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1ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

National Year of Friendship with Finland, 1988

Proclamation 5704.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1037

September 17, 1987

LENGTH: 285 words

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Finnish settlers first arrived in this country in 1638, when Nordics, many of them natives of Finland or Swedes who spoke Finnish, established the colony of New Sweden in present-day Delaware. They introduced European civilization to the Delaware River Valley and began the transformation of a vast wilderness. Theirs were the pioneer spirit and virtues that are the foundation of our national character. The 350th anniversary of their landing is a most fitting time to celebrate the legacy of America's Finnish pioneers and their descendants and to recall that the friendship of the United States and Finland has deep historical roots.

To commemorate the relationship between the peoples of Finland and the United States on the 350th anniversary of New Sweden, the Congress, by Public Law 99-602, has designated 1988 as "National Year of Friendship with Finland," and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1988 as National Year of Friendship with Finland. I call upon all Americans to observe the year with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

Ronald Reagan

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:55 a.m., September 21, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 18.

places of Europe, to no matter what form of servitude. It is no longer either revolution or rebellion but rancor, malice, and tyranny. Then, when revolution in the name of power and of history becomes a murderous and immoderate mechanism, a new rebellion is consecrated in the name of moderation and of life. We are at that extremity now. At the end of this tunnel of darkness, however, there is inevitably a light, which we already divine and for which we only have to fight to ensure its coming. All of us, among the ruins, are preparing a renaissance beyond the limits of nihilism. But few of us know it.

Already, in fact, rebellion, without claiming to solve everything, can at least confront its problems. From this moment high noon is borne away on the fast-moving stream of history. Around the devouring flames, shadows writhe in mortal combat for an instant of time and then as suddenly disappear, and the blind, fingering their eyelids, cry out that this is history. The men of Europe, abandoned to the shadows, have turned their backs upon the fixed and radiant point of the present. They forget the present for the future, the fate of humanity for the delusion of power, the misery of the slums for the mirage of the eternal city, ordinary justice for an empty promised land. They despair of personal freedom and dream of a strange freedom of the species; reject solitary death and give the name of immortality to a vast collective agony. They no longer believe in the things that exist in the world and in living man; the secret of Europe is that it no longer loves life. Its blind men entertain the puerile belief that to love one single day of life amounts to justifying whole centuries of oppression. That is why they wanted to efface joy from the world and to postpone it until a much later date. Impatience with limits, the rejection of their double life, despair at being a man, have finally driven them to inhuman excesses. Denying the real grandeur of life, they have had to stake all on their own excellence. For want of something better to do, they deified themselves and their misfortunes began; these gods have had their eyes put out. Kaliayev, and his brothers throughout the entire world, refuse, on the contrary, to be deified in that they refuse the unlimited power to inflict death. They choose, and

*Albert Camus*

# **The Rebel**

*An Essay on Man in Revolt*

*With a Foreword by Sir Herbert Read*

*A revised and complete translation  
of L'HOMME RÉVOLTÉ  
by Anthony Bower*



New York Vintage Books

A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE



*Afterword: A Talk with the Author*

one's hat drops on the coffin in a freshly dug grave, the funeral loses its meaning and laughter is born. Two lovers race through the meadow, holding hands, laughing. Their laughter has nothing to do with jokes or humor, it is the *serious* laughter of angels expressing their joy of being. Both kinds of laughter belong among life's pleasures, but when it is carried to extremes it also denotes a dual apocalypse: the enthusiastic laughter of angel-fanatics, who are so convinced of their world's significance that they are ready to hang anyone not sharing their joy. And the other laughter, sounding from the opposite side, which proclaims that everything has become meaningless, that even funerals are ridiculous and group sex a mere comical pantomime. Human life is bounded by two chasms: fanaticism on one side, absolute skepticism on the other.

PR: What you now call the laughter of angels is a new term for the "lyrical attitude to life" of your previous novels. In one of your books you characterize the era of Stalinist terror as the reign of the hangman and the poet.

MK: Totalitarianism is not only hell, but also the dream of paradise—the age-old dream of a world where everybody would live in harmony, united by a single common will and faith, without secrets from one another. André Breton, too, dreamed of this paradise when he talked about the glass house in which he longed to live. If totalitarianism did not exploit these archetypes, which are deep inside us all and rooted deep in all religions, it could never attract so many people, especially during the early phases of its existence. Once the dream of paradise starts to turn into reality, however, here and there people begin to crop up who stand in its way, and so the rulers of paradise must build a little gulag on the side of Eden. In the course of time this gulag grows ever bigger and more perfect, while the adjoining paradise gets ever smaller and poorer.

PR: In your book, the great French poet Eluard soars over paradise and gulag, singing. Is this bit of history which you mention in the book authentic?

MK: After the war, Paul Eluard abandoned surrealism and became the greatest exponent of what I might call the "poesy of

# The Book of Laughter and Forgetting

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by MILAN KUNDERA

Translated from the Czech by  
MICHAEL HENRY HEIM



Penguin Books

the world. It is doubtful whether more than that will ever be established.

I remember saying once to Arthur Koestler, "History stopped in 1936," at which he nodded in immediate understanding. We were both thinking of totalitarianism in general, but more particularly of the Spanish civil war. Early in life I had noticed that no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain, for the first time, I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie. I saw great battles reported where there had been no fighting, and complete silence where hundreds of men had been killed. I saw troops who had fought bravely denounced as cowards and traitors, and others who had never seen a shot fired hailed as the heroes of imaginary victories; and I saw newspapers in London retailing these lies and eager intellectuals building emotional superstructures over events that had never happened. I saw, in fact, history being written not in terms of what happened but of what ought to have happened according to various "party lines." Yet in a way, horrible as all this was, it was unimportant. It concerned secondary issues, namely the struggle for power between the Comintern and the Spanish left-wing parties, and the efforts of the Russian government to prevent revolution in Spain. But the broad picture of the war which the Spanish government presented to the world was not untruthful. The main issues were what it said they were. But as for the Fascists and their backers, how could they come even as near to the truth as that? How could they possibly mention their real aims? Their version of the war was pure fantasy, and in the circumstances it could not have been otherwise.

The only propaganda line open to the Nazis and Fascists was to represent themselves as Christian patriots saving Spain from a Russian dictatorship. This involved pretending that life in Government Spain was just one long massacre (*vide* the *Catholic Herald* or the *Daily*

Elouise Diller

George Orwell

# A Collection of Essays

HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVIICH, INC., NEW YORK

Harbrace Paperbound Library



Exploration and Settlement; Wars;  
Government; Civil Rights; Statistics



Publishing; Arts and Music; Popular  
Entertainment; Architecture; Theater

**1635 Aug. 17** Richard Mather arrived in Boston. There he founded the so-called Mather dynasty, a sequence of New England ministers who often dominated the Puritan community by the power of their religious position and intellect.

**1636** The first pensions in America were awarded to wounded soldiers by the Plymouth Pilgrims.

**1636 June** Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, who established Providence with a small group of colonists from Massachusetts Bay. It was the first English colony in America to grant complete religious tolerance.

**1638 Mar.** The first Swedish settlers in America landed at Fort Christiana, Del., after crossing in Dutch ships under Peter Minuit. They established the first Lutheran congregation in America, led by Rev. Reorus Rorkillus. In 1643 Swedish colonists from Delaware, under John Printz, settled at Upland, now Chester, Pa.

**1638 Mar. 13** One of the first military units in the colonies, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, was chartered at Boston, Mass.

**1639** In an early action for woman suffrage, Margaret Brent appeared before the Maryland Assembly and requested the right to vote, an unprecedented gesture for a woman of this time. Brent subsequently initiated the woman suffrage movement in America.

**1639** The first American post office was authorized in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Richard Fairbanks, its postmaster, handled the mail in his home in Boston. He received one penny for each letter.

**1639 Jan. 14** The first constitution in the colonies, the Fundamental Orders, composed by Roger Ludlow, was adopted by representatives from Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield in Connecticut. The resulting instrument, with some changes, remained in force until 1818.

Maypole dances and other so-called debauched customs stirred the wrath of Puritan leaders. Morton was the square peg in the round hole of New England Puritanism. He spent his life traveling back and forth across the Atlantic, spending enough time in various colonies to outrage the local authorities and be shipped back to England and prison. Before he published his book, he was engaged by the English as an informer against the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The book served partly as revenge for the treatment he had received from the Puritans and partly as justification for his own activities. Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote about Morton in "The Maypole of Merry-Mount."

**1638** Construction of Old College was begun at Harvard College in Cambridge, Mass. The most ambitious building of its time in the U.S., it housed the entire student body, library, lecture halls, etc.

**1638** The American log cabin, originally a Finnish building, was introduced to the New World by the Swedish settlers of Delaware. Unlike other colonists, they brought over their own timber. The colonists also introduced the steam bath.

**1638** The first almanac in the English colonies, *An Almanak for the Year of Our Lord, 1639, Calculated for New England* by William Pierce, was published at Cambridge, Mass., by Stephen Daye. Pierce, a shipmaster, used the almanac as a broadside to attract new settlers for the colonies and passengers for his ship.

**1639** Hezekiah Usher, who became the first American bookseller and publisher, settled in Cambridge, Mass. He later (1657) imported presses and type from England to print John Eliot's *Indian Bible* (1661-1663).

**1639** The Governor's Castle was built in St. Marys, the first permanent settlement in Maryland. It covered 2934 sq. ft. and was the largest building erected in the English colonies. It was blown up in 1694, when gunpowder stored in its cellar exploded.

## 1640-1649

The first federation of American colonies was formed on May 19, 1643, when representatives of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, New Haven, and Plymouth colonies met in Boston and organized the United Colonies of New England. The federation was to provide a "firm

As mid-century approached, houses and commercial buildings in the colonies became larger, more imposing, and more like those of Europe than, for example, the first homes of Boston, which had been one-story structures covered with thatch and put up at random. By

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**THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF**  
**AMERICAN**  
**FACTS & DATES**

**GORTON CARRUTH**

**EIGHTH EDITION**



1817

**HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS, New York**  
*Cambridge, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Washington*  
*London, Mexico City, São Paulo, Singapore, Sydney*

# TELEFAX MESSAGE

(TELEFAX

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11 May

**From:** USIA - EU Kathleen Schloeder

**To:** The White House, Office of Research

**Please forward to:**

Barbara Sedonic, Rm. 111, OEOB  
456-7750

**Number of pages to follow:** 2

**Comments:**

More media reaction in Finland to President's visit.

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INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

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USIA FOR EU (SCHLOEDER)

STATE FOR EUR/NE.

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESS OFFICE AND PRESS ADVANCE

E. O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD)

SUBJECT: MEDIA COVERAGE; PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO  
FINLAND

1. THE FINNISH PRESS CONTINUES TO SPECULATE ON THE VISIT TO FINLAND BY PRESIDENT REAGAN. DURING THE WEEKEND, THE CONSERVATIVE NATIONAL DAILY "UUSI SUOMI" (CIRC. 96,000) CARRIED AN ARTICLE ON THE SUBJECT UNDER THE HEADLINE: "VISIT BY U.S. PRESIDENT IS UNIQUE IN ALL OF SCANDINAVIA: RONALD REAGAN'S STOPOVER IS 'ALMOST' A STATE VISIT." THE ARTICLE DISCUSSED THE HISTORY OF PRESIDENTIAL VISITS TO FINLAND AND NOTED THAT NOT A SINGLE U.S. PRESIDENT HAS MADE AN OFFICIAL STATE VISIT TO FINLAND. (PRESIDENT FORD CAME TO HELSINKI IN 1975 IN ORDER TO SIGN THE CSCE FINAL ACT.) IT ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS DO NOT TRAVEL MUCH ABROAD AND THAT THEY HAVE NOT VISITED SWEDEN OR NORWAY (AN "ALLIED COUNTRY") EITHER.

2. COMMENT: THE SUBHEAD TO THIS ARTICLE READ: "U.S. PRESIDENT'S VISIT IS UNIQUE IN ALL SCANDINAVIA." THIS ARTICLE PRESUMABLY REINFORCED THE PREVAILING FEELING HERE THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT IS A PLUS FOR FINLAND IN THE INFORMAL COMPETITION THAT EXISTS AMONG THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. KIEHL

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WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESS OFFICE AND PRESS ADVANCE

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD)  
SUBJECT: MEDIA COVERAGE: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO FINLAND

1. THE PROGRAM FOR THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN TO FINLAND IS EVINCING GREAT INTEREST IN THE PRESS HERE. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, SMALL THINGS EASILY BECOME BIG STORIES.

2. FOR INSTANCE, PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LIGHT-HEARTED REMARK AT A MEETING WITH FINLAND'S PRIME MINISTER HARRI HOLKERI ON MAY 2 ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MEETING SANTA CLAUS DURING HIS VISIT TO FINLAND PROMPTED SEVERAL REPORTS IN FINNISH PRESS, WHICH DISCUSSED THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS OF SUCH A MEETING. FINNISH TOURISM OFFICIALS AS WELL AS FINLAND'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE, PERTTI SALOLAINEN, WERE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE EASY TO ARRANGE AND THAT THEY WERE READY TO DO SO IF ASKED.

3. THE MAY 3 ISSUE OF THE AFTERNOON TABLOID "ILTA-SANOMAT" (CIRC. 200,000) REPORTED ON THE COMMENTS BY A FORMER FINNISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MAX JAKOBSON, AND BY THE HEAD OF THE FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE, KARI MOTTOLA, WHO SPECULATED ON THE CONTENTS OF THE SPEECH PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL BE DELIVERING AT FINLANDIA HALL IN HELSINKI. THE REPORT WAS HEADLINED: "HELSINKI SPEECH WILL ATTRACT INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION: REAGAN WILL PROBABLY GIVE A HARD-LINE HUMAN RIGHTS SPEECH." THE NEWSPAPER WROTE: "THE SPEECH PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL MAKE IN FINLAND ON HIS WAY TO THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WILL BE HOSTED BY THE PAASIKIVI-SOCIETY, WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY EVENTS THAT HAS EVER TAKEN PLACE IN FINLAND. THE HEAD OF THE FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE BELIEVES PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL GIVE A TOUGH SPEECH ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

"FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE PAASIKIVI-SOCIETY MAX JAKOBSON IS CONVINCED THAT IN HIS SPEECH REAGAN WILL DEFINE SIGNIFICANT POLICY APPROACHES TO ISSUES CONCERNING SUPERPOWER POLITICS."

KIENL  
BT  
#3523

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1987 The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union;  
TASS

July 30, 1987, Thursday

LENGTH: 547 words

HEADLINE: AT THE EUROPEAN MEETING

DATELINE: VIENNA, JULY 30

BODY:

THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF BULGARIA, POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION AT THE EUROPEAN MEETING GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE VIENNA INTERNATIONAL PRESS CENTRE TODAY.

IN A STATEMENT TO JOURNALISTS YURI KASHLEV, HEAD OF THE USSR DELEGATION, NOTED THAT THE EXPECTATIONS SHARED BY MANY DELEGATIONS THAT THE VIENNA MEETING WOULD BE CONCLUDED ON JULY 31 HAVE NOT BEEN FULFILLED.

WE PROCEED FROM THE FACT THAT ALL THE NECESSARY PREREQUISITES WERE AT HAND FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, HE STRESSED.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, WHICH HAS TAKEN SHAPE TO A LARGE EXTENT DUE TO THE ACTIVE POLICY OF THE USSR AIMED AT OVERCOMING OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, STOPPING NUCLEAR TESTS AND REDUCING CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, HAS BEEN ON THE WHOLE FAVOURABLE.

THE POLICIES OF THE USSR ON MANY ISSUES DISCUSSED AT THE VIENNA MEETING ARE CONSIDERABLY INFLUENCED BY THE PROCESSES OF PERESTROIKA, DEMOCRATIZATION AND GLASNOST WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE USSR.

A GOOD BASE HAS BEEN CREATED AT THE VIENNA MEETING ITSELF FOR REACHING MEANINGFUL AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS: SOME 150 PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED ON THE ENTIRE SCOPE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT - THE FACT THAT ATTESTS TO THE INTEREST OF PARTICIPATING STATES IN DEVELOPING THE CSCE PROCESS.

THE SOVIET DELEGATION IS FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT IT WAS THE POSITION OF THE NATO COUNTRIES THAT PREVENTED THE VIENNA MEETING FROM BEING CONCLUDED BY THE TARGET DATE. FOR ITS PART, THE SOVIET DELEGATION PERSISTENTLY TRIED TO REVERSE THE DELAYING TREND, DOING EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO INTENSIFY THE WORK AND PROCEED WITH THE DRAFTING OF THE CONCLUDING AGREEMENT.

ONE OF THE MAIN CAUSES OF THE DELAY IS THAT FOR MORE THAN HALF A YEAR WE HAVE HAD TO COUNTER THE DANGEROUS COURSE PURSUED BY SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR CUTTING OFF DISARMAMENT FROM THE HELSINKI PROCESS.

AS REGARDS MILITARY MATTERS, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES, COMPLIANCE WITH TRADE AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN CONTACTS, QUESTIONS OF INFORMATION AND MANY OTHER ISSUES, WE HAVE AN EXTENSIVE LIST OF CLAIMS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE WESTERN COUNTRIES BECAUSE THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THEM IN HELSINKI AND MADRID ARE NOT FULFILLED, MASSIVE AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONTINUE, OBSTACLES ARE BEING SET IN THE FIELD OF SCIENTIFIC TIES AND INFORMATION EXCHANGES, ETC.

(c) 1987 TASS, July 30, 1987

KASHLEV FURTHER LAID DOWN THE TASKS WHICH, IN THE OPINION OF THE USSR DELEGATION, ARE TO BE TACKLED AFTER THE SUMMER RECESS BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING IN THE MILITARY-POLITICAL FIELD, IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, IN THE "SECOND BASKET" , IN THE QUESTIONS OF HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION, ETC.

KASHLEV EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN CREATING CONDITIONS FOR SPEEDY PROGRESS AT THE FINAL STAGE OF THE VIENNA MEETING WILL BELONG TO THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES.

