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Research Office, 1981-1989  
**Folder Title:** 12/08/1987 Message to America &  
Soviet Peoples (Clark/Rowena) (1)  
**Box:** 357

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(Judge/RR)  
December 7, 1987  
12:00 Noon

Ro

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

General Secretary Gorbachev, distinguished guests, my fellow  
Americans, and citizens of the Soviet Union:

The American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote  
that "There is properly no history; only biography." He meant by  
this that it is not enough to talk about history as simply forces  
and factors. History is ultimately a record of human will, human  
spirit, human aspirations -- of Earth's men and women, each with  
the precious soul and free will that the Lord bestows.

Today I, for the United States, and the General Secretary,  
for the Soviet Union, have signed the first agreement ever to  
eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. We  
have made history. And yet many so-called wise men once  
predicted that this agreement would be impossible to achieve --  
too many forces and factors stood against it. Still we  
persevered. We kept at it. And I hope the General Secretary  
will forgive me if I reveal that in some of the bleakest times,  
when it did truly seem that an agreement would prove impossible,  
I bucked myself up with the words of a great Russian, Leo  
Tolstoy, who wrote, "The strongest of all warriors are these  
two -- Time and Patience."

In the next few days we will discuss further arms reductions  
and other issues -- and again it will take time and patience to  
reach agreements. But as we begin these talks, let us remember  
that genuine international confidence and security are

inconceivable without open societies with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel. So, yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we are to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

As different as our systems are, there is a great bond that draws the American and Soviet peoples together. It is the common dream of peace. More than 40 years ago we fought in a great war as allies. On the day that news of the enemy's surrender reached Moscow, crowds gathered in front of the American embassy. There they cheered the friendship of a nation that had opened a second front and sent food, munitions, and trucks to the Soviet peoples as they displayed awesome courage and will in turning the invader back. A young American diplomat later told of a Soviet soldier in the crowds who shouted over and over, "Now it is time to live."

Too often in the decades since then the soldier's dream -- a time to live -- has been put off, at least as far as it concerned genuine peace between our two countries. Yet we Americans have never stopped praying for peace. In every part of the world we want this to be a time to live.

Only those who don't know us believe that America is a materialistic land. But the true America is not supermarkets filled with meats, milk, and goods of all descriptions. It is not highways filled with cars. No, the true America is a land of

faith and family. You can find it in our churches, synagogues, and mosques -- in our homes and schools. As one of our great writers put it: America is a willingness of the heart -- the universal, human heart, for Americans come from every part of Earth, including the Soviet Union. We want a peace that fulfills the dream of all peoples to raise their families in freedom and safety. And I believe that if both of our countries have courage and the patience, we will build such a peace.

In the next 2 months, people throughout the world will take part in two great festivals of faith -- Hanukkah and Christmas. One is a celebration of freedom, the other of peace on Earth, good will towards men. My great hope is that the biographies of our times will record that we had the will to make this the right season for this Summit.

Thank you and God bless you.



20  
(JUDGE)

12-7-87 - 1 P.M.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE  
AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV,  
DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, MY FELLOW AMERICANS,  
AND CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION:

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHER, RALPH WALDO  
EMERSON, ONCE WROTE THAT "THERE IS PROPERLY  
NO HISTORY; ONLY BIOGRAPHY." HE MEANT BY  
THIS THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO TALK ABOUT  
HISTORY AS SIMPLY FORCES AND FACTORS.  
HISTORY IS ULTIMATELY A RECORD OF HUMAN  
WILL, HUMAN SPIRIT, HUMAN ASPIRATIONS --  
OF EARTH'S MEN AND WOMEN, EACH WITH THE  
PRECIOUS SOUL AND FREE WILL THAT THE LORD  
BESTOWS.

