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STWCK

**MEMORANDUM
OF CALL**

Previous editions usable

TO: [Handwritten Name]

YOU WERE CALLED BY- YOU WERE VISITED BY-
[Handwritten Name]

OF (Organization)
[Handwritten: CON, Illinois]

PLEASE PHONE ▶ FTS AUTOVON
[Handwritten: 217-333-0690]

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

[Handwritten: concerns info for Summit Speech]

RECEIVED BY <u>[Handwritten Signature]</u>	DATE <u>[Handwritten: 11/10]</u>	TIME <u>[Handwritten: 1149]</u>
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STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES & LITERATURES

November 9, 1987

Dana Rohrabacher
Presidential Speechwriter
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dana Rohrabacher:

I'm honored that you should think of me as a source of ideas in connection with your preparation of Presidential remarks during the Gorbachev visit. Here are a few that I might offer.

Ivan Krylov, the nineteenth century writer of fables who is sometimes called the "Russian LaFontaine," is well known to every Russian. His "The Swan, the Crawfish, and the Pike" is a brief, pointed classic on the need for pulling together:

"Once upon a time a swan, a crawfish and a pike undertook to move a wagonload together. They hitched and harnessed themselves to the wagon, but no matter how hard they worked the wagon wouldn't move, though the load was not really heavy.

You see, the swan flew upward, the crawfish kept crawling backward, and the pike kept making for the water. No matter how hard they tried, the wagon is still there."

This might be used in the context of remarks to the effect that at last there is cooperation among the allies, the Soviet Union and the United States, in the matter of arms control.

There are Russian proverbs that might be found appropriate, for instance:

"Moscow wasn't built in a day." (Moskva' srázu ne stróilas) This might illustrate some comment on the necessary slowness of the START process.

"We were born to make dreams come true." (My rozhdeny, chtob skázku sdélat byl'yu). This is from a Soviet popular song about aviation and flying, which might have an application to the remarkable achievements of the summit.

Or, why not something really wonderful from Shakespeare:

"O! it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant." (From Measure for Measure). These lines might underline some remarks on the responsibility of both superpowers (since we are being diplomatic), to temper strength with gentleness and mercy.

I hope you will find some of these suggestions helpful. I will continue to think about the problem, and will write you again if other ideas occur to me.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Edward J. Brown

Edward J. Brown



UNIVERSITY
IFORNIA 94305

9, 1987

*James Robinson
Presidential Speechwriter
The White House
Washington, D.C.*

*EDWARD J. BREWEN
DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CA 94305*

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underline some remarks on the responsibility of both
superpowers (since we are being diplomatic), to temper strength
with gentleness and mercy.

Thank you so
much for your
& insightful suggestions.

~~They were~~ They were ~~exactly~~
what we were looking
for. I am certain
they will add
to the spirit of the
Summit and will
be put to use in
~~public~~ public events
and private meetings.
I'll be passing them on
directly to President
Blaylock

Princeton University Department of Politics
Princeton, New Jersey 08544

November 11, 1987

Dear Mr. Rohrabacher:

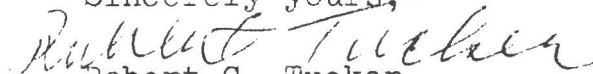
I enclose a copy of the op-ed piece in which you expressed interest when we spoke on the phone this morning. Probably it wouldn't fit in, but just in case. Certainly at long last the people of the Soviet Union need that "time to live."

One further thought occurred to me after we spoke. Since the President is not likely to want to use more than one Russian folk saying in public remarks, it's possible that the other one I mentioned to you could be of some service when, assuming all goes well with the meeting, it comes time to raise a glass to Gorbachev at a dinner party. That's when the other saying could conceivably come into play, along perhaps the following lines:

"I understand that the Russian people have a saying, 'A poor peace is better than a good quarrel' (or good fight, whichever sounds better--R.T.). Well, considering what we've achieved in this meeting in Washington, I want to drink to the health of General Secretary Gorbachev--a Soviet leader who has done his part to begin changing the 'poor peace' that has long existed between our two great countries into a good one--and that's what I and the American people desire."

Just a thought. In any case, I and I think a great number of our fellow citizens very much want this meeting to be in every way a success.

Sincerely yours,



Robert C. Tucker
Professor Emeritus

V-E Day, Moscow: 'Time to Live!'

Robert C. Tucker

Some
PRINCETON, N.J. — Germany surrendered twice, on May 8, 1945, in France, and again on May 9, in Berlin. The news reached the people early on May 10, a day that will be remembered in Moscow as the day when the United States flag flew over the city. The square was awash with people in uniform. The uniformed Americans who went out of the Embassy's courtyard, across from the Kremlin, were carried off to Red Square on the backs of exultant Muscovites. An attaché, I joined the crowd in the square. My most vivid memory is of an Army major looking toward the square, saying to no one in particular, "It's time to live!" The major was in front of the chancery, where the Stars and Stripes were displayed, and the people crowded to express gratitude and good will toward the country that stood by the Soviet Union in its darkest hour, sending munitions, tanks and trucks that helped the Soviet Union fight for national survival — in

which 20 million or more lost their lives. The Soviet press had said little about the scale of Lend-Lease aid, but the people knew: "Studebaker" and "Villis" (for Jeep) were Russian words by then, and canned Spam helped civilians as well as soldiers survive years of hunger.

The throng held up no placards and shouted no slogans. It wasn't an official event. It was something almost unthinkable in Stalin's Russia — a spontaneous popular demonstration. George F. Kennan, then chargé d'affaires, stepped on to the pedestal of a column and addressed the people in Russian, congratulating them on victory day. They responded with a roar of appreciation.

Apart from relief that the war was over, they had grounds to be hopeful. In grim 1941 and 1942, to solidify popular support for the war effort, Stalin's regime had spread word through the rumor grapevine — the Soviet Union's real communications network — that things would be different after victory. Americans would be invited to open department stores in cities. Collective farms would be disbanded. Students could study abroad. There would be freedom of expression in culture. No wonder people like that major in Red Square thought it was "time to live."

But in 1946, Stalin dashed hopes

But Russia's autocratic ruler harbored other ideas. When Nikita S. Khrushchev telephoned him from Kiev on V-E Day to congratulate him on the victory, Stalin rudely cut him off, saying he was wasting his, Stalin's, time. Recalling the conversation in his memoirs, Khrushchev interpreted Stalin's behavior to mean that "since the war was over and done with, he was already thinking about other, more important matters." Perhaps.

Subsequently, of course, all hopes were dashed. It wasn't "time to live" after all — but to gear up for another great war whose strong possibility was lodged, Stalin said on Feb. 9, 1946, in the nature of "imperialism." Hence, three or four more five-year plans ("five-year plan" symbolized sacrifice) would be needed to guarantee against "all contingencies." A

Russian in whose apartment I was sitting when Stalin's speech came over the radio lay his head on his folded arms when he heard those words. All over Russia, I believe, people did the same. It was the end of expectations for a postwar life free of the tension and privation experienced throughout the 1930's. The postwar period was being prefigured as a potential new prewar period. The cold war was on.

The rest is familiar history. Stalin died March 5, 1953, but Russia has yet to cast off the incubus of his legacy. It lives on in centralized bureaucratic administration, censorship of public expression, imperial rule over neighboring lands, economic ills and a decline of ideological belief. Although the cold war ended, in some sense, after Stalin died, relations between the superpowers are at a low point. After five years of hostile occupation, 115,000 Soviet troops are still fighting to subdue once-neutral Afghanistan.

Forty years later, what an American who remembers V-E Day in Moscow wishes for the peoples of the Soviet Union is the freer life they hoped for in World War II, were denied when it ended and still have not obtained despite improvements in their lot since Stalin's time. □

Robert C. Tucker, author of "Stalin and the Revolutionary," is professor of government at Princeton University.

ambian

(I've killed in a few words left but keep the Khrushchev on the left - mungin)

— Russian Experts —

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RUSSIAN FOLK SAYINGS

"I understand that the Russian people have a saying, 'A poor peace is better than a good quarrel'. Well, considering what we've achieved in this meeting in Washington, I want to drink to the health of General Secretary Gorbachev -- a Soviet leader who has done his part to begin changing the 'poor peace' that has long existed between our two great countries into a good one -- and that's what I and the American people desire."

suggested by Robert Tucker
Princeton University

To underscore the importance of conducting arms negotiations carefully and deliberately, there is the following Russian folk saying:

"Measure seven times, cut once."
Translation: syem' raz primer', odin raz otrezh'
Phonetics: syem rahz pree-MYER, ah-DEEN rahz aht-RESH

To emphasize the need to approach one arms issue at a time, (first accomplish INF, then move to START):

"If you run after two hares, you'll catch neither."

