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PETER

Document No. _____

RECEIVED *SK*
KS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

NOV 20 1987

SCHEDULING

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 MONDAY OFFICE

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | FITZWATER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BAKER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | GRISCOM | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendation directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to our office by 11:00 Monday, November 23, 1987. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Tony / Rhett / Peter

The National Thoncliffe Foundation is not the appropriate group for the President to mention. I have inserted "Operation Care & Share"

Frd

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years.

With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- *which is particularly important as we enter the holiday season.* ~~permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.~~

This Thanksgiving week we have seen countless examples of the great American spirit of "neighbor helping neighbor". One such helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the program in operation Care & Share, a partnership between the National Thanksgiving Foundation held hundreds of fundraising dinners across the government, food producers and private service organizations. Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met -- volunteers brought food and warm meals to the less fortunate 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The among us.
~~proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.~~

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of

freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, early next month I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev in December.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a high school audience in Florida just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when our young people can travel freely and in large numbers to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, and elsewhere -- the Soviets must get out. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev.

This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

A second answer has been negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the historic agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement is a good bargain. It will, as I said, eliminate the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. Since the Soviets have a history of violating arms agreements, we've negotiated the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And this agreement on one kind of missile will form the basis for our START talks -- talks aimed at 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals.

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in

human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Peter

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/20/87

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RESPONSE:

On page 3, First full paragraph: We need more of an ironclad statement re: SDI. This would be the single most important part in reducing opposition to the proposed INF agreement. Proposed language "I want to assure you that I will never bargain away S.D.I. Nor will I negotiate as to the pace of research or the timing of deployment. SDI will be deployed as soon as technically feasible".

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

Kenneth Sullivan

MASTER

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity. ~~-- permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.~~

For decades now, the National Thanksgiving Foundation has helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the Foundation held hundreds of fundraising dinners across the Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.

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Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a ~~high school~~ ^{group of young} ~~people recently~~ ^{audience in Florida} just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when ~~our young people can~~ ^{can occur} travel freely and in large numbers ~~between our two~~ ^{between our two} to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

Peter

Document No.

498217

8603.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 MONDAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.

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REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendation directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to our office by 11:00 Monday, November 23, 1987. Thank you.

RESPONSE: TO: Tony Dolan

November 23, 1987

NSC staff concurs in the attached draft Presidential Radio Talk with changes.

Paul Schott Stevens
Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.

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freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, ^{in 10 days time} ~~early next month~~ I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and, human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev, ~~in December~~.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a high school audience in Florida just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when our young people can travel freely and in large numbers to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

or their clients

choose their
own destinies.

very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, or in Angola, and elsewhere -- ~~they must stop, and let the people of these countries~~ And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for

Mr. Gorbachev. ~~impediment to improved US-Soviet relations.~~ I'll remind him that Soviet conduct in these areas remains a major ~~topic on our agenda, namely, my~~ ~~area, arms control, the~~

This brings me to the fourth major ~~topic on our agenda, namely, my~~ ~~area, arms control, the~~ search for a better way to ~~defeat aggressions and~~ ensure ~~our~~ security than through the threat of ~~offensive~~ nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic

Defense Initiative, or S.D.I., ~~our work on a defensive~~ ~~never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is~~

~~instead a~~ system that will shield us and our allies ~~while threatening~~ ~~by targeting~~

~~home~~ ~~missiles, not people.~~ On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research ~~and development~~ is going. ~~And~~ ~~what~~ I saw was, ~~first hand~~ ~~that some real~~ ~~have taken~~ ~~breakthrough~~ ~~after breakthrough is taking~~ place.

A second answer has been ~~arms reduction~~ negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the historic agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement is a good bargain. It will, as I said, eliminate ~~an~~ the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every

warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. Since the Soviets have a history of violating arms agreements, we've ~~insisting on~~ ~~negotiated~~ the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. ~~And we will also press the Soviets for progress in the~~

~~Not true. Some have hedged~~ ~~Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And this agreement on one kind of missile will form the basis for our~~ START talks, ~~where we have proposed~~ ~~talks aimed at~~ 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals. But ~~the Soviets~~

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in

are going to have to drop their tactic of holding strategic arms reduction hostage to their efforts to cripple our SDI program. Let me assure you: SDI is not a bargaining chip -- it is the path to a safer future.

human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, and elsewhere -- begin setting an orderly timetable to the Soviets must get out. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev.

This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

A second answer has been negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the I.N.F. ~~historic~~ agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement ~~is a~~ will ~~good bargain. It will~~ as I said, eliminate the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. (check #) Since the Soviets have a record of violating arms agreements, we've negotiating ~~negotiated~~ the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And this agreement on one kind of intermediate range missiles, our efforts will move to the ~~will form the basis for our~~ START talks -- talks aimed at 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals.

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human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Peter

Document No.

448017

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 MONDAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK; SUMMIT AND I.N.F.

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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

see changes/edits / TB

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

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RESPONSE:

TO: Tony Dolan

November 23, 1987

NSC staff concurs in the attached draft Presidential Radio Talk with changes.

Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Robinson/ARD)
November 23, 1987
3:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

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America today is at peace. Despite some ups and downs, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks during this economic expansion that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in 5 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- (private contributions to charity have set new records in each of the past 4 years.)

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, in 10 days' time, I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress. Some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Emigration rates have seen a slight rise. And there has been talk about granting the Soviet peoples some very limited new economic freedoms.

Yet all of this remains much, much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. The Bolshoi Ballet has toured the United States. And many American artists have visited the Soviet Union in turn -- I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets or their clients are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, in Cambodia, or elsewhere -- they must stop, and let the people of these countries choose their own destinies. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev. I'll remind him that Soviet conduct in

these areas remains a major impediment to improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

This brings me to the fourth major topic on our agenda, namely my search for a better way to deter aggression and ensure security than through the threat of offensive nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I., our work on a defensive system that will shield us and our allies while threatening no one. [On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research is going. What I saw was amazing -- some real breakthroughs have taken place -- and I left Denver heartened about the future of our security.]

