that it would be worthwhile to have this meeting.
- This will be the fifth meeting between the President and the General Secretary. Previous meetings were: Geneva 1985; Reykjavik 1986; Washington 1987; and Moscow 1988.
- The two leaders have charted a new course in arms control and superpower relations with regard to resolution of regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral issues.

December 7 Meeting

- It will be a cordial "hospitality" meeting on Governors Island, lasting about two hours. It will most likely go from 1 - 3 p.m. The President has a speaking engagement at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D. C., at 6:00 p.m., so time is limited.
- It will not be a summit meeting in any traditional sense. It will be a meeting between superpower leaders reflecting the friendship they have created and the historic change in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
- This meeting will underscore the fact that they can get together and discuss world problems without the necessity for a pre-planned agreement or dramatic specific actions.
- Outside of the President, the Vice President and Gorbachev, the luncheon guest list has not been finalized.

Agenda for Meeting

- We have no plans for proposals other than a general review of the four-part agenda.
- If the Soviets broach proposals, we, of course, would welcome them if they are constructive, but would have to take them home to study them.
- In terms of substance, we expect that such issues as the status of the START talks and regional matters, such as Afghanistan, may be discussed.
- This is not a meeting to resolve issues or to make decisions on specific problems.

Vice President's Role

- With the Vice President in attendance this meeting will help smooth the transition from President to President-elect in the area of U.S.-Soviet relations.
- It will reaffirm the relationship between the President-elect and the General Secretary and ensure the momentum and continuity of the four-part agenda.
- There will be no separate Vice President-Gorbachev meeting.

Allies

- We will keep our allies informed. Secretary Shultz departs for the North Atlantic Council meeting right after the meeting.

Readout

- Secretary Shultz will give an on-the-record readout of the meeting.
- We do not anticipate a joint statement or communique.
- If there is a statement, it would probably be a U.S. statement given by Secretary Shultz at his news conference.
- The President is expected to address the meeting in his AEI speech.

First Lady

- Mrs. de Cuellar is hosting a luncheon for Mses. Reagan, Bush, Shultz and Gorbachev.
- Site still being determined, but may be the de Cuellar residence.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN DUBERSTEIN ✓

B. OGLESBY
MARI MASING
JOHN TUCK

FROM: Marlin Fitzwater *Marlin*

SUBJECT: Press Plan for President's meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev

The following is the press plan for the President's meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev. This keeps it low key, yet gives the visibility we want. Secretary Shultz would incorporate his forthcoming NATO trip into his Sunday and Press Conference comments.

NOTE: Appearances by Administration officials on several television programs, including CNN Newsmaker and network morning shows, were rejected at a meeting on November 21. The feeling was that these appearances would excessively hype the meeting.

Monday, November 28

- Secretary of State Shultz on-the-record interview with West European journalists
- General Colin Powell backgrounder with Owen Ullman of Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Tuesday, November 29

- Secretary of State Shultz interview on National Public Radio
- General Colin Powell speech to the Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis

Wednesday, November 30

- 8:30 - 9:00 am: Secretary of State Shultz on WORLDNET broadcast to Western Europe.

Thursday, December 1

- Ken Duberstein background session with print reporters
- 12 noon - General Colin Powell background luncheon with The New Republic
- 3:30 pm - General Colin Powell background session with news magazines

Friday, December 2

- 3:00 pm - General Colin Powell on-the-record Press Briefing - White House Briefing Room

Saturday, December 3

- General Colin Powell addresses National Academy of Public Administration

Sunday, December 4

- Secretary of State Shultz tentatively scheduled to be the guest on ABC's This Week With David Brinkley
- Ken Duberstein and Colin Powell available for Sunday talk shows

Monday, December 5 or Tuesday, December 6

- Assistant Secretary of State Roxanne Ridgway or Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Simons hold on the record briefing at Foreign Press Center.

Tuesday, December 6

- General Colin Powell addresses Information Security Oversight Office symposium at the Department of State.

Wednesday, December 7

- Secretary of State Shultz Press Conference following luncheon of General Secretary Gorbachev and the President.

cc: Roman Popadiuk

RECIPROCAL DINNER - SPASO HOUSE
May 31, 1988

* Indicates we have no
knowledge of marital status

GUESTS PROPOSED BY AMERICAN EMBASSY

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. Tenghiz Abuladze	Embassy/ Courtemanche/ Billington	Georgian filmmaker. Winner of this year's Lenin prize for his trilogy on Stalinism, including "Repentance" - in America last year.
2 Professor and Mrs. Yuriy Afanas'Yev	Embassy	Prominent historian. Vigorous advocate of objective and honest approach to study of Soviet history. In the forefront of "Glasnost'" in that field.
2 Mr. & Mrs. Abel G. Aganbegyan	NSC	Chief Economic Advisor to Gorbachev.
2 Ms. Bella Akhmudulina & Spouse	Billington	A writer and poet who has become an establishment figure, but has remained vigorously critical.
2 H.E. Marshal of the Soviet Union and Mrs. Sergey F. Akhromeyev	Embassy	Chief of the General Staff. Full Member of the Central Committee.
* 1 Ms. Irina Antonova		Director of Pushkin.

PAGE TOTAL: 11

MEN: 5

WOMEN: 6

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
1 The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.	Howard Baker	Chief of Staff to the President
2 His Excellency Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Mrs. Bessmertnykh	Embassy	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Oversees Relations with U.S.
1 Dr. James Billington	Howard Baker	Librarian of Congress.
1 Mr. Peter Brown	MRS. REAGAN	Producer, "Phantom of the Opera."
2 Mr. and Mrs. Dave Brubeck	MRS. REAGAN	Entertainer, U.S. jazz musician.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Fyodor Burlatskiy	Embassy/ Billington	Prominent reformist, political commentator and biographer of Khrushchev. Heads the Soviet "public" Human Rights Commission. A strong proponent of political reform and "Glasnost'."
1 Secretary Frank C. Carlucci	Howard Baker	Secretary of Defense.

PAGE TOTAL: 10

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 3

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
1 The Honorable Jack L. Courtemanche	Howard Baker	Deputy Asst. to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Anatoliy F. Dobrynin	Embassy	Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Head of the International Department of the Central Committee. Former Ambassador to Washington.
1 The Honorable Rhett B. Dawson	Howard Baker	Assistant to the President for Operations.
1 The Honorable Kenneth M. Duberstein	Howard Baker	Deputy Chief of Staff to the President.
2 H.E. Ambassador and Mrs. Yuriy Dubinin	Embassy	Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.
1 Mr. Oleg Efremov	Courtemanche/ Billington	Moscow Art Theatre.
2 Dr. and Mrs. Svyatoslav Fedorov	Embassy	Director of the Eye Microsurgery Clinic. A pioneer surgeon of world distinction.
1 The Honorable Max Marlin Fitzwater	Howard Baker	Assistant to the President for Press Relations.

PAGE TOTAL: 11

MEN: 8

WOMEN: 3

GUESTS

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

2 H.E. and Mrs. Gorbachev	Embassy	The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
1 Miss Katya Gordeyeva	Embassy	Figure skater. Gold-medal winner at the Calgary Winter Olympics.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yuriy Grigorovich	Courtemanche	Director, Bolshoi Ballet.
1 The Honorable Thomas C. Griscom	Howard Baker	Assistant to the President for Communications and Planning.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Andrey Gromyko (Use title)	Embassy	Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet U.S.S.R.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Lev Gumilev		Historian and philosopher.
2 Deputy Chief of Mission and Mrs. Joyce	Howard Baker	
1 Ambassador Max Kampleman	Howard Baker	
1 Mr. Anatoly Karpov	NSC	World chess champion.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yelim Klimov	Embassy/ Billington	First Secretary of the Cinematographers' Union. One of the earliest proponents of "Glasnost'." Heavily engaged in upgrading cooperation with U.S. filmmakers. Pushed U.S. film in U.S.S.R.

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIERS</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. Vitaliy Korotich	Embassy/ Billington	Editor of the weekly "Ogonyoik." Korotich's name has become synonymous with "Glasnost'." (Just did interview with the President.)
2 Mr. Andris Liepa and Miss Nina Ananiashvili	Courtemanche	Bolshoi Ballet 1986 Gold Medal winners, Grand Prix International Competition - Jackson, Mississippi
2 H.E. and Mrs. Ye.K. Ligachev	Embassy	"Second Secretary" of the Central Committee of the CPSU.
2 Academician and Mrs. Dimitriy Likhachev	Embassy/ Courtemanche/ Billington	Academician and Chairman of the Cultural Fund. The USSR's most distinguished scholar in the Humanities. A Man respected throughout the world for his work on Ancient Russia. A believer and a survivor of Stalin's camps. Close to Raisa Gorbachev and knows Gorbachev well. (This is questionable.)

PAGE TOTAL: 8

MEN: 4

WOMEN: 4

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Academician and Mrs. Guriy I. Marchuk	Embassy	President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Full Member of the Central Committee.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Yuriy Maslyukov	Embassy	First Deputy Chairman, Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee. Candidate Member of the Politburo.
2 Ambassador and Mrs. Jack Matlock	Howard Baker	American Ambassador to Moscow.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Zubin Mehta	MRS. REAGAN	Conductor, New York Philharmonic. Will be in Soviet Union.
* 1 Academician Arkady B. Migdal		Member of Academy of Sciences - U.S.S.R. - nuclear physicist.
1 Mr. Arthur Mitchell	MRS. REAGAN	Dance Theater of Harlem. Will be in Soviet Union.

PAGE TOTAL: 10

MEN: 6

WOMEN: 4

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 H.E. and Mrs. Vsevelod Murakhovskiy	Embassy	First Deputy Chairman, Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. Chairman, Gosagroprom. Will visit the U.S. in June. Close to Gorbachev.
1 Ambassador Paul Nitze	Howard Baker	
2 H.E. (Ambassador) and Mrs. Aleksey Obukhkov	Embassy	Ambassador-at-Large. Arms Control Negotiator.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Bulat Okudzhava	NSC	Most famous balladeer and poet.
* 1 Mr. Sergo Parajanov	Billington	Armenian filmmaker - most innovative in USSR - true genius - uses Christian symbolism.
* 1 Ms. Ludmilla Petrushevskaya	Billington	Playwright.
2 Ms. Maya Plisetskaya and Mr. Rodion Shchedrin	Embassy/ Billington	Prima ballerina of the "Bolshoi." The premier representative of the Soviet ballet world. Her spouse is the eminent composer.
PAGE TOTAL: 11	MEN: 6	WOMEN: 5

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
1 Lt Gen Colin L. Powell	Howard Baker	Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.
1 Academician Yevgeniy Primakov	Embassy	Academician and Director of the Institute of World Economics and Politics. Candidate Member of the Central Committee.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Grigoriy Razumovskiy	Embassy	Candidate Member of Politburo and Secretary of CPSU Central Committee. Close to Gorbachev and rising. At 51, soon to become the youngest member of the Politburo.
1 Asst. Secretary Rozanne Ridgway	Howard Baker	Asst. Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs.
* 1 Mr. Svyatoslav Rikhter	NSC	Great Pianist, friend of Rostropovich.
1 Ambassador Edward L. Rowny	Howard Baker	
1 Ambassador Selwa Roosevelt	Howard Baker	Chief of Protocol.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Anatoly Rybakov	Jack Courtemanche	Writer - wrote "Children of the Arbat."
2 Mr. and Mrs. Gennady Rozhdestvensky		Conductor.

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 H.E. and Mrs. Nikolay Ryzhkov	Embassy	Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.
2 Academician and Mrs. Roal'd Sagdeyev	Embassy	Director of the Institute of Space Research.
2 Academician Andrey Sakharov and Mrs. Elena Bonner	Embassy/ Courtemanche/ Billington	Academician. Nobel Prize Laureate. Physicist.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Schnitke		Composer.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Mikhail Shatrov	Embassy	Playwright. A strong defender of "Glasnost'" and one of the architects of The Revival of the Honest Reappraisal of the Stalinist Period. Has been the lightning rod for criticism from conservatives because of the anti-Stalinist character of his recent plays.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Vladimir Shcherbitskiy	Embassy	Politburo Member and First Secretary, Ukraine Central Committee. The most senior member of the Politburo in terms of years of service on that body. Visited the U.S. in 1985 and called on the President.