To underscore the importance of negotiating seriously in private sessions and not making provocative public pronouncements and ultimatums:

"The more quietly you go, the farther you get."
Translation: tische yedesh', dal'she budesh'
Phonetics: TEE-she YED-yesh, DAHL-she BOOD-yesh

suggested by Rick Ruth
USSR Country Affairs Officer, USIA

"The harvest comes more from sweat than from the dew."
(Urozhai ne stol'ko ot rosy, skol'ko ot pota.)

"Flowers ornament the spring, sheaves of grain the fall."
(Vesna krasna svetami -- osen' snopami.)

"We've gone through seven sweats." (one has exerted one's self to the fullest to accomplish something.) In Russian: Sem' potov soshlo.

"Every man is the blacksmith of his own happiness."
(Vsyak chelovek svoyevo schast'ye kuznets.)

suggested by Ambassador Matlock

"Moscow wasn't built in a day." (Moskva srazu ne stroilas)
This might illustrate some comment on the necessary slowness of the
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lines might underline some remarks on the responsibility of both superpowers
to temper strength with gentleness and mercy.

Edward Brown
Stanford University

HISTORICAL ANECDOTES

On December 19, 1780, Boston lawyer Francis Dana was appointed the first U.S. Minister to Russia. He travelled to Russia the following year with John Quincy Adams, then 14 years old. Adams left after a year. (It is interesting to note that our sixth president spent time in Russia so soon after our revolution.)

The first Roman Catholic priest to receive in the United States all orders from tonsure to ordination was Prince Dimitri Golitsyn, scion of one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of imperial Russia. Golitsyn was ordained by Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, where he had attended the seminary, on March 18, 1795. Golitsyn was then assigned to Conowago, Pennsylvania. He died in 1840 and is buried in Loretto, Pennsylvania.

His sister, Princess Elizabeth Golitsyn, also abandoned Orthodoxy for the Roman Catholic church. She joined the Society of the Sacred Heart and died combatting a yellow fever epidemic in Louisiana.

Alexander Bodisco was the Russian Minister in Washington in 1839. He met and fell in love with 15 year old Harriet Williams, the daughter of a clerk in the Adjutant General's Office. On April 9, 1842, they were married in Georgetown. President Martin Van Buren attended and Senator Henry Clay gave away the bride. One of the bridesmaids was Jessie Benton, later Mrs. John C. Fremont. Two years after the wedding, the couple moved to St. Petersburg. The Emperor of Russia was the Godfather of their first child.

suggestions by Rick Ruth
USSR Country Affairs, USIA

Peter the Great instituted reforms in Russian society that changed substantially the way the society lived and the way it viewed the outside world. While Gorbachev is not in that category, at least not yet, one could speak of him as "following the traditions of Peter the Great."

Ambassador Matlock

Ivan Krylov, the 19th century writer of fables who is sometimes called the "Russian Lafontaine," is well known to every Russian. His "The Swan, the Crawfish, and the Pike" is a brief, pointed classic on the need for pulling together:

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This might be used in the context of remarks to the effect that at least there is cooperation among the allies, the Soviet Union and the United States, in the matter of arms control.

suggested by Edward Brown
Stanford University

RUSSIAN QUOTATIONS

"To live a life is not the same as crossing a field." (This implies that life is hard; there are obligations that one would like to duck, but can't.)

Translation: Zhizn' prozhit' - ne polye pereyty.

Boris Pasternak



AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF RUSSIAN

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November 25, 1987

To: Dana Rohrabacher
Presidential Speechwriter

From: Dan Davidson

Subject: Russian Sources for the President's Remarks

No doubt several of these items have already come to your attention. In selecting the quotations, I have tried to be extremely careful with matters of tone and appropriateness, given the significance of the occasion.

Literal Translation

Commentary

1. "Russians may spend a long time harnessing, but they ride fast."

(Change takes much time and energy, e.g., Gorbachev's reform efforts, but the prospects can be great.)

2. "Just begun, half done."

(Sufficient patience and labor will overcome difficulties. An optimistic view of the future.)

3. "And the wagon is still there to this day."
-Krylov

The closing line of a Krylov fable. A wagon got stuck in the river; the efforts to remove it were all at cross purposes. The phrase is used by Russian to refer to long-standing and still unresolved problems.

4. "Doveryai, no proveryai!
Trust, but keep an eye on everything too.

Used by the President on 11-23-87.

5. Measure seven times, cut once!

The necessity of discussing proposals thoroughly before making a decision.

6. Strike while the iron is hot!
To be afraid of wolves is not to go into the forest.

The idiom is the same in Engl. and Russian. The need for decisive action when conditions are ripe.

7. Monomakh's hat is a heavy one!
(Lit.: You're very heavy, hat of Monomakh!)

The heavy burden of the leader of the government. (Vladimir Monomakh was one of the greatest rulers of ancient Rus' --circa 1100--and his hat (crown), full of precious jewels, is a treasure.

8. Not (just) on paper is it written, but shown by deed.

- ¹ An Act of God was defined as something which no reasonable man could have expected. *Ib. p. 316*

Samuel Hoffenstein

1890-1947

- ² Babies haven't any hair;
Old men's heads are just as bare;
Between the cradle and the grave¹
Lies a haircut and a shave.
Songs of Faith in the Year After Next, VIII

- ³ The heart's dead
Are never buried. *Summer Day*

Gerald White Johnson

1890-1980

- ⁴ Nothing changes more constantly than the past; for the past that influences our lives does not consist of what actually happened, but of what men believe happened.
American Heroes and Hero-Worship [1943], ch. 1

- ⁵ In revolutionary times the rich are always the people who are most afraid.
American Freedom and the Press [1958]

Hanns Johst

1890-

- ⁶ When I hear the word "culture" . . . I reach for my revolver.²
Schlageter [1933]

Robert Ley

1890-1945

- ⁷ Strength through joy.³
Instruction for the German Labor Front [December 2, 1933]

Howard Phillips Lovecraft

1890-1937

- ⁸ The most merciful thing in the world, I think, is the inability of the human mind to correlate all its contents.

The Call of Cthulhu [1928], ch. 1

¹See Dyer, 345-3; Shelley, 467-9; and Bellamy, 665-17.

²Wenn ich Kultur höre . . . entsichere ich meinen Browning.

Often attributed to GOERING.

³Kraft durch Freude.

Herbert — Pasternak

Christopher Morley

1890-1957

- ⁹ There is only one success—to be able to spend your life in your own way.
Where the Blue Begins [1922]

- ¹⁰ Life is a foreign language; all men mispronounce it.
Thunder on the Left [1925], ch. 14

- ¹¹ April prepares her green traffic light and the world thinks Go.
John Mistletoe [1931], 8

- ¹² A human being; an ingenious assembly of portable plumbing.
Human Being [1932], ch. 11

- ¹³ There was so much handwriting on the wall That even the wall fell down.
Around the Clock [1943]

- ¹⁴ Chattering voltage like a broken wire
The wild cicada cried, Six weeks to frost!
End of August

- ¹⁵ Why do they put the Gideon Bibles only in the bedrooms, where it's usually too late, and not in the barroom downstairs?
Contribution to a Contribution

Allan Nevins

1890-1971

- ¹⁶ Too little and too late.
Current History [1935]

Boris Pasternak

1890-1960

- ¹⁷ Art is unthinkable without risk and spiritual self-sacrifice.

*On Modesty and Bravery [1936].
Speech at Writers' Conference⁴*

- ¹⁸ I am alone; all drowns in the Pharisees' hypocrisy.
To live your life is not as simple as to cross a field.⁵
Hamlet [1946]⁶

- ¹⁹ You are eternity's hostage
A captive of time. *Night [1957]⁶*

- ²⁰ But what are pity, conscience, or fear
To the brazen pair, compared
With the living sorcery
Of their hot embraces?
Bacchanalia [1957],⁶ st. 4

⁴Translated by E. LEVIN.

⁵See Anonymous: Russian, 934:12.