A second answer has been arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the I.N.F. agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement, as I said, will eliminate an entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. Since the Soviets have a record of violating arms agreements, we're insisting on the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. ~~Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement.~~

And we will go on to press the Soviets for progress in the START talks, where we have proposed 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals. But the Soviets are going to have to drop their tactic of holding strategic arms reduction hostage to their efforts to cripple our S.D.I. program. Let me assure you:

S.D.I. is not a bargaining chip -- it is the path to a safer future.

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength -- and in the name of peace.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Mr. Bob Hope
National Chairman

Mr. Brian G. Roquemore
President

LEGISLATIVE SPONSORS:

The Honorable Robert S. Byrd
Senate Majority Leader

The Honorable Robert J. Dole
Senate Minority Leader

The Honorable Tony P. Hall
U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Jack F. Kemp
U.S. House of Representatives

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
(Partial Listing)

The Honorable William L. Armstrong
U.S. Senator, Colorado

The Honorable John D. Ashcroft
Governor of Missouri

The Honorable Tom Bradley
Mayor, Los Angeles, CA

The Honorable Richard L. Berkley
President, U.S. Conference of Mayors
Mayor, Kansas City, MO

Mr. Pat Boone
Recording Artist, Actor and Author
Brigadier General Charles M. Duke
Apollo Astronaut, USAF (Ret.)

Dr. H. O. Espinoza
President, PROMESA

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National Football League (Ret.)

Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Bible Lands Museum

The Honorable Joe Frank Harris
Governor of Georgia

The Honorable Margaret O. Heckler
U.S. Ambassador to Ireland

His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos,
Primate, Greek Orthodox
Archdiocese of North and South
America

Colonel Glenn A. Jones
USAF (Ret.)

John Cardinal Krol
Archbishop of Philadelphia

Mr. James E. Lee
Former Chairman, Gulf Oil

Lt. General LeRoy J. Manor
USAF (Ret.)

Princess Pale Moon, President
American Indian Heritage Foundation

Mr. Robin Moore
Author, *The Green Berets*

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale
Founder, *Guideposts Magazine*

C. William Pollard
President and CEO
The ServiceMaster Company

Mrs. Phyllis Roberts
International President
General Federation of
Women's Clubs

The Honorable Joe M. Rodgers
U.S. Ambassador to France

The Honorable Richard F. Schubert
President, American Red Cross

Dr. Robert H. Schuller
Minister, Crystal Cathedral
Hour of Power

Mr. Willard Scott
NBC's Today Show

Cory SerVaas, M.D.
Editor and Publisher,
The Saturday Evening Post

Mr. John Sloan, President
National Federation of Independent Business

Mr. Stan Smith
Tennis Professional

National Thanksgiving Foundation



November 16, 1987

Mr. Anthony R. Dolan
Deputy Assistant to
the President and
Director of Speech Writing
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Dolan:

Please find enclosed draft language the President may wish to incorporate in his weekend radio address to the nation on Saturday, November 21, 1987.

On February 12, 1987 President Reagan signed a resolution proclaiming 1987 as the "National Year of Thanksgiving" for the Nation. The National Thanksgiving Foundation was established to implement the ideals of the President's proclamation.

The National Thanksgiving Foundation is sponsoring National Thanksgiving Dinners on Sunday evening, November 22. Americans from all across the nation will gather together in their communities to share a meal similar to that served to George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and other signers of the U.S. Constitution when they met for dinner 200 years ago to celebrate the successful drafting and signing of this inspired document. Proceeds from the dinners will be distributed by the local organizers to the hungry and homeless in the communities where they are held. In sharing our abundance with those who have so much less, we will show the nation and the world that giving thanks and giving help go hand-in-hand.

We have sent "how to" dinner packets to all governors; 867 members of the U.S. Conference of Mayors; 5,500 Chambers of Commerce; and 2,164 "Bicentennial Communities."


The Bicentennial Commission is supporting this event in its newsletter to 60,000 Americans as is the American Legion to its 16,000 posts.

Mr. Anthony R. Dolan
November 16, 1987
Page (2)

Enclosed is a copy of an article from the October 27 Washington Post. It states that "Oliphant has written a 'Dear Colleague' letter to (fellow) cartoonists across the country suggesting that Thanksgiving 'would be an ideal time to draw attention to the mean-spirited legacy of the Reagan years, to the fact that the ranks of the disadvantaged are still swelling." In light of the Oliphant's plan, the President's support of these grassroots dinners would serve to counter this attack on the Administration.

Thank you for you attention to this matter. I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,


Brian G. Roquemore
President

BGR/cp

Enclosure

**DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR PROPOSED INCLUSION
IN SATURDAY'S PRESIDENTIAL RADIO ADDRESS**

With Thanksgiving rapidly approaching it is important for us to remember during our Bicentennial Celebration of the Constitution to give thanks for the many blessings that we as Americans all too often take for granted. With those freedoms comes responsibility to help those who are less fortunate. Earlier this year I was pleased to sign a proclamation designating 1987 as the National Year of Thanksgiving.

The National Thanksgiving Foundation is sponsoring dinners all across the country to give thanks for our freedoms under the constitution and to help the hungry and homeless of America. Mayors and Governors are being requested to proclaim Thanksgiving of 1987 to Thanksgiving of 1988 as a Year of Thanksgiving. I would encourage all Americans to participate in this year-long celebration and this Thanksgiving to be mindful of those in need. Thank you and God Bless you.