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 H.E. (Minister) and Mrs. Eduard Shevardnadze	Embassy	Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs.
* 1 Mr. Mikolai P. Shmelev	NSC	Economist.
2 Secretary and Mrs. George Shultz	Howard Baker	Secretary of State.
1 Ms. Valentina Tereshkova	Embassy	Head, All-Union Friendship Society. Former Cosmonaut. Full Member of the Central Committee.
1 Ms. Tat'yana Tol'staya	Embassy	Writer and great grand-daughter of Lev Tol'stoy. One of the best young Soviet writers.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Vladislav Tret'yak	Embassy	Hockey goalie and coach. Probably the USSR's best-known athlete.
* 1 Academician Yevgeny P. Velikhov	NSC	Vice President, Academy of Sciences - U.S.S.R.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Anatoly Virganskiy (Irina)	NSC	Daughter and Son-in-Law of Gorbachev

PAGE TOTAL: 12

MEN: 6

WOMEN: 6

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 H.E. and Mrs. Yuliy Vorontsov	Embassy	First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Played active role in Geneva negotiations. Former Ambassador to France and India. Full Member of the Central Committee.
2 Mr. Andrey Voznesenskiy and Zoya Boguslavskaya	Embassy	Mr. Voznesenskiy is a poet and his wife, Zoya Boguslavskaya is a writer.
1 The Honorable Charles Z. Wick	Howard Baker	Director, U.S.I.A.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Aleksandr Yakovlev	Embassy	Politburo Member Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Accompanied Gorbachev to Washington Summit. Former Ambassador to Canada.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yegor Yakovlev	Embassy/ Billington	Editor of "Moscow News," the limited circulation newspaper which has been at the cutting edge of "Glasnost'." A favorite target of conservatives.
2 H.E. Army General and Mrs. Dmitriy Yazov	Embassy	Candidate Member of Politburo and Minister of Defense.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Viktor Yerofeyev	NSC	Writer, liberal.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Mark Zakharov	Courtemanche/ Billington	Director

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 H.E. and Mrs. Vasily Zakharov (Minister of Culture U.S.S.R.)	Embassy	Minister of Culture and Member of the Central Committee. A key player in U.S./Soviet cultural cooperation and exchange programs.
* 1 Ms. Tat'yana Zaslavskaya	NSC	Very prominent woman economist in USSR - strong supporter of economic reform in Soviet Union - heads Economic Institutions in Siberia.
2 H.E. and Mrs. Lev Zaykov	Embassy	Politburo Member and First Secretary, Moscow Party Committee.
<u>PAGE TOTAL: 5</u>	MEN: 2	WOMEN: 3
TOTAL OF ALL PAGES: 133	MEN: 74	WOMEN: 59



THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

April 19, 1988

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Dear Mrs. Reagan:

On various topics we discussed by phone, I would suggest the following:

Ysa
On the Assumption Cathedral and the Kremlin, I would be inclined to say to the Soviets that you have heard that they are considering doing a performance of Rachmaninoff's Vespers with Nesterenko in the Cathedral of the Assumption and that you would welcome such an occasion. (This information was given personally to me last week by Dmitry Likhachev, the head of the Cultural Fund on which Nesterenko and Mrs. Gorbachev are board members. It would be something of a breakthrough to have the cathedral for the coronation of the Czars decorated with beautiful frescos and icons used for a performance of some religious music that has been generally banned for public performance until a few months ago. You can safely claim to have heard about this even though it is not public knowledge. I think it is important that you invite Likhachev to the return dinner at the Embassy. He is a great figure well liked personally by the Gorbachevs and an important symbol of the attempt to recover their Christian heritage during this year of the Millennium.)

Agree
You might want to consider asking to see two other beautiful, relatively modest buildings in the Kremlin: the Archangel Cathedral, where many of the Czars are buried and where there are also beautiful frescos and icons; and the Terem Palace, which is where the Czars lived prior to Peter the Great. This is a beautiful small-scale interior of human dimensions with attractive tile linings. It might be good to ask to see this modest old residence of the Czars rather than simply be paraded through the large ostentatious halls of the more modern palaces in the Kremlin where official gatherings will be held. For sheer beauty you would enjoy this palace as well as the Archangel Cathedral (and perhaps also the Cathedral of the Ascension, the third of the great cathedrals within the Kremlin). You are wise to pass up the diamond collection and the armory as well, though the latter is filled with carriages, robes and thrones that are of some interest and that you might want to see on a later visit.

A final possibility which would be particularly appropriate if they themselves have suggested the Cathedral of the Assumption might be the great painting "Departing Russia" by P. D. Korin. This is kept in a branch of the Tretyakov Gallery and represents the depiction of the last religious service celebrated in the Cathedral of the Assumption before it was shut down by the

Soviet authorities. It is not generally publicly exhibited, but is kept in the workshop of Korin surrounded by some of the most beautiful icons in Russia, and can be shown to you by his widow or by a young curator named Nartsissov.

Agree
On the matter of icons, the "Old Testament Trinity" by Rublev is currently being exhibited in a peace exposition in the main Exhibition Hall in Moscow, so I suspect this would not be good for you to be photographed in that kind of propagandistic surrounding. You could, therefore, ask just to see the "Spas" or icon of Jesus and of the Archangel Michael, both by Rublev which I believe are not exhibited in such propagandistic surroundings. And you could quietly say that if the "Old Testament Trinity" could be brought into a purely museum setting along with those other two icons, you would like to see it, too. But those two icons are themselves among the most beautiful ever painted. You would send a very good signal to the Russian people, and it would be a pleasant experience for you as well.

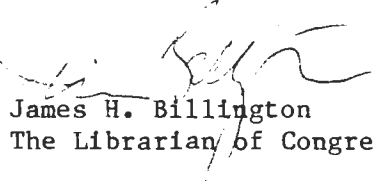
OK
On the question of visits to a monastery, the Danilov monastery within Moscow is more accessible, though you would see less original old Russian art and you would have access to monks rather than students if you wanted to have a dialog with young people. The advantage of the Danilov is that it was specially returned by Breshnev in his last years to the church for the Millennium, and your visit there would highlight your interest in the Millennium. They could easily bring students in from the theological academy in Zagorsk, and you would much enjoy meeting the young monk Zinon who has painted the new frescos in the old manner in the Danilov monastery and Fr. Boris who is setting up a library and information center there. (These names could be discreetly requested at a later time.) The advantage of going to Zagorsk is that you would have a little bit of a drive through the Russian countryside and would be seeing the national shrine of Russia. This is now both a secular museum and set of working churches connected with a monastery and a theological academy. If you go, you would want some careful programming, but would particularly enjoy the museum within the monastery and theological academy rather than the secular museum within the same monastic compound.

As far as Leningrad is concerned, I believe you could recognize the wartime suffering of the people of Leningrad by a short statement to that effect rather than by taking a lot of time to lay a wreath either on the ugly war memorial on your route from the airport or in the more beautiful and moving Piskarevskaya cemetery which would take you too far afield. I think it would also be good for you to mention your sympathy for the destructive fire in the library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad -- and the concern of the American people to help restore this collection (our Library of Congress has sent its principal curator and is helping). In visiting any of the monasteries on this occasion of the Millennium, you will want to use the term "the Baptism of Rus" (which includes Ukraine and White Russia, whose citizens are very sensitive on this score) or "the Millennium of the Baptism of the Eastern Slavs." You will be visiting facilities either owned by the Soviet state or by the Russian Orthodox church, neither of which have treated, for instance, Eastern Rite Ukrainian Catholics very well. So you will want to be sympathetic to the general cause of religion, with all religious bodies paying attention to the Millennium as a means of perhaps broadening their scope for operation within the atheist state. At the same time you don't want to echo

the terminology which seems to imply that it is only the Millennium of Christianity in Russia at a time when national minorities are rather restive in particular the Ukranians, the eastern rite Catholic part of this population is denied religious rights.

Finally on the movie Repetence, I find that it is somewhat longer than I had thought running exactly 2 hours and 32 minutes. It would also take a five minute introductory explanation since it is a bit surrealistic in structure, but it is an enormously powerful film. With a little introduction and a few program notes, which I would be glad to provide, you and the party would I think enjoy it. If you prefer a more straightforward and narrative movie that would be shorter, I could provide the names of several of those as well. Seeing one of the more advanced new movies in the USSR would make for interesting conversation once you are there -- and in general would be good preparation for your trip.

Sincerely,



James H. Billington
The Librarian of Congress

Mrs. Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

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C* DISPLAYED RECORD HAS BEEN VERIFIED. 110VERI
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- 252 VEF 2710-2712 (viewing copy)<M/F/RS>
- 252 VTA 0985-2987 (master)<M/E/RS>
- 245 Monanieba = Pokayaniye = Repentance / Kinostudia K'art'uli P'ildi ;
directed by T'engiz Abulaže ; script by Nana Janeliže, T'engiz
Abulaže, Rezo Kveselava.
- 257 U.S.S.R.
- 262 Soviet Union : Sovĕksportfil'm, 1986.
- 302 3 videocassettes of 3 (152 min.) : sd., col. ; 3/4 in. viewing copy.
- 302 3 videoreels of 3 (152 min.) : sd., col. ; 1 in. master.
- 217 PAU1-219-325 U.S. Copyright Office
- 502 Copyright: unknown.
- 522 Copyright notice on film: Gruziafilm Studios ; 1984.

t monaniaba;f=av 1 OF 1 RECORDS 3/1
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- 500 Minor change version: [English language subtitled version]. -- United States : Cannon Group, 1987.
- 500 Copyright for minor change version: Fillexport Studios. Preexisting material: motion picture. NM: "English language translation subtitles." LCR 1987; RFG 28Jun87; PAU1-991-525.
- 500 Transliterated Georgian language title "Monaniaba" per Glenn Curtis. Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1-11-88.
- 500 Russian language title "Pekayaniye" from Variety, 4-29-87.
- 500 Original release date and country from Time, 12-14-87, p. 54. Per Time, simultaneously released in Georgian S.S.R. and in Moscow.
- 500 U.S. release company from the New York times, 11-29-87, p. F20 and H34.
- 500 U.S. release date from Time, 12-14-87, p. 54.
- 500 Georgian language credits and track with English language subtitles.

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- 527 Original language per the New York times, 6-29-87. Transliteration of credits by Glenn Curtis, Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1-11-88.
- 528 On film: the last film of a trilogy made by Tengiz Abuladze. The trilogy includes Vedreba = Prayer (1988) and Naguris xa = The Fishing tree (1977). English language titles from the New York times, 11-29-87, p. F34. Transliterated Georgian language titles per Glenn Curtis. Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1-11-88.
- 528 Camera by Mikhail Agranovich ; art direction by Georgy Mikeladze ; music arrangement by Nana Janelize.
- 510 Variety, 4-29-87.
- 511 Avtandil Maxaraze (Varlam & Abel), Zeirab Fotsvaze (Ketevan), Menab Ninize (Torrike), Ketevan Abuladze (Mino), Edisher Giorgobiani (Sandro), Ia Ninize (Guliko).

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2/88 [A/V] [FIND] [MUMS] PAGE 4 OF 80*PA
C* DISPLAYED RECORD HAS BEEN VERIFIED. 118VIRI
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- 520 Explores the tragedy of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union as paralleled in a provincial Georgian town. Varlam Aravidze, the former mayor of the town, has died. At his funeral he is honored ostentatiously by his son Avel, his grandson Torrike and all the townspeople. One woman, however, refuses to let the dictator rest in peace. Night after night, Setevan Barateli exhumes the body and leaves it in the Aravidze family garden. Her parents were imprisoned and murdered by Varlam and she uses her trial to force the family and the townspeople to confront and acknowledge the horrors of his regime.
- 541 Received: 12-29-87 from LC video lab; viewing copy & master; copyright deposit--unpublished, copied from 1/2 in. original; Copyright Collection.
- 657 Totalitarianism--Drama.
658 Dictators--Drama.
659 Persecution--Drama.
660 Conscience--Drama.

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[MUMS]

PAGE 8 OF

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AACR 2

- 650 Repentance--Drama.
- 651 Soviet Union--Social conditions--1917-
- 655 Features. min
- 655 Sociological drama. min
- 722 Abulaže, T'engiz, 1924- direction.
- 720 Janeliže, Vana, writing.
- 722 Abulaže, T'engiz, 1924- writing.
- 722 Kveselava, Rezo, writing.
- 722 Maxaraže, Avt'ardil, cast.
- 722 Potsvaže, Zeinat, cast.
- 722 Miniže, Nerab, cast.
- 712 Kinostudia K'art'uli P'ilni.
- 712 Sovéksportfil'm (Firm)
- 710 Cannon Group.
- 712 Filrexpert Studios.
- 712 Copyright Collector (Library of Congress) ELC

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- 740 Repentance.
- 742 Pokayaniye.
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SOVIET UNION

A "Tragic Phantasmagoria"

Repentance, an anti-Stalinist blockbuster, opens in the U.S.

To any Westerner who doubts that things are changing in the Soviet Union, Tengiz Abuladze's *Repentance* will come as a shock. The 2½-hour film, which was first released in Moscow a year ago and opened in the U.S. last week, is a powerful denunciation of the Stalinist-style police state and all its horrors: personality-cult paranoia, official corruption, institutionalized mendacity, arbitrary arrests and executions, dehumanizing labor camps. That Abuladze was ever allowed

neral, which is soon followed by the appearance of his corpse in the family garden. He is reinterred, but reappears several times before the authorities capture the offending grave robber, a woman whose parents had been arrested and killed by Varlam, and take her to trial. Her testimony, studded with flashbacks and Fellini-like dream sequences, tells the story of Varlam's brutal reign. There are false denunciations, mass arrests and mad ravings by the tyrant, who utters such Newspeak ab-



Life and death of a tyrant: the despotic mayor's funeral scene; right, Varlam as played by Avtandil Makharadze

to make this film is remarkable. That it has been shown to millions of ordinary Soviet citizens, many of whom greeted it with standing ovations, is astounding. And that the Soviets chose to distribute the work abroad is a shrewd advertisement for that heady mixture of public relations and public confession that Mikhail Gorbachev has popularized under the banner of *glasnost*.

