



Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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Gorbachev, 1987.

GORBACHEV

IS HE A BREATH OF FRESH AIR IN THE WORLD OF SUPER-POWER POLITICS OR SIMPLY A MORE CLEVER AND MORE ASTUTE COLD-WAR LEADER? HE WILL BE IN WASHINGTON ON DECEMBER 7 IN ORDER TO SIGN THE INF TREATY, WHICH CALLS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IS THIS THE ACT OF A MAN WHO IS DEVOTED TO PEACE---OR SIMPLY A STRATEGY BY A CLEVER DIPLOMAT WHO RECOGNIZES THAT HIS COUNTRY NEEDS A FEW YEARS TO CONCENTRATE ON DOMESTIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BEFORE SHE CAN ASSUME, AGAIN, HER MOVE TO DOMINATE THE WORLD?

IN JUST TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV HAS CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF THE WORLD. WHEN HE WAS ELECTED GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, FEW BESIDE KREMLINOLOGISTS HAD HEARD OF HIM. NOW THEY HAVE. THEY KNOW HIM TO BE ARTICULATE, PLEASANT, DIPLOMATIC, AND QUITE AWARE OF THE WISHES AND HOPES OF THE WORLD. THEY KNOW HIM TO BE THE FIRST SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO DRESSES, SPEAKS, AND THINKS LIKE A WESTERNER---AND THE FIRST SECRETARY GENERAL SINCE LENIN TO HAVE A UNIVERSITY DEGREE. ~~GORBACHEV RECEIVED HIS DEGREE IN LAW FROM THE MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY.~~

HE IS ALSO THE FIRST GENERAL SECRETARY WHOSE POLITICAL LIFE DOES NOT GO BACK TO THE PERIOD OF STALIN. GORBACHEV WAS 54 WHEN HE ASCENDED TO HIS OFFICE IN 1985.

GORBACHEV IS THE SON AND GRANDSON OF PEASANTS. HE WAS RAISED IN THE LITTLE VILLAGE OF PRIBOLNOYA, WHICH IS IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS DISTRICT OF STAVROPOL. HE WAS TOO YOUNG FOR ACTIVE SERVICE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND SPENT THE WAR YEARS IN SCHOOL. DURING THE LONG SUMMER MONTHS HE WORKED AS AN AUTO MECHANIC OR AS A HELPER IN THE FIELDS. HIS YOUTH AND SCHOOLING POINT UP CERTAIN THINGS ABOUT GORBACHEV: HIS NATIVE ABILITY, HIS WILLINGNESS TO DO HARD WORK UNCOMPLAININGLY, AND HIS SINGLE-MINDED PURPOSEFULNESS.

IT ~~IS~~ ^{WAS} A MOST UNUSUAL FEAT FOR A RAW-BONED, PEASANT LAD FROM THE NORTH CAUCASUS TO WIN A SCHOLARSHIP TO MOSCOW ^{STATE} UNIVERSITY--WHICH IN THOSE DAYS HAD A STUDENT BODY MADE UP OF THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE ELITE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. HE STUDIED LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY, A SKILL WHICH PROVED USEFUL IN HIS LATER CAREER. MOSCOW UNIVERSITY'S LAW FACULTY ~~IS~~ ^{WAS} PRACTICALLY THE ONLY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN THE COUNTRY WHICH ~~GAVE~~ ^{GAVE} STUDENTS FORMAL TRAINING IN THE ART OF ORATORY --HOW TO GIVE ~~AN~~ ^{AN} IMPRESSIVE SPEECH AND TO PRESENT A CASE AND TO ASK RELEVANT QUESTIONS AND TO CONDUCT INTERROGATIONS. AS A RESULT, GORBACHEV IS PROBABLY ONE OF THE BEST SPEAKERS WHO HAS EVER BEEN IN THE HIGHER ECHELONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

GORBACHEV SPENT FIVE YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY, WHERE HE STUDIED DILIGENTLY, MARRIED, PASSED HIS EXAMS, AND THEN HE WAS SENT BACK TO STAVROPOL TO WORK FOR THE KOMSOMOL, THE YOUTH WING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, A MINOR JOB FOR A GRADUATE OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY. GORBACHEV IS A MAN WHO TAKES WHAT COMES HIS WAY IN STRIDE. HE BUCKLED DOWN TO HIS MINOR ASSIGNMENT AND WAS SOON MOVING SWIFTLY UP THE LADDER.