Personalities

By Chuck Conconi
Washington Post Staff Writer

Royal Watch: The speculation continues in Britain. Is the marriage of Charles and Diana over? Three of the major London newspapers—The Sun, the Daily Express and the Daily Mail—are saying the queen herself is upset and is calling a family conference. Divorce is frowned on in royal circles, especially for the man who is to ascend to the throne. Adding to all the speculation is that after five weeks of separation, Charles and Diana spent less than 24 hours together at their Highgrove estate Saturday.

On Sunday, Diana, her personal security officer and a lady-in-waiting left the estate. It was also reported that she often leaves the country estate on Sundays so she can take her sons William and Harry to school on Monday mornings. As for Charles, he reportedly was staying behind because of a public engagement nearby today. Royal insiders are saying there is nothing to all the press speculation. Time will tell.

Out and About

Shari Theismann is back home again in South Bend, Ind., where she first met her ex-husband **Joe**, then a star quarterback at Notre Dame. Currently she is doing some temporary television work with the possibility of a weekend anchor position in the future. Shari and her three children are living near her mother, and as she said yesterday, "I guess you can go home again." She has been hired to do three celebrity interviews for ABC affiliate WSVN in Elkhart. The first is coming up this week, with singer **Kenny Rogers**, who is beginning a concert tour in Indianapolis...

Who was that familiar-looking fellow spooning cream of wheat and wearing a "Today" how baseball cap adorned with the NBC logo? **Jane Shalit**, that's who. He was seen in the



Diana and Charles earlier this year.

Rothschild Cafeteria line one morning last week demanding to know if the cream of wheat was fresh. In town promoting his book, "Laughing Matters," an anthology of American humor, **Shalit** was slurping the cereal when a busboy approached to ask if he had ever appeared on television in Lancaster, Pa. "I've never been there," Shalit said and returned to his newspaper. Not to be brushed aside, the busboy persisted. "Haven't I seen you on the 'Today' show?" Shalit looked up again and pointed to his cap and said, "That's just something I wear." The busboy walked away with a puzzled look...

Mitch Snyder has a way of getting folks to come out and help his street people. His organization, the Community for Creative Non-Violence, will again be feeding Thanksgiving dinners to the homeless this year, and helping him will be a group of some of the most famous political cartoonists in the country. Already signed up to work the serving line are **Pat Oliphant**, **Paul Conrad**, **Tony Auth** and **Jules Feiffer**. Oliphant

has written a "Dear Colleague" letter to cartoonists across the country suggesting that "Thanksgiving" would be an ideal time to draw attention to the mean-spirited legacy of the Reagan years, to the fact that the ranks of the disadvantaged are still swelling...

The November *Washingtonian*, with 268 ad pages and 454 total pages, is the biggest issue in the magazine's 22-year history. To celebrate the issue—titled "The Making of Washington," a salute to the area's major builders and developers—*Washingtonian* owners **Phil** and **Ellie Merrill** decided to throw a party. And with such well-known developers as **Oliver Carr**, **Giuseppe Cecchi**, **Theodore Lerner** and **Clarence Kettler** coming, the question of where to hold last night's reception became touchy. Many of the developers offered their own buildings. That wouldn't do, so they compromised on the National Building Museum at the Pension Building...

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

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PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in ~~more than~~ 50 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.

~~For decades now,~~ the National Thanksgiving Foundation has helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the Foundation held ~~hundreds of~~ fundraising dinners across the Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of

And next year encourage American to contribute next year.

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freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, early next month I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev in December.

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Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a high school audience in Florida just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when our young people can travel freely and in large numbers to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

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very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, and elsewhere -- the Soviets must get out. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev.

This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

A second answer has been negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the historic agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement is a good bargain. It will, as I said, eliminate the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. Since the Soviets have a history of violating arms agreements, we've negotiated the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And this agreement on one kind of missile will form the basis for our START talks -- talks aimed at 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals.

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in

human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

RECEIVED *SK*
*KS*12
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

NOV 20 1987

SCHEDULING
OFFICE

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

11:00 MONDAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.

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| DONATELLI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendation directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to our office by 11:00 Monday, November 23, 1987. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Tony / Rhett / Peter

The National Thoncliffe Foundation is not the appropriate group for the President to mention. I have invited "Operation Can & Share"

Frd

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years.

With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- *which is particularly important as we enter the holiday season.* ~~permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.~~

This Thanksgiving week we have seen countless examples of the great American spirit of "neighbor helping neighbor". One such helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the program is operation Care & Share, a partnership between ~~For decades now, the National Thanksgiving Foundation has held hundreds of fundraising dinners across the government, food producers and private service organizations. Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met volunteers brought food and warm meals to the less fortunate 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The~~
proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local ~~organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.~~

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of

freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, early next month I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev in December.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a high school audience in Florida just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when our young people can travel freely and in large numbers to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

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This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

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Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

RECEIVED *SK*
*KS*40
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

NOV 20 1987

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

SCHEDULING
11:00 MONDAY OFFICE

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.

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Tony/Rhett/Peter

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Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

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(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

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Document No.

448 017

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/20/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00 MONDAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.E.

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REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendation directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to our office by 11:00 Monday, November 23, 1987. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

see changes/edits / *TD*

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
November 20, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.

For decades now, the National Thanksgiving Foundation has helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the Foundation held hundreds of fundraising dinners across the Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of

freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, early next month I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev in December.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a ^{group of young} ~~high school~~ ^{people recently} ~~audience in Florida just yesterday~~, for example, I look to the day when ~~our young people can~~ ^{can occur} travel freely and in large numbers ^{between our two} ~~to each others'~~ countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, and elsewhere -- begin setting an orderly time table to the Soviets must get out. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev.

This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

A second answer has been negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the ^{I.N.F.} ~~historic~~ agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement ~~is a~~ ~~good bargain.~~ It ~~will~~ ^{will} as I said, eliminate the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up ^(check #) four. Since the Soviets have a ^{record} ~~history~~ of violating arms agreements, we've ^{negotiating} ~~negotiated~~ the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And ^{with} this agreement on ~~one kind of~~ ^{intermediate range} missiles, our efforts will move to the ~~will form the basis for our~~ START talks -- talks aimed at 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals.