TODAY I, FOR THE UNITED STATES, AND THE  
GENERAL SECRETARY, FOR THE SOVIET UNION,  
HAVE SIGNED THE FIRST AGREEMENT EVER TO  
ELIMINATE AN ENTIRE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HAVE MADE HISTORY.  
AND YET MANY SO-CALLED WISE MEN ONCE  
PREDICTED THAT THIS AGREEMENT WOULD BE  
IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE -- TOO MANY FORCES  
AND FACTORS STOOD AGAINST IT. STILL WE  
PERSEVERED. WE KEPT AT IT. AND I HOPE  
THE GENERAL SECRETARY WILL FORGIVE ME IF  
I REVEAL THAT IN SOME OF THE BLEAKEST TIMES,  
WHEN IT DID TRULY SEEM THAT AN AGREEMENT  
WOULD PROVE IMPOSSIBLE, I BUCKED MYSELF UP  
WITH THE WORDS OF A GREAT RUSSIAN,  
LEO TOLSTOY, WHO WROTE, "THE STRONGEST OF  
ALL WARRIORS ARE THESE TWO -- TIME AND  
PATIENCE."

IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WE WILL DISCUSS FURTHER ARMS REDUCTIONS AND OTHER ISSUES -- AND AGAIN IT WILL TAKE TIME AND PATIENCE TO REACH AGREEMENTS. BUT AS WE BEGIN THESE TALKS, LET US REMEMBER THAT GENUINE INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY ARE INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT OPEN SOCIETIES WITH FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH, AND THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. SO, YES, WE WILL ADDRESS HUMAN RIGHTS AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS, FOR SURELY THE SALVATION OF ALL MANKIND LIES ONLY IN MAKING EVERYTHING THE CONCERN OF ALL. WITH TIME, PATIENCE, AND WILLPOWER I BELIEVE WE WILL RESOLVE THESE ISSUES. WE MUST IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE A TRUE, SECURE, AND ENDURING PEACE.

AS DIFFERENT AS OUR SYSTEMS ARE, THERE IS A GREAT BOND THAT DRAWS THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLES TOGETHER. IT IS THE COMMON DREAM OF PEACE. MORE THAN 40 YEARS AGO WE FOUGHT IN A GREAT WAR AS ALLIES. ON THE DAY THAT NEWS OF THE ENEMY'S SURRENDER REACHED MOSCOW, CROWDS GATHERED IN FRONT OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY. THERE THEY CHEERED THE FRIENDSHIP OF A NATION THAT HAD OPENED A SECOND FRONT AND SENT FOOD, MUNITIONS, AND TRUCKS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLES AS THEY DISPLAYED AWESOME COURAGE AND WILL IN TURNING THE INVADER BACK. A YOUNG AMERICAN DIPLOMAT LATER TOLD OF A SOVIET SOLDIER IN THE CROWDS WHO SHOUTED OVER AND OVER, "NOW IT IS TIME TO LIVE."

TOO OFTEN IN THE DECADES SINCE THEN THE SOLDIER'S DREAM -- A TIME TO LIVE -- HAS BEEN PUT OFF, AT LEAST AS FAR AS IT CONCERNED GENUINE PEACE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. YET WE AMERICANS HAVE NEVER STOPPED PRAYING FOR PEACE. IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD WE WANT THIS TO BE A TIME TO LIVE.

ONLY THOSE WHO DON'T KNOW US BELIEVE THAT AMERICA IS A MATERIALISTIC LAND. BUT THE TRUE AMERICA IS NOT SUPERMARKETS FILLED WITH MEATS, MILK, AND GOODS OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS. IT IS NOT HIGHWAYS FILLED WITH CARS. NO, THE TRUE AMERICA IS A LAND OF FAITH AND FAMILY. YOU CAN FIND IT IN OUR CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES, AND MOSQUES -- IN OUR HOMES AND SCHOOLS. AS ONE OF OUR GREAT WRITERS PUT IT: AMERICA IS A WILLINGNESS OF THE HEART -- THE UNIVERSAL, HUMAN HEART, FOR AMERICANS COME FROM EVERY PART OF EARTH, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.