IT TURNS OUT THAT HE WAS FORTUNATE TO BE SENT BACK TO STAVROPOL. STAVROPOL IS NOT ONLY A DISTRICT WHICH INCLUDES SOME OF THE GREAT PRAIRIES OF THE SOVIET CAUCASUS. IT IS ALSO AN AREA WHICH HAS MANY OF THE DACHAS OF LEADERS OF THE SOVIET PARTY, MEN WHOM GORBACHEV WAS ABLE TO MEET AND IMPRESS.

ABLE, WILLING, RESOLUTE, HE MOVED QUICKLY THROUGH THE RANKS OF THE KOMSOMOL AND GRADUATED TO WORK FOR THE PARTY ITSELF WHEN HE BECAME THE FIRST SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURE FOR THE STAVROPOL AREA. TRUE TO HIS DOGGED DETERMINATION, HE ENROLLED IN A 5-YEAR EXTENSION COURSE IN THE STAVROPOL AGRICULTURE INSTITUTE IN ORDER TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE. AGRICULTURE HAS BEEN THE STUMBLING BLOCK OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY FOR DECADES, AND GORBACHEV WAS ABLE TO DO SOME USEFUL WORK WHICH BROUGHT HIM ATTENTION---AND TO MOSCOW TO FILL A SENIOR POST IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

IN 1972

IN 1974 HE WAS MADE A PROVISIONAL MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE 300-PERSON BODY WHICH CARRIES OUT THE ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNING THE STATE.

THE 70s WERE A TIME OF RAPID CHANGE. KHRUSHCHEV HAD FALLEN. BREZHNEV WOULD FALL. ANDROPOV WOULD LAST BUT 14 MONTHS, CHERNENKO HARDLY THAT. EACH NEW GENERAL SECRETARY MEANT A RESHUFFLING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO AND OF THE OFFICIALS IMMEDIATELY BELOW IT. GORBACHEV SEEMS TO HAVE SIDED LARGELY WITH THE ANDROPOV GROUP, THE MOST REFORM-MINDED OF THE GROUPS, BUT HE REMAINED ON GOOD TERMS, AS FAR AS HE COULD, WITH EVERYONE. GORBACHEV IS A MAN WHO DOES WHAT IS ASKED OF HIM AND WHO MAKES SURE HIS CONTACTS ARE SOLID.

HE SERVED FOR A WHILE AS SECRETARY OF THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FOR A WHILE IN THE KGB. HE BEGAN TO BE POSTED ON TRIPS ABROAD AND TO BE THOUGHT OF AS A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. DURING ANDROPOV'S SHORT REIGN, HE BECAME A TRUSTED LIEUTENANT WHO WAS KEPT CLOSE AT HAND AND A PROVISIONAL MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS NOT A DICTATORSHIP TODAY. IT IS AN OLIGARCHY. AT THE TOP ARE A GROUP OF MEN, THE POLITBURO, WHO DETERMINE POLICIES OF THE COUNTRY. ALL THE WAY DOWN THE LINE AND THROUGH THE SYSTEM THE PATTERN IS FOR POLICIES TO BE SET FROM ABOVE AND CARRIED OUT BELOW.

IN MARCH OF 1985 CHERNENKO DIED. GORBACHEV WAS ONE OF THE FEW NATURAL LEADERS TO WHOM THE SOVIETS MIGHT TURN, AND THEY DID. WHAT IMMEDIATELY STRUCK OUTSIDERS WAS HIS AGE--54, COMPARED TO THE 70S AND 80S OF HIS PREDECESSORS--~~AT THE NEW GENERATION~~ ^{THAT} HE REPRESENTED. THE NEW GENERATION RECOGNIZED THE URGENT NEED TO REVISE SOME MAJOR PARTS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM--INCLUDING THE WAYS POLICIES ARE MADE AND CARRIED OUT.

GORBACHEV IS PART OF A GENERATION WHICH IS YOUNGER, / MORE FLEXIBLE, / MORE DETERMINED TO LIVE BY WORLD STANDARDS. HE AND MANY OF HIS PEERS ARE DETERMINED TO HELP THEIR COUNTRY OUT OF ITS LONG ECONOMIC SLIDE--CREATED LARGELY BY BAD AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL POLICIES WHICH SET HEAVY INDUSTRY ABOVE CONSUMER GOODS--AND OUT OF A FREE-WHEELING, BLUSTERING MILITARY POSTURE.