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in

human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

4TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Independent Counsel To Investigate the Arms Sales to Iran

Address to the Nation.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1613

December 2, 1986

LENGTH: 681 words

Good afternoon. Since the outset of the controversy over our policy relating to Iran, I've done everything in my power to make all the facts concerning this matter known to the American people. I can appreciate why some of these things are difficult to comprehend, and you're entitled to have your questions answered. And that's why I've pledged to get to the bottom of this matter.

And I have said earlier that I would welcome the appointment of an independent counsel to look into allegations of illegality in the sale of arms to Iran and the use of funds from these sales to assist the forces opposing the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua.

This morning, Attorney General Meese advised me of his decision that his investigation has turned up reasonable grounds to believe that further investigation by an independent counsel would be appropriate. Accordingly, consistent with his responsibilities under the Independent Counsel Act, I immediately urged him to apply to the court here in Washington for the appointment of an independent counsel.

Yesterday I had my first meeting with the Special Review Board. That Review Board is made up of three men of unquestioned integrity and broad experience in foreign and national security policy. In the meeting with the Board, they promised me a tough, no-nonsense investigation; and I promised them the full cooperation of the White House staff and all Agencies of the executive branch.

No area of the NSC staff's activities will be immune from review. And when the Board reports to me, I intend to make their conclusions and recommendations available to Congress and to the American people. With the appointment of an independent counsel, we will have in place a dual system for assuring a thorough review of all aspects of this matter.

If illegal acts were undertaken, those who did so will be brought to justice. If actions in implementing my policy were taken without my authorization, knowledge, or concurrence, this will be exposed and appropriate corrective steps will be implemented.

I recognize fully the interest of Congress in this matter and the fact that in performing its important oversight and legislative role Congress will want to inquire into what occurred. We will cooperate fully with these inquiries. I have already taken the unprecedented step of permitting two of my former national security advisers to testify before a committee of Congress.

These congressional inquiries should continue. But I do believe Congress can carry out its duties in getting the facts without disrupting the orderly

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1613

conduct of a vital part of this nation's government. Accordingly, I am urging the Congress to consider some mechanism that will consolidate its inquiries -- such a step has already been requested by several Members of Congress. I support the idea.

In closing, I want to state again that it is my policy to oppose terrorism throughout the world, to punish those who support it, and to make common cause with those who seek to suppress it. This has been my policy and will continue to be my policy.

If the investigative processes now set in motion are given an opportunity to work, all the facts concerning Iran and the transfer of funds to assist the anti-Sandinista forces will shortly be made public. Then the American people -- you -- will be the final arbiters of this controversy. You will have all the facts and will be able to judge for yourselves.

I am pleased to announce today that I am appointing Frank Carlucci as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. A former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Deputy Director of the CIA, and Ambassador to Portugal, Mr. Carlucci has the depth of experience in foreign affairs, defense, and intelligence matters that uniquely qualify him to serve as my national security adviser. The American people will be well served by his tenure.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at noon from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Time

May 5, 1986, U.S. Edition

SECTION: MUSIC; Cover stories; Pg. 56

LENGTH: 4291 words

HEADLINE: The Prodigal Returns;

"I had to go back to Russia before I died," explains the last romantic

BYLINE: By Michael Walsh. Reported by Dean Brelis/ Moscow

HIGHLIGHT:

Sporting a smart bow tie and clad in his best dark blue suit, the slender young man with carefully combed hair was nervous as he approached the border checkpoint. Officially, his exit visa was for six months' study in Germany, but he knew that he would not return. His leather suitcase was packed with six shirts, half a dozen butterfly ties, several pairs of socks and a formal cutaway suit. Hidden in his impeccably polished shoes, however, were hundreds of American dollars. In post-revolutionary Russia, he feared being imprisoned or shot for currency smuggling. But it was too late to worry about that. Confidence is the first rule, he thought to himself, reaching for his passport. Like Oscar Wilde, he would have nothing to declare but his genius.

BODY:

Fortunately, the armed guards were music lovers. At once, they recognized the sensational 21-year-old pianist from Kiev who had had audiences from Moscow to Leningrad on their feet, cheering his pyrotechnical feats of pianistic derring-do. They gave only a perfunctory glance to his papers; instead, they crowded around him, rifles held casually, and pounded him on the back. "Now you go play for the rich over there and fill your pockets with money," one of them said. "But come back and play for us when your pockets are full. Do not forget the motherland."

Vladimir Horowitz never forgot. Last week, more than 60 years after that poignant admonition, he returned to the Soviet Union, to the rodina of myth and memory, the homeland of the soul that dwells in the hearts of all Russians, no matter where they live. "I have never forgotten my Russia. I remember the smells when the snow melts and the spring arrives," says Horowitz, 81. "I had to go back to Russia before I died. It brings an Aristotelian unity to my life, like a coda in music. It is the right time to go back."

It was a triumphal return. Not since those earlier expatriates Composer Igor Stravinsky and Choreographer George Balanchine visited in 1962 has the Soviet Union been so galvanized by a glimpse of a prodigal son. Keenly anticipated for weeks by Soviet music lovers, Horowitz's tour featured just two formal concerts, in Moscow a week ago and in Leningrad Sunday, before continuing to Hamburg, Berlin and London. The first recital provoked an unprecedented near riot. As the security gates in front of the Moscow Conservatory swung open to admit the pianist's chauffeured Chaika, hundreds of young people burst through the police lines and stormed the Conservatory's Great Hall. Plainclothes and uniformed guards managed to grab a few of them, sending several sprawling. But many, perhaps most, raced past astonished ticket takers and ran upstairs to

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the balcony, where they crouched in the aisles and stood shoulder to shoulder against the walls. In a country that takes special pride in preserving public order, romantic exuberance rarely overwhelms regimentation so publicly. It was fitting for the occasion.