WE WANT A PEACE THAT FULFILLS THE DREAM OF ALL PEOPLES TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES IN FREEDOM AND SAFETY. AND I BELIEVE THAT IF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES HAVE COURAGE AND THE PATIENCE, WE WILL BUILD SUCH A PEACE.

IN THE NEXT 2 MONTHS, PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WILL TAKE PART IN TWO GREAT FESTIVALS OF FAITH -- HANUKKAH AND CHRISTMAS. ONE IS A CELEBRATION OF FREEDOM, THE OTHER OF PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN. MY GREAT HOPE IS THAT THE BIOGRAPHIES OF OUR TIMES WILL RECORD THAT WE HAD THE WILL TO MAKE THIS THE RIGHT SEASON FOR THIS SUMMIT.

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

# # #

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/05/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN  
AND SOVIET PEOPLES  
(12/04 6:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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 type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<del>POWELL</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAULKNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

## RESPONSE:

cc: PWR, FWE, REL, MB, RB, DAM, SES, TC, LRJ, PSS, WHC, CLP,  
JDN, D HOWARD, NSC/S

Bill Courtney

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Judge)  
December 4, 1987  
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987- 12:00

General Secretary Gorbachev, distinguished guests, my fellow  
Americans, and <sup>citizens</sup> ~~people~~ of the Soviet Union:

*"citizens" better  
in this context*

The American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote  
that "There is properly no history; only biography." He meant by  
this that it is not enough to talk about history as simply forces  
and factors. History is ultimately a record of human will, human  
spirit, human aspirations -- of Earth's men and women, each with  
the precious soul and free will that the Lord bestows.

Today I, for the United States, and the General Secretary,  
for the Soviet Union, have signed the first agreement ever to  
eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. We  
have made history. And yet many so-called wise men once  
predicted that this agreement would be impossible to achieve --  
too many forces and factors stood against it. Still we  
persevered. We kept at it. And I hope the General Secretary  
will forgive me if I reveal that in some of the bleakest times,  
when it did truly seem that an agreement would prove impossible,  
I bucked myself up with the words of a great Russian, Leo  
Tolstoy, who wrote, "The strongest of all warriors are these  
two -- Time and Patience."

In the next few days we will discuss further arms reductions  
and other issues -- and again it will take time and patience to  
reach agreements. But as we begin these talks, let us remember  
that international confidence and security are inconceivable



without open societies <sup>enjoying</sup> ~~with~~ freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live. Yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we are to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

As different as our systems are, there is a great bond that draws the American and Soviet peoples together. It is the common dream of peace. More than 40 years ago we fought in a great war as allies. On the day that news of the enemy's surrender reached Moscow, crowds gathered in front of the American embassy. There they cheered the friendship of a nation that had opened a second front and sent food, munitions, and trucks to the Soviet peoples as they displayed awesome courage and will in turning the invader back. A young American diplomat later told of a Soviet soldier in the crowds who shouted over and over, "Now it is time to live."

Too often in the decades since then the soldier's dream -- a time to live -- has been put off, at least as far as it concerned genuine peace between our two <sup>Countries.</sup> ~~nations~~. Yet we Americans have never stopped praying for peace. In every part of the world we want this to be a time to live.

Only those who don't know us believe that America is a materialistic land. But the true America is not supermarkets filled with meats, milk, and goods of all descriptions. It is

"Nation" incorrect  
in this context  
(USSR is a  
multinational  
country  
officially)

not highways filled with cars. No, the true America is a land of faith and family. You can find it in our churches, synagogues, and mosques -- in our homes and schools. As one of our great writers put it: America is a willingness of the heart -- the universal, human heart, for Americans come from every nation on Earth, including <sup>from</sup> the Soviet Union. We want a peace that fulfills the dream of all peoples to raise their families in freedom and safety. And I believe that if both of our countries have courage and the patience, <sup>they</sup> ~~our nations~~ will build such a peace.

In the next 2 months, people throughout the world will take part in two great festivals of faith -- Hanukkah and Christmas. One is a celebration of freedom, the other of peace on Earth, good will towards men. My great hope is that the biographies of our times will record that we had the will to make this the right season for this Summit.