DURING THE OPENING DAYS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, WHICH IS NOW ONLY TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS ~~OLD~~ MR. GORBACHEV INTRODUCED TWO RUSSIAN WORDS INTO THE VOCABULARY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. THE FIRST HAS TO DO WITH ECONOMIC POLICY--**PERESTROIKA**, A TECHNICAL RESTRUCTURING. THE GOAL WAS TO BREAK UP ENCRUSTED, / INEFFICIENT, / SHODDY PRODUCTION UNITS WHICH PROMOTED WASTE AND CORRUPTION. MUCH OF THE PROBLEM WAS CAUSED BY CENTRAL MINISTRIES, ~~AND~~ COMMITTEES AND BUREAUS WHICH RUN THE 48 THOUSAND STATE ENTERPRISES FROM MOSCOW. PERESTROIKA IS A PROGRAM TO DECENTRALIZE, / TO STIMULATE MORE FACTORY, FARM, AND PRIVATE ACCOUNTABILITY, / SELF-FINANCING, / SELF-RELIANCE / AND PROFITABILITY.

THE SECOND TERM IS **GLASNOST**, WHICH MEANS OPENNESS, FREEING THE MEDIA TO EXPOSE BUREAUCRATIC INEFFICIENCY, ARROGANCE, AND CORRUPTION. THE SOVIET MEDIA NOW CAN OPEN ITS COLUMNS TO TALES OF MISUSE AND CORRUPTION. YET IN A SOCIETY AS COMPLEX AND AS STRICTLY RUN AS THE SOVIET, THE INTRODUCTION OF A BIT OF MEDIA FREEDOM CAN BE QUITE DIFFICULT. THERE IS A PROBLEM OF LIMITS. THE SOVIET UNION MAY NOT BE A DICTATORSHIP, BUT IT IS ALSO NOT A DEMOCRACY.

THE FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE AN INNEFICIENT AND CORRUPT STATE ENTERPRISE CAN BEGIN WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS AND END IN CAUSING A SURGE OF WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS SUBVERSION. / THERE ARE OVER 700 THOUSAND BUREAUCRATS RESPONSIBLE FOR SETTING PRICES AND MAKING CENTRAL PLANS IN THE SOVIET UNION. EACH OF THEM SEES HIS JOB IN A WAY THREATENED. THE RESULT AS BEEN THAT THERE HAS BEEN MORE TALK THAN ACTION AND A GREAT DEAL OF CONFUSION AS THE NEW POLICIES ARE ENFORCED.

UNDER GORBACHEV THE SOVIET UNION IS TRYING TO DO WHAT CHINA HAS TRIED TO DO UNDER DENG--THAT IS, TO MODERNIZE THE SOCIETY. / TO MODERNIZE ITS ECONOMIC POLICIES, / TO PERMIT A DEGREE OF SELF-CRITICISM, BUT TO ENTER THIS FREER WORLD WITHOUT SURRENDERING THE CENTRAL ECONOMIC CONCEPT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY: THE CENTRAL CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY. GREATER FREEDOM FOR THE LOCAL UNITS AND A CONTINUATION OF LARGE-SCALE CENTRAL CONTROL ARE POLICIES WHICH TO A LARGE DEGREE CONTRADICT EACH OTHER.

~~IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT PERESTROIKA OR GLASNOST~~
~~WILL BE ENOUGH.~~ STATE PRODUCTION OF VODKA AND WINE INCREASED BY 38 PERCENT AND 97 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY.

THE SOVIET UNION TODAY IS AN OLIGARCHY. POWER RESTS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PROGRESSIVELY UPWARD WITH ITS RANKING BUREAUS AND COMMITTEES UNTIL ONE COMES TO THE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ POLITBURO ITSELF. THE PRESENT POLITBURO INCLUDES ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{MEN} OF GORBACHEV'S GENERATION WHO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR THESE PROGRAMS AND CHANGES. THE POLITBURO ALSO INCLUDES OLDER MEN, AND MEN OF GORBACHEV'S OWN AGE, WHO ARE MORE INCLINED TO CONTINUE THE CENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE HANDS OF MOSCOW. THEY ARGUE THAT TO GIVE TOO MUCH AUTHORITY TO INDIVIDUAL FACTORIES OR TO INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE FARMS, TO CRITICIZE AND TO SET THEIR OWN AGENDAS IS ULTIMATELY TO BRING THE STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY INTO QUESTION.

GORBACHEV SPEAKS FORTHRIGHTLY BUT, LIKE THE CAREFUL POLITICIAN HE IS, IS MOVING SLOWLY. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, HE HAS NOT YET FORCED HIS VIEWS ON SOVIET SOCIETY.