The film, which Director Abuladze calls a "tragic phantasmagoria," uses allegory, fantasy and surrealism to evoke the terror of a totalitarian system. His central character is Varlam Aravidze, the mayor of a provincial town. Varlam combines Stalin's close-cropped haircut, Hitler's mustache and Mussolini's black shirt to embody the image of a universal tyrant. Although the setting and time are undefined—secret police appear alternately as medieval knights or spear-wielding Roman centurions—there is no doubt that the real subject is Stalinism.

The action begins with Varlam's fu-

surditias as "Four out of every three persons is an enemy of the people."

One particularly striking scene depicts the woman's childhood memory of roaming through a lumberyard with her mother in hopes of finding her father's name carved on one of the logs sent there from a labor camp: their search is in vain, but another woman does spot her husband's initials and caresses them tenderly. Another memorable sequence shows the defendant's artist father, dressed only in a white loincloth, hanging by his wrists like the crucified Christ. It is one of several explicit religious images that portray the struggle of good against evil in a way that unfailingly identifies the latter with officialdom and the former with its victims. Lest the viewer miss this point, Varlam appears as the devil in one scene.

Upon concluding her testimony, the defendant vows to continue exhuming Varlam's body because "burying him means forgiving him"—a thinly veiled call for thoroughgoing de-Stalinization.

Varlam's son and political heir, Avel, manages to have the woman locked up in a mental hospital. But Avel's own teenage son denounces him for lying about Varlam's crimes and shoots himself. In a belated act of repentance, Avel digs up the old tyrant's body and throws it from a precipice. The closing scene shows an old woman asking directions to a church. Told that she is on the wrong street, she replies, "What good is a street that doesn't lead to a church?" It is a powerful reinforcement of the film's religious motif.

An established Georgian filmmaker and Communist Party member, Abuladze, 63, began working on the project in 1981. That was during the twilight months of the Brezhnev era, hardly a propitious moment to launch such an iconoclastic work. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who was then serving as Georgia's party leader, is said to have encouraged Abuladze to produce his film under the auspices of the Georgian television network rather than the Moscow-run national film studios. In late 1985 Shevardnadze reportedly arranged to show the film to several Politburo colleagues, including Party Ideologist Yegor Ligachev. Although Ligachev is known as a conservative, he apparently joined the others in approving *Repentance* for general distribution. A number of similarly outspoken films, books and plays appeared at about the same time, including Anatoli Rybakov's anti-Stalinist novel *The Children of the Arbat*, which is scheduled to be published in the U.S. next spring by Little, Brown & Co.

Repentance became an overnight sensation in the Soviet Union. It was first shown to select audiences in Georgia and Moscow in October 1986 and began appearing in public cinemas last spring. By the end of August, more than 4 million people had seen it in the capital alone. The movie also began to attract attention abroad, winning the Special Jury Prize at this year's Cannes Film Festival.

Repentance's success in the Soviet Union is no accident. A population that grew up in the shadow of Stalin's terror must find it both liberating and titillating to see his crimes exposed. For the Gorbachev government, on the other hand, works like *Repentance* form the cornerstone of a de-Stalinization campaign that both proclaims the lessons of an evil past and seemingly cleanses the current leadership of any direct association with it. In that sense, Gorbachev's insistence on leaving "no blank pages" in Soviet history suggests he has accepted the wisdom of George Santayana's observation that those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. Still, some of the movie's themes, such as the use of mental hospitals to silence dissidents, are close enough to present Soviet practices to ruffle the complacency of the Kremlin's rulers—and make their approval of this powerful, disturbing film all the more remarkable.

—By Thomas A. Sanction.

Reported by John Kohan/Moscow

FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

Socialist Surrealism

A French critic called the Soviet film "Repentance," which won the special jury prize at Cannes, "Socialist surrealism." Indeed it is an intriguing, in many ways perplexing and even troubling insight into what is now going on in the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to move his country away from the deadly, boring, flat-footed lies of Socialist realism in the economy will probably have to face some of the eerie barriers conjured in the film.

Ostensibly it is the story of Varlam, a tyrannical small-town mayor with a vicious sense of black humor. On his death, torrents of grief gush from his intimidated and mesmerized townspeople. But one woman, whose family was victim of his terror, is determined to expose his evil. Her method is to keep digging up his corpse to haunt his heir, finally forcing the son to recognize the horror on which pride was based.

It is the story of Stalin, told in fantasies and nightmares, filmed in Stalin's native Georgia by a Georgian director, Tengiz Abuladze, with Georgian actors speaking Georgian. After the Cannes Festival, it was shown at the Soviet Embassy here, and on the occasion Mr. Abuladze made a point of thanking

Eduard Shevardnadze, who was Georgia's Communist Party chief before he became Mr. Gorbachev's Foreign Minister, for permitting him to make it. That was in the waning days of the Brezhnev era. Censors banned release until this year, when it was shown at jammed theaters in Moscow and now in the West as a promotional boast of Sovfilmexport.

Technically, it leaves as much to be desired as some other Soviet exports. It is archly arty, with long, heavy silences and dark scenes so literally dark that nothing can be seen. That may be an overreaction to the years of total constraint on esthetic form, and it seems dated. Some passages are hilarious, the satire is savage, the ending surprisingly earnest.

But it has to be taken in Soviet terms as another revelation of the extraordinary social, psychological and moral landscape that Mr. Gorbachev must shake and move if his attempts at reform are going to get very far.

The director said he was trying to "generalize" rather than personalize his central character, and so gave his dictator Hitler's mustache, Mussolini's black shirt and rouser-niseon

strut, Boris's glance, as well as Stalin's boots and glittering dark eyes. But to Russians, this isn't just cinematic pastiche.

As an elderly Soviet political commentator said in Moscow, the suggestion is breathtaking that Russians are invited to see their own defunct dictator in the same light as the fascist leaders who fought their country. To the extent that the Soviet Union has de-Stalinized, it was still never whispered there that the regime had something in common with its enemies.

Further, the Russian editor expressed his surprise that the film was accepted in Georgia, where the Stalin cult remains. "Of course," he said, "it was made by Georgians and it tells of the sufferings and the sacrifices of the Georgian people. That is probably why they weren't offended."

But clearly much more is meant by the heroine's remark at her trial for grave robbing and disturbing the peace that the tyrant "is still alive." The allusion is not made specific. Yet for Russian audiences it has to imply that the spirit of dictatorship, the tools of repression, the arbitrary, mindless

violation of decency and resistance to humane appeal remain on the scene.

On the other hand, for an approved Soviet work there are a number of unusually explicit, reverential refer-

ences to religion. The heroine's father has a Christ-like face and is shown under torture hanging from wrist irons, as in the traditional depiction of the Crucifixion.

The film's ending, articulating what appears to be its moral, shows an old woman on a pilgrimage asking directions from the heroine. "Is this the road that leads to the church?" she inquires. "No," says the heroine with a sad smile, "this is Varlam [Stalin] Street." "Oh," says the woman, "what good is a road if it doesn't lead to the church?" and she trudges off disconsolately.

It takes a deliberate effort to try to watch the film in its Soviet context. But that is worthwhile to help dissipate some of the riddles about Soviet society now. It brings some understanding of how terribly hard it is going to be to provoke even partial changes, for human as well as technological and political reasons, and of the risks for those who want to control change and preserve power. In its fanciful way, this Georgian parable tells more than a Gorbachev speech.

William Safire is an occasional

What Gorbachev will face.

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Credit Abbreviations:

Cert—Certificate.
dist—Distributor.
p.c.—Production Company.
exec. p.—Executive Producer.
p.—Producer
assoc. p.—Associate Producer.
p. sup.—Production Supervisor.
p. manager—Production Manager.
2nd Unit d.—2nd Unit Director.
asst. d.—Assistant Director.
sc.—Script.
adapt.—Adaptation.
dial.—Dialogue.
ph.—Photography.
col.—Colour Process.
camera op.—Camera Operator.
anim.—Animation.
sp. ph. effects—Special Photographic Effects.
sup. ed.—Supervising Editor.
ed.—Editor.
p. designer—Production Designer.
a. d.—Art Director.
set dec.—Set Director.
sp. effects—Special Effects.
m.—Music.
m. d.—Music Director.
cost.—Costumes.
choreo.—Choreography.
sd.—Sound.
sd. ed.—Sound Editor.
sd. rec.—Sound Recording.
comm.—Commentary.
l.p.—Leading Players.
f.p.s.—Frames Per Second.



Life in China today—'The Big Parade'.

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On the Cover:



The way to dusty death — Shirley Verrett, Leo Nucci.

uncomfortable synthesis. Film is potentially capable of opening up opera to a different kind of examination, one that denies the hidebound cultural assumptions of what, for many people, is a reactionary plaything for the over-privileged and activates other possibilities (Losey's *Don Giovanni*, Rosi's *Carmen*, Bergman's *The Magic Flute*). But for many directors, the screening of an opera appears to be an act of 'democratisation' in itself, extending its appeal by making it more available to a wider audience. The result—is it opera-film, film-opera, opera on film, or filmed opera?—is too often a nameless hybrid with no power, potential or validity of its own.

D'Anna's *Macbeth* is guilty of this form of passivity. True, the film is visually voluptuous, filled with images of wintry desolation in the exterior scenes, the mist rising above

the marshes, soldiers at work in the forests hacking down 'strange fruit'—the bodies of hanged men—from the trees. The witches are not Shakespeare's famous 'three' but a marauding, red-mouthed, feral tribe who loot and feast and pillage from the dead and dying. The natural order of things has been suspended and there is a scene of this derangement and unease in every sense. Leo Nucci is a suitably lowering presence as Macbeth, a figure of complexity, uncertainty and rage. But in spite of these flourishes, the whole remains decidedly stage-bound and unimaginative, exuding an air of leaden theatricality. D'Anna fails to do justice to the story's violent and traumatic nature, and equally has missed an opportunity to explore the areas of silence, shadow and nightmare from which it stems.

SYLVIA PASKIN

trap, the police capture the grave robber, a woman who is wounded by a shot from Abel's son Tornike. She is Ketevan Barateli, a humble cake decorator, and when brought to trial she explains why Varlam should never be laid to rest. She first encountered him when she was a girl of eight; her father, Sandro, protested against the proposed destruction of a church which was being used as a research centre, and on the pretext that Sandro's paintings were an offence to the public, Varlam had him arrested and exiled. His wife, Nino, was given no clue to his whereabouts. A reign of terror began, in which Varlam and his henchmen, Doksopulo and Riktafela, rounded up despised intellectuals like Mikhail Korisheli (Sandro's former teacher) and even entire groups sharing the same name (like the Darbaisselis) and arranged their disappearance. Eventually Nino, too, was arrested, and her daughter never saw either parent again. Listening to Ketevan's story in the courtroom, Tornike recalls the last days of his grandfather and begins to question his own father's career and motivation. Ketevan is released by the court, declaring her intention to continue to exhume Varlam's body; Abel uses all his influence to have her declared insane and put in an asylum, where Tornike visits her to apologise. After a confrontation with his father, Tornike shoots himself with the gun his grandfather gave him; in horror and remorse, Abel himself digs up Varlam and throws the body over a cliff.

In the new climate of tolerance that has allowed the work of Klimov, Gherman, Panfilov, and notably Paradzhanov to be widely seen in the West along with the directors themselves, Abuladze's breakthrough was fortunately timed. From a script developed in 1981 and filmed in 1984, *Repentance* only had to wait on the shelf two years before Gorbachev's team (including Shevardnadze, himself a Georgian, who encouraged the project originally) were able to initiate the great thaw. Accustomed to leisurely interludes between his productions—he has made seven features in thirty years—Abuladze has been startled by the speed, as he sees it, with which his film has become the symbol of *glasnost* (his preferred phrase is *novaya mysl*—'new thinking') in international cinema. He had expected *Repentance* to be shelved for rather longer, thanks to the efforts of the 'present-day Varlams' who, he says, recognised themselves in the film and were characteristically determined to suppress it. Instead, hailed at Cannes and snapped up by Cannon, Abuladze's modest project for Georgian television (it was the first Soviet film to be made outside the control of Goskino) has succeeded in confirming, not only to a Russian audience estimated at over sixty million, but also to a respectable portion of the rest of the globe that the Iron Curtain has begun to let in some daylight.