Thank you and God bless you.

avoid  
implying  
USSR is  
"nation."

(Judge)

December 4, 1987

6:00 p.m.

*See page 2 - I bracketed one line  
I think could be counter productive &  
should be omitted.*

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SOVIET PEOPLES  
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without open societies with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel. [and choose the country in which one wishes to live] Yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we are to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

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not highways filled with cars. No, the true America is a land of faith and family. You can find it in our churches, synagogues, and mosques -- in our homes and schools. As one of our great writers put it: America is a willingness of the heart -- the universal, human heart, for Americans come from every nation on Earth, including the Soviet Union. We want a peace that fulfills the dream of all peoples to raise their families in freedom and safety. And I believe that if both of our countries have courage and the patience, our nations will build such a peace.

In the next 2 months, people throughout the world will take part in two great festivals of faith -- Hanukkah and Christmas. One is a celebration of freedom, the other of peace on Earth, good will towards men. My great hope is that the biographies of our times will record that we had the will to make this the right season for this Summit.

Thank you and God bless you.

(Judge)  
December 4, 1987  
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

General Secretary Gorbachev, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, and people of the Soviet Union:

The American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote that "There is properly no history; only biography." He meant by this that it is not enough to talk about history as simply forces and factors. History is ultimately a record of human will, human spirit, human aspirations -- of Earth's men and women, each with the precious soul and free will that the Lord bestows.

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Thank you and God bless you.



## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/03/87ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. Friday 12/04

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
(12/02 6:30 p.m. draft)

		ACTION FYI				ACTION FYI	
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"/>		
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
BALL <del>web</del> <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<del>POWELL</del> <i>9:30</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE <i>Called Ro</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
CULVAHOUSE <i>att'd</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FAULKNER</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, December 4th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

## RESPONSE:

*DC - NONE*

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

Culvahouse  
A's

(Judge)  
December 2, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

Received

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

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In the next few days we will discuss further arms reductions and other issues -- and again it may take time and patience to reach agreements. But as we begin these talks, let us remember and be guided by the words of a Soviet citizen, Andrei Sakharov.

In his Nobel lecture, Dr. Sakharov reminded us that "international confidence... and... security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live." And later he added, in an open letter to Americans, that genuine security requires "a repudiation of expansionist policies." Yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we are to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

As different as our systems are, there is a great bond that draws the American and Soviet peoples together. It is the common dream of peace. More than 40 years ago we fought in a great war as allies. On the night the enemy surrendered, crowds gathered in Moscow in front of the American embassy. There they cheered the friendship of a nation that had opened a second front and sent food, munitions, and trucks to the Soviet peoples as they displayed awesome courage and will in turning the invader back. A young American diplomat later told of a Soviet soldier in the crowds who shouted over and over, "Now it is time to live."

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In the next 2 months, people throughout the world will take part in two great festivals of faith -- Hanukkah and Christmas. One is a celebration of freedom, the other of peace on Earth, good will towards men. My great hope is that the biographies of our times will record that we had the will to make this the right season for this Summit.

Thank you and God bless you.

(Judge)  
December 2, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND  
SOVIET PEOPLES  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1987

General Secretary Gorbachev, distinguished guests, my fellow  
Americans, and people of the Soviet Union:

*Bartlett's  
2-496*  
The American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote  
that "There is properly no history; only biography." He meant by  
this that it is not enough to talk about history as simply forces  
and factors. History is ultimately a record of human will, human  
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too many forces and factors stood against it. Still we  
persevered. We kept at it. And I hope the General Secretary  
will forgive me if I reveal that in some of the bleakest times,  
when it did truly seem that an agreement would prove impossible,  
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Tolstoy, who wrote, "The strongest of all warriors are these  
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*Bartlett's  
P-602*

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659-5791

In his Nobel lecture, Dr. Sakharov reminded us that "international confidence... and... security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live." And later he added, in an open letter to ~~Americans~~, that genuine security requires "a repudiation of expansionist policies." Yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we are to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