THE RUSSIANS ARE HEAVY DRINKERS. DURING A RECENT YEAR THE TOTAL PURCHASE OF VODKA WAS ABOUT 22 BILLION RUBLES OUT OF A TOTAL STATE BUDGET OF 175 BILLION RUBLES. BETWEEN 1970 AND 1983, THE STATE PRODUCTION OF VODKA AND WINE INCREASED BY 38 PERCENT AND 97 PERCENT RESPECTIVELY.

ANOTHER ISSUE--A MORE CENTRAL AND DIFFICULT ISSUE--
WAS TO REORGANIZE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE AGRICULTURE SYSTEM
THERE COMES A POINT WHEN THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF
ALCOHOL REVENUES TO THE STATE ARE OUTWEIGHED BY THE SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC COSTS OF HEAVY DRINKING: INCREASING CRIME,
POOR PRODUCTIVITY, ABSENTEEISM, A LARGER NUMBER OF PROBLEM
CHILDREN OF ALCOHOLIC PARENTS, REDUCED LIFE EXPECTANCY, AND
ALCOHOL-RELATED HEALTH PROBLEMS.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~, ONE MONTH AFTER GORBACHEV CAME MOSCOW
INTO OFFICE, A PRESS CAMPAIGN BEGAN AGAINST ALCOHOLISM AND
DRINKING. THE MINIMUM AGE FOR PURCHASING ALCOHOL WAS RAISED
FROM 18 TO 21. ALCOHOL COULD NO LONGER BE SOLD FROM ONE
ORDINARY FOOD STORES. WINE SHOPS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO SELL
ANY ALCOHOL BEFORE 2 P.M., NOR ARE RESTAURANTS PERMITTED
TO SELL ALCOHOL WITH LUNCH. STIFF PENALTIES WERE INTRODUCED
FOR PRIVATE STILLS. BEING DRUNK IN A PUBLIC PLACE BECAME
PUNISHABLE BY A FINE, STARTING AT 500 RUBLES.

IN THEORY, EVERYONE RECOGNIZES PAST FAILURES AND THE NEED
FOR MORE
THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL DROPPED, BUT THERE
WERE DIFFICULTIES. MANY FARMS WHICH PRODUCED HOPS FOR THE GRAIN
AND FRUIT FOR THE WINE NEARLY ~~WENT~~ BANKRUPT. THE STATE SUFFERED
A LOSS OF REVENUE. ~~IN~~ IN THIS CASE GORBACHEV HAS NOT
COMPROMISED AND THE PROGRAM GOES ON.

CONTINUE

ANOTHER ISSUE--A MORE CENTRAL AND DIFFICULT ISSUE-- WAS TO REORGANIZE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE AGRICULTURE SYSTEM WHICH IS SO BASIC TO THE SOVIET ECONOMY. AGRICULTURAL CONTROL HAD BEEN DIVIDED AMONG SOME 16 BUREAUS IN MOSCOW. IT WOULD NOW BE CENTERED IN ONE AGRICULTURE-INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT. THE GOALS OF THIS EFFORT HAVE NOT ALL, ^{OR} EVEN SIGNIFICANTLY, BEEN MET, BUT THERE IS NOW ONE ADDRESS FOR GROUPS TO ADDRESS THEIR COMPLAINTS AND THEIR COMMENTS--AND ONE SOURCE FOR COMMANDS.

IT IS CLEAR THAT UNIFORM POLICIES CAN BE SET IN MOSCOW AND TRANSLATED DIRECTLY TO THE COUNTRY WITHOUT BEING DIVIDED AMONG VARIOUS CENTRAL OFFICES AND THEIR VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS. GORBACHEV IS ATTEMPTING TO LIMIT POLICY AUTHORITY TO ONE CENTRAL AGENCY--AND AT THE SAME TIME TO BESTOW MUCH WIDER AUTHORITY TO IMPLEMENT POLICIES TO LOCAL UNITS.

YOU WILL FIND IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY VERY LITTLE OPPOSITION TO PERESTROIKA--THAT IS, VERY LITTLE OPPOSITION IN THEORY. EVERYONE RECOGNIZES PAST FAILURES AND THE NEED FOR MORE LOCAL AUTHORITY. BUT IN PRACTICE PERESTROIKA IS ANOTHER MATTER. THE SOVIET UNION LOOKS UNBALANCED. THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX APPEARS TO BE EFFICIENT, WELL-EQUIPPED, AND WELL-FINANCED. THERE IS A GROUP OF CITIZENS IN MOSCOW AND IN EVERY MAJOR CITY THAT LIVES WELL.