THE USSR DELEGATION IS CONVINCED THAT ONLY A RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL APPROACH TO WORK, A GENUINE DESIRE TO BRING POSITIONS CLOSER TOGETHER, A SEARCH FOR RATIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE APPROACHES OF ALL PARTICIPANTS AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIMITS OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE TODAY CAN HELP THE VIENNA MEETING TO ARRIVE AT AGREEMENTS THAT WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF EXPANDING COOPERATION AMONG ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The Financial Times Limited;  
Financial Times

January 22, 1988, Friday

SECTION: SECTION I; European News; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 1010 words

HEADLINE: Gloomy West Struggles To Make The CSCE Baskets Balance

BYLINE: Judy Dempsey

HIGHLIGHT:

Judy Dempsey assesses progress, and lack of it, as the security conference resumes

BODY:

The 35 participating countries at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) return from the Christmas recess today torn between optimism on arms talks and deep pessimism on humanitarian issues.

The meeting which opened in November 1986 to review the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act signed in 1975 by all the countries of Eastern Europe (with the exception of Albania), Western Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada are now sharply divided on what form the final outcome of the conference should take.

"The main reason why we are so divided and so slow in making progress is that the Soviet Union and its allies have got what they wanted," a Western delegate commented.

"They think they have a new conventional arms reduction forum sewn up while we have got practically nothing in the humanitarian field. What we want from this conference is a balanced outcome of all three baskets. "

Basket One consists of confidence and security building measures. Basket Two focuses on closer economic links between East and West, while Basket Three encompasses humanitarian issues.

There is little doubt that Basket One, which includes confidence and security building measures (CSBMs), has made significant progress. In previous review conferences, such as those held in Madrid and Belgrade, this was the toughest basket on which to agree.

Progress has also been steady in other arms talks. Since last February all the Nato and Warsaw Pack countries have been holding informal meetings in Vienna to look at ways of setting up a new conventional arms reduction forum, to replace the 14-year-old deadlocked Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks.

The meetings, known as the "conventional stability talks" have been working through a draft paper drawn up by Nato last July. In December, the objectives and methods of a new forum were agreed in principle by both sides. "The push



(c) 1988 Financial Times, January 22, 1988

is now on for reducing conventional arms," a Western diplomat said.

There is also agreement on following up the success of the Stockholm talks on confidence-building measures. In effect, two sets of arms talks which will take place within the framework of the CSCE are now on the table. All that is required is a negotiating mandate from the CSCE.

"If only it was as simple as that," a Western delegate commented.

The mandate for the proposed conventional stability talks hinge on what progress will be made in Basket Three - the humanitarian area. What satisfaction prevails in Basket One is diluted by the gloom hanging over many of the delegates working in Basket Three.

For the past three months, "Basket Three diplomats" have been working from a draft document drawn up by the Austrian and the Swiss delegations. The point about the document is that it focuses on practical issues: for instance, in emergency cases, relatives and families should be granted permission to leave or enter a country within three days.

The Soviet Union and several of the East European delegations, especially Romania, are dragging their feet on agreeing to any of the paragraphs.

"They simply do not want to be tied down to detail or commitments," a Western diplomat argued. Apart from that, Western diplomats see little glasnost, or openness, emerging in Basket Three.

"Don't talk about glasnost here," a US diplomat argued. "We see and hear very little of it in Vienna. For all the openness in the Soviet Union, none of it has yet filtered down to Basket Three."

The apparent dearth of glasnost and the reluctance by the Soviet Union and some of its allies to be tied to practical measures are not the only aspects which hinder progress.

The consensus among Western delegates is that the Soviet Union is deliberately dragging its feet because it has obtained what it wanted from Basket One. "So why should they make compromises on Basket Three?" one asked.

Some diplomats such as Mr William Bauer, the head of the Canadian delegation, is insistent, however, that the West should sit it out in Vienna and refuse to give the go-ahead for the new conventional stability talks until the East relents and makes what he calls "proper, substantial concessions on humanitarian issues. We will not sign any concluding document until we get a balanced outcome in all the three baskets."

The question, however, is the degree of leverage the West can exert on the Warsaw Pact in the humanitarian field at a time when optimism on arms control talks as well as reducing conventional forces in Europe have caught the public imagination.

Any leverage the West may have involves, ironically, a proposal which the Soviet Union tabled in Vienna several months ago suggesting that Moscow should host a conference on humanitarian issues.

(c) 1988 Financial Times, January 22, 1988

Western delegates at the CSCE were initially stunned by the proposal. But since the Soviet Union seemed serious the West has since insisted that certain conditions be met before such a meeting is agreed. Many Western delegations, for instance, insist that all Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) be allowed into Moscow, that Radio Free Europe be admitted, that jamming be ended, that dissidence be permitted and so on.

So far, Soviet diplomats in Vienna have given no concrete details about the scope of the proposed conference. "If they could pull it off, it would be great for their public image," an East European diplomat commented.

Privately, several Western diplomats wonder if Moscow is now prepared to pay a price in Vienna for holding such a conference in Moscow.

Equally, the Soviet Union recognises that for the moment, the West is united on seeking concessions on humanitarian issues and will not hand the conventional stability talks on a silver platter.

These complex issues suggest that when the 35 delegations convene today, having already twice missed their deadline, progress towards reaching agreement on a final document will be tough, if not slow.

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

August 3, 1987, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/8636/A1/1

LENGTH: 546 words

HEADLINE: Recess at Vienna CSCE Meeting: Soviet Delegation Head on Tasks

SOURCE: (a) Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union in Russian for abroad 1300 and in English 1345 gmt 30 Jul 87

Text of report from Vienna of press conference by Yuriy Kashlev

BODY:

The heads of the delegations of Bulgaria, Poland and the Soviet Union at the European meeting gave a press conference at the Vienna international press centre today [30th July]. In a statement to journalists Yuriy Kashlev, head of the USSR delegation, noted that the expectations shared by many delegations that the Vienna meeting would be concluded on 31st July had not been fulfilled.

We proceed from the fact that all the necessary prerequisites were at hand for a successful conclusion of the meeting, he stressed. The international situation, which has taken shape to a large extent owing to the active policy of the USSR aimed at overcoming obstacles in the way of nuclear disarmament, stopping nuclear tests and reducing conventional weapons has been on the whole favourable. The policies of the USSR on many issues discussed at the Vienna meeting are considerably influenced by the processes of perestroika, democratisation and glasnost which are taking place in the USSR.

A good basis has been created at the Vienna meeting itself for reaching meaningful and mutually acceptable agreements: some 150 proposals have been introduced covering the entire range of the Helsinki Final Act a fact that attests to the interest of the participating states in developing the CSCE process.

The Soviet delegation is firmly convinced that it was the position of the NATO countries that prevented the Vienna meeting from being concluded by the target date. For its part, the Soviet delegation persistently tried to reverse the delaying trend, doing everything in its power to intensify the work and proceed with the drafting of the concluding agreement.

One of the main causes of the delay is that for more than six months we have had to counter the dangerous course pursued by some Western countries for detaching disarmament from the Helsinki process.

As regards military matters, the implementation of the Helsinki principles, compliance with trade and economic agreements, human rights, human contacts, information matters and many other issues, we have an extensive list of claims to be presented to the Western countries, because the obligations they assumed

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in Helsinki and Madrid are not being fulfilled, massive and gross violations of human rights continue, obstacles are being set in the field of scientific ties and information exchanges, etc.

Kashlev further laid down the tasks which, in the opinion of the USSR delegation, are to be tackled after the summer recess by the participants in the meeting in the military-political field, in the field of international law, in the 'Second Basket', in matters of humanitarian co-operation, etc.

Kashlev expressed the view that an important role in creating conditions for speedy progress at the final stage of the Vienna meeting will belong to the neutral and non-aligned countries.

The USSR delegation is convinced that only a responsible political approach to work, a genuine desire to bring positions closer together, a search for rational elements in the approaches of all participants and the understanding of the limits of what is possible today can help the Vienna meeting arrive at agreements that would serve the interests of expanding co-operation among all CSCE participants.

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

May 1, 1988, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 12WC; Page 22, Column 4; Westchester Weekly Desk

LENGTH: 1110 words

HEADLINE: ART;  
A Tribute to Finland at Katonah

BYLINE: By VIVIEN RAYNOR

BODY:

DELAWARE started out, in 1638, as New Sweden (which also included parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania) and because old Sweden encompassed Finland at that time, the colony's settlers were as likely to be Finns as Swedes.

New Jersey residents who didn't know this may have since learned it from the shows about the Swedish-American portraitist, Gustavus Hesselius, and the colony itself that were staged recently at the State Museum in Trenton.

Now, Westchester is getting its collective memory jogged by a show at the Katonah Gallery called "Art by Design: Reflections of Finland." The coincidence should not surprise, for 1988, the 350th anniversary of the short-lived New Sweden, has been officially proclaimed "The National Year of Friendship with Finland" and is by implication a time of rejoicing for the estimated 700,000 Americans of Finnish descent.

The Katonah event should also pique the interest of other Americans, who may, at least, be familiar with Finland's great architects, Eiel Saarinen and Alvar Aalto.

Saarinen came here when he was in his 40's to become, it is said, Frank Lloyd Wright's only rival in his own generation. The slightly younger Aalto, though he remained at home, has a world reputation for his buildings as well as for his furniture and other domestic artifacts, some of which are in the Katonah display.

The show, which promises to be Katonah's magnum opus for this year, was conceived by the gallery's president, Linda Nordberg, and midwived, so to speak, by its project directors, Betsy Stott and Mimi Osyczka. The curators, however, are Barbro Kulvik, editor in chief of Form, Function, Finland, and Antti Siltavuori, who is on the executive board of the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design.

The display's sponsors run from corporations like Finnair and Reinheimer Nordberg Inc., to individuals like Mary Lou and George B. Beitzel and Prof. Pentti J. K. Kouri of New York University, and include the National Endowment for the Arts as well as several government agencies supporting the arts. After closing at Katonah on May 15, the show and its opulent catalogue head for Wilmington and points west.

(c) 1988 The New York Times, May 1, 1988

The 12 designers involved have produced some handsome pieces, and the gallery's own designer, Arthur Clark, has done a first-rate installation, as usual.

One of the first objects to greet the visitor is Irma Kukkasjarvi's wall hanging, a carpet with vertical undulations that reaches from the ceiling to the floor and is called a 'relief rya.' The pattern is simple: a band of cerise runs the length of one side and a band of ultramarine complements it on the other side, except that it angles off to the right near the top. But the best part is the background, which seems to be solid black but is in fact a kind of black 'glaze' through which the blue and red below can be sensed. The American public may be more familiar with Mrs. Kukkasjarvi than it knows, because some of her textile designs have been acquired by Marimekko.

Another spectacular piece is Timo Sarpaneva's 'Demon,' which appears to be a giant green jewel torn from the earth and polished, but is actually a combination of cold-sawed pieces of glass, mounted on a granite slab. One of a series called 'Claritas,' this 'rock,' whose colors fluctuate between opaque deep green and transparent emerald, is the nearest thing to Expressionism in the show.

Glass is also the medium of Oiva Toikka, a designer for the Nuutajarvi Glass Works who is represented in several major museums including our own Museum of Modern Art. One of his contributions here is a free-standing clear glass wall composed of square cells that contain small, generally biomorphic shapes, much as amber sometimes contains fossilized insects.

His other and, to this eye, less-pleasing work, consists of a row of free-standing objects whose surfaces are tinted, sandblasted, veined or ornamented with devices that defy description.

A story is told in the catalogue of Kain Tapper arriving in Helsinki as a country boy to study at the Fine Arts Academy but, because he entered by the wrong door, winding up in the Central School of Applied Arts - and remaining there.

Mr. Tapper is again out of step, being the one sculptor here with his free-standing blocks and columns made of pieces of wood that seem to be dovetailed or doweled together. Rectangular in section but with contours that tend to flare outward near the bottom, they don't disrupt the exhibition's flow, nor do his reliefs, which are really more panels.

There is no explanation for this unless it is the somewhat calculated nonchalance with which the sculptor colors and striates his surfaces.

All the foregoing, together with Rut Bryk, Maija Lavonen, Kati Tuominen and Sirpa Yarmolinsky, are grouped under the heading, 'The Contemporary Spirit.' This is less for their ages, which range from 41 to 72, than for their innovative approaches. Put another way, they share with their American counterparts a need to treat the object as an end in itself and, on the whole, a greater interest in medium than form.

In the other gallery, meanwhile, are the more traditional designers. The great Aalto takes precedence with his experimental wood reliefs and free-form vases in colored glass, which include the nest of four known as 'Aalto's

(c) 1988 The New York Times, May 1, 1988

Flower'' that was shown in the 1939 World's Fair.

Though rated a contemporary for his green glass ''rock,'' Mr. Sarpaneva is in this ''Classic Finnish Design'' section with relatively conventional containers made of porcelain and stainless steel as well as glass. Tapio Wirkkala, another glass specialist of international renown, is also present.

But the master who wins this observer's heart is Kaj Franck. He is responsible not only for the superbly simple china mass-produced by the Arabia Company, but also for the most satisfying object in this display. It is a tall beaker of thin clear glass with an exquisitely turned lip. Not for nothing has Mr. Franck, a teacher at Finland's University of Industrial Arts in Helsinki, been called ''the conscience of Finnish Design.''

Cold and clear, the work is of a piece with the Finnish landscape, as depicted in the accompanying videotape and the catalogue photographs. But it tells too much about the efficiency and cleanliness of Finland and not enough about its soul, which is surely as riddled with angst as are those of the other Scandinavian countries.

The gallery is at 28 Bedford Road in Katonah. Its hours are 1 to 5 P.M. Tuesdays through Fridays and on Sundays; and 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. Saturdays. For information about the many educational events connected with the show, call 232-9555.

GRAPHIC: Photo of work by Tapio Wirkkala

SUBJECT: Terms not available

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

April 11, 1988, Monday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Maryland

LENGTH: 378 words

HEADLINE: Swedish royalty to mark anniversary of first Swedish settlement

BYLINE: By TOM TROY

DATELINE: WILMINGTON, Del.

KEYWORD: De-Swedes

BODY:

An historical re-enactment with a royal touch will take place when the king and queen of Sweden march down a wooden ramp to replicate the 1638 founding of New Sweden.

King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia, on a 17-day tour of the United States to promote their small Scandinavian country, are to be the honored guests at the 350th anniversary celebration of the founding of Wilmington Wednesday.

Settlers from Sweden and Finland sailed up the Delaware River and debarked from the flagship Kalmark Nyckel in March 1638 to establish New Sweden, 18 years after the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock.

But the colony, populated at the most by 400 Swedes and Finns, lasted only 17 years before the Dutch conquered the land in present-day Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Wednesday's tightly scheduled events will start with the arrival at The Rocks at Fort Christina on the Christiana River at 8:45 a.m., and will include the dedication of a plaque and an exhibition opening.

In the afternoon, the king and queen will travel to Philadelphia where they will participate at separate events before returning to Wilmington in the evening for a reception.

They will visit Bridgeton and Trenton, N.J., the following day.

The stops in the Delaware Valley are part of a national tour that began Monday with a dinner with President Reagan in Washington and will conclude on April 27 in California's Disneyland.

That Delaware should be prominently featured in the Swedish royal couple's tour is somehow fitting. Like Delaware on the state level, Sweden is often overshadowed by its much larger neighbors.

'Unfortunately, the average American thinks we make good Swiss watches or that our capital is Copenhagen,' said Jan Berg, information director of the



Proprietary to the United Press International, April 11, 1988

'New Sweden '88' campaign.

Despite its small size, Sweden is a successful industrial country that last year sold Volvo cars and other products worth \$5 billion to the United States.

The campaign will highlight Swedes who made world contributions, like Alfred Nobel, founder of the Nobel prizes, Holocaust hero Raoul Wallenberg and Dag Hammarskjold, U.N. secretary general 1953-1961.

Swedes were also responsible for the invention of the Coca-Cola bottle, the zipper, the juke box and the parking meter.

# The Development of Sports in Finland

by Carl-Olaf Homén

There are few countries in the world for which victories in sport and Olympic success have been of such great importance as for Finland in strengthening the national identity and making the country known abroad. The many victories our athletes won before Finland was an independent nation—above all in the Olympic Games of 1912 in Stockholm when the autonomous Finnish grand duchy of Russia won 26 medals—contributed greatly to making the world aware of the small nation in the north.

Finland's declaration of independence in 1917 was followed by the epoch of Paavo Nurmi, who won 9 Olympic Gold Medals in the Olympic Games from 1920 to 1928. These victories, and the fact that Finland, with its sparse 4 million inhabitants placed second after the USA in the unofficial competition between the men's teams in athletics in the Olympic Games 1920-1936, strengthened the self-esteem of the young nation.

After the Second World War, the hosting and successful organization of the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952 was of great importance to the Finnish people. The games showed the whole world that Finland had survived as an independent nation.

From 1952 times have changed and our nation, with its high standard of living, does not have the same need as before to raise its national self-esteem through success in sports. But still, the importance of sports in our country is great, and the exercise of sports is today larger and deeper than ever before.

It is easy to see how rapidly changes in society have influenced sports in Finland. Some 50 years ago, the emphasis in our sport organizations was on top level sports concentrating on a few disciplines: above all athletics, wrestling, gymnastics, cross-country skiing and skating.

Today, everyone can afford to choose his or her own favorite sport for fun and recreation, and there are more than 50 different kinds of sports organized within our Central Sports Federation. As people in general, owing to the high degree of automation, have more white-collar work, move by car and have more leisure time than ever before,



Lasse Viren (left) won two Gold Medals (10,000 meter run and 5,000 meter run) and Pekka Vasala (right) won one Gold Medal (1,500 meter run) in the Olympic Games held in Munich in 1972.

they have both greater needs and better possibilities to relax and improve their physical condition and well-being through sports.

During the last decades, large investments have been made in sports facilities all over the country. New swimming halls, ice hockey rinks, downhill slopes, gymnasiums, halls for football, tennis, badminton, squash, basketball and volleyball, golf courses, etc., today serve top level sports as well as the recreational needs of the ordinary citizen.

During weekends and after office hours in the winter, thousands of people of all ages can be seen skiing in the forests—which we fortunately still have close to all our cities—filling up the ice hockey rinks and indoor halls, enjoying the slalom slopes. During the summer our harbors are crowded with boats, and the developed network of bicycle roads is in active use. Swimming, canoeing and rowing are popular, too, in our country of thousands of lakes, and most team sports with their important social functions have rapidly grown in popularity during the last decades.