As different as our systems are, there is a great bond that draws the American and Soviet peoples together. It is the common dream of peace. More than 40 years ago we fought in a great war as allies. ~~On the night~~ <sup>the day after</sup> the enemy surrendered, crowds gathered in Moscow in front of the American embassy. There they cheered the friendship of a nation that had opened a second front and sent food, munitions, and trucks to the Soviet peoples as they displayed awesome courage and will in turning the invader back. A young American diplomat later told of a Soviet soldier in the crowds who shouted over and over, "Now it is time to live."

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restarted  
class

Dr.  
Sidney  
Drell

272-  
0334  
Reference

X  
Normandy

Dr.  
Granich

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Thank you and God bless you.

America  
the dialogue  
p.4

Instant  
demands  
of events  
p.20-1

*Romero*

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/03/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

2:00 p.m. Friday 12/04

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET PEOPLES  
(12/02 6:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<span style="background-color: black; color: black;">[REDACTED]</span> POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAULKNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. on Friday, December 4th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

## RESPONSE:

*see wit / 176*



(Judge)  
December 2, 1987  
6:30 p.m.

Excluded

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(Judge)  
December 2, 1987  
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*DC - none*

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Received CC

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1987

MEMORANDUM:

TO: ALL WHITE HOUSE/O.E.O.B. PASSHOLDERS

FROM: MICHELE ARCHAMBAULT  DIRECTOR  
VISITORS' OFFICE

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY

The President and Mrs. Reagan cordially invite you and your guests to join them in welcoming His Excellency the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Mrs. Gorbachev, to the White House on Tuesday, December 8, 1987, at 10:00 a.m.

Entrance is through the Southwest Gate beginning at 9:15 a.m. Please be in place no later than 9:45 a.m.; present your pass and an officer will direct you to the correct area. Due to lack of space and in consideration of other passholders, we ask that you please limit the number of guests you invite.

In the event of inclement weather, the outdoor ceremony will be cancelled and the invitation to attend rescinded.

To : Clark  
From : Research

RUSSIAN FOLK SAYINGS

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

suggested by Robert Tucker  
Princeton University

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

"Measure seven times, cut once."

Translation: syem' raz primer', odin raz otrezh'

Phonetics: syem rahz pree-MYER, ah-DEEN rahz aht-RESH

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

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

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

"The more quietly you go, the farther you get."

Translation: tische yedesh', dal'she budesh'

Phonetics: TEE-she YED-yesh, DAHL-she BOOD-yesh

suggested by Rick Ruth  
USSR Country Affairs Officer, USIA

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

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

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

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

suggested by Ambassador Matlock

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

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

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

Edward Brown  
Stanford University

## HISTORICAL ANECDOTES

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

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

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

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

suggestions by Rick Ruth  
USSR Country Affairs, USIA

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

Ambassador Matlock

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

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

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

suggested by Edward Brown  
Stanford University

RUSSIAN QUOTIATIONS

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

Translation: Zhizn' prozhit' - ne polye pereyty.

Boris Pasternak



AMERICAN COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF RUSSIAN

DAN E. DAVIDSON, Ph.D.  
Director, USSR Programs, ACTR  
Chairman, Department of Russian  
Bryn Mawr College  
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010

(215) 525-6559

(215) 645-6239

TELEPHONE DEPARTMENT  
(202) 462-8820

November 25, 1987

To: Dana Rohrabacher  
Presidential Speechwriter

From: Dan Davidson

*Dan Davidson*

Subject: Russian Sources for the President's Remarks

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

Literal Translation

Commentary

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

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

2. "Just begun, half done."

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

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

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

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

Used by the President on 11-23-87.

5. Measure seven times, cut once!

The necessity of discussing proposals  
thoroughly before making a decision.

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

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

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

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

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



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

### Samuel Hoffenstein

1890-1947

- <sup>2</sup> Babies haven't any hair;  
Old men's heads are just as bare;  
Between the cradle and the grave<sup>1</sup>  
Lies a haircut and a shave.