The recital was televised the same day across Europe and the U.S. and was recorded for possible later broadcast by Soviet television as well. But TV could only begin to suggest what the 1,800 foreign diplomats, Soviet film stars, composers, musicians and ordinary Russians witnessed on an extraordinary afternoon. At 4 p.m. Horowitz emerged from the wings to thunderous applause, cut it short with an impatient gesture, sat down at his personal 9-ft. Steinway, which had been flown in for the occasion, and for two hours held everyone spellbound.

Two days before, at a public rehearsal given for lucky, and often weeping, Conservatory students, he had served notice that his playing would be infused with a passionate fire and breathtaking precision not heard in years -- that he would be, in short, the Horowitz of old, one last time. "There is much emotion inside, but I will not let it out before Sunday, because then everything could go smash," he had remarked en route to Moscow.

Now, with his emotions rising in the heat of an actual performance, he delivered. "We have waited for more than 50 years to hear Horowitz," said Nadia Tsiganova, who had stayed in line all night to get her ticket. "He is magnificent." Yuri, a young soldier on his way to Afghanistan, exclaimed reverently, "I will carry the memory of this afternoon with me always." Reviewing the program of Scarlatti, Mozart, Rachmaninoff, Scriabin, Schubert, Liszt and Chopin, Critic Dmitri Bashkirov wrote in *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, "He indisputably remained the brightest bearer of the Russian performing tradition. I think there was not one person in the hall who didn't leave the concert in a happy, elevated mood." After watching on TV back in the U.S., Violinist Isaac Stern reached Horowitz by phone to say he had had tears in his eyes throughout the concert. Horowitz had once more proclaimed himself the greatest of living pianists. By turns elegant, playful, probing, introspective and, finally, heroic, Horowitz had also reaffirmed his lineage as the last romantic, whose artless, effortless, larger-than-life pianism, redolent with spontaneity and freshness, is a vanishing art.

Certainly, Horowitz comports himself with the regal mien of a 19th century monarch. He performs only on Sunday afternoons at 4. No matter where he is playing, he dines on Dover or gray sole flown in fresh that day. His wife, his housekeeper, his manager, his piano technician and a Steinway official all accompany him -- as does, of course, his piano. The \$40,000 concert grand, plucked by crane from the living room of his Manhattan townhouse, had its 12,000 parts cleaned and examined with a degree of care worthy of Air Force One. Its mahogany case was given coat after coat of high-gloss finish and hand-rubbed with fine steel wool, a laborious task that took 18 hours. It was then packed in space-age material resistant to heat and weather, loaded aboard a 747 early in April and shipped as a diplomatic pouch to Moscow. In the week before the concert, it was tuned and retuned so that it would be at its peak. "In the world of music," says Richard Probst, director of Steinway's concert and artist department, "this was our D day."

For Horowitz, though, the concerts are only the most visible, public part of an extraordinary journey of rediscovery and remembrance. It began two weeks

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ago, as the pianist and his wife Wanda Toscanini Horowitz, 78, stepped off Japan Air Lines Flight 440 from Paris. Before leaving New York City, the pianist had been sanguine about his chances of success, both as a musician and as a cultural ambassador. "I am not a Communist, but I can understand their way of thinking better than most Americans," he declared. "We all know there is good and evil everywhere. I was brought up to seek the good. In the Soviet Union today, the good is the music they produce. I hope that by playing in the Soviet Union, I will make the good better. Music inspires. It does not destroy and kill."

Soviet officialdom treated the visit with a mixture of politesse and disdain. In the days leading up to the Moscow concert, there was no mention of the Horowitz visit in either Pravda or Izvestiya, only a brief announcement in the newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura. Soviet musical commissars explained the lack of coverage by observing the concert was already sold out. "We think of him as an American pianist," said Tikhon Khrennikov, the all-powerful first secretary of the Soviet composers' union, who nevertheless went to the concert. In response to the American attack on Libya, the Soviets boycotted a dinner in Horowitz's honor at the Italian embassy, but a postconcert party at Spaso House, the ornate Moscow residence of American Ambassador Arthur Hartman, was well attended.

The thin crust of official coolness often melted, however, notably at the conclusion of a Horowitz press conference at the Conservatory's Rachmaninoff Hall. There, hardened Soviet journalists shouldered one another aside in their frenzy to get autographs. "Sign en Russe," reminded Wanda, overseeing the impromptu session. And when Horowitz emerged from the conference, he was confronted by a horde of fresh-faced music students eager to get a glimpse of the master. "It is very important to us for him to have a big success," said one girl through her tears.

The secret of Horowitz's appeal is twofold. His phenomenal technique, regarded by piano connoisseurs as the most dazzling since Franz Liszt set the standard of virtuosity in the mid-19th century, gets the listeners into the tent. Horowitz could always do anything he wanted at the keyboard, whether pounding out octaves or rippling off scales in thirds. But mere technique is not enough. Just as Luciano Pavarotti's high notes, in the tenor's prime several years ago, were backed up by a gorgeous liquid tone and a supple sense of phrasing, so Horowitz's pianism offers many subtleties: the absolute independence of each finger, which makes it sound as though he were playing with three hands, and a rainbow tonal palette that realizes Liszt's ideal of turning the piano into an 88-key orchestra, with every instrument from the flute to the double bass represented.

How does he do it? It is a question pianists have been asking in despair since Horowitz first exploded on the scene. "I did not have to develop a technique," he says. "It was there from the beginning." Although he is not particularly self-analytical about his mechanics, he credits his talented sister Regina, or Genya, with inspiring his famously unorthodox posture at the keyboard: sitting low, the hands flat rather than arched, the fingers, if anything, flaring upward. Surely no one can play the piano this way. But he does. "I discovered that the lower one sits, the greater attention one pays to making tone," he explains. "You are not using shoulders and upper arms. You are using the wrists, fingers and, to some extent, the forearm."