It might be argued, of course, that doublethink has not become too unfashionable for *Repentance* to be wilfully misinterpreted by Kremlin strategists who measure their post-Gorbachev scenarios in centuries rather than decades. The Varlam composite (Hitler

Monanieba (Repentance)

U.S.S.R., 1984

Director: Tengiz Abuladze

Cert—PG. *dist*—Cannon. *p.c*—Gruzia-Film/Georgian State Television. *p. manager*—Leomer Gugushvili. *assoc. d*—Nana Janelidze, Neli Kutateladze, Suliko Gabisonia. *asst. d*—Ts. Jervalidze, L. Tsipuria, P. Milorava. *sc*—Nana Janelidze, Tengiz Abuladze, Rezo Kveselava. *ph*—Mikhail Agranovich. *col*—Orwocolor. *camera op*—Solomon Shenzelia, Gia Gersamia, Valeri Shaveri, Guram Sadzaglishvili. *ed*—Guliko Omadze. *p. designer*—Georgi Mikeladze. *set dec*—Navruz Abdul-ogli. *m. arrangements*—Nana Janelidze. *make-up*—Guram Barnabishvili. *sd. rec*—Dimitri Gedevanishvili. *subtitles*—Filmexport Studios. *l.p*—Avtandil Makhharadze (*Varlam Aravidze/Abel Aravidze*), Iya Ninidze (*Guliko*), Merab Ninidze (*Tornike*), Zeynab Botsvadze (*Ketevan Barateli*), Ketevan Abuladze (*Nino Barateli*), Edisher Giorgobiani (*Sandro Barateli*), Kakhi Kavsadze (*Mikhail Korisheli*), Nino Zakariadze (*Elena Korisheli*), Nato Otzhigava (*Ketevan as a child*), Dato Kemkhadze (*Abel as a child*), Veriko Anjaparidze, Boris Tsipuria, Akaki Khidasheli, Leo Antadze, Rezo Asadze, Amiran Amiranashvili, Amiran Buadze, Dato Papuashvili, Srota Skhirtladze, Beso Khidasheli, M. Makhviladze, T. Tsitsishvili, M. Kakhiani, R. Kiknadze, Kh. Khobua, L. Kapanadze, K. Makhazadze, Z. Kavtaradze, D. Dvalishvili, N. Javakhishvili, M. Jojua, T. Koshkadze, P. Nozadze, T. Tavariani, M. Shembeli, I. Vasadze, R. Baramidze, G. Gogoberidze, T. Saralidze, S. Gozichaishvili, G. Otarashvili. 13,536 ft. 150 mins. *Subtitles*.

Varlam Aravidze, deceased mayor of a community in the Soviet province of Georgia, receives a prestigious funeral in keeping with

has to be reburied secretly to avoid scandal. Next morning, the body has returned. The police are summoned, and Varlam is restored

mediaeval armour to remind us that such tyrants are a cyclical risk of history. The wild behaviour of this strutting figure links him conveniently with the intolerable spectre of fascism which continues to chill the Soviet memory (the Klimov cult, for example, is generously fuelled by the Nazis of *Come and See*), while his devious and ruthless exercise of power indicates a new clarity in acceptable Russian opinion of Stalin that much enhances any calculated transparency in the present leadership.

Stalin, like Abuladze and Varlam, came from Georgia where loyalty to the Stalinist method has proved perversely durable; no harm would accordingly be seen at official level in the film's reminder that Georgians, too, were victims of Stalin's repressive era, and that children in general are not immune from the failings of their parents. Viewed in these terms, *Repentance* contains a reaffirmation of the advantages of socialism which constitutes no kind of threat to anybody, except to such materialists as have long deserved exile. While illustrating that any violation of human rights is a criminal act (an explosive ethic, one assumes, in a Soviet context), the film associates such violation with individual criminality, not with an anonymous bureaucracy.

Certainly Varlam is unlikely to attract admirers, whatever their nationality. "He had a gift for turning a foe into a friend", mumbles the slightly demonic figure entrusted with the funeral oration, adding thoughtfully: "and vice versa". The mourners fidget in an excess of grief, and one of them swats at a fly. Varlam's gifts, as Abuladze chooses to reveal them, are mainly related to the unexpected: extravagant in posture, his charisma speaking far louder than words (the first Varlam speech in the film, scaffold and crowd alongside, is drowned out by a brass band and a burst water main), he evokes Hynkel (from Chaplin), Azdak (from Brecht) and Richard III (from choice) with just a few treacherous salutations to an invisible audience. One of Abuladze's accomplishments, with the aid of a welter of detail, is to imply national upheaval with seldom more than a dozen actors on screen, plus the kind of rhetoric ("Four out of every three people", declaims the orator, "are our enemies!") that gives the spectator more than enough to chew on. Close up, the ogre converses in non-sequiturs, all charm and reason until with a sudden snap of the patience he unleashes a lunatic rage. Absurd, comical and unpredictable, his motivation confused and obscured (Abuladze shows him guided by whispers unshared with us), his greatest pleasure is to bellow operatic arias at his captives. Varlam is in fact less persuasive as archetypal tyrant than as problematic patriarch within his own suffering family.

Repentance is the third part of a trilogy which Abuladze began in 1968 with *The Invocation* and continued with *The Wishing Tree* in 1976. Based on poems, legends and anecdotes by Georgian writers, the first two films are visually remarkable if discursive in text, much as might be said for *Repentance*. The clearest links between all three are their themes of innocence betrayed (*The Invocation* is an allegory in which Truth is hanged by the Devil, *The Wishing Tree* tells of a maiden put to public and fatal shame for sake

of pure love), and of what Abuladze calls, by way of contrast, "the guilt of the innocent". By this he says he means the intrusion, whether for reasons of malice or for good intentions, of one life into another. Significantly, Abuladze's discussions of *Repentance* reveal that his concern is as much with the dictator's son, Abel, as with the conventional malpractices of the unscrupulous Varlam. "I find Abel even more dangerous: he is a man of double consciousness, unable to tell good from evil. He advocates atheism and wears the cross. Would you deny that many people like him live among us?"

Balancing the dominant figure of Varlam, much of *Repentance* is devoted to Abel (excellently played by the same actor), whose self-awareness, prompted by the confrontations with his father's corpse and, in due course, with that of his own son, reaches its peak when he at last digs up the dictator for himself. Abel justifies Varlam's behaviour with all the usual clichés: "I'm not saying he didn't make mistakes, but he was driven by great motives . . . always guided by the interests of society . . . never personally killed anyone". But as his struggle with the unrepentant grave robber intensifies, Abel's

Barateli cake shop where Ketevan first hears of Varlam's death and decides her plan of campaign to expose the tyrant's corpse. The implication of this enclosure (the same newspaper report, the same cakes, the same Ketevan, are present at the beginning and end of the film) is curiously that all else is in Ketevan's imagination, a mixture of recollection, prediction and utter fantasy. At the same time, the film's uncertain tone, with its eccentric resemblance to a caricatured passion play, can usefully be blamed on Ketevan's reverie, prompted by a newspaper photograph and by childhood memories of strange, illogical events. It could be that Varlam's reign of terror, the events after his funeral, and Ketevan's committal to an asylum (implausibly rendered as some rusty bars and a pleasantly verdant outlook) have never taken place at all—thus decisively defusing such threat as the allegory might have contained for the Varlams of this world.

The film's postscript ("What good is a road if it doesn't lead you to a church?") seems to bring Abuladze's trilogy full circle as a debate about morality and faith, although in the light of *Repentance* it must clearly be necessary to take a fresh look at the previous sec-



Zeynab Botsvadze, in implausible asylum.

private nightmare grips him with doubts and images intriguingly reminiscent of a Bergmanesque expressionism—his face is reflected in a cracked mirror, he explores his sins in interrogation with a fish-eating demon (who turns out to be part parent and part himself), and winds up in court still clutching the fish's skeleton. Finally, seated in the dark at an immense black table which, thanks to a smooth retreat of the camera, seems to resemble a coffin, he accepts responsibility for the sins of his father and proceeds to atonement.

Reducing the parable even further to the level of domestic exploration, the tale of a feud between two families. Abuladze encloses his film within two scenes at the

tions, and to identify what may be specifically Georgian rather than broadly Soviet about Abuladze's message. Meanwhile, he has given us an astonishing gallery of images, from the first Gothic appearance of the corpse in the garden (discovered by Abel's wife in a flame-red robe) to the bitter interrogation scene involving blind Justice and a grand piano. If *Repentance*, in quoting Shakespeare's sonnet (number 66, as Varlam is delighted to remind us), deals in several senses with "art made tongue-tied by authority", it reassuringly confirms that Abuladze, by being in the right place at the right time, has triumphantly reversed the situation, at least for a while.

I N D E X

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BACK PAGE

To the Black Colonels—Tengiz Abuladze

To the Black Colonels—Tengiz Abuladze

Born Kutaisi, Georgia, U.S.S.R., 1924. Finished secondary school in 1942 and enrolled at the Chota Rustaveli Theatre Institute, Tbilisi, in 1943, as a trainee director. His teachers included theatre directors Georgi Tovstonogov and Dimitri Alexide. In 1946, went to the VGIK Cinematography Institute in Moscow, where one of his teachers was Sergei Yutkevitch.

"In about 1947, my friend Revaz Chkheidze and I were so smitten by Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible* that we wrote to the director, at that time in the Kremlin hospital. We told him we were prepared to be lighting assistants, anything, just as long as we could work for him. I've remembered his reply ever since: he warned us that the bread of the filmmaker is very bitter and film work is probably the hardest of all the arts. He continued that he regretted the time of the Renaissance when apprentices worked with their master in the same studio was long past, but that in any case we would never get anywhere without passing our VGIK examinations. . . ."

Graduating in 1953, Abuladze returned to Georgia and joined Gruziafilm (Georgia Film) Studios as a director. No record is available of any films completed prior to graduation. He became a member of the Communist Party in 1978, and was appointed an Artist of the People of the Soviet Union in 1980.

Short Films

NAŠ DVORĚTS/OUR PALACE (1954, documentary).

GOSUDAARSTVENNYJ ANSAMBL 'NARODNOGO TANSTA GRUZII/THE STATE CENTRE FOR GEORGIAN POPULAR DANCE (1955, documentary).

LURDZHA MAGDANY/MAGDANA'S 'BLUE-EYES'/MAGDANA'S DONKEY (1955). Co-directed with Revaz Chkheidze. Based on popular children's story by Georgian writer Yekaterina Gabashvili, set in early 1900s. A peasant family nurses a dying donkey (nicknamed "Lurdzha"—"Blue-Eyes") back to health, only to lose it to the original owner. Best Short Film Award, Cannes, 1956.

AN OPEN-AIR MUSEUM (Russian title unknown, 1973, documentary about the applied art of Daghestan).

Feature Films

CHUZHIE DYETI/SOMEBODY ELSE'S CHILDREN (1958). Gruziafilm. Black-and-white. Based on fact, set in contemporary Tbilisi. A young student abandons her studies in order to marry a widower and look after his children, only to be abandoned by him for the sake of a former love.

YA, BABUSHKA, ILIKÒ I ILARION/ME, GRANDMA, ILIKO AND ILARION (1962). Gruziafilm. Black-and-

white. Based on story by Georgian writer Nodar Dumbadze, also staged at the Rustaveli Theatre. Tragi-comedy about a village lad, Zuriko, and three colourful old ladies in a community slowly depleted as the men go off to war.

MOLBA/THE INVOCATION, a.k.a. PRAYER, THE APPEAL, SUPPLICATION, ENTREATY (1968). Gruziafilm. Black-and-white. Scope. 75 mins. Based on poems by Georgian writer Vazha Pshavela which recreate folk legends; a study of good and evil, and man's responsibility to his conscience and his people. A Georgian warrior, Aluda (Tengiz Arcvadze) struggles but spectacularly fails to protect the maiden, Truth (Russudan Kiknadze), from the Devil, known by the Georgian name of Mazil (Ramaz Ckhikvadze). Unreleased outside the U.S.S.R. until 1974, when it won the Grand Prix at San Remo.

OZHERELE DLYA MOYEV LYUBIMOV/A NECKLACE FOR MY BELOVED (1972). Gruziafilm. Colour. 73 mins. Based on a story by Daghestan writer Ahmedkhan Abu-Bakar, set in the mountain village of Chokha. Slapstick comedy, part fairy-tale, part-parody, in which a young suitor journeys among meadows and mountains in search of a gift worthy of his sweetheart. He encounters a circus, an army of 'nymphs' intent on removing his trousers, and an exotic temptress with a machine-gun. Abuladze's first colour film, it was a great popular success in the U.S.S.R.

DREVO ZHELANYA/THE WISHING TREE (1976). Gruziafilm. Colour. 107 mins. Based on stories by Georgian writer Giorgi Leonidze about life in a mountain village, Kachetica (birthplace of Niko Pirosmiani), at the turn of the century.

MONANIEBA (POKAYANIYE)/REPENTANCE (1984). Gruziafilm. Colour. 150 mins. "After making *The Wishing Tree*, I was in a terrible car crash. When I understood what had happened (or rather, what could have happened), I decided that since I had been allowed to live it must have been for some purpose. Shortly afterwards I began working on *Repentance*. . . It was set in the Stalin era, a period characterised by lawlessness and purges, but I have not made a film about Stalin. I have tried to depict the subject in as general a way as possible, showing tyranny, violence and humiliation from Nero to 'the black colonels'.

"I am profoundly convinced that the process of creating a film is unknowable, it mostly happens in the unconscious. Much of *Repentance*—not just a shot or a phrase—consists of images I have seen in my dreams. I am certain that it was through dreams that my unconscious forced this story to the surface so that I would film it".

Philip Strick

(Quotes taken from an interview in *La Révue du Cinéma*. May 1987)

VARIETY

POKAYANIYE
SOVIET-COLOR

A Studio Gruzia Film (Tbilisi) production. World sales: Sovexport. Screenplay by Tengiz Abuladze, Rezo Kveselava, Nana Dzhanelidze. Directed by Abuladze; camera (Orwo-color) Mikhail Agranovik, editor, uncredited; production design, Georgi Mikelidze; music score selector, Dzhanelidze. Reviewed at private screening, Malmö, Sweden, April 26, 1987. (In competition at the Cannes Film Festival.) Running time: 145 MINS.