⁶Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

Pasternak

- ¹ During the
when all p
literature ha

- ² It snowed ar
Snow swept
A candle bu
A candle bu
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- ³ A corner dr
And the wh
Upswept its
A cruciform

- ⁴ And when
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cause they

- ⁵ Departur
try is for n

- ⁶ I am caught
Somewhere
But all I h
There is ne

- ⁷ Mademois
Hasn't bee
Hinky d

- ⁸ Mademois
She never

- ⁹ Sawdus

¹Vladimir

²Translate

³Translate

⁴Translate

⁵Soldiers'

versions. Th

British Arm

[Harry Wi

⁶Mussolin

1 During the last years of Mayakovski's life,¹
when all poetry had ceased to exist . . .
literature had stopped.

I Remember [1958]²

2 It snowed and snowed, the whole world over,
Snow swept the world from end to end.
A candle burned on the table;
A candle burned.

*Doctor Zhivago [1958]. The Poems
of Yurii Zhivago, Winter Night,
st. 1*

3 A corner draft fluttered the flame
And the white fever of temptation
Upswept its angel wings that cast
A cruciform shadow. *Ib. st. 7*

4 And when the war broke out, its real horrors,
its real dangers, its menace of real death
were a blessing compared with the inhuman
reign of the lie, and they brought relief be-
cause they broke the spell of the dead letter.
Ib. epilogue

5 Departure beyond the borders of my country
is for me equivalent to death.
Letter to Khrushchev [1958]³

6 I am caught like a beast at bay.
Somewhere are people, freedom, light,
But all I hear is the baying of the pack,
There is no way out for me.
The Nobel Prize [1959]⁴

"Red" Rowley
fl. 1915

7 Mademoiselle from Armenteers,
Hasn't been kissed in forty years,
Hinky dinky, parley-voo.
Mademoiselle from Armentières⁵

8 Mademoiselle from St. Nazaire,
She never heard of underwear. *Ib.*

George Seldes
1890-1970

9 Sawdust Caesar.⁶
Title of book [1932]

¹Vladimir Mayakovski [1893-1930].

²Translated by MANYA HARARI.

³Translated by E. LEVIN.

⁴Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

⁵Soldiers' song of World War I, with innumerable
versions. The tune and verse structure were based on a
British Army song composed by Alfred James Walden

[*"Harry Wincott," 1867-1947*].

⁶Mussolini.

Frederick Moore Vinson
1890-1953

10 Wars are not "acts of God." They are
caused by man, by man-made institutions, by
the way in which man has organized his soci-
ety. What man has made, man can change.
*Speech at Arlington National Ceme-
tery [Memorial Day, 1945]*

Charles Erwin Wilson
1890-1961

11 What is good for the country is good for
General Motors, and what's good for General
Motors is good for the country.
*To the Senate Armed Forces
Committee [1952]*

Agatha Christie
1891-1976

12 "This affair must all be unraveled from
within." He [Hercule Poirot] tapped his fore-
head. "These little gray cells. It is 'up to
them'—as you say over here."
*The Mysterious Affair at Styles
[1920], ch. 10*

13 Every murderer is probably somebody's old
friend. *Ib. 11*

14 It is completely unimportant. That is why
it is so interesting.
*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd
[1926]*

15 I don't think necessity is the mother of in-
vention⁷—invention, in my opinion, arises
directly from idleness, possibly also from lazy-
ness. To save oneself trouble.
*An Autobiography [1977]. Pt. III,
Growing Up*

16 If you love, you will suffer, and if you do not
love, you do not know the meaning of a Chris-
tian life. *Ib.*

17 Trains are wonderful. . . . To travel by
train is to see nature and human beings,
towns and churches and rivers, in fact, to see
life.

*Ib. IV, Flirting, Courting, Banns
Up, Marriage*

18 One is left with the horrible feeling now
that war settles nothing; that to win a war is
as disastrous as to lose one! . . . We shall
not survive war, but shall, as well as our ad-
versaries, be destroyed by war.⁸

Ib. X, The Second War

⁷See Persius, 117:8, and Anonymous Latin, 134:9.

⁸See Pyrrhus, 92:10.

Thomas Noel

1799-1861

- ¹ Rattle his bones over the stones!
He's only a pauper, whom nobody owns!
The Pauper's Drive, st. 1

Alexander Pushkin¹

1799-1837

- ² Reason's icy intimations,
and records of a heart in pain.
Eugene Onegin [1823],² dedication
- ³ Unforced, as conversation passed,
he had the talent of saluting
feliculously every theme,
of listening like a judge supreme
while serious topics were disputing,
or, with an epigram-surprise,
of kindling smiles in ladies' eyes.
Ib. ch. 1, st. 5
- ⁴ Always contented with his life,
and with his dinner, and his wife.
Ib. st. 12
- ⁵ Why fight what's known to be decisive?
Custom is despot of mankind.
Ib. st. 25
- ⁶ The illness with which he'd been smitten
should have been analyzed when caught,
something like *spleen*, that scourge of Britain,
or Russia's *chondria*, for short.
Ib. st. 38
- ⁷ Habit is Heaven's own redress:
it takes the place of happiness.³
Ib. 2, st. 31
- ⁸ Love passed, the muse appeared, the weather
of mind got clarity newfound;
now free, I once more weave together
emotion, thought, and magic sound.
Ib. st. 59
- ⁹ Moscow . . . how many strains are fusing
in that one sound, for Russian hearts!
What store of riches it imparts!
Ib. 7, st. 36
- ¹⁰ *Pimen [writing by lamplight]:* One more, the
final record, and my annals
Are ended, and fulfilled the duty laid
By God on me, a sinner. Not in vain
Hath God appointed me for many years
A witness, teaching me the art of letters;

¹The great music's unforgotten strain/Ceased . . .
and shall not resound on earth again.—MIKHAIL LER-
MONTOV, *The Poet's Death* [written January 1837]

²Translated by CHARLES JOHNSTON.

³See Burke, 372:1.

Noel — Brown

A day will come when some laborious monk
Will bring to light my zealous, nameless toil,
Kindle, as I, his lamp, and from the parch-
ment
Shaking the dust of ages, will transcribe
My chronicles.

Boris Godunov [written 1825]⁴

- ¹¹ Like to some magistrate grown gray in office
Calmly he contemplates alike the just
And unjust, with indifference he notes
Evil and good, and knows not wrath nor pity.
Ib.
- ¹² Ah! heavy art thou, crown of Monomakh!
Ib.
- ¹³ *Mosalsky:* Good folk! Maria Godunov and
her son Feodor have poisoned themselves.
We have seen their dead bodies. [*The people
are silent with horror.*] Why are you silent?
Cry, Long live Czar Dimitri Ivanovich! [*The
people are speechless.*] *Ib.*
- ¹⁴ And thus he⁵ mused: "From here, indeed
Shall we strike terror in the Swede;
And here a city, by our labor
Founded, shall gall our haughty neighbor;
"Here cut"—so Nature gives command—
"Your window through on Europe:⁶ stand
Firm-footed by the sea, unchanging!"

*The Bronze Horseman [written
1833]⁷*

John Brown

1800-1859

- ¹⁵ Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the
powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great,
or in behalf of any of their friends . . . every
man in this court would have deemed it an
act worthy of reward rather than punish-
ment.

*Last speech to the court
[November 2, 1859]*

- ¹⁶ I am yet too young to understand that God
is any respecter of persons.⁸ I believe that to
have interfered as I have done . . . in behalf
of His despised poor, was not wrong, but
right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I
should forfeit my life for the furtherance of

⁴Translated by ALFRED HAYES.

⁵Peter I (the Great) [1672-1725].

⁶Algarotti has somewhere said: Pétersbourg est la
fenêtre, par laquelle la Russie regarde en Europe.—Au-
thor's Note, *The Bronze Horseman*

I am at length going to give you some account of this
new city, of the great window lately opened in the North,
through which Russia looks into Europe.—FRANCESCO
ALGAROTTI, *Letters About Russia* [June 30, 1739]

⁷Translated by OLIVER ELTON.

⁸See Acts 10:34, 48:10, and I Peter 1:17, 52:8.

Brown — Ma

the ends of just
ther with the bl
the blood of m
whose rights a
cruel, and unjus
it be done!

- ¹ This is a bea
*Rema
seated
1859/*

- ² Kathleen Mav
breaking,
The horn of the

- ³ Oh! hast thou
part?
It may be for y
Then why art
heart?

- ⁴ That is the b
to make the pe
make them ha

- ⁵ Free trade,
which a govern
is in almost ev

- ⁶ Press where y
amidst th
And be your c
Navarre.

- ⁷ Nobles by t
and priests b
hand.

- ⁸ The dust an

¹I wish I was as
is of everythin
BOURNE [1779-18
L. C. SANDERS [1

lie, but to keep alive in young people the courage to dare to seek the truth, to be free, to establish in them a compelling desire to live greatly and magnanimously, and to give them the knowledge and awareness, the faith and the trained facility to get on with the job. Especially the faith . . .