*Songs of Faith in the Year After Next, VIII*

- <sup>3</sup> The heart's dead  
Are never buried. *Summer Day*

### Gerald White Johnson

1890-1980

- <sup>4</sup> Nothing changes more constantly than the past; for the past that influences our lives does not consist of what actually happened, but of what men believe happened.

*American Heroes and Hero-Worship [1943], ch. 1*

- <sup>5</sup> In revolutionary times the rich are always the people who are most afraid.

*American Freedom and the Press [1958]*

### Hanns Johst

1890-

- <sup>6</sup> When I hear the word "culture" . . . I reach for my revolver.<sup>2</sup>

*Schlageter [1933]*

### Robert Ley

1890-1945

- <sup>7</sup> Strength through joy.<sup>3</sup>  
*Instruction for the German Labor Front [December 2, 1933]*

### Howard Phillips Lovecraft

1890-1937

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

*The Call of Cthulhu [1928], ch. 1*

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

<sup>2</sup>Wenn ich Kultur höre . . . entsichere ich meinen Browning.

Often attributed to GOERING.

<sup>3</sup>Kraft durch Freude.

## Herbert — Pasternak

### Christopher Morley

1890-1957

- <sup>9</sup> There is only one success—to be able to spend your life in your own way.

*Where the Blue Begins [1922]*

- <sup>10</sup> Life is a foreign language; all men mispronounce it.

*Thunder on the Left [1925], ch. 14*

- <sup>11</sup> April prepares her green traffic light and the world thinks Go.

*John Mistletoe [1931], 8*

- <sup>12</sup> A human being; an ingenious assembly of portable plumbing.

*Human Being [1932], ch. 11*

- <sup>13</sup> There was so much handwriting on the wall That even the wall fell down.

*Around the Clock [1943]*

- <sup>14</sup> Chattering voltage like a broken wire  
The wild cicada cried, Six weeks to frost!

*End of August*

- <sup>15</sup> Why do they put the Gideon Bibles only in the bedrooms, where it's usually too late, and not in the barroom downstairs?

*Contribution to a Contribution*

### Allan Nevins

1890-1971

- <sup>16</sup> Too little and too late.

*Current History [1935]*

### Boris Pasternak

1890-1960

- <sup>17</sup> Art is unthinkable without risk and spiritual self-sacrifice.

*On Modesty and Bravery [1936]*

*Speech at Writers' Conference*

- <sup>18</sup> I am alone; all drowns in the Pharisees' hypocrisy.

To live your life is not as simple as to cross a field.<sup>5</sup> *Hamlet [1946]<sup>6</sup>*

- <sup>19</sup> You are eternity's hostage  
A captive of time.

*Night [1957]<sup>6</sup>*

- <sup>20</sup> But what are pity, conscience, or fear  
To the brazen pair, compared  
With the living sorcery  
Of their hot embraces?

*Bacchanalia [1957],<sup>6</sup> st. 4*

<sup>4</sup>Translated by E. LEVIN.

<sup>5</sup>See Anonymous: Russian, 934-12.

<sup>6</sup>Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

## Pasternak

- <sup>1</sup> During the  
when all p  
literature h

- <sup>2</sup> It snowed a  
Snow swept  
A candle bu  
A candle bu

- <sup>3</sup> A corner d  
And the w  
Upswept it  
A crucifor

- <sup>4</sup> And whe  
rors, its re  
were a ble  
reign of th  
cause they

- <sup>5</sup> Departu  
try is for

- <sup>6</sup> I am caug  
Somewher  
But all I  
There is r

- <sup>7</sup> Mademoi  
Hasn't be  
Hinky

- <sup>8</sup> Mademoi  
She neve

- <sup>9</sup> Sawdv

- <sup>10</sup> Vladim  
<sup>11</sup> Transl  
<sup>12</sup> Transl  
<sup>13</sup> Transl  
<sup>14</sup> Soldie  
versions.  
British A  
[Harry  
<sup>15</sup> Musse

- 1 During the last years of Mayakovsky's life,<sup>1</sup>  
when all poetry had ceased to exist . . .  
literature had stopped.