→
CONTINUE

BUT THE AVERAGE RUSSIAN DOES NOT LIVE WELL. FIVE-YEAR PLAN AFTER FIVE-YEAR PLAN HAS TALKED ABOUT RAISING THE LEVEL OF CONSUMER PRODUCTS AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING, BUT HAS FAILED TO DO SO.

AND THERE ARE THE OLD-LINE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS WHO HAVE BENEFITTED FROM THE OLD SYSTEM FOR YEARS. THERE IS THE FEAR IN EVERYONE THAT IF PLANS MADE IN AND BY A CENTRAL AUTHORITY ARE LEFT TO LOCAL UNITS TO CARRY OUT THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GET THE SUPPORT, THE TOOLS, THE EQUIPMENT THEY NEED. IT IS IMMENSELY DIFFICULT TO CHANGE A SYSTEM OF CENTRAL PLANNING TO ONE OF PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY AND--AT THE SAME TIME--TO DO SO WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GLASNOST, OPEN CRITICISM OF A SOCIETY WHERE POLITICAL CRITICISM IS NOT LEGITIMATE.

SPURRED BY THE IDEA THAT THE SOVIET UNION MUST CATCH UP WITH THE ^{DOMESTIC} INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE OF THE WEST, MR. GORBACHEV HAS APPARENTLY TAKEN A DIFFERENT LINE IN FOREIGN POLICY FROM HIS PREDECESSORS. THE BLUNDERING AND BLUSTERING "WE WILL BURY YOU" OF KHRUSHCHEV HAS GIVEN WAY TO PROGRAMS WHICH SHOW SIGNS OF BEING CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND TO OFFER SOME POSSIBILITY FOR AT LEAST A TEMPORARY REPRIEVE FROM THE MANY COSTS OF THE ARMS RACE.

ON MONDAY OF THIS PAST WEEK, AT THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, CELEBRATING THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, MR. GORBACHEV IN A LONG SPEECH SAID THAT IN WASHINGTON HE WOULD SIGN THE I N F TREATY AND MOVE FOR A COMPARABLE BREAKTHROUGH ON A TREATY REDUCING LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND BANNING WEAPONS FROM SPACE. HE SAID:

THE GROWING DANGER THAT WEAPONS MAY BE PERFECTED TO A POINT WHERE THEY WILL BECOME UNCONTROLLABLE IS URGING US TO WASTE NO TIME. THAT IS WHY WE WILL WORK UNREMITTINGLY AT THESE MEETINGS FOR A PALPABLE BREAKTHROUGH, FOR CONCRETE RESULTS, REDUCING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS AND BARRING WEAPONS FROM OUTER SPACE--THE KEY TO REMOVING THE NUCLEAR THREAT.

WHAT MIKHAIL GORBACHEV HAS DONE IN HIS TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS IN OFFICE IS TO PUT THE UNITED STATES ON THE DEFENSIVE. HIS DIPLOMACY IS SKILLFUL. IN THE BATTLE FOR THE MINDS OF EUROPE HE HAS MADE THE SOVIET UNION SEEM A WILLING PARTNER IN THE ATTEMPT TO DE-ESCALATE THE ARMS RACE. HE DID THIS BY PROPOSING A UNILATERAL BAN ON NUCLEAR ~~TESTING~~ **TESTING** AND BY PROPOSING THE ELIMINATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THE FIRST CONCRETE RESULT WILL BE THE SIGNING NEXT MONTH OF THE I N F TREATY.

THE QUESTION REMAINS. IS THIS SIMPLY A PLOY DESIGNED TO GIVE THE SOVIET UNION TIME TO REBUILD ITS ECONOMY WITHOUT LOSING ANY OF ITS MILITARY ADVANTAGES --OR IS THIS THE TALK OF A MAN WHO GENUINELY AND HONESTLY WISHES TO END THE ARMS RACE? HE HAS TALKED OF GETTING OUT OF AFGHANISTAN, BUT RUSSIAN FORCES ARE STILL THERE. IN THE BATTLE BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ HE HAS SIDED WITH THE WEST IN KEEPING THE PERSIAN GULF OPEN--AND THEN SOUGHT TO ARM AND SIGN OIL LEASE AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN. HE HAS SUPPLIED THE SANDANISTA GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA. THE SOVIET MILITARY BUDGET REMAINS HIGH.