The variety of sports practiced by the people is also shown on the

top international level. Although Lasse Viren won his four Olympic Gold Medals in long distance running in 1972 and 1976, and Finland won many medals in its "traditional" sports athletics, wrestling and above all, skiing in the Olympic Games of 1980 and 1984, one is struck by the success in "new" sports such as archery, yachting and motor sports.

Our most famous international stars in the 1980s are, in fact, our successful race and rally drivers such as Keke Rosberg, Ari Vatanen and their colleagues, who have won numerous international competitions. Furthermore, as a result of our high standard of living, our fine Swan yachts, such as "Fazer Finland" in the Whitbread Round the World race, have gained fame for our country as a nation of sports.

During the past two decades, Finland has also been willing to give its contribution to international sports by organizing a considerable number of big international events. Many international organizations have considered Finland to be a neutral country with an old culture of sport and extensive organizational experience, suitable to host worldwide competitions. Thus, Finland organized in the 1970s and 1980s the world championships or European championships in archery, athletics, bandy, basketball, biathlon, boxing, bowling, canoeing, figure skating, gymnastics, ice hockey, motor sports, orienteering, rowing, shooting, skiing, speed skating, volleyball, weightlifting, wrestling and yachting.

The greatest challenge—after the Olympic Games in 1952—was, no doubt, the organization of the first World Championships in Athletics in Helsinki in 1983. This competition, with 154 participating countries and more than a billion TV spectators per day in 135 countries, is so far the most international event ever organized. The purpose of these championships was not only to show athletic strength and organizational ability, but above all to introduce Finland to the whole world as a modern, democratic, hospitable and beautiful country with a high standard of technology and a sports-minded people.

**ACTION  
COPY**

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TELEGRAM**

PAGE 01

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ACTION OFFICE EU-03  
INFO ACOC-01 DSO-02 VG-01 PG-01 PH-07 R-01 PGF-01 PP-01  
PPF-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXM-01 VBE-01 VBR-01 WANG-06  
PPFE-01 /031 A3 1

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
TO RUENIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7707  
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4821  
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 HELSINKI 01648

USIS

USIA FOR P/GF (CUNNINGHAM), EU (SECHE AND SCHLOEDER)  
STATE FOR EUR/NE, EUR/SOV, EUR/P, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: FINNISH MEDIA REPORTS ON POTENTIAL VISIT TO  
FINLAND BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

1. DURING THE WEEKEND, THE FINNISH MEDIA REPORTED ON  
A POTENTIAL VISIT TO FINLAND BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN  
ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW TO HOLD A SUMMIT WITH SOVIET  
LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

2. THE NATIONAL TEN O'CLOCK NEWS, BROADCAST BY THE  
COMMERCIAL NETWORK "MTV," REPORTED MARCH 5 THAT THE  
SATURDAY ISSUE OF THE WASHINGTON POST HAD REPORTED THAT  
PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL MAKE A STOPOVER IN HELSINKI ON  
HIS WAY TO MOSCOW.

3. FINNISH NATIONAL DAILIES MARCH 6 CARRIED REPORTS  
THAT WERE ALSO BASED ON THE WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE.  
THE REPORT IN FINLAND'S LEADING DAILY, "HELSINGIN  
SANOMAT," WAS HEADLINED: "REAGAN WILL STAY OVERNIGHT IN  
HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW."

THE REPORT SAID: "U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN WILL  
SPEND AN EVENING AND A NIGHT IN HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO  
THE MOSCOW SUMMIT IN MAY .

"THE SUMMIT MEETING IS PLANNED TO LAST FOUR DAYS AND IT  
WILL BE ARRANGED DURING THE LAST WEEK OF MAY, MAYBE MAY  
25-28, OFFICIAL U.S. SOURCES SAID IN WASHINGTON ON  
FRIDAY.

"THE MOSCOW SUMMIT WILL BE THE FOURTH SUMMIT BETWEEN  
PRESIDENT REAGAN AND SOVIET PARTY LEADER MIKHAIL  
GORBACHEV.

"U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ HAS ALSO  
TRAVELED TO MOSCOW VIA HELSINKI DURING HIS LAST TWO  
VISITS."

4. THE REPORT IN THE LIBERAL SWEDISH-LANGUAGE DAILY  
"HUFVUDSTADSBLADET," SOURCED TO "THE FINNISH NEWS  
AGENCY CORRESPONDENT" IN WASHINGTON, REPORTED IN  
ADDITION: "THE (REAGAN-GORBACHEV) SUMMIT IS EXPECTED TO  
TAKE PLACE DURING THE TIME FRAME BETWEEN MAY 22 AND MAY  
28.

"ON HIS WAY HOME, REAGAN IS EXPECTED TO MAKE A STOPOVER  
IN BRUSSELS TO BRIEF THE NATO ALLIES AND TO VISIT  
LONDON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET  
THATCHER. THE PRESIDENT WILL BE OUT OF WASHINGTON BETWEEN SEVEN AND NINE  
DAYS."

5. THE CONSERVATPBE NFTIZNARAVXV518 79.- 6:MPHASIZEEALITY DURING REA

GAN'S  
SHORT VISIT."

THE REPORT QUORXRESABQOIVISTO'S S-/488)) \$303, \$ 9, 5#3 7..85 .3358.&  
MANNINEN SAYS.

"NATURALLY, PRESIDENT REAGAN IS A WELCOME VISITOR,  
MANNINEN SAYS, ADDING THAT NO FINAL DECISION ABOUT THE  
SUMMIT HAS BEEN MADE.

"A U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL CONFIRMED ON SUNDAY  
TO 'UUSI SUOMI'S' NEW YORK REPRESENTATIVE THAT THERE  
HAVE BEEN CONTACTS BETWEEN FINLAND AND THE UNITED  
STATES ON THE ISSUE.

"REAGAN'S VISIT WAS ALREADY MENTIONED DURING THE SHORT  
VISIT OF SECRETARY SHULTZ IN HELSINKI LAST MONTH. THE  
SECRETARY'S VISITS TO HELSINKI HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED BY  
HIS DESIRE TO REDUCE THE EFFECTS OF JET LAG.

"PRESIDENT KOIVISTO VISITED THE UNITED STATES IN THE  
AUTUMN OF 1983 AT WHICH TIME HE ALSO MET WITH PRESIDENT  
REAGAN. AT THAT TIME, THE REQUEST BY THE WHITE HOUSE  
JUST BEFORE THE VISIT TO POSTPONE THE MEETING CAUSED  
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UNITED STATES  
INFORMATION AGENCY**

**INCOMING  
TELEGRAM**

PAGE 01

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NIGHT. U.S. AND FINNISH OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY HAD  
CONTACTS ABOUT THE ARRANGEMENTS."

ACTION OFFICE EU-03

INFO ACOC-01 DSO-02 VG-01 PG-01 PM-07 R-01 PGF-01 PP-01  
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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 HELSINKI 01648

USIS

USIA FOR P/GF (CUNNINGHAM), EU (SECHE AND SCHLOEDER)  
STATE FOR EUR/NE, EUR/SOV, EUR/P, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: FINNISH MEDIA REPORTS ON POTENTIAL VISIT TO

CONFUSION IN FINLAND ABOUT THE MOTIVES FOR THE REQUEST.  
EVENTUALLY, THE MEETING TOOK PLACE ALMOST AS ORIGINALLY  
SCHEDULED.

6. IN ADDITION, "UUSI SUOMI" CARRIED A COMMENTARY BY  
FOREIGN NEWS REPORTER VISA HUITTINEN ON THE POSSIBLE  
VISIT. IT WAS HEADLINED: "SAFE HELSINKI."

IT SAID, IN PART: "OUR FOREIGN POLICY LEADERS CAN OF  
COURSE BE HAPPY ABOUT THE FACT THAT, FOR ONCE,  
FINLAND'S GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION IS ADVANTAGEOUS.  
REAGAN'S VISIT WILL PROVE THE FACT THAT THERE ARE NO  
PROBLEMS IN U.S.-FINNISH RELATIONS. IT IS CERTAIN THAT  
SWEDEN WOULD BE AS HAPPY AS FINLAND TO SEE SUCH A  
HIGH-LEVEL VISITOR. A FEW MONTHS AGO, HOWEVER, SWEDEN  
MANAGED TO IRRITATE WASHINGTON BY MAKING AN APPEAL TO  
CONGRESS CONCERNING NICARAGUA.

"REAGAN, WHO TRAVELS ABROAD RELUCTANTLY, HAS NOT BEEN  
SEEN IN DENMARK OR NORWAY, WHICH ARE BOTH U.S. ALLIES.

"SUCH A SHORT VISIT IS NATURALLY NOT EXPECTED TO  
PRODUCE ANY RESULTS. HOWEVER, PRESIDENT KOIVISTO WILL  
PROBABLY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK ABOUT FINLAND'S  
SECURITY POLICY SOLUTIONS. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE TOO  
MUCH TO ASK FROM THE VISITOR, WHO IS ABOUT TO RETIRE,  
THAT HE WOULD BE DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT.

"IF, HOWEVER, ON LEAVING HELSINKI REAGAN HAS DISCOVERED  
THAT WE CAN LIVE WELL UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE BEAR, THE  
VISIT CAN BE CALLED A SUCCESS.

"A MORE LIKELY EXPLANATION FOR A POSSIBLE VISIT BY  
REAGAN TO HELSINKI IS HIS ASSISTANTS' DESIRE TO GIVE  
THE AGING PRESIDENT AN OPPORTUNITY TO RECOVER FROM JET  
LAG. ONCE HE GETS TO MOSCOW, THERE WILL BE NO TIME FOR  
INFORMAL RESTING OR FINALIZATION OF NEGOTIATING  
POSITIONS. HELSINKI IS THE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR THAT."

7. THE AFTERNOON EDITION OF "UUSI SUOMI" (CIRC. 82, 000)  
CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE REPORT ON THE VISIT. THE HEADLINE  
SAID: "REAGAN WILL STAY IN HELSINKI OVERNIGHT ON HIS  
WAY TO MOSCOW: THE SPECIAL POLICE UNIT (BEAR GANG) WILL  
BE ON DUTY."

"PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN IS LIKELY TO MAKE A STOPOVER  
IN HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT IN MAY.  
REAGAN WILL SPEND ONE EVENING IN HELSINKI AND ONE

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

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ACTION OFFICE PM-07

INFO ACDC-01 DSO-02 VG-01 PG-01 R-01 EU-03 PPF-01 VBB-01

VBXC-01 VBXX-01 VBE-01 VBR-01 WANG-06 PFFE-01

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 7842

INFO RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC PRIORITY

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5029

BT

UNCLAS HELSINKI 02271

USIS

USIA FOR P/G, P/M, EU

WHITE HOUSE FOR PRESS OFFICE AND NSC

STATE FOR PA, EUR/NE, EUR/P

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD W.)

SUBJECT: FINNISH MEDIA REACTION TO ANNOUNCEMENT THAT  
PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL VISIT FINLAND

1. THE FINNISH MEDIA MARCH 24 AND 25 REPORTED  
EXTENSIVELY ON THE MARCH 24 ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE WHITE  
HOUSE THAT, ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW, PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL  
VISIT HELSINKI MAY 26-29.

2. THE FINNISH BROADCASTING COMPANY AND THE COMMERCIAL  
TELEVISION NETWORK MTV BOTH CARRIED STRAIGHTFORWARD  
NEWS STORIES ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN THEIR NATIONAL NEWS  
PROGRAMS MARCH 24. BOTH ALSO REPORTED THAT PRESIDENT  
REAGAN IS EXPECTED TO DELIVER A SPEECH AT FINLANDIA  
HALL.

3. PRESS COVERAGE CONSISTED OF AN EDITORIAL AND A  
REPORT IN FINLAND'S LEADING DAILY, THE INDEPENDENT  
"HELSINGIN SANOMAT" (CIRC. 440,000), AND WIRE SERVICE  
REPORTS IN OTHER NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS, INCLUDING  
CONSERVATIVE "UUSI SUOMI" (CIRC. 93,000) AND LIBERAL  
"HUFVUDSTADSBLADET" (CIRC. 63,000).

4. THE EDITORIAL IN "HELSINGIN SANOMAT" WAS HEADLINED:  
"REAGAN WILL STOP IN HELSINKI". EXCERPTS FOLLOW:  
FINLAND'S ROLE AS THE HOST OF THE CSCE WILL BE  
APPROPRIATELY EMPHASIZED WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN SPENDS  
THREE NIGHTS IN HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO THE MOSCOW  
SUMMIT AT THE END OF MAY. ACCORDING TO ADVANCE  
INFORMATION, REAGAN WILL BE DELIVERING A SPEECH IN  
HELSINKI ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THAT AND A POSSIBLE  
PRESS CONFERENCE CAN BE EXPECTED TO DEAL, IN ADDITION  
TO SUPERPOWER RELATIONS AND NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS,  
WITH EUROPE AS A WHOLE AND WITH ITS CENTRAL  
RELATIONSHIPS.

"THE FACT THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT WILL SPEND SEVERAL  
DAYS IN HELSINKI IS WELCOME NEWS IN FINLAND. IT CAN BE  
DESCRIBED AS AN INFORMAL STATE VISIT, STRIPPED OF  
PROTOCOL. SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ HAS  
PREVIOUSLY FOUND HELSINKI A GOOD PLACE FOR REST AND  
RECREATION ON HIS WAY TO NEGOTIATIONS IN MOSCOW.  
FINLAND'S RESTRICTED GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION DOES NOT  
NECESSARILY CAUSE ONLY PROBLEMS, BUT CAN ALSO BE A  
TURNED INTO USEFUL BRIDGE THAT STAYS OPEN CONSTANTLY.

"THE CSCE WILL BE EMPHASIZED AND THAT, FOR FINLAND,  
WILL SURELY BE THE MOST VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION OF THE  
SUPERPOWER SUMMIT.

"TOGETHER WITH THE UN CHARTER, THE CSCE FINAL ACCORDS  
ARE LISTED, INCREASINGLY OFTEN, AS THE BASIC CODE OF  
BEHAVIOR BETWEEN NATIONS. THE FINAL DOCUMENT IS NOT A  
BINDING DOCUMENT LIKE THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE CDE.  
THE TWO LEADING SUPERPOWERS COULD, AS MILITARY AND  
ECONOMIC POWERS, IGNORE THE DOCUMENTS. WHAT IS  
ESSENTIAL IS THE FACT THAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS VOLUNTARILY  
CHOOSE TO COMPLY WITH THE JOINT DECISIONS MADE BY  
NATIONS OF DIFFERENT SIZES AND ALLIANCE RELATIONS."

5. THE REPORT IN "HELSINGIN SANOMAT" SAID, IN PART:

"REAGAN WILL ARRIVE IN HELSINKI ON MAY 26 AND TRAVEL TO  
THE MOSCOW SUMMIT ON SUNDAY, MAY 29. THE VISIT IS  
TAKING PLACE AT THE INVITATION OF PRESIDENT MAUNO  
KOIVISTO. FOR THE TIME BEING, THE VISIT IS CALLED JUST  
A VISIT. IT WILL DEPEND ON THE PROGRAM WHETHER IT WILL  
BE SEEN AS AN UNOFFICIAL VISIT OR A STATE VISIT,"  
PRESIDENT KOIVISTO'S AIDE-DE-CAMP, COMMANDER JUHANI  
KASKELA SAID.  
"PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL MEET WITH HIS HOST, PRESIDENT  
KOIVISTO. HE WILL ALSO DELIVER A SPEECH AT THE  
FINLANDIA HALL, ON THURSDAY, NO INFORMATION ABOUT THE  
TOPIC OF THE SPEECH WAS AVAILABLE IN FINLAND."

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The liberty which the law ought to allow of, and leave in existence—leave uncoerced, unre-moved—is the liberty which concerns those acts only, by which, if exercised, no damage would be done to the community as a whole; that is, either no damage at all, or none but what promises to be compensated by at least equal benefit. Accordingly, the exercise of the rights allowed to and conferred upon each individual, ought to have no other bounds set to it by law, than those which are necessary to enable it to maintain every other individual in the possession and exercise of such rights as . . . is consistent with the greatest good of the community.

Bentham, *Anarchical Fallacies*, 4

Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

Madison, *Federalist 10*

If a man has freedom enough to live healthy, and to work at his craft, he has enough; and so much all can easily obtain.

Goethe, *Conversations with Eckermann (Jan. 18, 1827)*

Me this unchartered freedom tires;  
I feel the weight of chance-desires:  
My hopes no more must change their name,  
I long for a repose that ever is the same.

Wordsworth, *Ode to Duty*

Two Voices are there; one is of the sea,  
One of the mountains; each a mighty Voice:  
Both from age to age thou didst rejoice,  
They were thy chosen music, Liberty!

Wordsworth, *Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland*

Nuns fret not at their convent's narrow room;  
And hermits are contented with their cells. . . .  
Truth the prison, into which we doom  
Ourselves, no prison is: and hence for me,  
In sundry moods, 't was pastime to be bound  
Within the Sonnet's scanty plot of ground;  
Pleased if some Souls (for such there needs must  
be)

I have felt the weight of too much liberty,  
I could find brief solace there, as I have found.  
Wordsworth, *Nuns Fret Not at Their Convent's Narrow Room*

Streams like the thunder-storm against the wind.  
Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, IV, 98

37 My very chains and I grew friends,  
So much a long communion tends  
To make us what we are:—even I  
Regain'd my freedom with a sigh.  
Byron, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, XIV, 389

38 The idea which people most commonly have of freedom is that it is arbitrariness—the mean, chosen by abstract reflection, between the will wholly determined by natural impulses, and the will free absolutely. If we hear it said that the definition of freedom is ability to do what we please, such an idea can only be taken to reveal an utter immaturity of thought, for it contains not even an inkling of the absolutely free will, of right, ethical life, and so forth. Reflection, the formal universality and unity of self-consciousness, is the will's abstract certainty of its freedom, but it is not yet the truth of freedom, because it has not yet got *itself* as its content and aim, and consequently the subjective side is still other than the objective; the content of this self-determination, therefore, also remains purely and simply finite. Instead of being the will in its truth, arbitrariness is more like the will as contradiction.

Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Introduction, 15

39 The conjunction of duty and right has a twofold aspect: what the state demands from us as a duty is *eo ipso* our right as individuals, since the state is nothing but the articulation of the concept of freedom. The determinations of the individual will are given an objective embodiment through the state and thereby they attain their truth and their actualization for the first time. The state is the one and only prerequisite of the attainment of particular ends and welfare.

Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Additions, Par. 261

40 Freedom is nothing but the recognition and adoption of such universal substantial objects as right and law, and the production of a reality that is accordant with them—the state.

Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, Introduction, 3

41 Freedom has appeared in the world at different times and under various forms; it has not been exclusively bound to any social condition, and it is not confined to democracies. Freedom cannot, therefore, form the distinguishing characteristic of democratic ages. The peculiar and preponderant fact that marks those ages as its own is the equality of condition; the ruling passion of men in those periods is the love of this equality. . . .

natural taste for freedom; left to themselves, they will seek it, cherish it, and view any privation of it with regret. But for equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, incessant, invincible; they call for equality in freedom; and if they cannot obtain that, they still call for equality in slavery. They will endure poverty, servitude, barbarism, but they will not endure aristocracy.

This is true at all times, and especially in our own day. All men and all powers seeking to cope with this irresistible passion will be overthrown and destroyed by it. In our age freedom cannot be established without it, and despotism itself cannot reign without its support.

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. II, II, 1

42 Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a Declaration of Independence or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or to act.

Emerson, *Fate*

43 Of old sat Freedom on the heights,  
The thunders breaking at her feet;  
Above her shook the starry lights;  
She heard the torrents meet.

Tennyson, *Of old sat Freedom on the heights*

44 Pursue, keep up with, circle round and round your life, as a dog does his master's chaise. Do what you love. Know your own bone; gnaw it, bury it, unearthen it, and gnaw it still. Do not be too moral. You may cheat yourself out of much life so. Aim above morality. Be not simply good; be good for something. All fables, indeed, have their morals; but the innocent enjoy the story. Let nothing come between you and the light. Respect men and brothers only. When you travel to the Celestial City, carry no letter of introduction. When you knock, ask to see God,—none of the servants. In what concerns you much, do not think that you have companions: know that you are alone in the world.

Thoreau, *Letter to Mr. B (Mar. 27, 1848)*

45 Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away. It is not important that he should mature as soon as an apple tree or an oak. Shall he turn his spring into summer? If the condition of things which we were made for is not yet, what were any reality which we can substitute?

Thoreau, *Walden: Conclusion*

Steuerson  
How Book by Steuerson



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UNITED STATES  
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INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

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EXPERIENCES IN HELSINKI HAVE ALSO TIPPED THE SCALE. . ."

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USIA FOR P/GF (GUNNINGHAM), EU (SECHE AND SCHLOEDER)  
STATE FOR EUR/NE, EUR/SOV, EUR/P, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A  
SUBJECT: FINNISH MEDIA REPORTING ON POSSIBLE  
PRESIDENTIAL STOP IN FINLAND

1. FINNISH NEWSPAPERS ON MARCH 8 CONTINUED TO SPECULATE ABOUT A POSSIBLE VISIT TO FINLAND BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN. FINLAND'S LEADING DAILY, INDEPENDENT "HELSINGIN SANOMAT" (CIRC. 440,000), THE FIRST NEWSPAPER TO BREAK THE STORY, REPORTED ON THE POTENTIAL VISIT IN MORE DETAIL, WHILE THE CONSERVATIVE NATIONAL DAILY "UUSI SUOMI," WHICH GAVE THE STORY MAJOR PLAY MARCH 7, CARRIED A SHORT EDITORIAL.

2. UNDER THE HEADLINE "A BRIEF REAGAN VISIT TO HELSINKI BEING PREPARED," "HELSINGIN SANOMAT" REPORTED:

"U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN MAY STOP FOR A SHORT VISIT IN HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT IN LATE MAY.

"HELSINKI HAS BEEN MENTIONED AS ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR A STOPOVER DURING WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY COULD ACCUSTOM THEMSELVES TO EUROPEAN TIME BEFORE GOING ON TO MOSCOW. THE STOPOVER SITE AND THE PROGRAM FOR A POSSIBLE VISIT HAVE NOT YET, HOWEVER, BEEN DECIDED UPON. . . .

"IT WAS CONFIRMED BY THE (FINNISH) PRESIDENT'S OFFICE THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE CONTACTED FINNISH OFFICIALS ON THE ISSUE.

"IN ADDITION TO HELSINKI, IRELAND AND GENEVA HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS POSSIBLE SITES FOR THE STOPOVER. ACCORDING TO NEWSWEEK, HOWEVER, WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS CONSIDER HELSINKI THE MOST LIKELY ALTERNATIVE. . . ."

3. THE EDITORIAL IN "UUSI SUOMI," HEADLINED "STOPOVER IN HELSINKI," SAID:

"PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN'S POSSIBLE STOPOVER IN HELSINKI ON HIS WAY TO MOSCOW DOES NOT DEPEND ON US BUT ON HOW THE WORLD TURNS. WHEN FLYING ACROSS THE WORLD, IT IS GOOD TO HAVE A DAY OFF IN ORDER TO BE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING CONDITION. FOR THAT, FINLAND IS IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

"NEVERTHELESS, FINLAND HAS ITS MERITS IN THE SELECTION OF A SITE. WE HAVE A BUSINESSLIKE ATTITUDE TOWARDS VARIOUS VISITORS. THEIR SECURITY IS GUARANTEED EFFECTIVELY BUT WITHOUT MUCH FUSS.

"CERTAINLY SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ'

UNCLASSIFIED

MOSCOW SUMMIT

Address on East/West Relations  
Finlandia Hall  
Finland

Remarks on Arrival  
St. George's Hall, Kremlin

— Official Dinner with General Secretary Gorbachev & Mrs. Gorbachev  
Hall of Facets, Kremlin  
Toast

Reciprocal Dinner *Ballroom*  
Spaso House  
Toast

• Possible Signing Ceremony  
Kremlin  
Remarks (?)

Meeting with Monks  
Danilov Monastery  
Informal Remarks (?)  
10 - 20 Monks

Meeting with Selected Soviet Citizens (Dissidents)  
Spaso House  
Remarks (?)

— Meeting with Artists, Writers, etc.  
House of Writers  
Remarks  
40 - 50 people, representing cross section of arts community

Address to Soviet Citizens  
Moscow State University  
Address 20 - 30 minutes + Q & A  
200 students & faculty.  
Broadcast live - 4 p.m. Moscow, 8 a.m. U.S.A

Possible Talk to Embassy Personnel & Families  
Spaso House

Address Foreign Affairs Organization  
London

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May 4, 1988

FINLANDIA HALL

Finlandia Hall was designed by Alva Aalto, one of Finland's great architects. The Hall was one of his last creations and one of the most important works in Helsinki. It is situated in the center of the city, close to the Finnish Parliament.

Finlandia Hall's main auditorium, where the President will speak, holds 1700 people. The foyer is the largest of its kind in Scandinavia. It has a Congressional wing, a bank, and a post office.

Finlandia Hall is most noted as the sight of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. It was the only time a U.S. President has visited Helsinki.

(from George Booten  
Finnish desk at State)

## Sections

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C Sports/Comics  
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*Inside: Washington Business*  
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Prices May Vary in Areas Outside  
Metropolitan Washington (See Box on A2)

25c

# Slump Seen In Soviet Economy

## Intelligence Report Warns of Trouble for Gorbachev, Reforms

WP 4-25-88 A

By Celestine Bohlen  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet economy deteriorated sharply last year, signaling trouble ahead for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's ambitious reform program, according to a study by U.S. intelligence agencies released yesterday.

The annual Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency report to the congressional Joint Economic Committee concluded that with the growth rate leveling off to almost zero, the Soviet Union has slipped back to the conditions of economic stagnation that prevailed before Gorbachev took power three years ago.

The report warned that the economic slowdown, which coincides with an increase in demands on the nation's labor force, could pose political and social problems for the Soviet leadership.

"Whatever direction Gorbachev follows, we believe that if the economy continues to perform poorly in the next few years, tension within society and the leadership will increase," the report said. It predicted that bureaucrats, consumers and military leaders could be among the principal malcontents in the coming period.

The poor 1987 economic performance contrasted sharply with the optimistic picture presented in a similar study a year ago, in which the intelligence agencies concluded that Gorbachev's reforms were showing initial success.

But the 1986 spurt in economic growth, estimated at more than 4 percent in the CIA-DIA study, was followed by a slump in 1987 that was "reminiscent of the late Brezhnev era," according to this year's study. According to the intelligence agency calculations, the production of goods and services in the Soviet Union last year grew by only 0.5 percent. Official Soviet statistics,

See SOVIET ECONOMY, A21, Col. 1

# Soviet Economy Slows, U.S. Agencies Report

SOVIET ECONOMY, From A1

released earlier this year, showed economic growth of 2.3 percent.

"The [Soviet] leadership had hoped that a strong economic performance last year would provide a firm foundation for the future development of Gorbachev's economic program, but this did not occur," the report said in its summary.

The reforms themselves, in particular a tough new quality control agency known as *Gospriyomka*, are in part responsible for the disappointing results in 1987 although last year's harsh winter also played a role. *Gospriyomka* is empowered to reject goods that fail to meet standards at 1,500 Soviet enterprises, covering about 20 percent of industrial production.

Some Soviet and western economists have argued that a slowdown in growth rates was inevitable if Soviet producers were to improve the quality of goods. However, according to the CIA-DIA study, last year's statistics, as well as Soviet press reports, do not suggest any tradeoff in growth for quality as yet.

Other economic reforms—new pay structures, an emphasis on decentralization, layoffs in the vast administrative bureaucracy—also hurt performance last year by sending out conflicting signals to local managers and offering little real incentives to the workers. "Shortages of consumer goods, reduced job security and widespread concern over potential increases in consumer prices are undercutting the prospects for improved worker productivity," the study said.

"The real loser in 1987 appeared to be the consumer who—now three years into Gorbachev's economic program—has seen almost no increase in his standard of living," the report said. It noted that per capita consumption last year rose only slightly, while sales of key consumer goods—including vegetables and clothing—declined.

Meanwhile, savings bank deposits rose 10 percent, another indication that Soviet shoppers do not have enough to buy.

The CIA-DIA report indicated that Soviet military spending has stayed on track in recent years, increasing by approximately 3 percent in 1987.

According to the report, defense spending constitutes 15 to 17 percent of the national economy—a figure that is a slight increase over earlier CIA estimates that have been targeted in increasingly vocal criticism of the agency's analysis of the Soviet economy.

The report's more pessimistic tone this year matches the prevailing view, inside and outside the Soviet Union, that Gorbachev's program is entering its most critical phase, when reality is called upon to match raised expectations. Although a new openness in culture and the press has produced a more vigorous public debate, the reforms have yet to produce any real change in people's daily lives.

Last year was a landmark in the history of Soviet economic reform, as Gorbachev and the Communist Party moved to adopt a series of sweeping programs designed to make Soviet industry more self-sustaining. Those changes took effect Jan. 1, 1988, but 1987 statistics on earlier experiments do not bode well for the transition period. Industrial growth dipped to 1.5 percent in those earlier experiments, with seven of 10 key branches showing a decline since 1986.

The CIA-DIA report gave a gloomy outlook for 1988, noting that the Soviet economy would have to grow 8 percent to meet targets in the current Five-Year Plan. The report predicted a modest 2 percent average growth rate for the next few years.

Noting the consensus for some kind of reform of the Soviet economic system, the report said it was unlikely that the Soviet leadership would retreat from *perestroika*, the word used to describe Gorbachev's reforms. The key, it said, will be how vigorously the most controversial elements of the program are pursued—in particular, the wholesale reform of retail prices now promised by 1991.

# U.S. Reports Soviet Decline in Economy

## More Austerity for Consumers, Impact on Weapons Seen

LAT 4-25-88 I1  
By NORMAN KEMPSTER,  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The Soviet economy slumped badly last year, and the short-term prospects for resumed growth are not favorable, apparently dooming consumers to continued austerity and perhaps even retarding the development of new weapons, U.S. intelligence agencies reported Sunday.

The CIA and the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency, in their annual report to Congress, said the economic squeeze may explain Moscow's interest in negotiating an arms control treaty with the United States that could reduce the cost of the arms race.

The report said that the economic reforms instituted by Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev have failed to produce their intended results. In many cases, the report said, the reforms may have damaged economic production by introducing changes that the economy was not ready to absorb.

### 'Real Loser' Is Consumer

"The real loser in 1987 appeared to be the consumer, who, now three years into Gorbachev's economic program, has seen almost no increase in his standard of living," the report said.

The report concluded that the Soviet economy has slipped backward toward the kind of stagnation that existed before Gorbachev took power, something that could create political and social problems for the Kremlin.

"... We believe that if the economy continues to perform poorly in the next few years, tension within society and the leadership will increase," the report said.

Commenting on the report, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), chairman of the congressional Joint Economic Committee, pointed out that the Soviet Union had enjoyed an encouraging rise in economic growth in 1986 and said that 1987's economic reversals do not mean that Gorbachev's reform program is doomed or that the Soviet leader is in political difficulty.

### Reserves Judgment on Reforms

"Soviet economic performance was as impressive in 1986 as it was disappointing in 1987, and the economy seems to be doing better so far this year," said Proxmire, whose committee commissioned the report. "It is still too soon to pass judgment on the reforms or on Gorbachev's leadership."

The report said that "almost all sectors of the economy [in 1987] failed to match the gains achieved in 1986."

"... Industrial growth dipped to 1.5% ... [and] agricultural output was down 3% from 1986's record level," it said.

"The short-term outlook for growth certainly is not good," the report added. "Meeting the targets established for the 1988 plan, for example, would require Soviet GNP [gross national product]

Please see SOVIET, Page 7

## SOVIET: Reforms Faltering, Report Says

Continued from Page 1  
growth of nearly 8%. This seems clearly beyond reach. Given the disruptions that Gorbachev's programs are causing and are likely to continue causing for the next few years, we project average annual growth of 2% or less for the rest of this five-year plan," which runs through 1990.

For the time being, at least, the report predicted that Gorbachev would try to maintain Soviet defense spending, which currently claims between 15% and 17% of the GNP, a much higher share than in other industrialized nations.

"National security is a particularly sensitive area for the leadership, and Gorbachev probably would be reluctant to leave himself open to charges of weakening Soviet defenses by pushing reforms or resource shifts that many in the military leadership oppose," the report said.

Nevertheless, it said, Gorbachev's goals for civilian industrial growth almost certainly will require diverting some resources from the defense sector.

"Any investment forgone in weapons plants to supply tooling for civilian production could delay the introduction of future weapons programs but would not be likely to slow current output," the report said.

It added that "defense industrial participation in the civil modernization program is unlikely to affect weapons production capabilities, at least for the next few years."

Nevertheless, the intelligence agencies said Moscow appears to be seeking arms control accords that would allow for reductions in Soviet defense spending and provide compensating cuts in U.S. weapons programs.

"The Soviets could reap some economic benefits from arms control, given the provisions of the recently signed INF [Intermediate-nuclear Forces] treaty and the type of reductions envisioned from a START [strategic arms reduction talks] accord," the report said. "The greatest potential economic benefit to the Soviets from arms control would be the avoidance of substantial new military expendi-

tures."

The report estimated that the INF treaty, which scraps ground-launched nuclear missiles with ranges of 300 to 3,400 miles, will save the Soviets between 1 and 2 billion rubles—or \$1.47 billion to \$2.94 billion at the official exchange rate—each year during the 1990s by precluding the deployment of new intermediate-range weapons.

In the short term, the report said, the biggest loser in the Soviet economy will be the consumer. Consumer shortages are far from uncommon in the Soviet Union, but Gorbachev promised that his reforms would produce a higher standard of living. So far, they have not done so.

Also, the report said, Gorbachev's effort to increase the efficiency of Soviet workers seems to be falling short.

"Buffeted by wage cuts and increased unpaid overtime . . . Soviet workers balked, at times resorting to work stoppages and reverting increasingly to loafing and drinking in the workplace," the report said.

## Chapter 5



# Democracy, Freedom, and Equality

### MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

**385.** . . . Everyone will probably agree that “broad democratic principles” presupposes the two following conditions: First, full publicity and second, election to all functions. It would be absurd to speak of democracy without publicity, that is, a publicity which extends beyond the circle of membership of the organization. . . . No one would ever call an organization that is hidden from everyone but its members by a veil of secrecy, a democratic organization.

Lenin, V., “What Is To Be Done?” (1901-02). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 2, p. 152.

**386.** Democracy is of great importance for the working class in its struggle for freedom against the capitalists. But democracy is by no means a limit one may not overstep; it is only one of the stages in the course of development from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to communism. Democracy means equality. The great significance of the struggle of the proletariat for equality, and the significance of equality as a slogan, are apparent, if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes. But democracy means only formal equality. Immediately after the attainment of equality for all members of society in respect of the ownership of the means of production, that is of equality of labor and equality of wages, there will inevitably arise before humanity the question of going further from formal equality to real equality, i.e., to applying the rule: “From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.” By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim — this we do not and cannot know. . . .

Lenin, V., “State and Revolution” (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 91.

**387.** . . . Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restric-



tions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no freedom, no democracy.

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 81.

**388.** Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the transition from capitalism to communism.

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 8, p. 81.

**389.** . . . Democracy is but one form of the state and we, Marxists, are opposed to all and every kind of state.

Lenin, V., "The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943) vol. 6, p. 73.

**390.** In regard to the state "withering away" . . . Engels refers quite clearly and definitely to the period after the state has "taken possession of the means of production in the name of society," that is, after the socialist revolution. We all know that the political form of the "state" at that time is the most complete democracy. But it never enters the heads of any of the opportunists who shamelessly distort Marxism that Engels here speaks of democracy "withering away". . . . This seems strange at first sight but it is "unintelligible" only to those who have not pondered over the fact that democracy is also a state and that consequently democracy will also disappear when the state disappears. Revolution alone can "put an end" to . . . the bourgeois state. The state in general is the most complete democracy, can only "wither away."

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, pp. 18-19.

**391.** Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes [i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production], only then does "the state . . . cease to exist," and it "becomes possible to speak of freedom." Only then will really complete democracy, democracy without any exceptions, be possible and be realized. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away owing to the simple fact that freed from . . . the infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social life . . . without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the state.