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Even more important than his technique, though, is the sense of adventure he brings to each piece he performs, no matter how many times he has played it. He has recorded Chopin's Ballade in G Minor several times. On each occasion the bardic work, by turns plaintive, ruminative and explosive, emerged from his ministrations differently. The 1947 studio reading is a long-lined, unified structure whose final dramatic outburst comes as a logical summation of all that has gone before; two later performances from the '60s, both recorded in concert, are more febrile, as if the pianist were making the piece up as he went along. Producer Thomas Frost, who has worked with him since 1963, notes that the basic structure of a Horowitz performance is always thought out in advance. "But where he does change is in the spur of the moment. You don't know what to expect when he plays. He does it differently each time, with a degree of suspense in the way he does it. That is why he is so exciting."

Most concerts are simply recitals. Horowitz's are events. His emergence in 1965 from a self-imposed twelve-year retirement, during which he made records but did not appear in public, was a sensation. Hundreds of people queued up outside New York City's Carnegie Hall on a rainy, cold night, waiting patiently for tickets to go on sale the next morning. "Is this a Beatle thing?" inquired one passerby. "No, this is a Horowitz thing," came the reply.

What is it about Horowitz that sets him apart from every other living pianist -- indeed, from the other great pianists of the century? Horowitz made his reputation during a Golden Age of pianism, in competition with the likes of Rachmaninoff, Josef Hofmann, Josef Lhevinne, Moriz Rosenthal, Leopold Godowsky and Arthur Rubinstein, to name a few. Rosenthal, Lhevinne and Godowsky all had flawless techniques to rival Horowitz's, to which asset Rachmaninoff added physical power and Hofmann unearthly control. At his peak, Horowitz had it all, heightened and amplified by a daredevil recklessness that infused every performance with an exhilarating, unabashed theatricality. If he was not the deepest musical thinker or the most probing interpreter, few seemed to care.

Horowitz was unique, and he was the people's choice. His rival Rubinstein had a broader repertoire and a warmer personality; there was never any doubt about who was the better musician. But neither was there any doubt about who was the better pianist.

This most extraordinary of artists has led a far from ordinary life. It has been marked by the psychic dislocation of revolution and separation from his family; by several psychologically troubled retirements from the stage; by difficulties in his relationships with his wife and his late daughter. He can be a shameless ham who deflates his own posturings with a sly wink or a puckish smile. Or he can be morose and withdrawn, complaining bitterly about real or imagined physical ailments. He can be selfish and difficult, even by the generous latitudes granted to performers of genius. He bemoans the fact that younger pianists do not seek him out in a spirit of collegiality, but his sometimes aloof and always unpredictable demeanor discourages such contact.

For years Horowitz has repressed or altered the memories, refusing to speak about -- or, when pressed, discussing in only the vaguest, most idealized way -- such personal or painful subjects as his early life in the Soviet Union and the death of his daughter Sonia. "So many myths about me, all of them lies," he says. But now, in contemplation of returning home, the barriers have been breaking down. "I remember everything," he says. Speak, memory:

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Russia, 1904. Horowitz was the youngest of the four children of Samuel and Sophie Gorovitz. The assimilated Jewish family lived in a handsomely appointed house on, appropriately, Music Street in Kiev. Samuel (who has been known in the West as Simeon) was an engineer who spoke fluent French and German and was sometimes given to wild impulse; after hearing a Pablo Casals concert one day, he rushed out and bought a cello, which he never learned to play. "My father used to say that we are all good at some aspect of music," Horowitz recalls. "It could be listening, playing, composing, studying. But we all feel a kinship to music."

Sophie was the musical one, a large woman with luxuriant hair and kind eyes. She was an excellent amateur pianist; it was her taste that dominated the household, and not only musically. "As I look back, I realize that my mother set a tone of politeness and good manners. She loved flowers. And this was a period in our lives when music became a source of inspiration and wonder. Ours was a happy home." Both parents had great hopes for their children. "They wanted us to shine like suns."

Young Volodya's attraction to music was demonstrated in dramatic fashion. He was listening to Regina practice one day, and kept time by beating his fingers against the window. The impromptu accompaniment abruptly ended when his tiny fist went through the glass. Fortunately, he escaped without serious injury. "Imagine a child of three with such strength," he marvels, savoring the memory. "But it was so. I still remember it."

Piano lessons and enrollment at the conservatory followed at a leisurely pace, for the family saw no need to rush a prodigy to the stage. Horowitz (the spelling was Westernized after he moved to Germany) was a brilliant sight reader and was endowed with a capacious memory; he devoured the piano literature and steeped himself in opera scores as well. The Revolution of 1917 abruptly put an end to his relaxed, privileged existence. The Horowitzes had survived the Czarist pogroms of 1905 with their lives and possessions intact. The more thorough Bolsheviks tossed the pianos into the street and made bonfires out of the music books.

With Samuel's business in Socialist shambles, it fell to the pampered Volodya to become the family breadwinner by hastily beginning his public career. "My father cautioned against doing anything mad. Madness was not having a good home filled with music, good food and good companions. Madness was depriving his children of what he felt they deserved. Madness for him was leaving Russia; the land was his soul and his heart. But he could send his son out and give the son his blessings because he believed music has no boundaries and no barriers."

After he went to the West, Horowitz saw his father only once more, in Berlin in 1936. The visit proved to have fatal consequences. Returning home despite the pleas of his son, Samuel was arrested on suspicion of being a Nazi agent; his fluency in German and his trip to Berlin were used as evidence against him. He was exiled to Siberia, where he died in 1939.