A CLASSIC CASE IN POINT REVOLVES AROUND THE REFUSENIKS, WHO ARE A CONSTANT SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT TO THE SOVIET UNION. GORBACHEV KNOWS THIS. HE HAS AGREED TO LET SOME 10 THOUSAND OUT AT ABOUT THE RATE OF 900 A MONTH. HE HAS SEEN TO IT THAT THOSE WHO COME INCLUDE THE MORE NOTABLE OF THE REFUSENIKS. BUT HE HAS ALSO PASSED A LAW THAT THE ONLY ONES WHO CAN LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION ARE THOSE WHO HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY OUTSIDE--HUSBANDS, WIVES, PARENTS, BROTHERS, OR SISTERS. AS SOON AS THE 10 THOUSAND OR SO LEAVE, THERE WILL BE SOME 400 THOUSAND STILL LOCKED IN THE TRAP. GORBACHEV SEEMS TO BE COUNTING ON THE FACT THAT WITHOUT PUBLICITY THE MAJOR REFUSENIKS ENJOYED, THE WORLD WILL FORGET THIS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM.

OR, TAKE ISRAEL ^{AND} THE ISSUE OF THE PROPOSED
~~CONFERENCE~~ INTERNATIONAL ~~CONFERENCE~~ ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

ISRAEL HAS SAID THAT SHE WILL NOT SIT DOWN WITH ANY POWER WHICH DOES NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HER.

RUSSIA HAS NOT HAD AN EMBASSY IN ISRAEL FOR A DOZEN YEARS.

THREE MONTHS AGO, THE SOVIET LEADER SENT A SMALL NUMBER OF MINOR-LEAGUE RUSSIAN COUNCILAR OFFICIALS, PRESUMEDLY TO QUESTION ISRAEL'S FITNESS FOR A RE-ESTABLISHED EMBASSY.

NO DECISION ON THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING, BUT THESE MINOR RUSSIAN DIPLOMATS REMAIN IN ISRAEL--IN ORDER TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR GORBACHEV TO SAY THAT RUSSIA DOES HAVE SOME TIES WITH ISRAEL AND, THEREFORE, TO CLAIM HIS ROLE, HIS SEAT, AT SUCH AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

GORBACHEV IS AN APPARATCHNIK, A MEMBER IN GOOD STANDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO HAS WORKED HIS WAY UP THROUGH THE RANKS. HE HAS WORKED WITH THE OLD SCHOOL. HE IS NOT COMPLETELY HIS OWN MAN, AS WAS SHOWN DRAMATICALLY IN THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS. GEORGE SCHULTZ WENT TO MOSCOW TO FIRM THE DATE FOR THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. HE LEFT MOSCOW WITHOUT A DATE--AND WITH THE RUSSIAN PRESS CLAIMING THAT MR. GORBACHEV WAS NOT PREPARED TO COME TO THE SUMMIT UNLESS MAJOR PROGRESS WAS MADE LIMITING THE STAR WARS INITIATIVE.

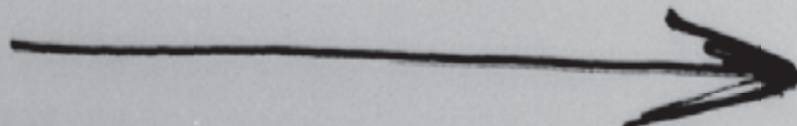
GROUPS TAKING GORBACHEV AND HIS GLASNOST AT FACE VALUE.

THE KOMSOMOL IS APPARENTLY AFRAID THAT THESE GROUPS WILL FLOURISH AND UNDERMINE THE ACTIVITIES AND AUTHORITY OF THE KOMSOMOL.

TWO DAYS LATER MR. SCHULTZ'S RUSSIAN COUNTERPART, MR. SHEVARDNADZE, CAME TO WASHINGTON WITH A LETTER WHICH SAID THAT DECEMBER 7 WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE DATE AND THAT MR. GORBACHEV WOULD BE THERE.

WHAT HAPPENED? THERE HAD BEEN A FULL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON OCTOBER 21, AND DURING THAT MEETING BORIS YELTSIN--TIL THEN A FIRM ALLY OF GORBACHEV AND HIS POLICIES--APPARENTLY ATTACKED MR. GORBACHEV FOR HAVING ENGENDERED A PERSONALITY CULT. WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED WE DON'T KNOW. YELTSIN'S SPEECH SEEMS TO HAVE UNLEASHED A BROUHAHA OF COMMENTS, PRO AND CON, AND IT IS THIS COMMOTION THAT WAS BLAMED FOR THE DELAY IN ACKNOWLEDGING THE INVITATION TO THE SUMMIT.