Varlam Aravidze (father) and Abel Aravidze (son) Avtandil Makharadze
 Guliko Ija Ninidze
 Jorjane Merab Ninidze
 Ketevan Barateli Zejnab Botavadze
 Nino Barateli Ketevan Abuladze
 Sandro Barateli Edisher Giorgobiani
 Mikhail Barateli Kahki Kavradze
 Elena Korisheli Nino Zakariadze
 Ketevan (child) Nato Djigava
 Abel (child) Nato Djigava

Malmö — As an unexpected export item, Tengiz Abuladze's Georgian-language feature film "Repentance" is the fairest child yet (its production year is 1984) of the current *glasnost* policy of artistic freedom and is sure to be received with huzzahs everywhere. Picture is, however, hardly a shoo-in beyond the art exhibition circuit.

"Repentance" is on continuous tragedy-cum-farce, constantly unsettling in its effects, some of which are special indeed, highly entertaining, too, even if slightly overburdened with dialog (in Georgian, the production coming out of Stalin's home state) and engrossingly dramatic and striking in its visual values. Kafkaesque moods and Buñuel imagery are obvious inspirations throughout.

A late-dictator's grave is being violated repeatedly by a woman with a grievance, and she now stands before the judges of a state that is never pinpointed in time or fashion: the judges wear wigs like in a British court, the prisoners, dressed in modern clothes, are taken away in Medieval horse-drawn wagons, etc. What makes the woman's acts especially alarming is that the dead man now keeps popping up to give trouble like Hitchcock's "Harry."

The dictator's son, himself a high official with vested interests, would like his father to remain buried and one day slaps his own son for being too inquisitive about the old man's deeds. The result is that the youngster literally shoulders the burdens of his grandfather's sins and commits suicide.

The sins in question include the old tyrant's dealings with a friend, a painter. He woos the painter to win him over for his cause, but the painter refuses him and is then exiled to Siberia. Later he is tortured and crucified upside down in an old church, now converted into a science lab. Symbolism and allegory need no learned keys to deciphering anywhere in Abuladze's film, yet the club of sanctimonious propaganda is never yielded.

The gist of picture's moral is that art and individual freedom will prevail. When the painter is crucified,

(Continued on page 20)

APR 29 1987

Cannes Film

(Continued fr

Pokayaniye

the walls of the church instantly catch fire. The artist's wife, not knowing about his destiny, goes down to the river in the hope of finding his name or a message from him carved in the timber coming from the north. She finds nothing, but another woman on a similar errand does and is seen embracing the dead wood, talking to it and finally kissing it like it was truly the mouth of her loved one.

All acting (with Avtandil Makharadze doing a cunning job of playing both the grotesque dictator figure and the dictator's son struggling with his conscience) is subjugated neatly to story's natural flow, but Makharadze is likely to strike everybody as their own heart's Mr. Everyman when, towards film's end, he makes sure the dictator stays dead by exhuming him once more (his time throwing him down the mountain slope to be eaten by the crows. A more Christian message comes through in picture's final frames where the painter's daughter is in her kitchen decorating a cake with small crosses. Through the window, an old woman asks about the way or road to the church. There is no church, she is told. Why then, she persists, is the road still there?

It would appear relevant to add that Tengiz Abuladze is no flash-in-the-pan. He was born in 1924, is a graduate of the Moscow Film School and has done at least eight feature films. Even to Cannes, he is no newcomer. He won a prize there in 1956 for his short film "Magdan's Donkey." —Kell.

APR 29 1987

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Film: Soviet Drama

Satire

REPENTANCE, directed by Tengiz Abuladze; written (in Georgian with English subtitles) by Nana Djanelidze, Tengiz Abuladze and Rezo Kveselava; director of photography, Mikhail Agranovich; music arranged by Nana Djanelidze; art director, Georgy Mikeladze; produced by Gruziafilm Studio. At Cinema Studio 1, Broadway and 68th Street. Running time: 145 minutes. This film has no rating.

Varlam Aravidze/Avet Aravidze
Avtandil Makharadze
Katevan Baratelli.....Zelnab Botsvadze
Sandro Baratelli.....Edisher Giorgobiani
Nino Baratelli.....Katevan Abuladze
Guliko Aravidze.....Iya Ninidze
Tornike.....Merab Ninidze

By JANET MASLIN

THE skill with which "Repentance" has been made is sure to be eclipsed in importance by the very fact that it was made at all. The level of political self-criticism to be found in this Soviet film is so high, and the satire so scathing, that "Repentance" has been greeted as a phenomenon at home. For American audiences, it will seem almost equally startling. Yet "Repentance" also warrants attention for the flamboyant directorial style of Tengiz Abuladze, a man who favors surreal touches, unexpected leaps through time, and the blackest humor. "Repentance" would seem mordantly funny if its wit, like that of its central character, weren't also so cruel.

"Repentance," which opens today at the Cinema Studio 1, is a long, sprawling film with a style that is hardly seamless, yet Mr. Abuladze gives it a unifying vision. It centers on the mercurial figure of Varlam Aravidze, who was the mayor of a small Georgian village and is being buried as the film begins. As it turns out, he is gone but not forgotten, for his body reappears each morning in the garden of his son and daughter-in-law's unusually comfortable home. The body is positioned almost casually, propped against a tree, and is there each day no matter what precautions the townspeople take to trap it in its grave. Someone, it develops, wants to be certain that the mayor will not be left in peace.

That someone is a baker named Katevan Baratelli, and much of the film is a flashback, presenting the story that she tells at her trial. It is the story of Varlam's long and sinister relationship with the people of his town, a relationship that begins on what appear to be friendly terms. Varlam likes to joke, even to play the clown. He professes to love art and music, to respect the importance of religion. But from the day of Varlam's inauguration, little Katevan's father, Sandro, a painter, sees danger coming. Soon after the first of his exchanges with the duplicitous mayor, Sandro has a dream that he and his wife are buried under newly plowed earth, with only their faces showing; watching them from the distance is

town, a relationship that begins on what appear to be friendly terms. Varlam likes to joke, even to play the clown. He professes to love art and music, to respect the importance of religion. But from the day of Varlam's inauguration, little Katevan's father, Sandro, a painter, sees danger coming. Soon after the first of his exchanges with the duplicitous mayor, Sandro has a dream that he and his wife are buried under newly plowed earth, with only their faces showing; watching them from the distance is Varlam, singing an aria.

Both the mayor and his grown son (in the film's later sections) are played by A. I. Makharadze, an actor with a remarkable face. Mr. Makharadze would resemble Stalin even without the costumes and haircut he has been given here, and the addition of a small, vertical, Hitlerian black mustache only makes the effect that much more chilling. Mr. Makharadze perfectly embodies the mayor's mixture of hypocrisy and high-mindedness, evolving into an ever more deadly and corrupt figure as the story progresses. The persecution of Katevan's parents (the actor playing her father, Edisher Giorgobiani, has a Christ-like appearance) is depicted in specific detail, and Varlam's larger tyranny over the village is also presented. "If necessary, we'll catch a black cat in a dark room," says Varlam, "even if there's no cat there."

As its title suggests, the last part of "Repentance" concerns itself with contrition, as Varlam's descendants are forced to recognize his crimes; this section of the film is more ordinary than what comes before. Mr. Abuladze often illustrates Varlam's evildoing in lightheartedly surrealist terms that are, in this context, a real surprise, as when knights in armor appear in the background to support the black-shirted mayor in realizing his aims. Later on, when Sandro has been imprisoned — "exiled without the right to correspond," as his wife and daughter are told by a faceless official — he stands in a ruin overgrown by wildflowers while a man and woman at a white piano offer entertainment of a sort. Then the woman leaps back into position, replacing her blindfold and lifting her scales, for she turns out to be blind justice at its most unheeding. Imagery like this risks being terribly heavy-handed, but Mr. Abuladze presents it with remarkable naturalness and ease.

The lessons of "Repentance" come through powerfully, but didacticism is not this film's foremost aim. It's a fine and accomplished work, as artful as it is sobering.

Choral Society

The New York Choral Society will perform works by Kodaly, Barber and Mozart tomorrow at 8 P.M. at Carnegie Hall. Tickets are \$10 to \$22. Information: 247-7800.

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11/29/87

From Russia With Scorn

By OLGA CARLISLE

THE CENTRAL FIGURE OF "Repentance" is Varlam the dictator — the mayor of a Georgian city who looks vaguely like Mussolini but also has some of Hitler's madness and Stalin's cunning and something, too, of the Georgians' own Lavrenti P. Beria, Stalin's murderous secret police chief with his glittering pince-nez. Varlam's rise to power is relentless. As his grip on his people tightens, fear and corruption are made palpable.

"Repentance," a complex, coherent metaphor of the evil of tyranny, is the creation of Tengiz Abuladze, a Soviet Georgian film maker. His attack on Stalinism and the heirs of Stalin has been seen by millions of people in the Soviet Union, and "Repentance" is the coun-

In 'Repentance,' the director Tengiz Abuladze takes hammer and sickle to tyrants everywhere.

try's nominee for an Academy Award for best foreign film.

The film, scheduled to open in New York on Friday at the Cinema Studio, begins with the death and funeral of Varlam, whose corpse proceeds to reappear and — despite reburial — to appear again.

The Georgian city in which the film is set resembles a run-down provincial town in the south of France or Italy, and the film is a study of a society destroyed by a malevolent, maniacal ruler, whose legacy is a debilitating perpetuation of lies that his descendants refuse to face, much as the heirs of Stalin have done in the Soviet Union.

Stark Christian imagery appears throughout: the villain devouring a fish, a heavily mustachioed friend of Varlam's family wolfing down church-shaped cakes. Weaving them together in a surreal manner, Mr. Abuladze gives expression to what he sees as the need for all of the film's viewers — not only Georgians or Soviets — to repent in the aftermath of recent history.

His surrealistic effects recall the magical ease with which the peacock appears on a snowdrift in Fellini's "Amarcord." Some of the film is enigmatic. A white grand piano stands in the middle of an overgrown garden where a man, wearing only a shirt puts flowers under its lid. A blindfolded young woman is led off into the bushes by a white-gloved man in black. Is not that heavy-set, smirking man with the small mustache perhaps the devil himself? Here is that wicked man destroying the lives of a beautiful young couple with a little girl. But the woman who is decorating pastries to look like small churches, why is she so sad? Almost as sad as the dark-haired young man who keeps shouting at his father. Both are angry. Evidently the man with the mustache had done them great harm.

Other scenes express the Soviet experience in ways never seen before: a shipment of logs arrives at the railway



Propped against a tree, the corpse of the with terror in "Repentance." Below left,

times, however, it was also the birthplace of Stalin, who, through his henchman Beria, would exterminate most of the intelligentsia of his homeland. Among the survivors were Tengiz Abuladze and his family.

His father was a medical doctor, and his mother was an economist. Born in 1924, Mr. Abuladze first studied directing in Tbilisi, then in Moscow at the Higher State Institute of Cinematography. The director of half a dozen films, he has received several Soviet and international awards — at Edinburgh, San Remo and Cannes.

En route to Colorado, in the stately dining room of the Lodge at Grand Canyon, Mr. Abuladze offered a toast in the elaborate Georgian manner, ending: "...An old belief in my country is that only the ideal world has reality."

During the five days on the road to Tel-

expression to what he sees as the need for all of the film's viewers — not only Georgians or Soviets — to repent in the aftermath of recent history.

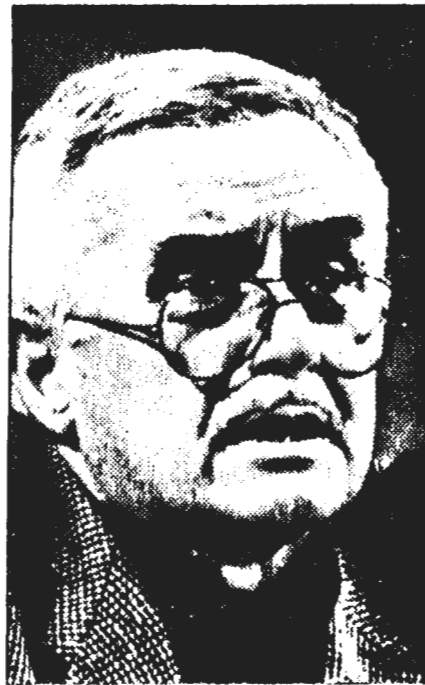
His surrealistic effects recall the magical ease with which the peacock appears on a snowdrift in Fellini's "Amarcord." Some of the film is enigmatic. A white grand piano stands in the middle of an overgrown garden where a man wearing only a shirt puts flowers under its lid. A blindfolded young woman is led off into the bushes by a white-gloved man in black. Is not that heavy-set, smirking man with the small mustache perhaps the devil himself? Here is that wicked man destroying the lives of a beautiful young couple with a little girl. But the woman who is decorating pastries to look like small churches, why is she so sad? Almost as sad as the dark-haired young man who keeps shouting at his father. Both are angry. Evidently the man with the mustache had done them great harm.

Other scenes express the Soviet experience in ways never seen before: a shipment of logs arrives at the railway station from some distant logging camp, some scratched with the names of prisoners desperate to communicate with wives and family, who search the piles of logs in the impossible hope of reaching out to those who would never return to the realm of the living.

Against the glittering post-modernist décor of the Las Vegas airport on his arrival for a visit to the United States last August in connection with the American premiere of "Repentance" at the Telluride Film Festival, Tengiz Abuladze looked sedate in his navy blue blazer, a visitor from a more decorous time and place. He is in his early 60's, a bit stocky, gray-haired, with large brown eyes full of curiosity behind bifocal eyeglasses.