New York City, 1928. Sir Thomas Beecham, the prickly British baronet and conductorial autodidact, was making his American debut in a concert with the New York Philharmonic. So was Horowitz. Beecham was apparently not about to let some upstart, unknown Russian steal his thunder, even if the piece was Tchaikovsky's thunderous Piano Concerto No. 1. Horowitz was unable to speak English, but it was clear from the rehearsals that even a translator would be

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no help. "Beecham thought I was of no importance," the pianist remembers. At the concert, the conductor adopted an even more ponderous tempo than during the preparation. As the concerto progressed, Horowitz felt the audience slipping inexorably away, and it was clear that desperate action was called for.

So off he went. From the opening bars of the finale, Horowitz raced ahead with all the mad passion of a cossack charge. "I played louder, faster and more notes than Tchaikovsky wrote," he later recalled. Beecham tried to rally, but there would be no catching up. "I was doing it my way. He was doing it his way," says Horowitz. "On the first night, Beecham came in second." The pianist finished several bars ahead of the orchestra. The audience erupted in a frenzy. In the New York Times, Music Critic Olin Downes captured the intensity of the moment. "A whirlwind of virtuoso interpretation," he wrote, adding, "Mr. Horowitz has amazing technique, amazing strength, irresistible youth and temperament." At the next performance, Beecham got a measure of revenge, cutting short the ovation with a short speech while Horowitz cooled his heels.

New York City, 1932. In a golden age of conductors, one stood above all the others in popular estimation: the ferocious, dynamic, irascible Arturo Toscanini. It was inevitable that the paths of the world's most celebrated conductor and its fastest-rising pianist would cross. Intersecting them was Toscanini's youngest child Wanda.

I hadn't heard his name before," recalls Wanda. "A French lady was gazing at him, and I asked, 'Who is that?' She answered, 'Horowitz. He's a genius.'" At a private party, Wanda and Vladimir met again. He was shy and withdrawn, so he took refuge where he was most comfortable, at the piano, playing Chopin mazurkas. Wanda listened with a fascination that grew in intensity as, over the next few months, she heard him in both New York and Italy. At Milan's La Scala, Horowitz performed his signature concerto, the Rachmaninoff Third. "Then he came to visit my father, and, as they say, I was swept off my feet." They were married in December 1933 in Milan. She knew no Russian, he no Italian, so they spoke French, the language they use at home to this day.

I married an angel," he says. "She married a devil. There was much devil in me then." So there was. A relationship with a woman was an unusual experience for Horowitz, who was more comfortable in the company of men. As for Wanda, even a life of caddying for her fiery father had not prepared her for the emotional wringer she would go through with Horowitz. Despite the birth of their daughter Sonia in 1934, Horowitz's bisexuality ensured that the marriage was often stormy. They separated in 1949 and did not get back together permanently until 1953. "There were predictable problems for the marriage," says an Italian artist who has known Wanda since she was a girl. "She was deeply hurt. But she didn't surrender. Toscaninis are not quitters."

Sonia was the tragic Horowitz. A pretty but moody girl with dark burning Toscanini eyes, she was her famed grandfather's favorite and could speak to him in a way that nobody else dared. The maestro once asked her whether she would prefer to be a conductor or a pianist. "A conductor," Sonia replied. "It's easier." She was naturally talented, adept at the piano, a good writer, accomplished at painting and photography. But she was emotionally unstable, and Toscanini's death in January 1957 grieved her deeply. Five months later, she was severely injured in a motor-scooter accident in Italy. In 1974 she was in another motor-vehicle accident, this one in Switzerland, and she died shortly thereafter.

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Now the storms of the marriage have subsided. "I think the Horowitzes have a relationship that transcends most marriages," remarks a close friend. "They have suffered, they have been hurt, and they have come through their personal torment, needing each other today with a degree of happiness that is freer and better than anything they had before." Wanda is at once mother, sister, friend, wife, adviser and sweetheart, guarding her husband against any real or perceived laesae majeste. "In the end," notes another family friend, "she believes faithfully and passionately that his genius is to play the piano like no one else around."

Horowitz, when asked what is most important in his life, answers simply: "My wife and that I can still play, am still a musician." He continues: "I made only one mistake when we were married, and that was I did not teach her to play duets. Now I will correct that mistake, and we will play four hands together." Wanda looks at him, understanding this unspoken declaration of love, and appears content. "You're lucky," she tells him.

New York City, 1944. After hearing a 15-year-old prodigy named Byron Janis perform, Horowitz invites the boy to study with him. The fee: \$50 an hour. "I was awed, inspired and, yes, a little frightened," remembers Janis. "I was aware from what people were telling me and from what I had read about Horowitz that there would be difficulties in working with such a great artist." The pedagogy was unusual. Horowitz advised against practicing too much. (He himself dislikes practicing.) Sometimes the maestro would listen while lying on the floor, offering suggestions from a prone position. "The piano is a singing instrument," he would tell Janis. "Sing, sing, sing at the piano." Horowitz, says Janis, "taught me the secrets of piano playing."

In all, Horowitz taught some half a dozen students between 1944 and the early '60s. It was not always a happy experience for the students. Horowitz would sometimes cancel lessons without warning if he was not in the mood. "It had its negative aspects," says Alexander Fiorillo, a professor of piano at Temple University who studied with Horowitz between 1960 and 1962. "He is callous to people's emotions and their feelings. I almost had a nervous breakdown." Yet Coleman Blumfield, whose lessons came to a summary end in 1958 for reasons he never completely understood, declares, "It was a privilege and an honor to study under Horowitz. From him I learned the extreme range of tonal coloring possible with the piano."