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 81.

**392.** We must look forward to the new democracy which is in the process of being born, and which is already ceasing to be a democracy. For democracy means the rule of the people, whereas the armed people cannot rule over themselves.

The term democracy is not only scientifically incorrect when applied to a communist party; it has now, since March 1917, simply become a blinker covering the eyes of the revolutionary people and preventing them from boldly and freely, on their own initiative, building up the new: The Soviets of workers, "soldiers," and all

other deputies, as the sole power in the state and as the harbinger of the "withering away" of the state in every form.

Lenin, V., "The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 6, p. 74.

**393.** The Soviets are a higher form of democracy, and even more, they are the beginning of the socialist form of democracy. . . .

Lenin, V., "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government" (March 1918). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 341.

**394.** The class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a civil war. Civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy, in the interests of the war.

Lenin, V., "A Letter to American Working Men" (1918). *Collected Works*, vol. 22, p. 16.

**395.** The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a small part of the general democratic [at present, general socialistic] world movement. Possibly, in individual concrete cases, a particle may contradict the whole, if it does, then it must be rejected.

Lenin, V., "Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up." *Collected Works*, English edition (International Publishers, New York, 1942), vol. 19, pp. 287-288.

**396.** . . . In times of revolution it is not sufficient to ascertain the "will of the majority": Nay, one must prove to be the stronger. . . . We see innumerable examples of how the better organized, more class-conscious, and better armed minority forces its will upon the majority and vanquishes it.

Lenin, V., *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 2, p. 182.

**397.** How are we to explain the difference in attitude towards nationalities existing in different states? The difference depends on the degree of democracy in these states. And since by democracy we mean that definite classes are in control of state power, it may be said from this point of view that the closer the old landed aristocracy stands to power as was the case in the old Tsarist Russia, the more severe is the oppression and the more monstrous are the forms it assumes.

Stalin, J., "On the National Question," Report to the 7th All-Russian Conference of the R.S.D.P. (May 1917). *Marxism and the National Question* (International Publishers, New York, 1942), pp. 69-70.

**398.** Only opportunists consider that the proletariat must not take power before the majority of the population has expressed itself for the proletariat in a vote and until it supports the socialist proletariat.

Solovyov, P.N., *Voprosy Istorii (Problems of History)*, no. 12, 1957.

**399.** Bourgeois democracy—the most highly developed historical type of democracy in an exploiter society—is a form of dictatorship of the capitalist over the proletariat. . . .

Historically, the highest type of democracy is a socialist society, and it arises as a revolutionary rejection of bourgeois democracy.

*Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 3rd edition (English translation) (Collier MacMillan, London, 1976), vol. 8, p. 115.

### SOVIET VERSION OF DEMOCRACY

**400.** . . . Soviet power is a new type of state, in which there is no bureaucracy, no police, no standing army, and in which bourgeois democracy is replaced by a new democracy—a democracy which brings to the forefront the vanguard of the toiling masses, turning them into legislators, and executives, and a military guard, and which creates an apparatus capable of re-educating the masses.

Lenin, V., "On Revising the Party Program and Name" (speech to 7th Congress of CPSU(b), March 8, 1918). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 318.

**401.** . . . A question . . . which the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has endorsed and explained, namely, that Soviet socialist democracy is not contradictory to individual management and dictatorship in any way, that the will of a class may sometimes be carried out by a dictator, who at times may do more alone and who is frequently more necessary.

Lenin, V., "Speech to 9th Congress of CPSU(b)" (March 31, 1920). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 8, p. 222.

**402.** Words are being spoken about freedom and democracy in an attempt to prove that prevention of propaganda discouraging repatriation of refugees is inconsistent with the principles of freedom and democracy. It is forgotten that propaganda of this nature is not simply an abstract exposition of certain theoretical principles, which in fact do not have any practical significance. No, the propaganda which is now under discussion . . . is deceit and blackmail depending on the credulity of people [etc.] . . . of the people who are often politically inexperienced and people who are credulous at that. To prevent harmful propaganda under such circumstances means to protect the interests of people who would otherwise become the victim of a foul crime . . . why then is it not a reasonable, consistent and sacred duty of free thinking people to ban incitement to actions which bear a threat to peace and security?

Vyshinsky, A. Ya., "Speech to Committee 3 of General Assembly of UNO on Refugee Problem" (November 6, 1946), *Pravda*, Nov. 8, 1946.

**403.** The peculiarity of Soviet socialist democracy is that the leading force in our country, the advance guard of the people is the Bolshevik party, the party of Lenin and Stalin.

"Soviet Democracy and Bourgeois Ideology," *Bolshevik*, no. 6, March 1947, p. 34.

**404.** A democracy is identical with the dictatorship of the proletariat, which does not share its power with other classes. . . .

The Communist Party, which believes in the tenets of Marxism-Leninism also shares its theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the Communist Party is aware that in the given specific historical conditions the most important task is the defense of the democratic gains on a broadest national basis against domestic and especially foreign relations.

Trainin, I., "Democracy of a Special Type." *Soviet State and Law*, no. 1, 1947, pp. 12-13.

405. Speaking of the freedom of information which is now extensively mooted by the Western press, it should be specified that the Soviet Union is prepared to observe the decisions laid down on this score in the Helsinki document in the form provided for in the agreement. Détente aims at eliminating the vestiges of the cold war in all spheres including propaganda. This does not mean that the ideological struggle will be over. There is an objective need for continuing it in conditions of peaceful coexistence. However, a transition to these conditions requires that propaganda activities should be conducted within certain bounds and should exclude slander, the fermenting of hatred and distrust, ideological subversion and the subversive methods of "psychological warfare." This does not in the least contradict the principles of freedom of expression and the press or international law.

Arbatov, G., "Maneuvers of the Opponents of Détente." *Socialism: Theory and Practice*, vol. 12, December 1975, pp. 134-135.

406. True freedom of opinion does not mean the unhampered dissemination of ideas, convictions, and the like but merely the free dissemination of views, ideas and opinions which answer the needs of the popular masses — the bearers of social progress and the motive force of history. Marxism-Leninism rejects a formalistic approach to this question. True expression of freedom of speech, press, assembly, and in general of opinions . . . means that it be realized "inconformity with the interests of the toilers and for the purposes of strengthening the socialist order."

*Soviet State Law* (Juridical Literature Publisher, Moscow, 1975), pp. 211-212.

407. We should remember Lenin's words, that in our society everything which serves to build up communism, is moral. We can paraphrase this by saying that for us everything which serves the interests of the people and the interests of the building up of communism is democratic.

Brezhnev, L., 25th CPSU Congress, February 24, 1976.

408. This is a direct attempt to interfere in our internal affairs and, consequently, a most flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the final act adopted in Helsinki.

Brezhnev, L., *International Herald Tribune*, September 23-24, 1978.

409. We reject any attempts at pressure on Soviet justice and attempts to doubt our competence. Soviet law was established by the Soviet people and our country lives by its own laws and not according to those which are prescribed high-handedly for use from abroad.

Kovalev, A., Speaking to a Moscow news conference, July 31, 1979.

## CAPITALIST AS CONTRASTED WITH SOVIET DEMOCRACY

410. Thus, in capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to communism, will, for the first time, create democracy for the people, for the majority, in addition to the necessary suppression of the minority — the exploiters. Communism alone is capable of giving really complete democracy, and the more complete it is the more quickly will it become unnecessary and wither away of itself.

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 82.

**411.** In capitalist society, under conditions most favorable to its development, we have more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation and consequently remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes; only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics; freedom for the slave owners. . . .

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 79.

**412.** . . . The old bourgeois apparatus, the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc., which are the more varied, the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed — all this disappears under the Soviet organization.

Lenin, V., "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" (1918). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 134.

**413.** . . . There is a solid bourgeois majority in their parliament [the so-called democratic countries]. This is what they call democracy. Capital dominates and stifles everything; to this day it resorts to military censorship, and this they call "democracy". Among their millions of newspapers and magazines you will not find even an insignificant proportion which say anything vaguely favorable to the Bolsheviks. This is why they declared: "We are safe from the Bolsheviks, there is order in our country." And this they call "democracy."

Lenin, V., "Report at 7th Congress of Soviets" (1919). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 8, p. 54.

**414.** Bourgeois democracy because of its very nature usually presents the question of equality, including the question of national equality, in an abstract or formal manner. In the guise of equality of persons generally, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or judicial equality between the property owner and the proletarian, between the exploiter and the exploited, and thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. The bourgeoisie transforms the idea of equality which is itself the reflection of commodity production relations, into a weapon in the struggle against the abolition of classes on the plea of alleged absolute equality between individuals. The real meaning of the demand for equality lies exclusively in the demand for the abolition of classes.

Lenin, V., "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" (June 1920). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 10, pp. 231-232.

**415.** . . . In the West, in the world of bourgeois democracy, we are witnessing the gradual decline and disintegration of the multi-national states into their component parts . . . whereas, here, in our federation, embracing no less than 30 nationalities, we are, on the contrary, witnessing a process of consolidation of political ties between the independent republics, a process which is leading to an even closer union of independent nationalities into a single independent state. Here you have two types of political union, of which one type, the capitalist type, leads to the disintegration of the state into its component parts, while the second type, the Soviet type, on the contrary, leads to a gradual but stable amalgamation of formerly independent nationalities into a single independent state.

Stalin, J., "The Amalgamation of Soviet Republics" (December 26, 1922). *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (International Publishers, New York, 1942), p. 124.

416. Democracy in capitalist countries where there are antagonistic classes is in the last analysis democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the USSR, on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the toilers, i.e., democracy for all. From this it follows that the principles of democracy are violated, not by the draft of the new constitution, but by the bourgeois constitutions. That is why I think that the Constitution of the USSR is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world.

Stalin, J., "On Draft Constitution of USSR" (Report to 8th Congress of Soviets of USSR, November 25, 1936). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), p. 579.

417. The "freedom" of the bourgeois writer is the freedom to sell to the capitalists, to prostitute his talents, to cater to the debased tastes and demands of the money market.

The freedom of the proletariat writer is the real freedom to serve the highest ideals of humanity, the best traditions of national culture, to choose the best means for the education of the reader.

Between this real freedom and the imaginary freedom of the bourgeois writer there is the same irreconcilable opposition as there is between the Soviet, genuinely people's democracy and the false, pharisaical, hypocritical bourgeois democracy.

"Lenin and Stalin on Party Literature," *Uchitel'skaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Gazette*), October 19, 1946, p. 3.

## EXPLOITATION OF DEMOCRACY

418. In particular, the touchstone . . . for us will be the desire and readiness to organize a free, really popular mass movement outside the Duma [parliament] to effect political and economic liberation.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 34.

419. We must completely dissociate ourselves from all either dishonest or unwise attempts to seek a "peaceful" solution [through reform measures passed by parliament].

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 25.

420. *All power must be in the hands of the people.* If the mass of the people do not have the *entire* state power in their hands, if any organ of power not elected by the people, not liable to dismissal, and not entirely dependent on the people is allowed to remain, it will be *impossible* really to satisfy the urgent and universally-admitted needs of the people. . . . Social democracy teaches us not to forget the general interests of the working class for the sake of particular interests; not to allow the specific features of the individual stages of the struggle to cause us to forget the fundamental aims of the struggle as a whole.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 27.

421. The proletariat takes advantage of every breach, every weakening of the regime, every concession and sop in order to wage a more extensive, more intense and more massive struggle; the bourgeoisie use them [concessions] to cause the struggle gradually to calm down, weaken and die out, to curtail its aims and moderate its forms.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 28.

**422.** No one denies that [the new struggle] will be a struggle outside the Duma. Owing to the objective conditions of the present situation, it will be a struggle directly aimed at the destruction of the old regime.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 30.

**423.** The progressive class must therefore consistently expose to the masses the falsity of all hopes of negotiations and agreements with the old regime in general and of agreements between landlords and peasants over the land question [as decided in the Duma] in particular. The progressive class must pursue its independent line of undeviating struggle, supporting only those who are really fighting, and to the extent that they do fight.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 458.

**424.** A real revolutionary illegal party, steeled in battle, accustomed to the Plehves, and undismayed by the stern measures of the Stolypins, may, in the period of civil war, be capable of influencing the masses to a greater degree than any legal party, which with "callow simplicity," takes a "strictly constitutional path."

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, pp. 287-288.

## FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

### Marxist-Leninist Theory of

**425.** . . . What does it mean: Freedom to move from place to place? It means that the peasant must be free to go where he pleases, to move wherever he wants to, to choose for himself the village or the town he prefers, without having to ask for permission. It means that passports must be abolished in Russia too [in foreign countries passports were abolished long ago], that no police officer, no Zemsky Nachalnik must be allowed to stop any peasant from settling down or working wherever he pleases. The Russian peasant is still the serf of the officials to such an extent that he is not free to move to a town, or free to settle in a new district. The Minister issues orders that the governors should not allow unauthorized settlement! The governors know better than the peasant what is good for the peasant! The peasant is a child who dares not move without authority! Is this not serfdom, I ask you?

Lenin, V., "To the Rural Poor" (1903). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 2, p. 280.

**426.** We demand immediate and unconditional recognition by the authorities of freedom of assembly, freedom of press and an amnesty for all "political" prisoners and dissenters. Until this is done, all words about tolerance, about religious liberty, will remain a miserable game and an indecent lie. Until freedom of assembly, of speech and of the press is declared, there will not disappear the shameful Russian inquisition which persecutes profession of unofficial faith, unofficial opinions, unofficial doctrines.

Lenin, V., "The Autocracy is Tottering" (March 1, 1903). *Sochineniya* (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1946), vol. 6, p. 314.

**427.** . . . We must not forget that there is not, nor can there be at the present time, any other means of bringing socialism nearer than by complete political liberty,

a democratic republic, a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. . . .

Lenin, V., "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" (1905). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 3, p. 122.

**428.** The real freedom of the Slav peasant in the Balkans, as of the Turkish peasant, can be secured only through full freedom inside each country and through the federation of complete democratic states.

Lenin, V., "An Infamous Resolution," *Pravda*, no. 149, October 1912. *Collected Works* (3rd Russian edition, Gospolitizdat, Moscow), vol. 16, p. 161.

**429.** Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relationship to the social means of production), only then does "the state . . . cease to exist," and it "becomes possible to speak of freedom." Only then will really complete democracy without any exceptions be possible and be realized. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away owing to the simple fact that freed from . . . the infamies of capitalist exploitation, peoples will gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social life . . . without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the state.

Lenin, V., "The State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 81

**430.** . . . It is nobody's fault that he was born a slave, but a slave who is not only alien to the struggle for his freedom, but justifies and eulogizes his slavery . . . such a slave is a knave and a scoundrel who arouses a just feeling of indignation, contempt and loathing.

Lenin, V., "On National Pride of Great Russians." *Selected Works* (3rd Russian ed., Gospolitizdat, Moscow), vol. 18, p. 81.

**431.** The right of nations to self-determination means only the right to independence in a political sense, the right to free, political secession from the oppressing nation. Concretely, this political, democratic demand implies complete freedom to carry on agitation in favor of secession, and freedom to settle the question of secession, as by means of referendum of the nation that desires to secede. Consequently, this demand is by no means identical with the demand for secession, for the partition and for the formation of small states. It is merely the logical expression of the struggle against national oppression in any form.

Lenin, V., "The Socialist Revolution and the Rights of Nations to Self-Determination." *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 5, p. 270.

### **In the USSR**

**432.** We did not build this society in order to restrict personal liberty but in order that the human individual may feel really free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks. It is difficult for me to imagine what "personal liberty" is enjoyed by an unemployed person who goes around hungry and cannot find employment. Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abol-



ished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a man is not haunted by the fear of being tomorrow deprived of work, of home and of bread. Only in such a society is real, and not paper, personal and every other liberty possible.

Stalin, J., "Interview with Roy Howard" (March 1, 1936). *New York Times*, March 5, 1936.

**433.** The Soviet order guarantees to the masses not only in word but in fact, real freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. In the conditions of the bourgeois order the workers have not the minimum material requirements for the actual use of the rights which are proclaimed in bourgeois constitutions. . . .

In our country there exists for all the workers, the full freedom of criticism of the work of any organization or undertaking. . . .

The Soviet government guarantees to all its citizens extensive rights. The most important of these is the right to work . . . a guarantee which it is impossible for any capitalist country to give.

"Soviet Order, Most Democratic in World," *Moskovskii Bolshevik* (*Moscow Bolshevik*), November 22, 1945.

**434.** The "freedom" of the bourgeois writer is the freedom to sell to the capitalists, to prostitute his talents, to cater to the debased tastes and demands of the money market.

The freedom of the proletariat writer is the real freedom to serve the highest ideals of humanity, the best traditions of national culture, to choose the best means for the education of the reader.

Between this real freedom and the imaginary freedom of the bourgeois writer there is the same irreconcilable opposition as there is between the Soviet, genuinely people's democracy and the false, pharisaical, hypocritical bourgeois democracy.

"Lenin and Stalin on Party Literature," *Uchitel'skaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Gazette*), October 19, 1946, p. 3.

**435.** The rulers of the capitalist press find it even more difficult to deceive the people by false dilations on the freedom of the press. Ever broader masses in the capitalist countries are beginning to realize that in bourgeois society freedom of the press is the privilege of a few, used by an insignificant minority to misinform and misdirect the majority of the population. The truth about the essence and myth of freedom of the press under the conditions of "Western democracy" is fading and being dispelled before our eyes, therefore, those to whose advantage it is to support this myth are making prodigious efforts to renovate and repaint it.

They are, however, less and less successful in this. The peoples of the capitalist world see that genuine freedom of the press is possible only where the people itself is the master of the tools and means of production. Only there the press belongs to the people, expresses its hopes and interests. The most vivid example is the press of the mighty Soviet Union, which marches in the vanguard of the forces of democracy and socialism. This is why millions of common people the world over listen so attentively to the open, courageous and truthful voice of the Soviet press, which consistently fights for an enduring democratic peace, against the fomentors of new war and against the imperialists and encroachments on the freedom and independence of nations.

"A Myth Exposed," *Trud*, May 5, 1948, p. 3.