Time, March 1, 1954.

Alexander Pushkin

(1799-1837)

Russian writer

The heavy hanging chains shall fall,
The walls shall crumble at the word,
And Freedom greet you with the light
And brothers give you back the sword.

The Decembrists.

John Pym

(1584-1643)

English statesman

Shall it be treason to embase the king's coin, though but a piece of sixpence, and not a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, to set a stamp and character of servitude upon them?

If they (the Jesuits) should once obtain a connivance, they will press for a toleration; from thence to an equality, from an equality to a superiority, from a superiority to an extirpation of all contrary religions.

Quoted, The Churchman, July, 1956.

Pyrrhus

(318?-272 B.C.)

King of Epirus, general

Another such victory and we are undone.

Pythagoras

(1592-1644)

Greek philosopher, mathematician

It is only necessary to make war with five things: with the maladies of the body, the ignorances of the mind, with the passions of the body, with the seditions of the city, and the discords of families.

As soon as laws are necessary for men, they are no longer fit for freedom.

Francis Quarles

(582-497? B.C.)

English poet

Let the greatest part of the news thou hearest be the least part of what thou believest, lest the greater part of what thou believest be the least part of what is true. Where lies are easily admitted the father of lies will not easily be excluded.

Enchiridion.

Matt(hew Stanley) Quay

(1833-1904)

Political boss

If you have a weak candidate and a weak platform, wrap yourself up in the American flag and talk about the Constitution.

1886.

Quincey

See De Quincey

Josiah Quincy

(1744-1775)

American lawyer, Revolutionary patriot

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined that where-soever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall

of jurisprudence. A meridian is decisive of truth, or a few years of possession. Fundamental laws change! Right has its epochs! A pleasant justice, that, which a river or a mountain limits. Truth on this side of the Pyrenees, may be heresy on the other!

Ibid.

Thought makes the whole dignity of man; therefore, endeavor to think well, that is the only morality.

Ibid.

Justice without power is inefficient; power without justice is tyranny. Justice without power is opposed, because there are always wicked men. Power without justice is soon questioned. Justice and power must therefore be brought together, so that whatever is just may be powerful, and whatever is powerful may be just. *Ibid.*

The incredulous are the most credulous. They believe the miracles of Vespasian that they may not believe those of Moses.

Ibid., ch. 2.

Montaigne (bk. 1, ch. 22) is wrong in declaring that custom ought to be followed simply because it is custom, and not because it is reasonable or just. *Ibid.*, ch. 4.

Justice is what is established; and thus all our established laws will be regarded as just, without being examined, since they are established.

Ibid., ch. 7.

To carry piety to the extent of superstition is to destroy it.

Ibid., ch. 14.

Had it not been for miracles, there would have been no sin in not believing in Jesus Christ.

Ibid., ch. 22.

Tous nos malheurs viennent de ne pouvoir être seuls. (All our troubles come from not being able to be alone.)

Boris Pasternak

(b. 1890)

Russian writer, Nobel Prize
for literature, 1959

Man is born to live and not to prepare to live.

Doctor Zhivago, Copyright, Pantheon Books, 1958.

To run true to type is the extinction of a man, his condemnation to death. If he cannot be assigned to a category, if he is not a model of something, a half of what is needed is there. He is still free from himself, he has acquired an atom of immortality.

Ibid.

Gregariousness is always the refuge of mediocrities, whether they swear by Soloviev or Kant or Marx. Only individuals seek the truth, and they shun those whose sole concern is not the truth.

Ibid.

How many things in the world deserve our loyalty? Very few indeed. I think one should be loyal to immortality, which is another word for life, a stronger word for it. One must be true to immortality—true to Christ.

Ibid.

It is possible to be an atheist, it is possible not to know whether God exists, or why, and yet believe . . . that history as we know it now began with Christ, and that Christ's gospel is its foundation.

Ibid.

The two basic ideas of modern man (are in the Gospels)—without them he is unthinkable—the idea of free personality and the idea of life as sacrifice.

Ibid.

Marxism is too uncertain of its grounds to be a science. I do not know a movement

more self-centered
from the facts than

As for the men
anxious to establish
fallibility that they
more truth.

No single man
cannot be seen, just
growing.

Wars and revolutions,
pierres, are history's
yeast. But revolution
men of action with
geniuses in their arms
selves to a limited freedom
old order in a few hours
upheaval takes a few
years, but the fanaticism
the upheavals is with
thereafter, for centuries

Now what is history
of systematic exploration
death, with a view to

I think that if the
held down by threats
whether of jail or of
—then the highest
would be the lion taking
his whip, not the people
himself. But don't you
point—what for centuries
the beast is not the
music; the irresistible
truth, the powerful
ample.

Reshaping life? People
have never understood
—they have never felt
beat, however much

more self-centered and further removed from the facts than Marxism. *Ibid.*

As for the men in power, they are so anxious to establish the myth of their infallibility that they do their utmost to ignore truth. *Ibid.*

No single man makes history. History cannot be seen, just as one cannot see grass growing. *Ibid.*

Wars and revolutions, kings and Robespierres, are history's organic agents, its yeast. But revolutions are made by fanatical men of action with one-track minds, geniuses in their ability to confine themselves to a limited field. They overturn the old order in a few hours or days, the whole upheaval takes a few weeks or at most years, but the fanatical spirit that inspired the upheavals is worshipped for decades thereafter, for centuries. *Ibid.*

Now what is history? It is the centuries of systematic explorations of the riddle of death, with a view of overcoming death. *Ibid.*

I think that if the beast in man could be held down by threats—any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death—then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But don't you see this is just the point—what for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music; the irresistible power of unarmed truth, the powerful attraction of its example. *Ibid.*

Reshaping life! People who can say that have never understood a thing about life—they have never felt its breath, its heart-beat, however much they may have seen

or done. They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded . . . Life is constantly renewing and remaking itself. *Ibid.*

The great majority of us are required to live a life of constant duplicity. Your health is bound to be affected if, day after day, you say the opposite of what you feel, if you grovel before what you dislike and rejoice at what brings you nothing but misfortune. *Ibid.*

I stand alone. All else is swamped by
Pharisaism.

To live life to the end is not a childish task. *Ibid.*

In every generation there has to be some fool who will speak the truth as he sees it.
H. N. Taylor interview, N. Y. Times, February 2, 1959.

In this era of world wars, in this atomic age, values have changed. We have learned that we are the guests of existence, travelers between two stations. We must discover security within ourselves.

Nils Nilsson of "The Reporter"; This Week, February 22, 1959.

Louis Pasteur

(1822-1895)

French chemist, bacteriologist

Two opposing laws seem to me now in contest. The one a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction, forces nations to be always ready for battle.

The other, a law of peace, work and health, whose only aim is to deliver man from the calamities which beset him. The

V-E Day, Moscow: 'Time to Live!'

Robert C. Tucker

PRINCETON, N.J. — Germany surrendered twice, on May 8, 1945, in Europe, France, and again on May 9, in Japan. The news reached the people early on May 10, a day that will live in the United States Embassy in Moscow will forget. The square was aswirl with people smiling, congratulating anyone in uniform. The uniformed American went out of the Embassy's courtyard, across from the Kremlin, hurried off to Red Square on the heels of exultant Muscovites. A attaché, I joined the crowd in the square. My most vivid memory is of an Army major looking toward the square saying to no one in particular, "It's time to live!" The chancery, where the United States and the United Kingdom were displayed, was crowded to express gratitude toward the country that stood by the Soviet Union in the darkest hour, sending munitions, ships and trucks that helped fight for national survival — in

which 20 million or more lost their lives. The Soviet press had said little about the scale of Lend-Lease aid, but the people knew: "Studebaker" and "Villis" (for Jeep) were Russian words by then, and canned Spam helped civilians as well as soldiers survive years of hunger.

The throng held up no placards and shouted no slogans. It wasn't an official event. It was something almost unthinkable in Stalin's Russia — a spontaneous popular demonstration. George F. Kennan, then chargé d'affaires, stepped on to the pedestal of a column and addressed the people in Russian, congratulating them on victory day. They responded with a roar of appreciation.

Apart from relief that the war was over, they had grounds to be hopeful. In grim 1941 and 1942, to solidify popular support for the war effort, Stalin's regime had spread word through the rumor grapevine — the Soviet Union's real communications network — that things would be different after victory. Americans would be invited to open department stores in cities. Collective farms would be disbanded. Students could study abroad. There would be freedom of expression in culture. No wonder people like that major in Red Square thought it was "time to live."