On a drive through the dazzling night streets of Las Vegas, Mr. Abuladze gazed around in disbelief. In a casino, acrobats on trapezes protected by huge nets flew high above the crowds of gam-

Olga Carlisle is the author of "Voices in the Snow," a study of Russian writers and artists. She served as interpreter for Tengiz Abuladze at the Telluride Film Festival.



blers. At the bar of Caesars Palace, in the late-Roman surroundings echoing with the clunk and whirr of slot machines, the jingle of coins, he took in the spectacle of Middle America enjoying a noisy, end-of-summer gambling spree, but clearly his mind was elsewhere: on movies and movie makers.

He talked about Elem Klimov, who had played a crucial role in bringing about the recent liberalization of the Soviet film industry and in promoting the release of a number of excellent films, including "Repentance," on the shelves of Goskino, the all-powerful state film agency. He discussed the Georgian film makers. Per capita, Georgia, with a population of five million, was said to boast more major film makers than any nation on earth.

Soviet Georgia, in the Caucasus mountains, was first founded as an independent Christian kingdom in the fourth century. It became a part of the Russian Empire in the late 18th century in exchange for the czar's protection against Turkish and Persian invaders. Traditionally for Russians, Georgia has been a country of the heart, as Italy was to the English Romantic poets. In modern

Propped against a tree, the corpse of the evil Varlam fills his son, Avel, with terror in "Repentance." Below left, the director.

times, however, it was also the birthplace of Stalin, who, through his henchman Beria, would exterminate most of the intelligentsia of his homeland. Among the survivors were Tengiz Abuladze and his family.

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En route to Colorado, in the stately dining room of the Lodge at Grand Canyon, Mr. Abuladze offered a toast in the elaborate Georgian manner, ending: "... An old belief in my country is that only the ideal world has reality."

During the five days on the road to Telluride, Mr. Abuladze described the near fatal automobile crash that had caused him to make "Repentance."

"It happened one morning near Yerevan in Armenia," he said. "A garbage truck ran into us. The young man at the wheel was killed. I spent many months in hospitals recovering. I decided that if I should live and be able to work again I would do something that really mattered. Something important. I started writing 'Repentance' in 1981. Against all reason, I knew I could film it one day. Every episode in it is based on fact. Once, the woman who bakes the cakes in the film told me and a Russian friend about her experiences in camp. She spoke for six hours. Her story stirred in me the need to share it with others. I knew that her story — which is really ours — could only be told as a moral tale, mixing phantasmagorical and concrete detail.

"At the end of 1982, the script was ready. I decided to show it to Eduard Shevardnadze, our Foreign Minister, who was then the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia. I left it at his office and heard nothing from him for months. Then one day when he was on a mission in Kislovodsk, I was asked

to travel out there to meet with him. We discussed the script — which he liked. He made a few suggestions.

"Eventually, since no movie can be made in the U.S.S.R. without Goskino's approval, we decided to make 'Repentance' as a television show. Once a year, Georgian television is authorized to produce a single cultural program. Only its theme need be approved in Moscow. All we had to do was send a telegram: 'Tengiz Abuladze will shoot a program on a moral-esthetic subject.'

"We filmed 'Repentance' in 1984, in five months. Many Georgian artists and actors were involved. My own household became a beehive of activity. My wife, a distinguished stage actress, plays the woman in black weeping as she finds the name of a loved one on a log. My daughter plays Nina Baratelli, the female lead. Nana Djanelidze, my daughter-in-law, worked on the script and arranged the music. One of my best friends in the world, my grandson, is the little boy who tells about the arrival of logs at the railway station. I was fortunate in having an actor of genius, Avtandil Makharadze, play the dictator and his son.

"'Repentance' was delivered to Goskino on Christmas 1984 and shelved for nearly two years. As you can imagine, Varlam's heirs tried to stop it, saying that it would estrange our people from one another. I agreed to no changes: I believed that the film's time would come. Eventually things began to move forward. The overall situation — in films, in literature, in the news media — was suddenly transformed. A special commission to examine movies which had been denied distribution was created. Our film makers went to Hollywood to establish ties with their American colleagues.

"As for 'Repentance,' it would not have existed without Shevardnadze. Eventually Mikhail Gorbachev saw the film, and he also liked it, and so did Second Party Secretary [Yegor K.] Ligachev. Our Minister of Culture [Aleksandr N.] Yakovlev sent it to Cannes. Before that, its distribution throughout the Soviet Union was authorized. The fore-

Continued on Page 34

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE NOVEMBER 1988

With Scorn

Let 'Repentance'

Continued from Page 23

cast is that 25 million people will have seen it on that first run.

"Now it has been sold in America to the Cannon Group for \$1 million, entirely payable to Goskino. I get no fee. Unfortunately, as things stand now, there will not be funds out of this for new equipment which the Georgian Film Institute, where I teach, needs desperately. The central organizations are still always favored."

In his conversations, Mr. Abuladze returned time and again to the theme of perestroika — reconstruction, which he called a "rapprochement with common sense." "It must succeed, we simply have no alternative."

It will take a lot of courage, ingenuity and hard work even to begin to make up for this. But then it's a challenge to try to break up old patterns. It makes those of us who are 50 and 60 feel young and needed."

Then, as he did every time he felt the conversation was getting too solemn, Mr. Abuladze quoted in jest a Soviet slogan:

"Yes, kids, everything is still ahead of us."

In Telluride, awaiting reaction to "Repentance" from an American audience, Mr. Abuladze was a bit tense, though the warm reception given to two of his earlier films gave him heart. "Prayer" (1968) and "The Wishing Tree" (1977) explore the working of tyranny in pre-Revolution-

ary Georgia. Both speak against the humiliation of man by man.

According to Mr. Abuladze, these films, together with "Repentance," form a loose trilogy about the abuse of power, a theme that evidently obsesses him. His next film, based on Tolstoy's "Hadji Murat," about a proud 19th-century Moslem rebel in the mountains of Georgia, might be a fourth variation on this theme.

After a screening of the earlier films, Mr. Abuladze said, "As you can see, my civic and ethical concerns have not changed much in 20 years. Artistically my inspiration still comes from Bosch and Bruegel. In 'Repentance,' be sure to notice the woman with a book on her head and a rat on top of it. She is the medieval symbol of overreaching science which is destroying us."

About "Repentance," Mr. Abuladze need not have worried. When the screening in Telluride ended, there was a moment of silence before prolonged applause; and then the admiring crowd surged around him.

On walks around town, he had discussed Tolstoy and his "Hadji Murat" and the patriarchal way of life that still exists in the mountains of Georgia and the film he would one day make in celebration of women. But eventually his conversations would come back to perestroika — how to implement the economic and psychological changes that are necessary to the survival of the Soviet Union.

But there was a note of bitterness in his voice, too. "It all should have happened 25 years ago," he added. "It breaks my heart to think of the talented people who have been crushed in the meantime."

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

OFFICE OF THE COUNSELOR



December 21, 1987

Mr. Kenneth M. Duberstein
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House

Mr. Duberstein:

For your information.



Stanton H. Burnett
Counselor of the Agency

December 21, 1987

Dear Mr. Wirthlin:

Director Wick asked that you receive these materials this morning.

They include USIA Research's pre- and post-summit polling highlights, plus recent media reaction reports, on the President's image overseas.

Sincerely,

Stanton H. Burnett
Counselor of the Agency

Mr. Richard Wirthlin
Decision/Making/Information
1363 Beverly Road
McLean, Virginia 22102



Foreign Media Reaction

Early Report

Monday, December 21, 1987

MAJOR STORIES

- U.S. Economy
- Nicaragua

BRIEFS

- Nobel Prize for Reagan, Gorbachev
- Reagan Image
- Takeshita's Visit to Washington
- King Hussein in Moscow
- Goria in Washington
- Israeli Territories

HEADLINES

U.S. ECONOMY

- Britain "Accord on Contra Aid Averts U.S. Budget Crisis" (Times)
- "White House Edges Towards a Compromise on Budget" (Guardian)
- "Congress Seeks More Time for Budget Talks" (Financial Times)
- France "The Dollar and Industrial Europe" [Tribune de l'Economie (tree-BUNE duh leh-koh-noh-MEE)]
- "Hope for Summit Improves Stock Markets" [France-Soir (FRAHNS SWAHR)]
- "Group of Seven Could Meet Soon" [Les Echos (leh-z-eh-KOH)]
- West Germany "Plunge to Second Class" [Der Spiegel (dare-SHPPEE-ghel)]

REAGAN IMAGE

West Germany "Reagan Strengthened" [Stuttgarter Zeitung (STOOT-garter TSEYE-toong)]

Saturday's liberal Stuttgarter Zeitung commented in an editorial, "Influenced to a large degree by his wife Nancy, President Ronald Reagan changed from an arch-conservative Republican to a Realpolitiker because ideology prevented him from successfully governing the nation..."

"The new pragmatic Reagan obviously left the Iran-contra scandal behind him....The Washington summit has pushed Reagan's popularity to old heights...and U.S. opinion surveys underline that Reagan is on the right course..."

India "INF Accord in Perspective: A Promising Preamble" (Indian Express)

The independent Indian Express stated today, "Gorbachev and Reagan have made possible what looked impossible until the other day. If it earns them a page each in history, whether or not that was their basic motivation, especially Reagan's, so be it. They deserve it."

TAKESHITA'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

Japan "Prime Minister Seeks Settlement of U.S.-Japan Problems" [Tokyo Shimbun (toh-kee-oh sheem-boon)]

Liberal Tokyo Shimbun said, "Prime Minister Takeshita will begin a full-scale study this week to prepare for the U.S.-Japan summit talks scheduled for January 13.

"The Prime Minister must make his first trip to the United States succeed at all costs (according to an aide) in order to firmly establish the foundation of the Takeshita Cabinet..."

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

December 21, 1987

Post-Summit Survey

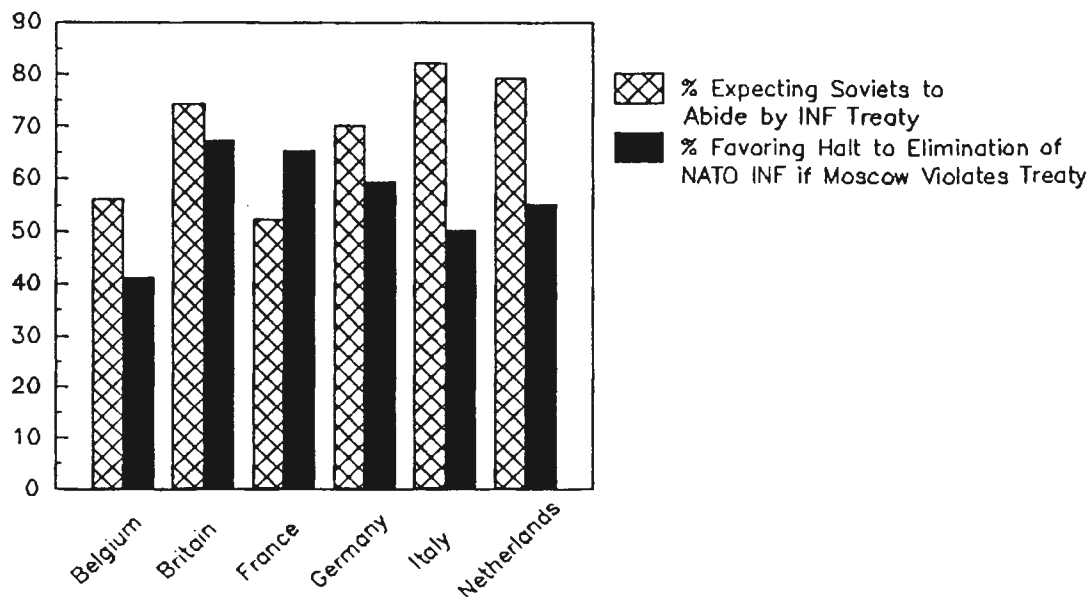
WEST EUROPEANS LAUD SUMMIT, OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVE INF TREATY, BUT WOULD HALT ELIMINATION OF INF MISSILES IF MOSCOW VIOLATES TREATY

This analysis is based on USIA-sponsored national telephone polls, December 14-16, 1987, in Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands and West Germany.

Summary:

- o West Europeans overwhelmingly support the INF Treaty although a sizable minority believe it will make them more vulnerable to Soviet conventional forces. West Germans are least concerned about Soviet conventional forces.
- o Most West Europeans do not believe INF elimination undermines the U.S. commitment to defend West Europe.
- o Most have confidence that the Soviet Union will observe the INF Treaty. But, West Europeans believe NATO should halt the scheduled elimination of INF missiles in Western Europe if the Soviet Union were to violate the INF Treaty.
- o Immediately after the Washington Summit, West Europeans not surprisingly say relations are good between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Positive assessments of this relationship are at their highest level in recent years. But few say the Summit did much to resolve Soviet human rights violations or end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

West Europeans Expect Soviets to Abide by INF Treaty
But Favor Halting Elimination of INF in Western Europe if Violations Occur



West Europeans Widely Acclaim INF Treaty, Do Not Believe Security Threatened

West Europeans -- ranging from 78% in France to 96%-97% in West Germany, the Netherlands and Italy -- overwhelmingly approve the INF Treaty. Moreover, these are enthusiastic supporters. Majorities in Britain (65%), Italy (79%), the Netherlands (76%) and West Germany (77%) strongly favor the INF agreement. Nevertheless, sizable minorities -- between one-quarter and one-third everywhere but West Germany -- believe Western Europe will be more vulnerable to Soviet conventional forces as a result of the Treaty's implementation. Only 16 percent of Germans share this fear (See Table 1). In any event the prevailing view is that the Treaty will have no effect on European security, suggesting that its chief significance is political.