**436.** In founding *Pravda* Lenin and Stalin created a mighty weapon in the struggle for a mass workers' Bolshevik Party and transformed a newspaper into a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of Bolshevism, an organizing center directing the labor movement to the great aim of overthrowing the autocracy and building society. . . .

The gigantic growth of the press in the USSR is the clearest index of socialist democracy and true freedom of the press. The Bolshevik press is truly the press of the whole nation. In the hands of the bourgeoisie the printed word is a weapon of deception, an instrument for the enslavement of the people, and a means of enrichment. The present press of the imperialist states is a loyal servant of the capitalist monopolies, the mouthpiece of most unbridled reaction. . . .

The Soviet press is the weapon of the people in the fight for the building of the new life, for the victory of communism. The Bolshevik press is the sharpest and strongest weapon of our party, marching in the vanguard of the Soviet people and showing it the way to the realization of communist ideals.

"Sharpest and Strongest Weapon of Our Party," *Pravda*, May 5, 1948.

### Restrictions on

**437.** . . . So long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state, as such, ceases to exist.

Engels, F., "Letter to Bebel" (1875). Quoted by Lenin in "The State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 60.

**438.** . . . Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no freedom, no democracy.

Lenin, V., "State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 81.

**439.** It is an impossible policy, of course, to preach general political freedom—during the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no policy of universal freedom in our country, i.e., no freedom of speech, press, etc., for the bourgeoisie. Our domestic policy reduces itself to granting a maximum of freedom to the proletarian strata in town and country, in denying even a minimum of freedom to the remnants of the bourgeois class. This constitutes the crux of our policy, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalin, J., "Three Years of Proletarian Dictatorship" (November 6, 1920). *Sochineniya* (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1947), vol. 4, p. 389.

**440.** If it is a question of freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie, then it [freedom of the press] does not and will not exist here as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat is in power. But if it is a question of freedom of the press for the proletariat, but

then I must say that you will not find another country in the world with such broad and complete freedom of the press as exists in the USSR . . . go into workers' districts and you will find that the best printing works, the best press clubs, entire paper mills, entire ink factories, producing the necessary material for the press . . . these and many other things which are so necessary for the working class freedom of the press are entirely and fully at the disposal of the working class and the toiling masses. This is what we call freedom of the press for the working classes. We have no freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie. . . . But what is surprising in that? We have never pledged ourselves to grant freedom of the press to all classes, to make all classes happy . . . that is a government of one class, a government of the proletariat which will subdue the bourgeoisie in the interests of the toiling masses of town and country who represent the overwhelming majority of the USSR population.

Stalin, J., "Interviews with Foreign Workers' Delegations" (November 5, 1927). *Leninism* (Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, Moscow, 1934), vol. 1, pp. 403-404.

**441.** I must admit that the draft of the new Constitution does preserve the regime of the dictatorship of the working class, just as it also preserves unchanged the present leading position of the Communist Party of the USSR. If the esteemed critics regard this as a flaw in the Draft Constitution, it is only to be regretted. We Bolsheviks regard it as a merit of the Draft Constitution. . . . As to freedom for various political parties, we adhere to somewhat different views. A party is part of a class, its foremost part. Several parties, and consequently, freedom for parties, can exist only in a society in which there are antagonistic classes, whose interests are mutually hostile and irreconcilable—in which there are, say, capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants, etc. But in the USSR there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landlords, kulaks, etc. In the USSR there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests are not only not mutually hostile, but on the contrary, are friendly. Consequently, in the USSR there is no ground for the existence of several parties, and, consequently, for the freedom for these parties. In the USSR there is ground only for one party, the Communist Party. In the USSR only one party can exist, the Communist Party, which courageously defends the interests of the workers and peasants to the very end. . . .

Stalin, J., "Report to 8th Congress of Soviets on Draft Constitution of USSR" (November 25, 1936). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), pp. 578-579.

**442.** One of the first steps taken just after the socialist revolution was the democratic reorganization of the press. Already on November 17, 1917, Lenin proposed that an inquiry be made as to the dependence of bourgeois newspapers on the banks. Lenin wrote then that the workers' and peasants' government understands freedom of the press to mean freeing it from the bondage to capital, turning over the printing shops and paper mills to the state. Lenin formulated the fundamental principle of the Soviet state as regards the press: That the working people be given the facility for exercising the freedom of the press. This principle became the laws of the land and part of the Stalin constitution, which in the interests of the working people and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, guarantees every citizen freedom of the press and provides the working people with the material conditions which make it possible for them to exercise this right.

"Soviet Democracy and the Press," *Izvestiya*, May 5, 1948.

## EQUALITY

**Marxist-Leninist Theory of**

**443.** Democracy is of great importance for the working class in its struggle for freedom against the capitalists. But democracy is by no means a limit one may not overstep; it is only one of the stages in the course of development from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to communism.

Democracy means equality. The great significance of the struggle of the proletariat for equality, and the significance of equality as a slogan, are apparent, if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes. But democracy means only formal equality. Immediately after the attainment of equality for all members of society in respect of the ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labor and equality of wages, there will inevitably arise before humanity the question of going further from formal equality to real equality, i.e., to applying the rule, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." By what stages, by means of what practical measures humanity will proceed to this higher aim—this we do not and cannot know. . . .

Lenin, V., "The State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 91.

**444.** Bourgeois democracy because of its very nature usually presents the question of equality, including the question of national equality, in an abstract or formal manner. In the guise of equality of persons generally, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or judicial equality between the property owner and the proletarian, between the exploiter and the exploited, and thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. The bourgeoisie transforms the idea of equality which is itself the reflection of commodity production relations, into a weapon in the struggle against the abolition of classes on the plea of alleged absolute equality between individuals. The real meaning of the demand for equality lies exclusively in the demand for the abolition of classes.

Lenin, V., "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" (June 1920). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 10, pp. 231-232.

**445.** Engels was a thousand times right when he wrote: Any demand for equality which goes beyond the demand for abolition of classes is a stupid and absurd prejudice. Bourgeois professors tried to use the argument about equality in order to expose us by saying that we wanted to make all men equal. They tried to accuse the socialists of an absurdity that they themselves invented. But they did not know that the socialists—and precisely the founders of modern, scientific socialism, Marx and Engels—said: Equality is an empty phrase unless by equality is meant the abolition of classes. We want to abolish classes, and in that respect we are in favor of equality. But the claim that we want to make all men equal to each other is an empty phrase and a stupid invention of the intellectuals.

Lenin, V., "On Deceiving the People with Slogans about Liberty and Equality." *Collected Works* (Russian ed.), vol. 24, pp. 293-294.

**446.** By equality, Marxism means not equalization of individual requirements and individual life, but the abolition of classes, i.e.: (a) The equal emancipation of all toilers from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (b) the equal abolition of all private property in the means of production after they

have been transformed into the property of the whole society; (c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and the equal right of all toilers to receive according to the amount they have done (socialist society); (d) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to their requirements (communist society).

Stalin, J., "Report of Work of Central Committee to 17th Congress of CPSU(b)" (January 26, 1934). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), p. 502.

**447.** . . . [To deduce] that socialism calls for equality, for the levelling of the requirements of the members of society, for the levelling of their tastes and of their personal lives, that according to Marxism all should wear the same clothes and eat the same dishes and in the same quantity—is to deal in vulgarities and to slander Marxism.

. . . In his "Anti-Duhring," Engels wrote . . . "the real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that of necessity passes into absurdity."

Stalin, J., "Report of Work of Central Committee to 17th Congress of CPSU(b)" (January 26, 1934). *Works* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955), p. 363.

**448.** The idea of equality is not an unshakeable eternal truth. It was born of certain definite social relationships. Its contents changes with changes in the latter. The sense of the demand for equality lies only in the abolition of inequality. With the disappearance of inequality, the contents of the demand for equality are lost. That is why Engels, explaining that the real contents of the demand for equality consist in the liquidation of classes, added: "All demands for equality going further than this inevitably lead to absurdities."

"Socialism and Equality," *Pravda*, December 29, 1936.

### Of Individuals

**449.** Democracy is a form of state, one of its varieties. Consequently, like every other state, it on the one hand represents the organized systematic application of force against persons; but on the other hand, it signifies the formal recognition of the equality of all citizens, the equal rights of all to determine the structure and administration of the state.

Lenin, V., "The State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 91.

**450.** . . . Whoever draws up wage scales on the "principle" of equality, without taking into account the difference between skilled and unskilled labor, breaks with Marxism, breaks with Leninism.

Stalin, J., "New Conditions, New Tasks" (June 23, 1931). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), p. 363.

**451.** It [the Constitution] does not merely proclaim equality of rights for citizens but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, to the fact that all the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation.

Stalin, J., "Draft Constitution," Report to 8th Congress of Soviets of the USSR (November 25, 1936). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), p. 551.

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Pasikivi Society - 1<sup>st</sup> postwar President  
of Finland

"Realist" - set up modern  
Finnish relationships  
with Soviet Union

Olympics

Finnish like to play neutral - detached - not  
pushing human rights

Confidence  
building -  
deceptive &  
not offensive  
maneuvers

Attuned to Estonia, same language, got TV  
Small nation complex - small nations  
should have rights

Quotes: → de Gaulle - 1962

Pres Kekonen: ~~There are~~ <sup>There are</sup>  
hope for barriers

Pasikivi: path up

R Reagan should personalize  
Say of generation that fought Russia  
& knew the courage

~~Protest~~ <sup>Demonstration</sup> by American trash groups outside hall

God bless you in Finnish

recognizing part Finns play in world even  
by neutrality: playing host

Prime Minister Harri Holkeri in L.A. in Feb:

"neutral country which is clearly tied  
to western values of freedom, democracy  
and human rights

Soviets not recognizing rights to national sovereignty

Jim Potts - had advance Helsinki

- hosted by Finnish got  
& Paasilivi Society - members  
League of Finnish - American Society

Cliff Ah  
of Comm.

- Paas. introduces RR - Mr. Jaakko Iloniemi  
- Finn Am. thanks ~~RR~~ RR - Lauri Poyhonen

- Pres. Koorsto & Mrs. K.  
- P.M. Holkeri & Mrs. R.  
For. Min. Sorsa & wife

'T WAS FOUR NIGHTS BEFORE CHRISTMAS  
AND ON THE FIRST FLOOR  
THE SPEECHWRITING STAFF  
WILL DO IT ONCE MORE...

SO JOIN US ON MONDAY  
FOR OUR ANNUAL BLAST --  
IF IT'S HALF AS MUCH FUN  
AS WE'VE HAD IN YEARS PAST,  
WE'LL DANCE ON THE BALCONY  
AND DRINK A FEW BEERS  
AS WE OFFER A TOAST  
TO ONE MORE GOOD YEAR!



EVENT: 7TH ANNUAL SPEECHWRITING SPEAKEASY  
DATE: MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1987  
PLACE: ROOM 100 OLD E.O.B.  
TIME: 5:00 P.M.

Carol Hayes ❄️  
Bowena Itchon 🍭  
Josh Gilder ❄️  
Cathy Rice 🍭

Peter Robinson ❄️  
Tony Dolan 🍭  
Barb Sedonic ❄️  
Danna Walton 🍭

Teresa Rosenberger 🍭  
John Dannabeck ❄️  
Clark Judge 🍭  
Michelle Le Brun ❄️  
Dana Rohrabacher 🍭  
Julie Tinman ❄️  
Agnes Waldron 🍭  
Nance Roberts ❄️



Carol Hayes

Rosena Itchon

Josh Gilder

Cathy Rice

Peter Robinson

Tony Dolan

Barb Sedonic

Donna Walton

'Twas four nights before Christmas  
and on the first floor  
the speechwriting staff  
will do it once more...

So join us on Monday  
for our annual blast --  
if it's half as much fun  
as we've had in years past,  
we'll dance on the balcony  
and drink a few beers  
as we offer a toast  
to one more good year!

Teresa Rosenberger

John Dannerbeck

Clark Judge

Michelle Le Brun

Dana Rohrabacher

Julie Tinman

Agnes Waldron

Nance Roberts



EVENT: 7TH ANNUAL SPEECHWRITING SPEAKEASY  
DATE: MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1987  
PLACE: ROOM 100 OLD E.O.B.  
TIME: 5:00 P.M.

Now it should be your time to combine these tracks because you have a common goal. It is absurd for 2 skiers to ski in the unbroken snow next to each other in the unbroken snow. One should switch to the same track.

Finns - written letter to KR & Gorbachev

I have the impression that you and Gos. are skiing toward the same goal and you should ski silly for 2 skiers to ski on separate tracks

Markku VEE looks to  
vihanto  
SOT KAMO  
from SOHT Kar nah

I'm sure that you KR, & Mf have a sincere desire to limit armaments. I have the imp. that you & MG are skiing toward the same goal but y " " in tracks that are adjacent to each other. It is time for these tracks to combine

*Dr. Paul Hacker*  
Political Counselor

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Itäinen Puistotie 14 A, Helsinki

☎ 171931/225

378

Narayan

communist  
Feeling that  
Old material pushing out new material

talk - how important artists or religious figures  
if too critical patriotic reaction

Chinghiz Aitmatov - Central Asia  
Kirghizia

Whole country gloried


Alisher Navoiy (greatest poet Kazakhstan)  
15th century

Baba Khan - grand vizier of the Soviet Union  
today of Moscow? Was just  
here -

horrible that when we analyse or preach  
about USSR.

German Tartars - don't want to live in  
old houses

- cultural exchange:  
dance groups, others



NANCY LUBIN, Ph.D.

Congress of the United States  
International Security and Commerce  
Office of Technology Assessment  
Washington, DC 20510

228-6432  
(202) 500-2000

STEVENS, BAIJER, HOOLEY, HILDEBRAND, WOODRUFF, GRISCOM  
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED <OSRI> RUEHMO <DTG> 041822Z MAY 88

<ORIG>FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

<TO>TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3085

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

*Clark  
FYI  
from Tony*

<TEXT>BT  
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219  
DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND  
DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BAIJER  
DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL  
E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS  
REF: STATE 139004

/--  
1. PER REQUEST REFTEL, HEREWITH IS UNCLASSIFIED  
SITE INFORMATION FOR THE UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT.

/--  
2. THE DANILOV MONASTERY:  
THE DANILOV MONASTERY WAS FOUNDED IN 1282 BY PRINCE  
DANIIL ALEKSANDROVICH, FROM WHOM IT TOOK ITS NAME.  
IN THE CENTURIES AFTER ITS FOUNDING IT PLAYED A KEY  
ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOSCOW AGAINST NUMEROUS  
ATTACKS BY TATAR ARMIES. THE MONASTERY CONTAINS A  
NUMBER OF CHURCHES, INCLUDING THE CHURCH OF THE  
SEVEN ECUMENICAL COUNCILS (WHICH DATES TO THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY) AND THE TRINITY CHURCH (WHICH  
DATES TO THE NINETEENTH). THE MONASTERY WAS  
DISBANDED SHORTLY AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION OF  
1917. UNTIL THE MONASTERY WAS RETURNED TO THE  
RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN 1983, IT SERVED AT  
VARIOUS TIMES AS AN OFFICE BUILDING, A WAREHOUSE,  
AND A PRISON.

/--  
THE SOVIET STATE RETURNED THE DANILOV MONASTERY TO  
THE CHURCH IN 1983 IN A STATE OF ALMOST TOTAL RUIN.  
SINCE THEN, THE CHURCH HAS BEEN BUSILY  
RECONSTRUCTING THE MONASTERY IN PREPARATION FOR THE  
MILLENNIAL CELEBRATIONS. THE TOTAL COST WILL RUN  
SOME 20 MILLION RUBLES (APPROXIMATELY 30 MILLION  
DOLLARS AT CURRENT EXCHANGE RATES). THE COSTS HAVE  
REPORTEDLY BEEN BORNE IN FULL BY THE CHURCH. THAT  
IS A POINT OF GREAT PRIDE FOR THE CHURCH HIERARCHY.

/--  
ONCE RESTORED, THE MONASTERY WILL SERVE AS THE  
ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER OF THE CHURCH, HOUSING BOTH  
THE PATRIARCH AND THE HOLY SYNOD. LOCATED CLOSE TO  
THE CENTER OF MOSCOW, IT IS A SYMBOL OF THE STATE'S  
ACCEPTANCE OF THE CHURCH AS AN IMPORTANT SOCIAL  
ORGANIZATION AND -- IN THE CHURCH'S EYES -- OF ITS  
GROWING SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND POWER.

--  
3. MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY  
OFFICIAL NAME: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY (MGU) NAMED  
FOR MIKHAIL VASIL'EVICH LOMONOSOV  
CURRENT HEAD: RECTOR ANATOLIY ALEKSEYEVICH LOGUNOV  
VICE RECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

VLADIMIR IVANOVICH TROPIN

FOUNDED: 1755 BY THE SCIENTIST M.V. LOMONOSOV  
STUDENT POPULATION: (APPROX.) 30,000 UNDERGRADUATES  
(APPROX.) 5,000 GRADUATE

/--  
MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY (KNOWN IN RUSSIAN AS MGU (M-GEY-OO) IS A STATE FINANCED AND OPERATED INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION. IT IS THE LARGEST AND OLDEST CONTINUOUSLY OPERATING UNIVERSITY IN THE USSR.

ADMISSION TO MGU IS VERY COMPETITIVE. TUITION IS FREE AND MOST STUDENTS RECEIVE A SMALL STIPEND WHILE THEY ATTEND THE UNIVERSITY. A BACHELORS DEGREE NORMALLY REQUIRES FIVE TO SIX YEARS TO STUDY. MGU ALSO AWARDS ADVANCED DEGREES UP TO AND INCLUDING THE DOCTORATE DEGREE.

ORIGINALLY SITUATED ON PROSPEKT MARKSA OPPOSITE THE KREMLIN, MGU MOVED IN 1953 TO ITS CURRENT LOCATION IN LENIN HILLS.