But in 1946, Stalin dashed hopes

But Russia's autocratic ruler harbored other ideas. When Nikita S. Khrushchev telephoned him from Kiev on V-E Day to congratulate him on the victory, Stalin rudely cut him off, saying he was wasting his, Stalin's, time. Recalling the conversation in his memoirs, Khrushchev interpreted Stalin's behavior to mean that "since the war was over and done with, he was already thinking about other, more important matters." Perhaps.

Subsequently, of course, all hopes were dashed. It wasn't "time to live" after all — but to gear up for another great war whose strong possibility was lodged, Stalin said on Feb. 9, 1946, in the nature of "imperialism." Hence, three or four more five-year plans ("five-year plan" symbolized sacrifice) would be needed to guarantee against "all contingencies." A

Russian in whose apartment I was sitting when Stalin's speech came over the radio lay his head on his folded arms when he heard those words. All over Russia, I believe, people did the same. It was the end of expectations for a postwar life free of the tension and privation experience throughout the 1930's. The postwar period was being prefigured as a potential new prewar period. The cold war was on.

The rest is familiar history. Stalin died March 5, 1953, but Russia has yet to cast off the incubus of his legacy. It lives on in centralized bureaucratic administration, censorship of public expression, imperial rule over neighboring lands, economic ills and a decline of ideological belief. Although the cold war ended, in some sense after Stalin died, relations between the superpowers are at a low point. After five years of hostile occupation, 115,000 Soviet troops are still fighting to subdue once-neutral Afghanistan.

Forty years later, what an American who remembers V-E Day in Moscow wishes for the peoples of the Soviet Union is the freer life they hoped for in World War II, were denied when it ended and still have not obtained despite improvements in their lot since Stalin's time.

Robert C. Tucker, author of "Stalin and the Revolutionary," is professor of government at Princeton University.

ambition

*(I've killed in a place
wouldn't let any
take Khrushchev on that
left - mulligan)*

RUSSIAN FOLK SAYINGS

"I understand that the Russian people have a saying, 'A poor peace is better than a good quarrel'. Well, considering what we've achieved in this meeting in Washington, I want to drink to the health of General Secretary Gorbachev -- a Soviet leader who has done his part to begin changing the 'poor peace' that has long existed between our two great countries into a good one -- and that's what I and the American people desire."

suggested by Robert Tucker
Princeton University

To underscore the importance of conducting arms negotiations carefully and deliberately, there is the following Russian folk saying:

"Measure seven times, cut once."
Translation: syem' raz primer', odin raz otrezh'
Phonetics: syem rahz pree-MYER, ah-DEEN rahz aht-RESH

To emphasize the need to approach one arms issue at a time, (first accomplish INF, then move to START):

"If you run after two hares, you'll catch neither."

To underscore the importance of negotiating seriously in private sessions and not making provocative public pronouncements and ultimatums:

"The more quietly you go, the farther you get."
Translation: tische yedesh', dal'she budesh'
Phonetics: TEE-she YED-yesh, DAHL-she BOOD-yesh

suggested by Rick Ruth
USSR Country Affairs Officer, USIA

"The harvest comes more from sweat than from the dew."
(Urozhai ne stol'ko ot rosy, skol'ko ot pota.)

"Flowers ornament the spring, sheaves of grain the fall."
(Vesna krasna svetami -- osen' snopami.)

"We've gone through seven sweats." (one has exerted one's self to the fullest to accomplish something.) In Russian: Sem' potov soshlo.

"Every man is the blacksmith of his own happiness."
(Vsyak chelovek svoyevo schast'ye kuznets.)

suggested by Ambassador Matlock

"Moscow wasn't built in a day." (Moskva srazu ne stroilas)
This might illustrate some comment on the necessary slowness of the
START process.

"We were born to make dreams come true." (My rozhdeny, chtob
skazku sdelat byl'yu). This is from a Soviet popular song about aviation
and flying, which might have an application to the remarkable achievements
of the summit.

"O it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant." Shakespeare Measure for Measure. These
lines might underline some remarks on the responsibility of both superpowers
to temper strength with gentleness and mercy.

Edward Brown
Stanford University

HISTORICAL ANECDOTES

On December 19, 1780, Boston lawyer Francis Dana was appointed the first U.S. Minister to Russia. He travelled to Russia the following year with John Quincy Adams, then 14 years old. Adams left after a year. (It is interesting to note that our sixth president spent time in Russia so soon after our revolution.)

The first Roman Catholic priest to receive in the United States all orders from tonsure to ordination was Prince Dimitri Golitsyn, scion of one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of imperial Russia. Golitsyn was ordained by Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, where he had attended the seminary, on March 18, 1795. Golitsyn was then assigned to Conowago, Pennsylvania. He died in 1840 and is buried in Loretto, Pennsylvania.

His sister, Princess Elizabeth Golitsyn, also abandoned Orthodoxy for the Roman Catholic church. She joined the Society of the Sacred Heart and died combatting a yellow fever epidemic in Louisiana.

Alexander Bodisco was the Russian Minister in Washington in 1839. He met and fell in love with 15 year old Harriet Williams, the daughter of a clerk in the Adjutant General's Office. On April 9, 1842, they were married in Georgetown. President Martin Van Buren attended and Senator Henry Clay gave away the bride. One on the bridesmaids was Jessie Benton, later Mrs. John C. Fremont. Two years after the wedding, the couple moved to St. Petersburg. The Emperor of Russia was the Godfather of their first child.

suggestions by Rick Ruth
USSR Country Affairs, USIA

Peter the Great instituted reforms in Russian society that changed substantially the way the society lived and the way it viewed the outside world. While Gorbachev is not in that category, at least not yet, one could speak of him as "following the traditions of Peter the Great."

Ambassador Matlock

Ivan Krylov, the 19th century writer of fables who is sometimes called the "Russian Lafontaine," is well known to every Russian. His "The Swan, the Crawfish, and the Pike" is a brief, pointed classic on the need for pulling together:

"Once upon a time a swan, a crawfish and a pike undertook to move a wagonload together. They hitched and harnassed themselves to the wagon, but no matter how hard they worked the wagon wouldn't move, through the load was not really heavy. You see, the swan flew upward, the crawfish kept crawling backward, and the pike kept making for the water. No matter how hard they tried, the wagon is still there."

This might be used in the context of remarks to the effect that at least there is cooperation among the allies, the Soviet Union and the United States, in the matter of arms control.

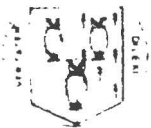
suggested by Edward Brown
Stanford University

RUSSIAN QUOTIATIONS

"To live a life is not the same as crossing a field." (This implies that life is hard; there are obligations that one would like to duck, but can't.)

Translation: Zhizn' prozhit' - ne polye pereyty.

Boris Pasternak



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November 25, 1987

To: Dana Rohrabacher
Presidential Speechwriter

From: Dan Davidson

Subject: Russian Sources for the President's Remarks

No doubt several of these items have already come to your attention. In selecting the quotations, I have tried to be extremely careful with matters of tone and appropriateness, given the significance of the occasion.

Literal Translation

Commentary

1. "Russians may spend a long time harnessing, but they ride fast."
2. "Just begun, half done."
3. "And the wagon is still there to this day."
-Krylov
4. "Doveryai, no proveryai!
Trust, but keep an eye on everything too."
5. Measure seven times, cut once!
6. Strike while the iron is hot!
To be afraid of wolves is not to go into the forest.
7. Monomakh's hat is a heavy one!
(Lit.: You're very heavy, hat of Monomakh!)
8. Not (just) on paper is it written, but shown by deed.

- (Change takes much time and energy, e.g., Gorbachev's reform efforts, but the prospects can be great.)
- (Sufficient patience and labor will overcome difficulties. An optimistic view of the future.)
- The closing line of a Krylov fable. A wagon got stuck in the river; the efforts to remove it were all at cross purposes. The phrase is used by Russian to refer to long-standing and still unresolved problems.
- Used by the President on 11-23-87.
- The necessity of discussing proposals thoroughly before making a decision.
- The idiom is the same in Engl. and Russian. The need for decisive action when conditions are ripe.
- The heavy burden of the leader of the government. (Vladimir Monomakh was one of the greatest rulers of ancient Rus' --circa 1100--and his hat (crown), full of precious jewels, is a treasure.