NATO's INF Deployments Credited With Bringing Moscow to Agree to Treaty

In a striking vindication of NATO's two-track strategy, majorities in the Netherlands (63%) and Italy (72%) and sizable pluralities elsewhere believe NATO's decision to deploy U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles had either a great effect or a fairly significant effect in causing the Soviet Union to agree to the elimination of its INF missiles (See Table 2).

Decoupling Not an Issue Among General Public

The prevailing opinion in all countries is that the United States will be just as "committed to the defense of Western Europe" after the elimination of intermediate range nuclear missiles. Moreover, majorities in Britain (59%), France (61%), Italy (67%), the Netherlands (57%) and West Germany (56%) are confident the United States will do "whatever is necessary" to defend their country if attacked. The Belgians are evenly divided (46% to 44%) on this issue.

Europeans Say Their Interests Not Protected at Summit

Majorities in all countries outside of Italy lack confidence that the United States did much to protect their interests when negotiating with the Soviet Union at the Washington Summit. The Italians are evenly divided as to whether the U.S. protected their interests at the Summit. In light of overwhelming European approval of the principal results of the Summit, these findings may reflect an unavoidable disquiet resulting from the bilateral nature of the meeting.

West Europeans Willing to Halt Scheduled Missile Elimination if Soviets Violate Agreement

Although large proportions -- ranging from 52% in France to 82% in Italy -- have confidence the Soviet Union will observe the INF Treaty, majorities in Britain (67%), France (65%), the Netherlands (55%), and West Germany (59%) and half in Italy think NATO should not continue the scheduled elimination of INF missiles if Soviet violations are observed. The Belgians are almost evenly split on this issue (See Table 3).

Summit Seen Reducing East-West Tensions But Not Soviet Human Rights Violations

Majorities -- ranging from 56% in Belgium to 83% in Italy -- in all countries except France credit the Washington Summit with reducing East-West tensions. The French are evenly split on their assessment of the Summit's impact. Large majorities in all countries, from 78 percent in France to 94 percent in Italy, now describe U.S.-Soviet relations as good or very good.

Despite perceived success on arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations, majorities in Belgium (59%), Britain (67%), France (73%), the Netherlands (75%) and West Germany (80%) believe the Summit did little to resolve human rights issues in the Soviet Union. Prior to the Summit most British and Germans had expected progress on human rights in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Making Headway With Public Opinion on Afghanistan Diplomacy

A plurality in Italy and majorities elsewhere say the Summit did not accomplish very much in resolving the Soviet war in Afghanistan. But only in France are Gorbachev's assertions of willingness to withdraw troops widely seen as "merely propaganda." The prevailing view in Italy, the Netherlands and West Germany is that he is serious. The Belgians are evenly divided (35% to 33%). Among the British who have an opinion, Gorbachev's proposals are thought to be serious by a two-to-one margin.

The Washington Summit Fuels START Expectations

In the afterglow of the Washington Summit, a small plurality in France and majorities everywhere else anticipate major cuts in U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons during the coming year.

Prepared by: Steven K. Smith, R/WE

M-12/21/87

Approved by: Nils H. Wessell, Director
Office of Research 485-2965

Table 3: Reaction to Soviet Cheating on INF Treaty

If it was found that the Soviet Union was cheating and not fulfilling this agreement to eliminate its missiles, do you think that NATO should or should not continue to eliminate its own intermediate range nuclear missiles?

	<u>Belgium</u> <u>(513)</u>	<u>Britain</u> <u>(501)</u>	<u>France</u> <u>(503)</u>	<u>Italy</u> <u>(503)</u>	<u>Nether.</u> <u>(536)</u>	<u>Germany</u> <u>(505)</u>
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don't know	$\frac{14}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$	$\frac{23}{100\%}$	$\frac{16}{100\%}$	$\frac{7}{100\%}$	$\frac{10}{100\%}$



December 17, 1987

Dear Mr. President:

Coverage of the summit in the world media continues to be very heavy and positive. One major foreign publication that has consistently depicted the United States in negative terms has changed its approach in recognition of your efforts and achievements.

West Germany's most important illustrated magazine, "stern" (circ. 1,700,000; independent, liberal to left-of-center), has been critical of the U.S. military presence in Europe and has usually given a negative and sensational slant to stories on the United States and on you. However, the editorial in the December 10 issue by Hamburg-based Editor-in-Chief Klaus Liedtke, whom I met at a reception given by "stern" last Friday in Washington and with whom I discussed American foreign policy at some length, clearly reflects a more positive and balanced approach. A translation of the editorial is attached at Tab A and the magazine itself at Tab B.

In a special section on the summit inside the same issue of "stern" entitled "The Handshake" (pp. 12-27, not translated), the authors stress that you had insisted from the beginning on negotiating actual reductions in nuclear weapons from a position of strength, that you are the one who first suggested a 50% reduction in strategic missiles, and that it was America that first proposed the Zero Solution for INF. Such straightforward statements of fact and public recognition of credit owed to you and the United States mark considerable progress in our efforts with European publications that have looked at us too often with a jaundiced eye.

I am enclosing at Tab C a copy of a letter from the Washington Bureau Chief of "stern," Ms. Wibke Bruhns, who confirms that "stern" and Klaus Liedtke are now prepared to "make the President visible and . . . to explain his successful strategy."

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

In addition to telling me that he was wrong about you, Mr. Liedtke indicates in the editorial that he feels your accomplishment is a public relations event that occurs once in a decade and that every day that goes by diminishes the opportunity to take advantage of it. Accordingly, I urge that you promptly implement the suggestions that we have given to the White House about meeting with the correspondents of major foreign publications and granting ten-minute television interviews by satellite with four or five of the most widely heralded anchor persons in England, France, Italy and Germany whom we have identified as objective and sympathetic. They look forward to the interviews as opportunities for helping their nations to get to know you better and to understand your policies within the current context of achievement.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Charles Z. Wick". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "C" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Charles Z. Wick
Director

Translation of Editorial by Klaus Liedtke, Editor-in-chief of STERN Magazine, printed in STERN 51, December 10, 1987

Isn't it great, how one can be wrong? Would you have thought it possible five years ago, that Ronald Reagan, who raged his anti-communism with a verbal barrage against the "evil empire", would smoke a pipe of peace with a head of the communist party?

Would you have thought it possible, that the gerontocracy in the Kremlin lets a "young man" rise to power, who does not only understand the misery of the in reality practiced communism, but who attempts to overcome it by revolutionary changes?

I have to admit that I didn't dare to think that boldly. Now both, Reagan and Gorbatschow, have made history, and it seems as if all those prophets for the end of the world will be proven wrong, who saw mankind on the incessant path to the apocalypse. May it bet just 3 percent of all nuclear weapons, which now will be scrapped - in Washington the change into the post-nuclear age has been inaugurated.

Almost over night a new reason has relaxed the relationship between the superpowers. Images of the enemy are watered down, realpolitik is finally asked for. After four decades, during which the two most powerful countries of the world indulged in their primitive addiction to armaments, invested trillions in destructive weapons, made the globe a bomb with burning fuse - after so much madness there is suddenly a chance to switch from the ideas of confrontation to the ideas of partnership.

It is not discernment alone, which caused the change in atmosphere. Shaken by ever new crises the superpowers since years have had to accept a decrease in their influence. Both have growing difficulties to force their will on the world. Allies and satraps alienate themselves from their respective predominating power. Set out to be a role model for the world - communism there, the American way of life here - both rivals had to recognize, that their attraction has limits.

Totally out of the question is the Sowjet model. The "hoard" of world-redemption as it was planned by Marx and Lenin became under Gorbachev's predecessors a commonplace for revolutionary babble; mismanagment, corruption, narrow-minded bureaucracy mark the failed attempt to out-pace the West.

Also America bids farewell to the dream to be "the last best hope of mankind" (Abraham Lincoln). After the flush of the first Reagan years, where it looked for a while as if a combination of laissez-faire-economics and military muscle-flexing would help the USA to gain back her old greatness, the nation realizes in disillusion, that it has lived beyond its means. A declining standard of living, increasing debts, plunging stock prices let the giant of the post-war years shrink to normal size.

The new eye for reality, which could only be ignored any longer at the price of continuing self-deception, led to new thinking. In Moscow, where Gorbachev and his reformers recognized, that the dogmatically encrusted Soviet-system would have no chance in the age of high-tech, spring broke out: opponents of the regime are no longer automatically sent to Siberia,

there are personal alternatives in elections, and who achieves more will be entitled to earn more. The Kremlin wants to terminate its adventure in Afghanistan as quickly as possible, and it has been a long time since anybody talked about the export of revolutionary ideas.

In Washington, where the world outside for a long time has been viewed as through the slit of a tank, diplomacy is getting acquainted with the requirements of the balance of power. Nobody indulges openly any more in war-strategies, nobody babbles any longer about a possible "victory" in a nuclear war. The Soviets are granted the right to strategic parity, one even has started to talk about the arch-rival's legitimate international interests. And even with the American people the traditional fear of the red is diminishing, Russian is "in". Gorbachev at the moment is more popular than almost all candidates for the coming presidential elections.

To make sure, on the long way to reality in an increasingly complicated world, where states become more and more dependent on each other, only a first step has been taken. There are more problems than the collective wisdom of today's leaders could possibly solve: hunger, overpopulation, oppression, environmental catastrophies... but this is a beginning.

"Dear posterity", Albert Einstein wrote in 1936, "if you don't become more just, more peaceful and in any case more sensible than we are or have been, the devil shall fetch you".

After this week's events Satan will have to wait a little longer.

BKE BRUHNS
Washington Bureau Chief

stern 
The German Magazine

Dec. 16, 1987

Mr. Charles Z. Wick
Director of the USIA

Dear Mr. Wick,-

this is the translation of Klaus Liedtke's editorial. Please keep in mind that I am not a professional interpreter, but I tried to keep it as close as it was possible on such a short notice.

The article inside the issue focusses on the same subject, describing the development in the United States and in the Soviet Union which made the signing of the INF treaty possible. It emphasizes in particular, that the President always has been talking about the difference between limitations for arms buildup like in previous treaties and the necessity for arms reductions, and that he fought the SALT II treaty because of this reason. It also describes how the President favoured the zero-option from the beginning and that nobody thought he was serious (because the Soviets would reject it anyway), and that it was he who brought up the suggestion for 50 % reduction in strategic missiles, and that the world would not believe him, because at the same time he was fighting for the MX in Congress. And the article goes on describing that as early as in the election campaign in 1980 Ronald Reagan has always stuck to his vision of getting the Soviets to negotiate actual reductions through US strength, and that at least we in Europe considered this to be a ploy, and that it would never work - and now, after eight years of patience and persistence, it has.

I understand that your conversation with Klaus Liedtke had the subject that US policy in this time, where everybody is so happy about the treaty, should not leave the field of public relations in Europe to the Soviets but rather make the president visible and heard to explain his successful strategy. Mr. Liedtke asked me to let you know, that STERN would be more than happy to contribute to this, the ultimate being an interview with the president of course. As you may well know, he has never given any German paper this opportunity. The utmost were a few pooled events with German television and daily newspaper correspondents on the eve of the trip to the economic summit in Bonn for example. We of course feel that specifically now, after signing a treaty which has such a great importance especially for Germans on the front-line, this would be the best time to change that habit.

I am glad you could make it to the reception the other day.