DURING THE 1987-88 ACADEMIC YEAR, APPROXIMATELY 35 AMERICAN STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS ARE STUDYING, TEACHING AND CONDUCTING RESEARCH AT MGU. A VARIETY OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS HAVE EXCHANGES WITH MGU UNDER THE 1985 EXCHANGES AGREEMENT. SOME OF THESE ARE: IREX (INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD), IIE (INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION), AND THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK. EVERY YEAR

BT

#1219

BT

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219  
DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND  
DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BATJER  
DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL  
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS  
SEVERAL FULBRIGHT LECTURERS TEACH COURSES TO MGU STUDENTS. IN ADDITION, TUFTS AND MGU TEACH A JOINT COURSE ON THE HISTORY OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, BY WHICH AMERICAN AND SOVIET STUDENTS ARE LINKED VIA SATELLITE AND SHARE AN IDENTICAL SYLLABUS.

/--

DURING THE 1987-88 ACADEMIC YEAR, APPROXIMATELY 35 AMERICAN STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS WILL STUDY, TEACH AND CONDUCT RESEARCH AT MGU. A VARIETY OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS HAVE EXCHANGES WITH MGU UNDER THE 1985 EXCHANGES AGREEMENT. SOME OF THESE ARE: IREX (INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND EXCHANGES BOARD), IIE (INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION), AND THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK. IN ADDITION, TUFTS AND MGU TEACH A JOINT COURSE ON THE HISTORY OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. AMERICAN AND SOVIET STUDENTS ARE LINKED VIA SATELLITE AND SHARE AN IDENTICAL SYLLABUS.

/--

MGU IS COMPRISED OF MANY FACULTIES AND FOUR RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

FACULTIES: MECHANICAL - MATHEMATICAL  
CALCULATIVE MATHEMATICS AND  
CYBERNETICS

PHYSICS  
CHEMICAL  
BIOLOGY  
SOIL SCIENCE  
GEOLOGY  
GEOGRAPHY  
PHILOSOPHY  
HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
PHILOLOGY  
JOURNALISM  
PSYCHOLOGY  
LAW

INSTITUTE OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

RESEARCH INSTITUTES: NUCLEAR PHYSICS  
ASTRONOMY  
MECHANICAL  
ANTHROPOLOGY

THE UNIVERSITY ALSO INCLUDES A RESEARCH STATISTICS  
CENTER, A BOTANICAL GARDEN, FOUR ASTRONOMY  
OBSERVATORIES, A MUSEUM AND A ZOO.

/--

#### 4. SPASO HOUSE

SPASO HOUSE, RESIDENCE OF AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN  
MOSCOW SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET  
UNION IN 1933, STANDS ONE MILE WEST OF THE KREMLIN  
IN QUIET LITTLE SPASOPEYKOVSKAYA SQUARE, NOT FAR  
FROM THE HEAVY TRAFFIC OF SADOVOYE KOL'TSO (GARDEN  
RING) AND THE ARBAT. A SHORT DISTANCE AWAY IS A  
MODERN COMPLEX OF STORES, OFFICES AND APARTMENTS  
BUILT ALONG KALININ PROSPEKT. THE ARBAT, ITSELF AN  
ANCIENT HIGHWAY LEADING OUT OF MOSCOW TO THE WEST  
AND FOR AT LEAST THE LAST CENTURY A BUSY SHOPPING  
STREET, IS FIRST MENTIONED IN A DOCUMENT OF 1493;  
THE NAME IS SAID TO BE DERIVED FROM AN ARABIC WORD  
MEANING "SUBURBS" SINCE THE CITY PROPER WAS FOR LONG  
RESTRICTED TO THE KREMLIN AND THE RELATIVELY SMALL  
AREA BEYOND, WHICH IS CIRCLED BY THE INNER BOULEVARD  
RING, ONCE A FORTIFICATION. THE AREA IMMEDIATELY  
SURROUNDING SPASO HOUSE WAS INHABITED IN THE 17TH  
CENTURY BY THE TSAR'S DOG-KEEPERS AND FALCONERS,  
WHOSE NAME IS STILL PRESERVED IN KRECHETNIKOVSKIY  
(GERFALCON) STREET JUST NORTH OF SPASO HOUSE. THE  
DOG-KEEPER'S STREET HOWEVER HAS BECOME COMPOSERS'  
STREET.

/--

THE NAME OF SPASOPESKOVSKAYA SQUARE (AND HENCE OF  
"SPASO HOUSE" WHICH IS OFFICIALLY SIMPLY HOUSE NO.  
10, SPASOPESKOVSKAYA SQUARE) DERIVES FROM THE  
HANDSOME LITTLE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF THE  
SALVATION ON THE SANDS (TSERKOV'SPASA-NA-PESKAKH)

BT

#1219

BT

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND

DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BATJER

DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

BUILT IN 1711, WHICH STANDS AT ONE SIDE OF THE SMALL PARK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SQUARE. IT IS NOW USED AS AN ANIMATED CARTOON STUDIO. IN THE 1870'S THE PAINTER V.D. POLENOV, WHO LIVED NEARBY, DEPICTED THE SQUARE IN HIS WELL-KNOWN PAINTING "A SMALL MOSCOW COURTYARD" (MOSKOWSKII DVORIK), NOW IN THE TRETYAKOV GALLERY.

/--  
SPASO HOUSE WAS BUILT IN 1914 BY NIKOLAI ALEKSANDROVICH VTOROV, A WEALTHY MERCHANT AND MANUFACTURER. THE ARCHITECTS WERE ADAMOVICH AND MAYAT. THE BUILDING, IN NEW EMPIRE STYLE, HAS CHANGED VERY LITTLE IN BASIC APPEARANCE EXCEPT FOR THE ADDITION OF A ONE-STORY BALLROOM WING IN THE 1930'S. THE PROPORTIONS ARE ALMOST GIGANTIC, THE MAIN HALL BEING 82 FEET LONG, WITH A TREMENDOUSLY HIGH, DOMED CEILING. VTOROV, DESCRIBED BY AN OLD INHABITANT OF MOSCOW AS A RUDE, COARSE, STRICT MAN, FURNISHED HIS NEW HOUSE IN FRENCH STYLE, ALTHOUGH HE HAD THE FURNITURE MADE IN RUSSIA INSTEAD OF BUYING IT IN FRANCE.

THE GREAT CHANDELIER, WHICH HANGS NOW AS IT DID THEN IN THE MAIN HALL, WAS THE TALK OF 1914 MOSCOW. IT IS BELIEVED TO BE THE WORK OF THE MOSCOW SILVERSMITH, MISHAKOV.

/--  
OSTENTATION WAS THE RULE OF THE DAY IN RUSSIAN MANSIONS. THE GRANDEST OF THEM ALL (MANY OF THEM, LIKE SPASO HOUSE, NOW ARE FOREIGN EMBASSIES) IS A 1905 GOTHIC MANOR BUILT BY A MINISTRY FOR ITS OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS. NOR WERE THESE GREAT "MERCHANT PLACES" BUILT ONLY IN MOSCOW; ONE RECALLS THAT IN THE 1880'S THE ELDER GEORGE KENNAN FOUND AT NERCHINSK IN THE DEPTHS OF SIBERIA THE PALATIAL RESIDENCE OF A MINES PROPRIETOR FULL OF ORIENTAL RUGS, FLEMISH PAINTINGS, TROPICAL ORCHIDS AND PALMS, AND THE LARGEST MIRROR IN THE WORLD, IMPORTED AROUND THE WORLD FROM PARIS. BUT SPASO HOUSE, THOUGH GRAND, IS NOT GARISH, AND THOUGH THE OSTENTATION IS UNDENIABLE, THE HOUSE HAS FORTUNATELY, DIGNITY AND GOOD STYLE AS WELL. THE SPACIOUS LIVING QUARTERS FOR THE AMBASSADOR AND HIS FAMILY LOCATED ON THE SECOND FLOOR ARE ALSO IMPRESSIVE, WITH BEAUTIFUL CARVED CEILINGS AND DOORS AND HANDSOME CHANDELIERS.

/--  
EVEN AS SPASO HOUSE WAS BUILT, AN AGE WAS COMING TO ITS END. WORLD WAR I RAGED TO THE WEST, DISORDERS INCREASED AT HOME, AND IN 1917 VTOROV IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN SHOT IN HIS OFFICE BY A REVOLUTIONARY. ANOTHER, POSSIBLY APOCRYPHAL, ACCOUNT STATES THAT VTOROV IN 1917 TRADED HIS HOUSE TO KERENSKY'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RETURN FOR PERMISSION TO LEAVE RUSSIA. STILL A THIRD STORY IS THAT VTOROV WAS MURDERED IN THE FRONT VESTIBULE OF SPASO HOUSE BY HIS GOOD-FOR-NOTHING SON. BUT NOTHING SEEMS CERTAIN BEYOND THE FACT THAT HE DIED IN 1917 AND THAT ONE OF HIS TWO DAUGHTERS WAS LIVING IN PARIS IN



THE EARLY 1950'S.

AFTER THE BOLSHIEVIK REVOLUTION OF 1917, SPASO HOUSE, LIKE EVERY OTHER MOSCOW MANSION, WAS EXPROPRIATED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR OFFICIAL USE. SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER VYSHINSKIY ONCE MENTIONED AT A SPASO HOUSE RECEPTION THAT HIS PREDECESSOR, GEORGIY VASILYEVICH CHICERIN, COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM MARCH 1918 UNTIL 1930, LIVED AT SPASO HOUSE AT ONE TIME DURING THE 1920'S. CHICERIN IS ALSO SAID TO HAVE LIVED AFTER HIS RETIREMENT IN A BUILDING ACROSS THE SQUARE ON THE PRESENT SITE OF THE MONGOLIAN EMBASSY.

/--  
AT THE TIME THE UNITED STATES ENTERED INTO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN NOVEMBER 1933, THE PUBLIC ROOMS OF SPASO HOUSE WERE BEING USED FOR OFFICIAL ENTERTAINING BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. THE BALLROOM WING WAS THEN UNDER CONSTRUCTION BUT WAS FINISHED ONLY ABOUT 1935 AFTER TROUBLES WITH THE FLOOR CONSTRUCTION. SEVERAL SOVIET OFFICIALS WERE

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BT

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219

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DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

THEN LIVING ON THE SECOND FLOOR, INCLUDING I.M.

KARAKHAN, DEPUTY COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

MIKHAILOV, AMERICAN SPECIALIST FOR "IZVESTIYA;" AND

FLORINSKIY, CHIEF OF PROTOCOL.

THE FIRST AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, WILLIAM C. BULLITT,

ARRIVED IN MOSCOW AT THE END OF 1933 TO PRESENT HIS

CREDENTIALS. WITH HIM WERE JOSEPH FLACK, THEN

SERVING IN THE EMBASSY IN WARSAW AND LATER

AMBASSADOR TO POLAND AND GUATEMALA; KEITH MERRILL OF

THE FOREIGN BUILDINGS OFFICE OF THE DEPARTMENT; AND

GEORGE F. KENNAN, THIRD SECRETARY OF THE LEGATION AT

RIGA. AMBASSADOR BULLITT WAS SHOWN THREE BUILDINGS

FOR POSSIBLE USE BY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, AND TWO

WERE CHOSEN: SPASO HOUSE FOR THE AMBASSADOR'S

RESIDENCE, AND A BUILDING THEN UNDER CONSTRUCTION

NEXT TO THE HOTEL NATIONAL ON MOKHOVAYA STREET FOR

OFFICES AND STAFF APARTMENTS.

/--  
AMBASSADOR BULLITT ENVISAGED THIS AS A TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT AND EXPECTED THAT AN EMBASSY COMPOUND WOULD BE CONSTRUCTED ON THE SPARROW HILLS (NOW LENIN HILLS) WHICH THEN LAY OUTSIDE THE BUILT-UP AREA OF THE CITY. THIS PLAN NEVER MATERIALIZED. THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED ON THE SIMULTANEOUS CONSTRUCTION OF CHANCERIES IN THE RESPECTIVE CAPITALS. THE SITE FOR THE PROPOSED NEW AMERICAN CHANCERY IN MOSCOW IS LOCATED JUST BEHIND THE PRESENT CHANCERY. HOWEVER, SPASO HOUSE, NOW ON LONG-TERM LEASE AND THOROUGHLY ASSOCIATED IN

EVERYONE'S MIND WITH THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN MOSCOW, WILL REMAIN THE RESIDENCE. AMBASSADOR BULLITT AND PARTY LEFT MOSCOW TEMPORARILY IN MID-DECEMBER 1933 AFTER HE HAD PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS. MR. KENNAN RETURNED IN EARLY JANUARY TO COMPLETE ARRANGEMENTS, AND THE AMBASSADOR ARRIVED IN MARCH TO OCCUPY THE NEW RESIDENCE FOR THE FIRST TIME. MOST OF THE EMBASSY STAFF WERE THEN LIVING IN HOTELS, BUT A SMALL OVERFLOW STAYED IN SPASO HOUSE ITSELF UNDER APARTMENTS IN THE NEW MOKHOVAYA BUILDING WERE READY.

/--  
THE SUMMER OF 1934 HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS SOMETHING OF A "HONEYMOON" IN AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN THE WAKE OF GOOD FEELINGS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS VISITED THE SOVIET UNION AS TOURISTS, MORE THAN IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS. ONE OF THEM WAS THE SISTER OF CHARLES W. THAYER, LATE CELEBRATED AUTHOR OF "BEARS IN THE CAVIAR" AND OTHER WORKS DESCRIBING EMBASSY LIFE IN MOSCOW, WHO WAS THEN LIVING AT SPASO HOUSE AND SERVING AS SECRETARY TO AMBASSADOR BULLITT. DURING HER VISIT, MISS THAYER MET THIRD SECRETARY CHARLES E. BOHLEN; A ROMANCE DEVELOPED; THEY MARRIED; AND TWENTY YEARS LATER AMBASSADOR AND MRS. CHARLES E. BOWLEN RETURNED TO MOSCOW TO BE TENANTS OF SPASO HOUSE FROM 1953 TO 1957.

THE BEGINNING OF THIS PERIOD SAW TWO LONG-TO-BE REMEMBERED PARTIES AT SPASO HOUSE: THE CHRISTMAS EVE PARTY OF 1934 DESCRIBED BY MR. THAYER IN "BEARS IN THE CAVIAR," WHEN THREE TRAINED SEALS WENT BERSERK IN THE BALLROOM; AND THE "SPRING FESTIVAL" OF 1935, WHICH MRS. IRENA WILEY DESCRIBED IN "AROUND THE GLOBE IN 20 YEARS" AS "THE ONLY ONE GREAT PARTY IN MOSCOW OF THE USSR," AND WHICH MR. THAYER ALSO DESCRIBED IN HILARIOUS FASHION. AT THE CHRISTMAS EVE PARTY, IT WAS THE ANIMALS, BORROWED FROM THE MOSCOW ZOO, THAT MADE TROUBLE - NOTABLY AN UNHOUSEBROKEN BABY BEAR THAT SPOILED A SOVIET GENERAL'S UNIFORM, AND SOME HUNDREDS OF FINCHES, ALSO UNHOUSEBROKEN, THAT FLEW MERRILY THROUGH THE HIGH-CEILINGED ROOMS FOR SOME DAYS THEREAFTER.

/--  
A MEMORABLE OCCASION IN THE SUMMER OF 1935, RECALLED BY ANGUS WARD WHO WAS THEN CHIEF OF THE CONSULAR SECTION, WAS A MUSICALE HELD BY AMBASSADOR BULLITT IN THE JUST-COMPLETED BALLROOM, AT WHICH THE

BT

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E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS  
COMPOSER SERGEI PROKOFIEV HIMSELF CONDUCTED HIS "THE LOVE FOR THREE ORANGES."

AMBASSADOR BULLITT WAS REPLACED BY AMBASSADOR JOSEPH E. DAVIES LATE IN 1936, AND IN THE MEMORY OF MORE THAN ONE "OLD MOSCOW HAND" THE CHANGEOVER SEEMS ETERNALLY ASSOCIATED WITH SOUR CREAM. AMBASSADOR AND MRS. DAVIES, ONE HASTENS TO EXPLAIN, HAD BROUGHT WITH THEM SOME TONS OF FROZEN FOOD, WHICH WAS STORED IN BATTERIES OF SPECIALLY-INSTALLED FREEZERS IN THE SPASO HOUSE BASEMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, TROUBLE DEVELOPED WITH THE CITY ELECTRIC SUPPLY AND AFTER SOME WEEKS IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT MANY HUNDREDS OF QUARTS OF FROZEN CREAM HAD TURNED INTO WHAT ONE VETERAN OFFICER DESCRIBED AS "THE LARGEST DOLLOP OF SMETANA THAT HAD BEEN SEEN IN MOSCOW SINCE THE DAYS OF NICOLAI THE LAST."

/--  
THE COMING OF WORLD WAR II AND THE GERMAN INVASION IN 1941 BROUGHT NEW HORROR TO RUSSIA AND NEW CHANGES TO SPASO HOUSE. AGAIN, AS IN THE 1920'S, PART OF THE BUILDING WAS TURNED OVER TO OFFICE USE AS A RESULT OF THE INCREASE IN SIZE IN THE OFFICIAL AMERICAN COMMUNITY. A BOMB SHELTER WAS BUILT IN THE BASEMENT; GERMAN AIR RAIDS RESULTED IN AN OCCASIONAL BROKEN WINDOW. THE VAKHTANGOV THEATER NEARBY ON THE ARBAT WAS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED IN ONE RAID. IN THE LATE FALL OF 1941 THE GERMANS DREW VERY NEAR TO THE CITY, AND THE DECISION WAS MADE TO MOVE THE SEAT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT EAST TO KUYBYSHEV ON THE VOLGA. THE FOREIGN EMBASSIES NATURALLY FOLLOWED.

/--  
SPASO HOUSE WAS THE EVACUATION POINT FOR THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. ON THE APPOINTED DAY, AMERICAN OFFICIAL PERSONNEL AND CORRESPONDENTS MET AT SPASO HOUSE AND PROCEEDED TO THE STATION TO BOARD A SLOW TRAIN FOR KUYBYSHEV, ACCOMPANIED BY THE NOISE OF DISTANT GUNFIRE, WHICH, DESPITE THE RUMOR OF THE DAY, WAS NOT GERMAN BUT SOVIET ANTI-AIRCRAFT FIRE. WITH AMBASSADOR STEINHARDT'S DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW, SECOND SECRETARY LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON, LATER AMBASSADOR FROM 1957 TO 1962 AND 1967-68 TOOK CHARGE OF THE AMERICAN PROPERTIES AND THE SKELETON STAFF WHICH REMAINED. WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, THE GERMANS WERE PUSHED BACK FROM MOSCOW AND THE NEW AMBASSADOR, ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. STANDLEY, AND HIS STAFF RESUMED EMBASSY OPERATIONS IN MOSCOW.