- ¹ An Act of God was defined as something which no reasonable man could have expected. *Ib. p. 316*

Samuel Hoffenstein

1890-1947

- ² Babies haven't any hair;
Old men's heads are just as bare;
Between the cradle and the grave¹
Lies a haircut and a shave.
Songs of Faith in the Year After Next, VIII
- ³ The heart's dead
Are never buried. *Summer Day*

Gerald White Johnson

1890-1980

- ⁴ Nothing changes more constantly than the past; for the past that influences our lives does not consist of what actually happened, but of what men believe happened.
American Heroes and Hero-Worship [1943], ch. 1
- ⁵ In revolutionary times the rich are always the people who are most afraid.
American Freedom and the Press [1958]

Hanns Johst

1890-

- ⁶ When I hear the word "culture" . . . I reach for my revolver.²
Schlageter [1933]

Robert Ley

1890-1945

- ⁷ Strength through joy.³
Instruction for the German Labor Front [December 2, 1933]

Howard Phillips Lovecraft

1890-1937

- ⁸ The most merciful thing in the world, I think, is the inability of the human mind to correlate all its contents.
The Call of Cthulhu [1928], ch. 1

¹See Dyer, 345-3; Shelley, 467-9; and Bellamy, 665-17.

²Wenn ich Kultur höre . . . entsichere ich meinen Browning.

Often attributed to GOERING.

³Kraft durch Freude.

Christopher Morley

1890-1957

- ⁹ There is only one success—to be able to spend your life in your own way.
Where the Blue Begins [1922]
- ¹⁰ Life is a foreign language; all men mispronounce it.
Thunder on the Left [1925], ch. 14
- ¹¹ April prepares her green traffic light and the world thinks Go.
John Mistletoe [1931], 8
- ¹² A human being; an ingenious assembly of portable plumbing.
Human Being [1932], ch. 11
- ¹³ There was so much handwriting on the wall That even the wall fell down.
Around the Clock [1943]
- ¹⁴ Chattering voltage like a broken wire
The wild cicada cried, Six weeks to frost!
End of August
- ¹⁵ Why do they put the Gideon Bibles only in the bedrooms, where it's usually too late, and not in the barroom downstairs?
Contribution to a Contribution

Allan Nevins

1890-1971

- ¹⁶ Too little and too late.
Current History [1935]

Boris Pasternak

1890-1960

- ¹⁷ Art is unthinkable without risk and spiritual self-sacrifice.
*On Modesty and Bravery [1936].
Speech at Writers' Conference⁴*
- ¹⁸ I am alone; all drowns in the Pharisees' hypocrisy.
To live your life is not as simple as to cross a field.⁵
Hamlet [1946]⁶
- ¹⁹ You are eternity's hostage
A captive of time. *Night [1957]⁶*
- ²⁰ But what are pity, conscience, or fear
To the brazen pair, compared
With the living sorcery
Of their hot embraces?
Bacchanalia [1957],⁶ st. 4

⁴Translated by E. LEVIN.

⁵See Anonymous: Russian, 934-12.

⁶Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

- ¹ During the
when all
literature h
- ² It snowed a
Snow sweep
A candle b
A candle b
- ³ A corner d
And the w
Upswept it
A crucifor
- ⁴ And whe
rors, its rea
were a ble
reign of th
cause they
- ⁵ Departu
try is for
- ⁶ I am caug
Somewher
But all I
There is r
- ⁷ Mademoi
Hasn't be
Hinky
- ⁸ Mademoi
She neve
- ⁹ Sawdu
- ¹⁰ Vladim
¹¹ Translat
¹² Translat
¹³ Translat
¹⁴ Soldiers
versions. T
British Ar
[Harry W
¹⁵ Musso!

1 During the last years of Mayakovski's life,¹ when all poetry had ceased to exist . . . literature had stopped.

I Remember [1958]²

2 It snowed and snowed, the whole world over,
Snow swept the world from end to end.
A candle burned on the table;
A candle burned.

Doctor Zhivago [1958]. The Poems of Yurii Zhivago, Winter Night, st. 1

3 A corner draft fluttered the flame
And the white fever of temptation
Upswept its angel wings that cast
A cruciform shadow. *Ib. st. 7*

4 And when the war broke out, its real horrors, its real dangers, its menace of real death were a blessing compared with the inhuman reign of the lie, and they brought relief because they broke the spell of the dead letter.
Ib. epilogue

5 Departure beyond the borders of my country is for me equivalent to death.
Letter to Khrushchev [1958]³

6 I am caught like a beast at bay.
Somewhere are people, freedom, light,
But all I hear is the baying of the pack,
There is no way out for me.
The Nobel Prize [1959]⁴

"Red" Rowley
fl. 1915

7 Mademoiselle from Armenteurs,
Hasn't been kissed in forty years,
Hinky dinky, parley-voo.
Mademoiselle from Armentières⁵

8 Mademoiselle from St. Nazaire,
She never heard of underwear. *Ib.*

George Seldes
1890-1970

9 Sawdust Caesar.⁶
Title of book [1932]

¹Vladimir Mayakovski [1893-1930].

²Translated by MANYA HARARI.

³Translated by E. LEVIN.

⁴Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

⁵Soldiers' song of World War I, with innumerable versions. The tune and verse structure were based on a British Army song composed by Alfred James Walden ["Harry Wincott," 1867-1947].

⁶Mussolini.

Frederick Moore Vinson

1890-1953

10 Wars are not "acts of God." They are caused by man, by man-made institutions, by the way in which man has organized his society. What man has made, man can change.

Speech at Arlington National Cemetery [Memorial Day, 1945]

Charles Erwin Wilson

1890-1961

11 What is good for the country is good for General Motors, and what's good for General Motors is good for the country.

To the Senate Armed Forces Committee [1952]

Agatha Christie

1891-1976

12 "This affair must all be unraveled from within." He [Hercule Poirot] tapped his forehead. "These little gray cells. It is 'up to them'—as you say over here."

The Mysterious Affair at Styles [1920], ch. 10

13 Every murderer is probably somebody's old friend. *Ib. 11*

14 It is completely unimportant. That is why it is so interesting.

The Murder of Roger Ackroyd [1926]

15 I don't think necessity is the mother of invention⁷—invention, in my opinion, arises directly from idleness, possibly also from laziness. To save oneself trouble.

An Autobiography [1977]. Pt. III, Growing Up

16 If you love, you will suffer, and if you do not love, you do not know the meaning of a Christian life. *Ib.*

17 Trains are wonderful. . . . To travel by train is to see nature and human beings, towns and churches and rivers, in fact, to see life.

Ib. IV, Flirting, Courting, Banns Up, Marriage

18 One is left with the horrible feeling now that war settles nothing; that to win a war is as disastrous as to lose one! . . . We shall not survive war, but shall, as well as our adversaries, be destroyed by war.⁸

Ib. X, The Second War

⁷See Persius, 117:8, and Anonymous Latin, 134:9.

⁸See Pyrrhus, 92:10.

Thomas Noel
1799-1861

- ¹ Rattle his bones over the stones!
He's only a pauper, whom nobody owns!
The Pauper's Drive, st. 1

Alexander Pushkin¹
1799-1837

- ² Reason's icy intimations,
and records of a heart in pain.
Eugene Onegin [1823],² dedication
- ³ Unforced, as conversation passed,
he had the talent of saluting
feliculously every theme,
of listening like a judge supreme
while serious topics were disputing,
or, with an epigram-surprise,
of kindling smiles in ladies' eyes.
Ib. ch. 1, st. 5
- ⁴ Always contented with his life,
and with his dinner, and his wife.
Ib. st. 12
- ⁵ Why fight what's known to be decisive?
Custom is despot of mankind.
Ib. st. 25
- ⁶ The illness with which he'd been smitten
should have been analyzed when caught,
something like *spleen*, that scourge of Brit-
ain,
or Russia's *chondria*, for short.
Ib. st. 38
- ⁷ Habit is Heaven's own redress:
it takes the place of happiness.³
Ib. 2, st. 31
- ⁸ Love passed, the muse appeared, the weather
of mind got clarity newfound;
now free, I once more weave together
emotion, thought, and magic sound.
Ib. st. 59
- ⁹ Moscow . . . how many strains are fusing
in that one sound, for Russian hearts!
What store of riches it imparts!
Ib. 7, st. 36
- ¹⁰ *Pimen [writing by lamplight]*: One more, the
final record, and my annals
Are ended, and fulfilled the duty laid
By God on me, a sinner. Not in vain
Hath God appointed me for many years
A witness, teaching me the art of letters;

¹The great music's unforgotten strain: Ceased . . .
and shall not resound on earth again. — MIKHAIL LER-
MONTOV, *The Poet's Death* [written January 1837]

²Translated by CHARLES JOHNSTON.