APPARENTLY, THERE IS OPPOSITION TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GORBACHEV'S PROGRAM AND TO ITS PACE. YELTSIN'S COMPLAINTS SEEM TO BE THAT IT'S TOO SLOW. THIS MORNING'S NEW YORK TIMES CARRIED AN INTERESTING ARTICLE REPORTING COMPLAINTS THAT IT'S GOING TOO FAST. THAT TIMES ARTICLE DESCRIBES A "SECRET" REPORT OF THE KOMSOMOL, THE YOUTH WING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE REPORT EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO BRING [REDACTED] UNDER KOMSOMOL CONTROL THE BURGEONING NUMBER OF SMALL GROUPS TAKING GORBACHEV AND HIS GLASNOST AT FACE VALUE. THE KOMSOMOL IS APPARENTLY AFRAID THAT THESE GROUPS WILL FLOURISH AND UNDERMINE THE ACTIVITIES AND AUTHORITY OF THE KOMSOMOL.



MR. GORBACHEV APPARENTLY IS MEETING THAT OPPOSITION,
BECAUSE THE SUMMIT IS ON--BUT AT WHAT COST WE DO NOT KNOW.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV IS NEITHER FRIEND NOR FOE BUT
THE LEADER OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S OTHER SUPER-POWERS. HE
HAS HIS AGENDA. IN PART, THAT AGENDA CORRESPONDS TO THE
INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN PART, IT DIVERGES FROM IT.

THE EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, CONSUMER GOODS,
GLASNOST, MAY EXERT A COMPELLING FORCE ON SOVIET POLICIES.
IF THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL, THEY CAN PRODUCE A DIFFERENT SOVIET
OUTLOOK ON THE WORLD AND ITS PROBLEMS.

CERTAINLY, ALL OF US MUST HOPE THAT THE SUPER-POWERS
WILL BE ABLE TO DEVELOP SOME KIND OF ARMS REDUCTION PROGRAM
WHICH WILL BE TRULY MEANINGFUL. THE ARMS RACE IS BREAKING
THE ECONOMIES OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. ^{AND} ~~IT~~ ^{IT} FACES MANKIND
WITH THE REALITY OF SELF-DESTRUCTION.

FILE 44

16-A-

WHAT WE OUGHT **NOT** DO IS TO ASSUME THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL CHANGE DRAMATICALLY OVERNIGHT.

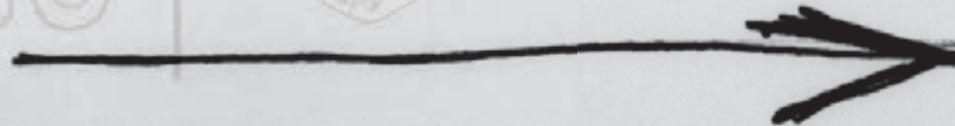
CAN SHE RELAX HER CONTROL OF EASTERN EUROPE?

CAN SHE TURN AFGHANISTAN INTO A FINLAND-LIKE NEIGHBOR?

CAN SHE DEVELOP TIES WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES DIFFERENT FROM THOSE SHE HAS NOW WITH ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA, WHERE SHE IS BUSY TRANSFORMING THOSE SOCIETIES INTO ONES MODELED AFTER THE OLD SOVIET WAY OF LIFE.

~~let her~~

EVEN WITH ALL THESE DOUBTS, WE CANNOT BUT BE PLEASED THAT THE LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW SPEAKING WITH A DIFFERENT VOICE. MR. GORBACHEV ENDED HIS SPEECH LAST MONDAY WITH THESE WORDS:



Music Director
BRUCE SPENCER

¹⁵ IT IS OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE OUR INIMITABLE HERITAGE
OF LIFE ON EARTH, TO HOLD REASON OVER NUCLEAR
INSANITY, TO CREATE ALL THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS
FOR THE FREE, ALL-AROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
INDIVIDUAL AND THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY. WE ARE
AWARE THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY FOR CONTINUOUS
PROGRESS AND REALIZE THAT IT IS NOT EASY TO
MEASURE IT. THIS DOES NOT FRIGHTEN US. ON THE
CONTRARY, THIS INSPIRES US, GIVING A LOFTY AND
HUMANE PURPOSE TO OUR LIVES, INJECTING IT WITH
A PROFOUND MEANING. //

LET THIS BE THE REAL MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.
BUT DON'T COUNT ON IT.