IN THE POSTWAR YEARS SPASO HOUSE HAS CONTINUED TO BE THE RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AND HAS SEEN A HOST OF DISTINGUISHED VISITORS, INCLUDING A PRESIDENT AND TWO VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, AS WELL AS THREE SECRETARIES OF STATE. MORE THAN ONE MAN WHO FIRST ENTERED SPASO HOUSE AS A JUNIOR OFFICER RETURNED AS AMBASSADOR.

/--  
IN 1963 SPASO HOUSE RECEIVED A NEW AMBASSADORIAL NEIGHBOR WITH THE OPENING OF THE SOMALI EMBASSY IN THE RESIDENCE NEXT DOOR ON THE SQUARE. ACROSS THE SQUARE, A MODERN BUILDING HOUSES THE CONSULAR AND COMMERCIAL SECTIONS OF THE MONGOLIAN EMBASSY AND PROVIDES LIVING QUARTERS FOR SOME OF THAT EMBASSY'S STAFF.

IN RECENT YEARS, STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO RETURN

SPASO HOUSE TO ITS ORIGINAL 1914 SPLENDOR.  
AMBASSADOR THOMAS J. WATSON, JR. KINDLY RESTORED THE  
EXTERIOR FANLIGHT WINDOW, DESTROYED DURING WORLD WAR  
II, BY REINSTALLING THE BRIGHT ULTRAMARINE BLUE  
STAINED GLASS WHICH HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN THERE.  
DURING THE TENURE OF AMBASSADOR ARTHUR A. HARTMAN,  
AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM OF PAINTING HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN  
TO HAVE BOTH THE EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE  
APPEAR AS THEY DID IN 1914. THE RESTORATION HAS  
BEEN CONDUCTED AS PART OF EFFORTS TO COMMEMORATE THE  
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATESIGDBWEEID  
THE U.S.S.R. IN NOVEMBER 1933. ALL OF THESE STEPS  
HAVE BROUGHT SPASO HOUSE BACK CLOSER TO THE SPIRIT  
OF THE "NEW EMPIRE" STYLE IN WHICH IT WAS ORIGINALLY  
BT

#1219

BT

UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219  
DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND  
DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BATJER  
DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL  
E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS  
DESIGNED.

/--

IN THE PAST, A VARIETY OF LOAN COLLECTIONS OF  
DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN ART HAS BEEN SHOWN IN SPASO  
HOUSE. THIS TRADITION CONTINUES TO THIS DAY UNDER  
THE AUSPICES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ART IN  
EMBASSIES PROGRAM. THE PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES ON  
VIEW CURRENTLY AT SPASO HOUSE HAVE BEEN LOANED BY A  
NUMBER OF MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS. THEY  
GIVE VISITORS TO SPASO HOUSE AN OPPORTUNITY TO  
ACQUAINT THEMSELVES WITH AN ARRAY OF AMERICAN ART  
STYLES FROM DIFFERENT PERIODS.  
AFTER 70 YEARS, SPASO HOUSE REMAINS A CREDIT TO THE  
ORIGINAL RUSSIAN ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS AND A  
FITTING RESIDENCE FOR THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN  
MOSCOW.

/--

THE RESIDENTS OF SPASO HOUSE SINCE 1934 - WHICH IS  
TO SAY, THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THE SOVIET UNION  
- HAVE BEEN:

WILLIAM C. BULLITT	NOVEMBER 1933
JOSEPH E. DAVIES	NOVEMBER 1936
LAURENCE A. STEINHARDT	MARCH 1939
WILLIAM H. STANDLEY	FEBRUARY 1942
W. AVERILL HARRIMAN	OCTOBER 1943
WALTER BEDELL SMITH	MARCH 1946
ALAN G. KIRK	MAY 1949
GEORGE F. KENNAN	MARCH 1952
CHARLES E. BOHLEN	MARCH 1953
LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON	JUNE 1957
FOY D. KOHLER	AUGUST 1962
LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON	DECEMBER 1967
JACOB D. BEAM	APRIL 1969
WALTER J. STOESSEL, JR.	FEBRUARY 1974
MALCOLM TOON	JANUARY 1977

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.  
ARTHUR A. HARTMAN  
JACK F. MATLOCK

OCTOBER 1979  
OCTOBER 1981  
MARCH 1987

/--

5. WRITERS' UNION:

USIA/WASHINGTON PREPARING SITE MATERIALS. FOR NECESSARY INFORMATION, PLEASE ADDRESS INQUIRIES TO MR. WILLIAM FREEMAN, R/SE - ROOM 366 AT USIA.

6. THE BOLSHOY THEATRE

HOME TO ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS AND MOST ELEGANT OPERA AND BALLET COMPANIES, THE BOLSHOY THEATRE WAS BUILT IN 1824 BY A. MIKHAILOV AND O. BOVE, AND RESTORED IN 1853 AFTER A FIRE. LOCATED ON SVERDLOV SQUARE (NAMED AFTER LENIN'S COMRADE-IN-ARMS), THE BOLSHOY THEATRE WAS AGAIN DAMAGED, THIS TIME BY AIR RAIDS, DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, AND AGAIN REBUILT. THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS SOON TO BE CLOSED AND RESTORED AGAIN. MORE THAN 2,000 THEATRE-GOERS CAN BE SEATED IN ITS 19TH CENTURY FIVE-TIER HALL TO ENJOY OPERA, BALLET, ORCHESTRAL AND CHORAL WORKS. PERFORMANCES OF ORCHESTRAL COMPOSITIONS, BALLETS AND OPERAS BY RUSSIAN AND SOVIET COMPOSERS ARE THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE BOLSHOY'S REPERTORY; THE WORKS OF GLINKA, TCHAIKOVSKY, MOUSSORGSKY, BORODIN, RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, PROKOFIEV, AND SHCHEDRIN ARE REGULARLY SCHEDULED.

THE BOLSHOY OPERA COMPANY, THE OLDEST RUSSIAN OPERA AND BALLET COMPANY, HAS SOME 900 ARTISTS, MAKING IT THE WORLD'S LARGEST. ARTISTIC DIRECTOR YURIY NIKOLAEVICH GRIGOROVICH HAS LED THE COMPANY ON MANY WORLD-WIDE TOURS, INCLUDING SEVERAL VISITS TO THE U.S.

7. KREMLIN:

THE MOST FAMOUS HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENT IN MOSCOW IS THE KREMLIN. THE KREMLIN IS THE MOST ANCIENT PART OF THE CITY, AS WELL AS BEING

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UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 07 MOSCOW 11219

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR J. HOOLEY AND J. HILDEBRAND

DEPT PASS NSC FOR M. BATJER

DEPT FOR S/S L. PASCOE, EUR/SOV M. PARRIS, A/TSS J. BULL

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, (REAGAN, RONALD)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

ITS SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CENTRE. IT IS THE SEAT OF THE HIGHEST ORGANS OF STATE POWER IN THE USSR, THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

THE WALLS OF THE KREMLIN WITH THEIR 19 TOWERS DATE BACK TO THE 15TH CENTURY, WHEN THEY WERE THE FORTIFICATIONS PROTECTING THE INNER CITY.

INSIDE THE KREMLIN THERE ARE MANY ANCIENT BUILDINGS, THE BEST KNOWN OF WHICH ARE THE CATHEDRAL OF THE DORMITION (1479), THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ANNUNCIATION (1489), THE CATHEDRAL OF MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL (1509), THE CHURCH OF THE DEPOSITION OF THE VIRGIN'S ROBE (1486), THE PALACE OF FACETS (1491) AND THE

80-METRE BELL-TOWER OF IVAN THE GREAT (1508). LATER ARCHITECTURAL WORKS INCLUDE THE CATHEDRAL OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES AND THE PATRIARCH'S PALACE (MID-17TH CENTURY), THE TEREM PALACE (17TH CENTURY), THE ARSENAL (1737) AND THE SENATE (1787), WHICH TODAY HOUSES THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. IT WAS HERE IN THIS LATTER BUILDING THAT FROM MARCH 1918 TO DECEMBER 12, 1922 LENIN LIVED AND WORKED AND HIS OFFICE AND SMALL FLAT HAVE BEEN PRESERVED EXACTLY AS THEY WERE DURING HIS LIFETIME.

THE ARMOURY (1851) CONTAINS A UNIQUE DISPLAY OF ANCIENT WEAPONRY, MILITARY TROPHIES AND THE WORLD'S LARGEST COLLECTION OF ROYAL GARB, REGALIA, THRONES, CARRIAGES AND OTHER RARE WORKS OF RUSSIAN AND FOREIGN APPLIED ART CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

NEAR THE FOOT OF THE BELL-TOWER OF IVAN THE GREAT ARE THE TZAR CANNON AND THE TZAR BELL -- UNIQUE MONUMENTS OF RUSSIAN 16TH-18TH CENTURY FOUNDRY WORK. THE MOST RECENT BUILDING IN THE KREMLIN IS THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES WHICH WAS BUILT IN 1961. HERE IN THE MAIN HALL, WHICH SEATS 6,000, PARTY CONGRESSES, IMPORTANT PUBLIC MEETINGS, INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES, THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS AND OPERA AND BALLET PERFORMANCES BY THE BOLSHOY THEATRE ARE HELD. ADJACENT TO THE KREMLIN IS RED SQUARE, THE MAIN SQUARE OF THE CAPITAL. HERE AGAINST THE KREMLIN WALLS IS THE LENIN MAUSOLEUM. NEXT TO THE MAUSOLEUM ARE THE GRAVES AND IN THE KREMLIN WALL URNS CONTAINING THE ASHES OF PROMINENT FIGURES FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE SOVIET STATE, THE WORLD OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT.

AT THE FAR END OF RED SQUARE IS ST. BASIL'S CATHEDRAL (1560) AND A MONUMENT (BY IVAN MARTOS, 1818) TO MININ AND POZHARSKY, THE HEROES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AGAINST THE POLISH INTERVENTION IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY.

BY THE SIDE OF THE KREMLIN WALL THAT FACES THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION SQUARE IN THE ALEXANDROVSKY GARDENS LIES THE GRAVE OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER, A MAGNIFICENT MONUMENT TO ALL SOLDIERS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

BEYOND ST. BASIL'S CATHEDRAL STANDS THE ROSSIYA HOTEL, THE LARGEST HOTEL IN THE SOVIET UNION (ACCOMMODATING 6,000). NEAR THE HOTEL ARE A NUMBER OF ANCIENT STONE BUILDINGS INCLUDING THE ANCIENT ROYAL COURT (16TH-18TH CENTURIES), THE HOUSE OF THE ROMANOV'S (1567), THE CHURCH OF ST. ANNE OF THE CONCEPTION (15TH CENTURY) AND A NUMBER OF OTHER INTERESTING BUILDINGS.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRT: BATJER COURTEMANCHE GRISCOM HILDEBRAND HOOLEY STEVENS WEINBERG  
SIT: COBB ERMARTH LINHARD SIGLER VAX

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4735  
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 09762  
DEPARTMENT FOR S/S LYNN PASCOE AND A/TSS PEGGY HITT,  
JEANNIE BULL: WHITE HOUSE FOR ADVANCE OFFICE JAMES L.  
HOOLEY.. THOMAS GRISCOM, W. GREY TERRY AND GARY FOSTER:  
NSC FOR PAUL STEVENS AND MARYBEL BATJER

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), UK

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

REF: STATE 139004

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE SITE INFORMATION FOR THE  
UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT:
2. --BUCKINGHAM PALACE--
3. BUCKINGHAM PALACE HAS BEEN THE LONDON RESIDENCE OF  
BRITISH MONARCHS SINCE QUEEN VICTORIA WAS CROWNED IN  
1837. ITS 600 ROOMS AND ADJOINING GARDENS OCCUPY SOME  
45 ACRES IN THE HEART OF LONDON.
4. THE PALACE OCCUPIES THE SITE OF BUCKINGHAM HOUSE,  
BUILT IN 1703 BY THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. KING GEORGE  
III BOUGHT THE HOUSE IN 1762 AS A TOWN DWELLING FOR  
QUEEN CHARLOTTE. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT  
PALACE, STARTED IN 1821, WAS CARRIED OUT TO THE DESIGN  
OF THE ARCHITECT JOHN NASH, COMMISSIONED BY KING GEORGE  
IV.
5. THE COLORFUL CEREMONY OF CHANGING THE GUARD TAKES  
PLACE MOST DAYS AT 11:30 A.M. WHEN THE QUEEN IS IN  
RESIDENCE THE ROYAL STANDARD, HER PERSONAL FLAG, FLIES

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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AT THE PALACE MASTHEAD.

6. --NUMBER TEN DOWNING STREET--

7. NUMBER 10 DOWNING STREET HAS BEEN THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE AND OFFICE OF THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER SINCE 1732 WHEN THE HOUSE WAS ACCEPTED FROM KING GEORGE II BY SIR ROBERT WALPOLE IN HIS OFFICAL CAPACITY AS FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY. THE HOUSE IS ONE OF THREE IN DOWNING STREET THAT REMAIN OF A STREET OF PRIVATE HOUSES BUILT BY SIR GEORGE DOWNING WHO OBTAINED THE LEASE ON THE SITE, PARTLY THROUGH ROYAL FAVOR, IN 1680. (SIR GEORGE WAS A NEPHEW OF THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, ONE OF THE FIRST GRADUATES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, AND THE HOLDER OF HIGH OFFICE UNDER BOTH CROMWELL AND KING CHARLES II.) HIS OTHER TWO SURVIVING HOUSES ARE AT 11 DOWNING STREET. THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER. AND AT 12 DOWNING STREET. THE GROUND FLOOR AND BASEMENT OF WHICH ARE USED AS OFFICES FOR THE GOVERNMENT WHIPS.

8. WHEN WALPOLE LEFT IN 1742. THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THE HOUSE WAS MUCH AS IT IS TODAY. MOST BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS SINCE WALPOLE HAVE USED "NUMBER TEN" AS THEIR PRIVATE AS WELL AS THEIR OFFICIAL RESIDENCE.

9. --WINFIELD HOUSE--

10. WINFIELD HOUSE, A GEORGIAN-STYLE HOME SITUATED OFF THE OUTER CIRCLE OF REGENT'S PARK. ABOUT ONE MILE NORTH OF THE EMBASSY. HAS BEEN THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S SINCE 1954. IT WAS GIVEN TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR THAT PURPOSE BY THE AMERICAN HEIRESS, BARBARA HUTTON. THE RESIDENCE WAS BUILT IN 1937 AND NAMED IN MEMORY OF MISS HUTTON'S MATERNAL GRANDFATHER, FRANK WINFIELD WOOLWORTH.

11. THE RESIDENCE HAS THREE STOREYS AND 35 ROOMS. IT STANDS ON 12 ACRES LEASED FROM THE CROWN IN ONE OF LONDON'S HISTORIC AND MOST ATTRACTIVE PARKS.

12. --GUILDHALL--

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13. THE NAME OF GUILDHALL IS SOMETIMES USED FOR THE GREAT HALL ALONE AND SOMETIMES FOR THE HALL WITH THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF OFFICES AND COURTS WHICH HAVE ALWAYS SURROUNDED IT. FOR CENTURIES IT HAS BEEN THE CENTER OF THE CITY'S ADMINISTRATION. THE PRESENT BUILDING WAS BEGUN ONLY IN 1411 BUT THE WESTERN OF THE TWO CRYPTS WHICH LIE BENEATH THE GREAT HALL IS THE UNDERCROFT OF AN EARLIER AND SMALLER GUILDHALL OF LATE 13TH CENTURY DATE, AND THIS ITSELF MAY NOT HAVE BEEN THE FIRST GUILDHALL ON THE SITE.

14. THE MAGNIFICENT 15TH CENTURY GREAT HALL, WHEN COMPLETED, WAS GREATER IN SIZE AND SCALE THAN ANY OTHER ROYAL, BARONIAL OR CIVIC HALL IN THE COUNTRY SAVE ONLY THE HALL OF THE PALACE OF WEXMINSTER. THROUGH THE

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 09762

DEPARTMENT FOR S/S LYNN PASCOE AND A/TSS PEGGY HITT,  
JEANNIE BULL; WHITE HOUSE FOR ADVANCE OFFICE JAMES L.  
HOOLEY, THOMAS GRISCOM, W. GREY TERRY AND GARY FOSTER;  
NSC FOR PAUL STEVENS AND MARYBEL BATJER

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), UK

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT - PRESS BOOKS

REF: STATE 139004

CENTURIES IT HAS BEEN MUCH ALTERED, ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS IN ESSENCE A GREAT MEDIEVAL HALL. IT WAS BURNT IN THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666. AFTER WHICH ITS WALLS WERE HEIGHTENED, AND AGAIN IN THE LAST WAR. THE NEW STONE-ARCHED ROOF AND CLERESTORY WINDOWS, BUILT TO THE DESIGN OF SIR GILES SCOTT, AND THE INTERIOR FITTINGS ARE ALL OF POST WAR DATE, AS IS THE WINDOW GLASS WHICH NOW LISTS THE NAMES OF ALL THE MAYORS AND LORD MAYORS OF THE CITY. THE BANNERS AND SHIELDS OF THE CITY LIVERY COMPANIES GLEAM FROM THE ROOF AND THE NEW GOG AND MAGOG

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VIEW THE SCENE FROM THEIR STANCE ON THE WESTERN GALLERY AS THEIR PREDECESSORS HAD DONE.

15. IT HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN A SCENE OF COLOR AND CEREMONY, SOMETIMES OF TRAGEDY OR DRAMA. GUILDHALL WAS USED AS THE VENUE FOR A NUMBER OF STATE TRIALS IN THE 16TH CENTURY AND HERE THE YOUNG LADY JANE GREY WAS TRIED AND SENTENCED TO DEATH IN 1553. HERE THE CITY ITSELF HAS OFFERED HOSPITALITY TO THE SOVEREIGN AND TO MANY FOREIGN HEADS OF STATE. PRICE

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