³See Burke, 372:1.

Noel — Brown

A day will come when some laborious monk
Will bring to light my zealous, nameless toil,
Kindle, as I, his lamp, and from the parch-
ment
Shaking the dust of ages, will transcribe
My chronicles.

Boris Godunov [written 1825]⁴

- ¹¹ Like to some magistrate grown gray in office
Calmly he contemplates alike the just
And unjust, with indifference he notes
Evil and good, and knows not wrath nor pity.
Ib.
- ¹² Ah! heavy art thou, crown of Monomakh!
Ib.
- ¹³ *Mosalsky*: Good folk! Maria Godunov and
her son Feodor have poisoned themselves.
We have seen their dead bodies. [*The people
are silent with horror.*] Why are you silent?
Cry, Long live Czar Dimitri Ivanovich! [*The
people are speechless.*] *Ib.*
- ¹⁴ And thus he⁵ mused: "From here, indeed
Shall we strike terror in the Swede;
And here a city, by our labor
Founded, shall gall our haughty neighbor;
"Here cut"—so Nature gives command—
"Your window through on Europe:⁶ stand
Firm-footed by the sea, unchanging!"

*The Bronze Horseman [written
1833]⁷*

John Brown
1800-1859

- ¹⁵ Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the
powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great,
or in behalf of any of their friends . . . every
man in this court would have deemed it an
act worthy of reward rather than punish-
ment.

*Last speech to the court
[November 2, 1859]*

- ¹⁶ I am yet too young to understand that God
is any respecter of persons.⁸ I believe that to
have interfered as I have done . . . in behalf
of His despised poor, was not wrong, but
right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I
should forfeit my life for the furtherance of

⁴Translated by ALFRED HAYES.

⁵Peter I (the Great) [1672-1725].

⁶Algarotti has somewhere said: *Petersbourg est la
fenêtre, par laquelle la Russie regarde en Europe.* — *Author's Note, The Bronze Horseman*

I am at length going to give you some account of this
new city, of the great window lately opened in the North,
through which Russia looks into Europe. — FRANCESCO
ALGAROTTI, *Letters About Russia* [June 30, 1739]

⁷Translated by OLIVER ELTON.

⁸See Acts 10:34, 46:10, and 1 Peter 1:17, 52:8.

Brown — Mo

the ends of just
ther with the b
the blood of m
whose rights
cruel, and unju
it be done!

- ¹ This is a bea
*Rem
seate
1859*

- ² Kathleen Ma
breaking,
The horn of th

- ³ Oh! hast thou
part?
It may be for
Then why art
heart?

- ⁴ That is the
to make the p
make them h

- ⁵ Free trade
which a gove
is in almost

- ⁶ Press where
amidst t
And be your
Navarre

- ⁷ Nobles by
and priests
hand.

- ⁸ The dust

¹I wish I wa-
is of everyth
BOURNE 1779-
L. C. SANDERS

lie, but to keep alive in young people the courage to dare to seek the truth, to be free, to establish in them a compelling desire to live greatly and magnanimously, and to give them the knowledge and awareness, the faith and the trained facility to get on with the job. Especially the faith . . .

Time, March 1, 1954.

Alexander Pushkin

(1799-1837)

Russian writer

The heavy hanging chains shall fall,
The walls shall crumble at the word,
And Freedom greet you with the light
And brothers give you back the sword.

The Decembrists.

John Pym

(1584-1643)

English statesman

Shall it be treason to embase the king's coin, though but a piece of sixpence, and not a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, to set a stamp and character of servitude upon them?

If they (the Jesuits) should once obtain a connivance, they will press for a toleration; from thence to an equality, from an equality to a superiority, from a superiority to an extirpation of all contrary religions.

Quoted, The Churchman, July, 1956.

Pyrrhus

(318?-272 B.C.)

King of Epirus, general

Another such victory and we are undone.

Pythagoras

(1592-1644)

Greek philosopher, mathematician

It is only necessary to make war with five things: with the maladies of the body, the ignorances of the mind, with the passions of the body, with the seditions of the city, and the discords of families.

As soon as laws are necessary for men, they are no longer fit for freedom.

Francis Quarles

(582-497? B.C.)

English poet

Let the greatest part of the news thou hearest be the least part of what thou believest, lest the greater part of what thou believest be the least part of what is true. Where lies are easily admitted the father of lies will not easily be excluded.

Enchiridion.

Matt(hew Stanley) Quay

(1833-1904)

Political boss

If you have a weak candidate and a weak platform, wrap yourself up in the American flag and talk about the Constitution.

1886.

Quincey

See De Quincey

Josiah Quincy

(1744-1775)

American lawyer, Revolutionary patriot

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined that where-soever, when-soever, or how-soever we shall

of jurisprudence. A meridian is decisive of truth, or a few years of possession. Fundamental laws change! Right has its epochs! A pleasant justice, that, which a river or a mountain limits. Truth on this side of the Pyrenees, may be heresy on the other!

Ibid.

Thought makes the whole dignity of man; therefore, endeavor to think well, that is the only morality.

Ibid.

Justice without power is inefficient; power without justice is tyranny. Justice without power is opposed, because there are always wicked men. Power without justice is soon questioned. Justice and power must therefore be brought together, so that whatever is just may be powerful, and whatever is powerful may be just.

Ibid.

The incredulous are the most credulous. They believe the miracles of Vespasian that they may not believe those of Moses.

Ibid., ch. 2.

Montaigne (bk. 1, ch. 22) is wrong in declaring that custom ought to be followed simply because it is custom, and not because it is reasonable or just.

Ibid., ch. 4.

Justice is what is established; and thus all our established laws will be regarded as just, without being examined, since they are established.

Ibid., ch. 7.

To carry piety to the extent of superstition is to destroy it.

Ibid., ch. 14.

Had it not been for miracles, there would have been no sin in not believing in Jesus Christ.

Ibid., ch. 22.

Tous nos malheurs viennent de ne pouvoir être seuls. (All our troubles come from not being able to be alone.)

Boris Pasternak

(b. 1890)

Russian writer, Nobel Prize
for literature, 1959

Man is born to live and not to prepare to live.

Doctor Zhivago, Copyright, Pantheon Books, 1958.

To run true to type is the extinction of a man, his condemnation to death. If he cannot be assigned to a category, if he is not a model of something, a half of what is needed is there. He is still free from himself, he has acquired an atom of immortality.

Ibid.

Gregariousness is always the refuge of mediocrities, whether they swear by Soloviev or Kant or Marx. Only individuals seek the truth, and they shun those whose sole concern is not the truth.

Ibid.

How many things in the world deserve our loyalty? Very few indeed. I think one should be loyal to immortality, which is another word for life, a stronger word for it. One must be true to immortality—true to Christ.

Ibid.

It is possible to be an atheist, it is possible not to know whether God exists, or why, and yet believe . . . that history as we know it now began with Christ, and that Christ's gospel is its foundation.

Ibid.

The two basic ideas of modern man (are in the Gospels)—without them he is unthinkable—the idea of free personality and the idea of life as sacrifice.

Ibid.

Marxism is too uncertain of its grounds to be a science. I do not know a movement

more self-centered from the facts than

As for the men anxious to establish fallibility that they more truth.

No single man cannot be seen, just growing.

Wars and revolutions, are history's yeast. But revolutionary men of action and geniuses in their selves to a limited old order in a few upheaval takes a years, but the fanatic the upheavals is thereafter, for century

Now what is history of systematic exploration death, with a view

I think that if held down by threats whether of jail or of—then the highest would be the lion to his whip, not the himself. But don't point—what for century the beast is not the music; the irresistible truth, the powerful ample.

Reshaping life! People have never understood—they have never fought, however much

more self-centered and further removed from the facts than Marxism. *Ibid.*

As for the men in power, they are so anxious to establish the myth of their infallibility that they do their utmost to ignore truth. *Ibid.*

No single man makes history. History cannot be seen, just as one cannot see grass growing. *Ibid.*

Wars and revolutions, kings and Robespierres, are history's organic agents, its yeast. But revolutions are made by fanatical men of action with one-track minds, geniuses in their ability to confine themselves to a limited field. They overturn the old order in a few hours or days, the whole upheaval takes a few weeks or at most years, but the fanatical spirit that inspired the upheavals is worshipped for decades thereafter, for centuries. *Ibid.*

Now what is history? It is the centuries of systematic explorations of the riddle of death, with a view of overcoming death. *Ibid.*

I think that if the beast in man could be held down by threats—any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death—then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But don't you see this is just the point—what for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music; the irresistible power of unarmed truth, the powerful attraction of its example. *Ibid.*

Reshaping life! People who can say that have never understood a thing about life—they have never felt its breath, its heartbeat, however much they may have seen

or done. They look on it as a lump of raw material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded . . . Life is constantly renewing and remaking itself. *Ibid.*

The great majority of us are required to live a life of constant duplicity. Your health is bound to be affected if, day after day, you say the opposite of what you feel, if you grovel before what you dislike and rejoice at what brings you nothing but misfortune. *Ibid.*

I stand alone. All else is swamped by Pharisaism.