Sincerely,



2810 29th Street N.W., P.O. Box 11696, Washington, D.C. 20008-0897 • (202) 462-2223

Wibke Bruhns

Gruner + Jahr AG & Co
Publishing House

West Europeans Widely Acclaim INF Treaty, Do Not Believe Security Threatened

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Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

December 21, 1987

Post-Summit Survey

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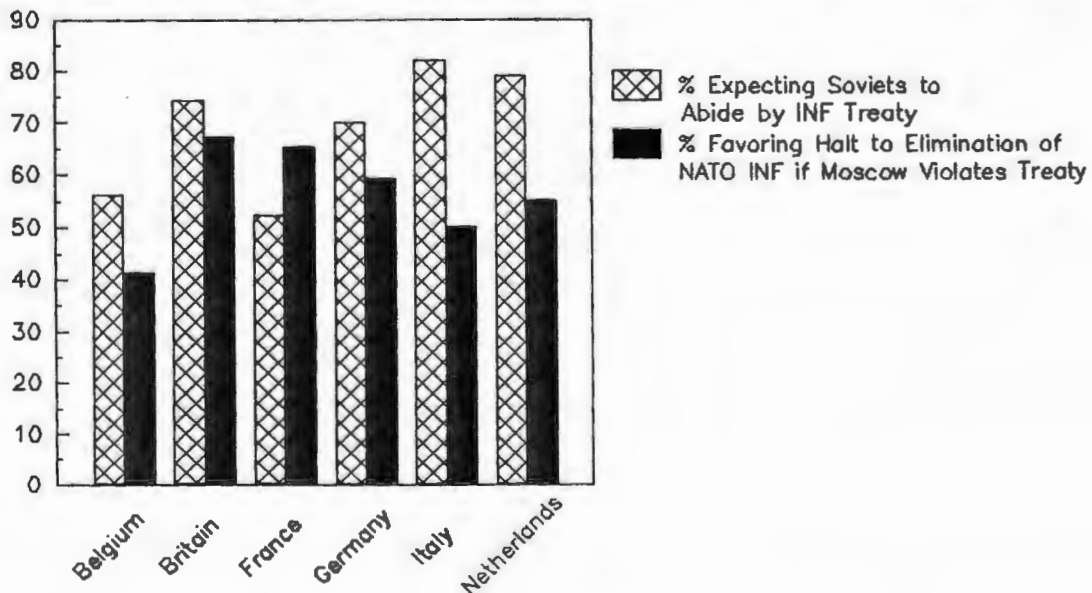




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Talking Points on Gorbachev's Book Perestroyka

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I. General

- Designed for Western audience.
- Logical presentation of themes familiar to Soviet citizens from Gorbachev's speeches.
- Compared with routine Soviet political literature, a surprisingly frank treatment of what has been wrong with Soviet society.
- The cure for economic and other problems is presented undogmatically, suitably dressed up in Lenin quotes.
- Book was completed in August/September 1987, before the Yeltsin affair or the Summit. Shows political boldness but is realistic in counseling against extremes of glasnost.
- Gorbachev concedes that perestroyka has been more difficult than he first imagined.

II. Glasnost and Perestroyka

- Gorbachev makes a strong case for economic and social change. Glasnost is a conscious tool to effect change.
- Glasnost will help close the gap between rhetoric and reality.
- Glasnost implies criticism, but this criticism must be responsible, not simply ambitious (Yeltsin's problem!).
- Many officials still resist criticism. Some of them try to intimidate critics by warning that the West will take advantage (this was precisely the argument of KGB chief Chebrikov in September 1987 speech!).
- The press plays a key role; it must be more effective, less boring.
- Not everyone accepts perestroyka, but Gorbachev cites support from the masses in letters he receives. Perestroyka is a revolution both from above and below.

III. Economic Reform

- Gorbachev stresses socialist principles, e.g., public ownership. He shuns capitalist labels or institutions.
- Nevertheless, a few "exceptions" are allowed: private retail and service activities; family farms on contract.
- Concept: Enhance individual interest (incentive) by differentiated pay.
- Concept: Start with the enterprise, not the center. Decentralize decision-making.
- Concept: Replace administrative methods with economic devices.
- Eliminate subsidies by reforming prices. (But Gorbachev doesn't address the question of allowing market forces to set prices.)
- Planning becomes strategic, rather than detailed management from afar. Layers of planning and administrative bureaucracy are to be cut.

- Investment must go into high technology rather than adding grandiose new projects. And Soviets must learn how to harness technology better.
- The consumer expects and deserves better food, health care and housing.
- He fails to address the key question of military spending (except for general language about the needs of the Third World).

IV. Political and Social Issues

- No change in the Party's monopoly on power.
- But multiple candidates should compete for office (at least on the local level).
- The rule of law must be strengthened, and past injustices compensated. Very harsh criticism of Stalin's abuses.
- Gorbachev's view of women is patronizing and traditional. He wants to lighten their housekeeping burden.
- Soviet Jews are not mentioned, except in brief reference to the twin evils of Zionism and anti-Semitism. Other nationality problems are discussed from an unabashed Russian chauvinistic viewpoint.
- The KGB is mentioned only in dealing with Western critics. Gorbachev's answer is that the Party controls it.
- Religion is scarcely mentioned, except in a letter from a domestic supporter of perestroika.

V. Foreign Policy

- By far the weakest section of the book. Self-serving descriptions of Geneva and Reykjavik.
- Gorbachev's world view shows awareness of concepts that may be novel in USSR, but are a decade old in the West.
- For example, he stresses interdependence, global issues such as pollution, and a multipolar rather than bipolar world.
- There's a strong pitch for the UN, and an emphasis on a more flexible diplomatic style.
- On nuclear issues, Gorbachev places human survival above class struggle, an important revision of Marxist dogma.
- He has a distorted view of the "military-industrial complex." He implies that in the US, the professional military are sensible but the industrialists are warmongers.
- Chernobyl was a lesson. Nuclear war would be far worse: no winners.

KEY PASSAGES OF PERESTROYKA

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1987

fill.

MEMORANDUM ON SUMMIT ACTIVITIES

FROM: TOM GRISCOM

OVERVIEW

With a summit between the U.S. and the Soviet Union expected in the mid-to-late November timeframe, there are some basic decisions that need to be made on strategy, themes, public diplomacy and related issues. For purposes of this plan, the focus is on ratification of the treaty that is expected to be signed. To accomplish this goal, the outreach has to be to various support groups, both those that are traditionally associated with the President and those that are viewed as adversaries. By early activity, it is possible to create an environment, through the use of identified spokesmen, to have people speaking out in support of this first step from both sides of the political spectrum. It should also be assumed that the opponents of such a treaty will be organized and will launch their attacks to prevent public acceptance of the treaty.

I. THEMES

Several weeks ago, an initial focus group was conducted to determine public attitudes about U.S./Soviet relations, possible summit themes/messages. It was learned that there is very little opinion formed to date on INF or the summit. The public expects that both sides will profit from such a summit, but that the U.S. should make sure it has something in reserve because there remain "doubts" about trusting the Soviet Union.

A. The theme for the summit should be based on the phrase "movement" and "peace." This treaty is viewed as an initial step in a more long-term effort for arms reduction. The themes that were tested were all built off this message. These include:

- First step for peace
- Moving toward the promise of peace
- Brightening the horizon for peace
- First step in a new direction

- B. There was a general feeling that the Soviet Union will have a conventional superiority. This argues for using our NATO allies to put this fear to rest. This will be explored in more detail in another section.
- C. One final area that was reviewed in the theme testing was a "comfort" that the U.S. has something in reserve after a treaty is signed. SDI is considered such an item and there is some room for further explanation of SDI since a majority of those tested were not aware that it was a defensive mechanism.

II. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

One person should be designated to serve in this role and to coordinate all public diplomacy activities for inter-agency and other groups. The set-up should be similar to that employed for the Venice Economic Summit with a weekly schedule and a direct coordination with the White House team that is directed by Tom Griscom and Colin Powell. Plans should include the use of the President, cabinet members, outside spokesmen, and a coordination of the message that is being disseminated by the administration each week. A plan should begin within the third week of October and extend in its initial phase through mid-December. The second phase should be aimed at the post-January 1 timeframe which then will be more directed at moving public opinion to bring positive movement on the Senate for ratification of the treaty.

III. TRAVEL

At this time, it is expected that there would be two Presidential trips. The first would be October 28 to West Point with the focus being to use the U.S. Military Academy as a backdrop to set the stage for the conventional weapons debate. A second date of December 1 is being held to tentatively go to a Southern college campus to symbolize support from young people in the more conservative areas of the country. A third date, that might include NATO-related activities, is at least under consideration for the December timeframe but nothing is firm on this proposal. This could be either a trip to Brussels or a meeting at Williamsburg with the NATO leaders. In 1983, President Reagan got the other economic leaders to agree to deploy Cruise and Pershings at the summit in Williamsburg. The setting would be around mid-December with a tie-in to "peace on earth" during the holiday season.

IV. SPEECHES

There are several speeches already planned. These include:

- October 26: national address following foreign ministers meeting in Moscow
- November 3: Worldnet to speak to European community
- November 11: Veterans Day Address, Arlington Cemetery, to discuss conventional arms and enlist veterans support for INF.
- November 30: Address Joint Session of Congress

There is no public speaking event planned for the November 15 - 29 period because it is anticipated this may be the time for a meeting between the President and the Soviet General Secretary. If this is correct, there will probably be an additional speech that will be in conjunction with the actual summit.

V. PRESS

Several activities are already on the President's schedule and they are all related to the summit. Beginning on October 23 and 26 with foreign journalists and television reporters, the month of November will afford opportunities to meet with the national news magazines, bureau chiefs (newspapers), national network anchors and columnists.

VI. SURROGATES

The previous subjects have been primarily aimed at Presidential activities. A full schedule of events will be planned for cabinet members and other pro-summit advocates. These include speeches in Washington and other foreign policy forums around the country; news interviews and op-ed pieces; Worldnet and various public support group activities. In addition, each week a series of administration talking points will be available through the Office of Public Affairs at the White House. Each cabinet secretary will be asked to be available for these efforts.

Various support groups should be formed from former defense secretaries, former secretaries of state, former Members of Congress on the Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees, former NSC directors, conservative leaders, veterans groups, governors, presidential candidates (both parties), former Presidents and Nato leaders.

VII. POLLING

During this period of time, there will be several DMI surveys that will give us a read on public response to up-to-date activities and positioning for longer term messages leading to the State of the Union. There will be at least three surveys conducted between this time and the State of the Union.

VII. POSITIVES/NEGATIVES

Some issues are natural plusses such as reducing the threat of war/peace. In the most recent DMI surveys, this combination rates as the top issue. Most people feel that a summit will be in our best interest, it will lessen tensions, that it will be a plus for the President and the U.S., and that it will lead to further activity in the future.

However, there are some negatives that have to be removed. Verification is the most obvious and some critical spokesmen need to be found to deal with this question. This should include private meetings, op-ed pieces and interviews. There needs to be some identified arms experts out-front on this issue. The conventional arms balance question will exist and there should be an effort to enlist our NATO allies to help work this issue both in Europe and in this country. One possible scenario is to have several NATO leaders meet with the President post-summit and then have them spend several days with members of the Senate and on various speaking tours around the country.

IX. ASSIGNMENTS

As we have seen since our arrival at the White House, unless there are assigned responsibilities, things tend to either fall through the cracks or not get done in a timely fashion. That is why it is important at this stage to make assignments and give responsibility for the functional coordination to one person. I would suggest that a weekly reporting session be held to go over the bidding for that week and to look ahead. This person will work in conjunction with the summit planning team and the Chief-of-Staff and the Director of the NSC. Listed below are some suggested assignments and some recommended timeframes for activities to be started/concluded:

- Coordinator: Rhett Dawson
- Press Relations: Dan Howard
- Media Relations: Elizabeth Board
- Public Affairs: Tom Gibson
- Policy: Bob Linhart/Fritz Ermarth
- Schedule: Fred Ryan
- Public Liaison: Rebecca Range

- Conservative Contact: Ken Cribb
- Congressional relations: Pam Turner
- Outside Coordinator: Rhett Dawson
- Travel: Jim Hooley
- Staff Support: David Chew

- Ex-officio: Tom Griscom/Colin Powell

Timeframes should coincide with activities. Such as:

- Now through October 31: Outside contacts lined up with surrogates, speakers, inter-agency personnel, conservatives, etc.
- November 1 - November 15: First series of issue papers/themes are released.
- November 15 - November 24: Summit related activities.
- November 25 - December 15: Post-summit activities that are aimed at positioning issue and active use of all surrogates for both media/substantive purposes.
- January 1 - through ratification.

X. TIME PLAN

Summit activities should be broken into three phases:

- A. October - mid-November: Presidential period.
- B. Mid-November: Summit
- C. Late-November - December: Surrogates carry message in addition to the President.

XI. MISCELLANEOUS

Here are some random thoughts that should either be approved or discarded. That will require some decisions now and efforts being made to line-up people. These include:

- A. Former Presidents post-summit
- B. Former Defense Secretaries
- C. Former Secretaries of State
- D. Outside Lobbyists
- E. Former NSC Directors
- F. Conservatives
- G. Presidential candidates (Republican and Democrat)
- H. Governors

file
KAD

November 17, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: THOMAS C. GRISCOM
FROM: TOM C. KOROLOGOS *JK*
SUBJECT: Summit

This morning at our Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy meeting we had a follow-up discussion of our dinner conversation last night and all our folk chimed in and offered a bunch of suggestions and concerns about the summit. Rather than let it sit in some USIA file, I took a few notes and I thought I'd pass them along for your use and consideration as you plan this important event. Herewith the suggestions and thoughts:

- A. Beware of a press blackout. In the United States we lose. We can say to the Russians we don't have such a thing here and it just doesn't work anyway.
- B. What plans does the White House have for calming down U.S. nervous-nellie politicians of both the left and the right? Is there something that can be done within the configuration of the summit to bring these guys aboard?
- C. Is there any plan to brief and bring in non-government third parties to extol the virtues of the treaty? Where are Sonnenfeldt, Eagleburger, Pearle, Kissinger, Carter, Ford, Nixon? We need third party surrogates, besides our own government briefers. I repeat, my recommendation that you invite the former Presidents to the State Dinner and start roping them in.
- D. Is anybody worrying about Mrs. Gorbachev? The "style section" element will be equally as important as the page one stories. She said the other day at an American exhibit in Moscow that she is receiving mail from Americans who ask to meet with her. Are we prepared to handle a "town meeting" or a visit to some suburban home that she might try to pull off? Do we have requests in for equal time on the morning shows? The Sunday shows? Or whenever she appears?