*I Remember [1958]<sup>2</sup>*

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

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

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

*Ib. st. 7*

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

*Ib. epilogue*

- 5 Departure beyond the borders of my coun-  
try is for me equivalent to death.

*Letter to Khrushchev [1958]<sup>3</sup>*

- 6 I am caught like a beast at bay.  
Somewhere are people, freedom, light,  
But all I hear is the baying of the pack,  
There is no way out for me.

*The Nobel Prize [1959]<sup>4</sup>*

"Red" Rowley

fl. 1915

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

*Mademoiselle from Armentières<sup>5</sup>*

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

*Ib.*

George Seldes

1890-1970

- 9 Sawdust Caesar.<sup>6</sup>

*Title of book [1932]*

<sup>1</sup>Vladimir Mayakovsky [1893-1930].

<sup>2</sup>Translated by MANYA HARARI.

<sup>3</sup>Translated by E. LEVIN.

<sup>4</sup>Translated by MAX HAYWARD.

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

<sup>6</sup>Mussolini

Frederick Moore Vinson

1890-1953

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

*Speech at Arlington National Ceme-  
tery [Memorial Day, 1945]*

Charles Erwin Wilson

1890-1961

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

*To the Senate Armed Forces  
Committee [1952]*

Agatha Christie

1891-1976

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

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

- 13 Every murderer is probably somebody's old  
friend.

*Ib. 11*

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

*The Murder of Roger Ackroyd  
[1926]*

- 15 I don't think necessity is the mother of in-  
vention<sup>7</sup>—invention, in my opinion, arises  
directly from idleness, possibly also from lazy-  
ness. To save oneself trouble.

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

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

*Ib.*

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

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

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

*Ib. X, The Second War*

<sup>7</sup>See Persius, 117:8, and Anonymous Latin, 134:9.

<sup>8</sup>See Pyrrhus, 92:10.

## Thomas Noel

1799–1861

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

Alexander Pushkin<sup>1</sup>

1799–1837

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

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

<sup>2</sup>Translated by CHARLES JOHNSTON.

<sup>3</sup>See Burke, 3721.

## Noel — Brown

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

*Boris Godunov [written 1825]<sup>4</sup>*

- <sup>11</sup> Like to some magistrate grown gray in office  
Calmly he contemplates alike the just  
And unjust, with indifference he notes  
Evil and good, and knows not wrath nor pity.  
*Ib.*
- <sup>12</sup> Ah! heavy art thou, crown of Monomakh!  
*Ib.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Mosalsky*: Good folk! Maria Godunov and  
her son Feodor have poisoned themselves.  
We have seen their dead bodies. [*The people  
are silent with horror.*] Why are you silent?  
Cry, Long live Czar Dimitri Ivanovich! [*The  
people are speechless.*] *Ib.*
- <sup>14</sup> And thus he<sup>5</sup> mused: "From here, indeed  
Shall we strike terror in the Swede;  
And here a city, by our labor  
Founded, shall gall our haughty neighbor;  
"Here cut"—so Nature gives command—  
"Your window through on Europe:<sup>6</sup> stand  
Firm-footed by the sea, unchanging!"  
*The Bronze Horseman [written  
1833]<sup>7</sup>*

## John Brown

1800–1859

- <sup>15</sup> Had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the  
powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great,  
or in behalf of any of their friends . . . every  
man in this court would have deemed it an  
act worthy of reward rather than punish-  
ment.
- Last speech to the court  
[November 2, 1859]*
- <sup>16</sup> I am yet too young to understand that God  
is any respecter of persons.<sup>8</sup> I believe that to  
have interfered as I have done . . . in behalf  
of His despised poor, was not wrong, but  
right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I  
should forfeit my life for the furtherance of

<sup>4</sup>Translated by ALFRED HAYES.