To live life to the end is not a childish task. *Ibid.*

In every generation there has to be some fool who will speak the truth as he sees it. *H. N. Taylor interview, N. Y. Times, February 2, 1959.*

In this era of world wars, in this atomic age, values have changed. We have learned that we are the guests of existence, travelers between two stations. We must discover security within ourselves.

Nils Nillson of "The Reporter"; This Week, February 22, 1959.

Louis Pasteur

(1822-1895)

French chemist, bacteriologist

Two opposing laws seem to me now in contest. The one a law of blood and death, opening out each day new modes of destruction, forces nations to be always ready for battle.

The other, a law of peace, work and health, whose only aim is to deliver man from the calamities which beset him. The

V-E Day, Moscow: 'Time to Live!'

Robert C. Tucker

STON, N.J. — Germany
red twice, on May 8, 1945, in
France, and again on May 9,
n. The news reached the
ople early on May 10, a day
is in the United States Em-
Moscow will forget. ^{multitude}
quare was aswirl with people
smiling, congratulating anyone
iform. The uniformed Amer-
o went out of the Embassy's
i, across from the Kremlin,
ried off to Red Square on the
s of exultant Muscovites. A
attaché, I joined the crowd in
re. My most vivid memory is
Army major looking toward
aying to no one in particular,
's time to live!" ^{7:45 pm}
it of the chancery, where the
nd Stripes were displayed,
is crowded to express gratitud-
the good will toward the country
stood by the Soviet Union in
est hour, sending munitions,
eps and trucks that helped the
ght for national survival — in

which 20 million or more lost their
lives. The Soviet press had said little
about the scale of Lend-Lease aid, but
the people knew: "Studebaker" and
"Villis" (for Jeep) were Russian
words by then, and canned Spam
helped civilians as well as soldiers
survive years of hunger.

The throng held up no placards and
shouted no slogans. It wasn't an official
event. It was something almost
unthinkable in Stalin's Russia — a
spontaneous popular demonstration.
George F. Kennan, then chargé d'affaires,
stepped on to the pedestal of a
column and addressed the people in
Russian, congratulating them on victory
day. They responded with a roar
of appreciation.

Apart from relief that the war was
over, they had grounds to be hopeful.
In grim 1941 and 1942, to solidify
popular support for the war effort,
Stalin's regime had spread word
through the rumor grapevine — the
Soviet Union's real communications
network — that things would be dif-
ferent after victory. Americans
would be invited to open department
stores in cities. Collective farms
would be disbanded. Students could
study abroad. There would be free-
dom of expression in culture. No wonder
people like that major in Red
Square thought it was "time to live."

But in 1946, Stalin dashed hopes

But Russia's autocratic ruler harbored
other ideas. When Nikita S. Khrushchev
telephoned him from Kiev on V-E Day to
congratulate him on the victory, Stalin
rudely cut him off, saying he was
wasting his, Stalin's, time. Recalling the
conversation in his memoirs, Khrushchev
interpreted Stalin's behavior to mean
that "since the war was over and
done with, he was already thinking
about other, more important matters."
Perhaps.

Subsequently, of course, all hopes
were dashed. It wasn't "time to live"
after all — but to gear up for another
great war whose strong possibility
was lodged, Stalin said on Feb. 9,
1946, in the nature of "imperialism."
Hence, three or four more five-year
plans ("five-year plan" symbolized
sacrifice) would be needed to guaran-
tee against "all contingencies." A

Russian in whose apartment I was
sitting when Stalin's speech came
over the radio lay his head on his
folded arms when he heard those
words. All over Russia, I believe, peo-
ple did the same. It was the end of ex-
pectations for a postwar life free of
the tension and privation experienced
throughout the 1930's. The postwar
period was being prefigured as a
potential new prewar period. The cold
war was on.

The rest is familiar history. Stalin
died March 5, 1953, but Russia has yet
to cast off the incubus of his legacy. I
lives on in centralized bureaucratic
administration, censorship of public
expression, imperial rule over neigh-
boring lands, economic ills and a de-
cline of ideological belief. Although
the cold war ended, in some sense
after Stalin died, relations between
the superpowers are at a low
point. After five years of hostile occu-
pation, 115,000 Soviet troops are still
fighting to subdue once-neutral Af-
ghanistan.

Forty years later, what an Amer-
ican who remembers V-E Day in
Moscow wishes for the peoples of the
Soviet Union is the freer life they
hoped for in World War II, which
was denied when it ended and still has
not obtained despite improvements in
their lot since Stalin's time. [

Tucker, author of "Stalin
Autocracy," is professor of
emeritus at Princeton Uni-

Lord, the...

ambian

(I've killed in a few
words left and help
you Kenyon on that
left hanging)

150 years after his death

- Alexander Pushkin → writer read
James Fenimore Cooper in both
countries

* they liked each other's writing

- Paris, Jefferson, Franklin gave

→ Alex Radischev his ideas

* a Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow
first book censored in Russia
under Catherine Great

- Pushkin's had commemoration and
exhibits of his works

* Harvard, University of Illinois
and Madison

Ivan Turgnev

Henry James

→ friendly writers
who liked
each other

Vlad

Mayakovsky

in 1920

to

→ visited ~~country~~
twice, poem

Best Buy and Selected Poetry

Patricia Blake

Princeton

- "What the pen has written ~~is not~~
no one can hack away."

Russian proverb

Let that be true of this treaty.

~~Let that be true of this treaty.~~
"A poor peace is better than a good fight."
(quarrel)

Maybe what we need is
a better peace

On victory day May 11th

"Now its time to live"

Boris Pasternak

Alexander Pushkin



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RES. 25 1987
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November 25, 1987

To: Dana Rohrabacher
Presidential Speechwriter

From: Dan Davidson

Subject: Russian Sources for the President's Remarks

No doubt several of these items have already come to your attention. In selecting the quotations, I have tried to be extremely careful with matters of tone and appropriateness, given the significance of the occasion.

Literal Translation

Commentary

1. "Russians may spend a long time harnessing,
but they ride fast."

2. "Just begun, half done."

3. "And the wagon is still there to this day."
-Krylov

4. "Doveryai, no proveryai!
Trust, but keep an eye on everything too.

5. Measure seven times, cut once!

6. Strike while the iron is hot!
To be afraid of wolves is not to go into the
forest.

7. Monomakh's hat is a heavy one!
(Lit.: You're very heavy, hat of Monomakh!)

8. Not (just) on paper is it written, but shown
by deed.
- (Change takes much time and energy,
e.g., Gorbachev's reform efforts,
but the prospects can be great.)
- (Sufficient patience and labor will
overcome difficulties. An optimistic
view of the future.)
- The closing line of a Krylov fable.
A wagon got stuck in the river; the
efforts to remove it were all at
cross purposes. The phrase is used
by Russian to refer to long-standing
and still unresolved problems.
- Used by the President on 11-23-87.
- The necessity of discussing proposals
thoroughly before making a decision.
- The idiom is the same in Engl. and
Russian. The need for decisive action
when conditions are ripe.
- The heavy burden of the leader of the
government. (Vladimir Monomakh was
one of the greatest rulers of ancient
Rus' --circa 1100--and his hat (crown),
full of precious jewels, is a treasure.



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1. Русские долго запрягаются, но быстро едут.
О терпеливых действиях по перестройке экономики и перспективе быстрого ее обновления и развития.
2. Начало - половина дела. Терпение и труд - все перетрут.
О преодолении трудностей на пути переговоров и оптимистический взгляд в будущее.
3. А воз и ныне там. Долгострой.
О давних поставленных, но нерешенных проблемах.
4. Доверяй, но проверяй!
О контроле над разоружением.
5. Семь раз отмерь - один отрежь!
О необходимости обдумать предложение, прежде чем принять решение.
6. Куй железо пока горячо! Волков бояться - в лес не ходить!
О том, что нужны решительные действия и опасения излишни.
7. Тяжела ты, шапка Мономаха!
О напряженной работе лидеров государства, трудностях решения важных государственных вопросов.

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