New York City, 1986. In their 14-room white stone townhouse on Manhattan's Upper East Side, purchased in 1947 for \$30,000 and now worth a hundred times that amount, the Horowitzes live quietly, comfortably and just a little eccentrically. They eat out practically every night, chauffeured to one of a few favorite, mostly Italian restaurants, where Horowitz dines on pasta and the inevitable sole. After returning home, he relaxes by watching a triple feature of adventure and horror movies (The Terminator, Halloween, Raiders of the Lost Ark) on his videocassette recorder, then turns in about 4 a.m. and sleeps until noon. He no longer smokes, does not drink and never eats meat.

He is one of the highest-paid musicians in the world, commanding a fee of as much as half a million dollars for a single concert and never less than \$100,000. "The Soviets can't afford me," he jokes, but Horowitz will receive about \$2.5 million dollars for TV and recording rights to his five-concert series. His extensive art collection -- which included works by Rouault, Degas, Manet and Picasso -- was sold off when the insurance became prohibitive, and

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replaced with a Japanese silk-screen painting and a Chinese mirror painting. The big Steinway commands the living room, when it is not on the road with him. Near by on the wall are four autographed photographs: Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Puccini and Toscanini.

His tastes in music have changed. "At one time, I had 44 major and 66 minor works in my repertory," he notes. "Now I play only a couple of dozen or so, and I play them very well, if I may say so." Where once his piano roared largely to the grandiose strains of such extroverted composers as Liszt and Prokofiev, today the balance has shifted to the intimacies of Scarlatti, Mozart and Schubert. Even a pyrotechnical display piece like Scriabin's Etude in D-sharp Minor is sanded, smoothed and tossed off as if it were a jeu d'esprit. If

Horowitz is aware of the irony that the erstwhile conqueror of the Tchaikovsky concerto and the Liszt sonata is now primarily a miniaturist -- a salon pianist -- he does not let on.

Horowitz is sitting in his living room, secure in his accustomed spot on the sofa. On the coffee table is a letter from his niece in Kharkov. "Here we can feel spring coming, and it is beginning to get warm," he translates as he reads. "It is warmer because you are coming. We will be so happy to see you. One of my dreams has always been to hear you in concert, and now it is coming true. We are waiting for you."

The memories come flooding back. Now you go play for the rich over there and fill your pockets with money. But come back and play for us when your pockets are full. The border guard's prophecy has come true. "I have given my best, and I feel there is still more to give," he muses. "This remains my purpose in life, to bring meaning to music each time I play. I am not tired of life. I can still feel wonder when it is a beautiful day."

Moscow, 1986. Despite slate-gray skies and a cold, driving rain, it is a very beautiful day indeed.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, no caption; Pictures 2 and 3, Performing last week at his beloved Steinway Admirers nearly rioted to get in.; Picture 2, Photographs for TIME by Rudi Frey capAfter more than 60 years, the passionate fire and breathtaking ; Picture 3, Photographs for TIME by Rudi Frey; Picture 4, Back in the homeland of myth and memory, the maestro relaxes at Spaso House a few days before the Moscow concert, Photographs for TIME by Rudi Frey; Picture 5, Greeting an admirer on Madisonnue, Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker; Picture 6, At his customary post in his Manhattan home, then VCR movies into the wee hours, Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker; Pictures 7 through 13, Dining, mugging and playacting with Wanda in a New York City restaurant His dalet of fresh sole is flown in, even in Moscow. Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker; Picture 14, The newlyweds arriving in New York (1934), UPI/BETTMAN; Picture 15, With Nathan Milstein, Gregor Piatigorsky, Toscanini, Bernardino Molinari "Now you go play for the rich over there and fill your pockets.", MUSICAL AMERICA MAGAZINE; Picture 16, Daughter Sonia with her grandfather, HERBERT GEHR; Picture 17, The hands that make the music that makes people laugh and cry Turning the piano into an 88-key orchestra. DIANA WALKER

Ro. —

Already sent to Staffing.
Carol read through it.
Thanks.

-C.

(Robinson)
November 20, 1987
3:00 p.m.

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PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: SUMMIT AND I.N.F.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1987

My fellow Americans: In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago -- pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some up's and down's, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially of the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in more than 8 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity -- permit me to tell you about one private charity that's close to my heart.

For decades now, the National Thanksgiving Foundation has helped hungry and homeless Americans. This past Sunday, the Foundation held hundreds of fundraising dinners across the Nation -- meals prepared to be similar to the one enjoyed by George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and others when they met 200 years ago to celebrate the signing of our Constitution. The proceeds from these dinners were then distributed by the local organizers to the less fortunate in their own communities.

Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a Nation of

freedom -- and, yes, of goodness.

As you know, early next month I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our Administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one -- human rights, after all, is what our Nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress -- for example, some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. Yet this is much too little -- and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev in December.

Expanding bilateral relations -- especially people-to-people exchanges -- is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz, his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Yet here again, more must be done. As I told a high school audience in Florida just yesterday, for example, I look to the day when our young people can travel freely and in large numbers to each others' countries.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations -- and the American position can be stated

very simply. Wherever in the world the Soviets are seeking to advance their interests by force -- in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, and elsewhere -- the Soviets must get out. And I can assure you: This will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev.

This brings me to the fourth major area, arms control, the search for a better way to ensure our security than through the threat of nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or S.D.I. Never a bargaining chip, S.D.I. is instead a system that will shield us and our allies by targeting missiles, not people. On Tuesday, I visited a plant in Denver to see how S.D.I. research and development is going. What I saw was amazing -- breakthrough after breakthrough is taking place.

A second answer has been negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that are close to producing the historic agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement is a good bargain. It will, as I said, eliminate the entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up four. Since the Soviets have a history of violating arms agreements, we've negotiated the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. Out of seven, living former Secretaries of Defense, all seven support the agreement. And this agreement on one kind of missile will form the basis for our START talks -- talks aimed at 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals.

Make no mistake -- the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in

human liberty. Yet, as we work to advance the cause of liberty, in the name of peace, we must deal with the Soviets -- soberly and from strength.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.