<sup>5</sup>Peter I (the Great) [1672–1725].

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

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

<sup>7</sup>Translated by OLIVER ELTON.

<sup>8</sup>See Acts 10:34, 46:10, and I Peter 1:17, 52:8

## Brown — Ma

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

- <sup>1</sup> This is a bea  
*Rema*  
*seated*  
*1859/*

- <sup>2</sup> Kathleen May  
breaking,  
The horn of th

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

- <sup>4</sup> That is the l  
to make the pe  
make them ha

- <sup>5</sup> Free trade,  
which a gover  
is in almost e

- <sup>6</sup> Press where  
amidst th  
And be your  
Navarre.

- <sup>7</sup> Nobles by  
and priests t  
hand.

- <sup>8</sup> The dust a

I wish I was  
s of everyth  
BOURNE 1779-  
L. C. SANDERS

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

*Time, March 1, 1954.*

**Alexander Pushkin**

(1799-1837)

*Russian writer*

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

*The Decembrists.*

**John Pym**

(1584-1643)

*English statesman*

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

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

*Quoted, The Churchman, July, 1956.*

**Pyrrhus**

(318?-272 B.C.)

*King of Epirus, general*

Another such victory and we are undone.

**Pythagoras**

(1592-1644)

*Greek philosopher, mathematician*

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

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

**Francis Quarles**

(582-497? B.C.)

*English poet*

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

*Enchiridion.*

**Matt(hew Stanley) Quay**

(1833-1904)

*Political boss*

If you have a weak candidate and a weak platform, wrap yourself up in the American flag and talk about the Constitution.  
1886.

**Quincey**

*See De Quincey*

**Josiah Quincy**

(1744-1775)

*American lawyer, Revolutionary patriot*

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



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

*Ibid.*

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

*Ibid.*

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

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

*Ibid.*, ch. 2.

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

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

*Ibid.*, ch. 7.

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

*Ibid.*, ch. 14.

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

*Ibid.*, ch. 22.

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

## Boris Pasternak

(b. 1890)

Russian writer, Nobel Prize  
for literature, 1959

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

*Doctor Zhivago*, Copyright, Pantheon Books, 1958.

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

*Ibid.*

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

*Ibid.*

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

*Ibid.*

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

*Ibid.*

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

*Ibid.*

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

more self-centered  
from the facts than

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

No single man  
cannot be seen, just  
growing.

Wars and revolutions  
pierces, are historical  
yeast. But revolutions  
men of action  
geniuses in their  
selves to a limited  
old order in a few  
upheaval takes a  
years, but the fanatic  
the upheavals is  
thereafter, for centuries

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

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

Reshaping life! Perhaps  
have never understood  
—they have never felt  
beat, however much

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I stand alone. All else is swamped by Pharisaism.  
To live life to the end is not a childish task. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

**Louis Pasteur**  
(1822-1895)

*French chemist, bacteriologist*

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

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

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1963

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

By Robert C. Tucker

PRINCETON, N.J. — Germany surrendered twice, on May 8, 1945, in Rheims, France, and again on May 9, in Berlin. The news reached the Soviet people early on May 10, a day none of us in the United States Embassy in Moscow will forget.

Red Square was aswirl with people milling, smiling, congratulating anyone in uniform. The uniformed Americans who went out of the Embassy's chancery, across from the Kremlin, were carried off to Red Square on the shoulders of exultant Muscovites. A civilian attaché, I joined the crowd in the square. My most vivid memory is of a Red Army major looking toward me and saying to no one in particular, "Now it's time to live!"

In front of the chancery, where the Stars and Stripes were displayed, thousands crowded to express gratitude and good will toward the country that had stood by the Soviet Union in its darkest hour, sending munitions, food, Jeeps and trucks that helped win a fight for national survival — in

Robert C. Tucker, author of "Stalin as Revolutionary," is professor of politics emeritus at Princeton University.

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

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

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

## But in 1946, Stalin dashed hopes

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

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

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

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

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