The Temple

Music Director
BRUCE SHEWITZ

UNIVERSITY CIRCLE AT SILVER PARK • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44106 • 791-7755
BRANCH: 26000 SHAKER BLVD. • BEACHWOOD, OHIO 44122 • 831-3233

ALSO NEXT SUNDAY, THE SOLOISTS
AND CHOIR WILL PRESENT
ABRAHAM WOLF BINDER'S CANTATA
VAYERAH AS THE FIRST OF THIS
SEASON'S SPECIAL MUSIC PROGRAMS.

THE CANTATA TELLS THE STORY
OF THE BIRTH AND SACRIFICE
OF ISAAC IN HEBREW AND
ENGLISH, USING TRADITIONAL
BIBLE CANTILLATION MELODIES.

THE TEMPLE CHOIR

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE
The Temple Branch--10:30 amBruce Shewitz
Music directorDate 11/08/87Service no. 2

UP

GOP

(SOLO)

DSSOpening
anthemShewitz: Psalm 122

Bar'chu

Trad.

Sh'ma

Trad.

V'ahavta

Braun

Mi chamocha

Ephros

Tzur

yisraeil

Trad.

Avot

DymontC. SMITH

K'dusha

May the

words

SulzerBraun~~TORAH~~

Anthem/

Solo

Braun: Ahavat olam

Aleinu

Trad.

V'ne-emar

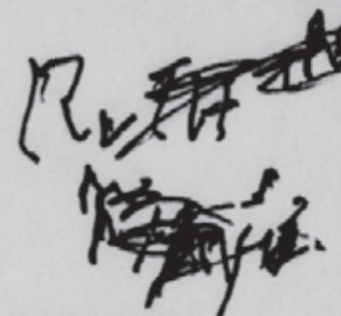
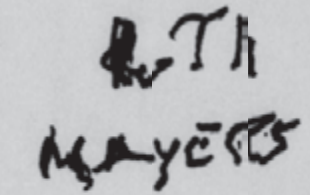
Trad.

Amen

Hymn

Sulzer: Adon olam Verses 1, 2, 3~~Amen~~

REMARKS

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
NOVEMBER 8 COFFEE HOUR 9:30 am Branch SERVICE 10:30 am Branch Rabbi Silver "Gorbachev" *TYA NEW-MEMBER DINNER 7:00 pm	9	10 TWA BRANCH 10:00 am Activities 11:00 am Bible Study 11:45 am Luncheon LUNCH WITH THE RABBI 12:00 Noon City Club TEMPLE BOARD MEETING 8:00 pm Branch	11 VETERANS' DAY TWA COFFEE 9:30 am Branch TWA BOARD MEETING 10:00 am Branch	12 SENIORS' GROUP OPEN MEETING BRANCH Rabbi Silver 11:00 am Lunch 12:00 Noon Musical Pgm 1:00 pm	13  SERVICE 5:30 pm Main Temple	14 BAT MITZVA Andrew Barnett 11:00 am Main Temple 
15 NO TRS COFFEE HOUR 9:30 am Branch SERVICE 10:30 am Branch Rabbi Silver "Holy Writ" Special Music TYA-TWA LUNCHEON Mothers, Daughters 12:00 Noon Branch	16	17 TWA BRANCH 10:00 am Activities 11:00 am Bible Study 11:45 am Luncheon LUNCH WITH THE RABBI 12:00 Noon Somerset SCHOOL BOARD MEETING 7:30 pm Branch	18 TMC BOARD MEETING 8:00 pm Branch	19	20 SERVICE 5:30 pm Main Temple THIRD SABBATH 7:30 pm Branch	21
22 COFFEE HOUR 9:30 am Branch SERVICE 10:30 am Branch Rabbi Silver "For These Things We Give Thanks"	23	24 TWA BRANCH 10:00 am Activities 11:00 am Bible Study 11:45 am Luncheon	25	26 UNIVERSITY CIRCLE *THANKSGIVING SERVICE Calvary Presby Church 9:30 am Breakfast 10:30 am Service	27 SERVICE 5:30 pm Main Temple	28 BAT MITZVA Karen Gimson 11:00 am Main Temple BAR MITZVA William Mann 4:30 pm Main Temple
29 COFFEE HOUR 9:30 am Branch SERVICE 10:30 am Branch Rabbi Silver "On the Economy"	30	DECEMBER 1 TWA BRANCH 10:00 am Activities 11:00 am Bible Study 11:45 am Luncheon *TYA BOARD MEETING	2	3	4 SERVICE 5:30 pm Main Temple FIRST FRIDAY Alan M. Webber 8:15 pm Branch	5 PAC PARENTS PARTY *NOT AT TEMPLE