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SUBJECT:

### ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

**SUBJECT:** (Optional) DDCI - Address of the Congressional Research Service  
14 July 1988

**FROM:** William M. Baker  
Director, Public Affairs

**EXTENSION**

**NO.** PAO 88-~~6~~0243

**DATE**  
13 July 1988

**TO:** (Officer designation, room number, and building)

**DATE**

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**COMMENTS** (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

Note: Robert Sutter, Chief of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, will meet Mr. Gates at the entrance to the Capitol, House Side.

P-310-1R

DCI/PAO/RRP/

PAO 88-0475

Distribution:

STAT Orig. - DDCI  
 1 - ER  
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 STAT 1 -  
 1 - MED(Subject)  
 1 - Jean  
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 1 - DCI Security

13 July 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: William M. Baker  
 Director of Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Address of the Congressional Research Service  
 The Library of Congress

1. This is background information for your address of the Congressional Research Service (CRS) off-the-record breakfast on 14 July, 8:00 - 9:00 a.m. at the US Capitol, Room EF100. Director of Congressional Affairs John Helgeson will remain with you throughout the program. Breakfast will be served during the program.

2. Arrangements for the CRS Breakfast: You are asked to be at the Capitol, Room EF100 at approximately 7:50 a.m. Director of CRS, Joseph Ross, will open the program at 8:00 a.m. and introduce Congressman Hamilton who will give a few remarks before introducing the Librarian of Congress, James Billington. Mr. Billington will introduce the moderator, Soviet specialist Francis Miko, and Mr. Miko will introduce you. Your remarks are scheduled to begin at 8:05 a.m. The suggested format is 10-15 minutes of remarks. Following your remarks Columbia University Professor Marshall Schulman will speak for 10-15 minutes. (See opposite for biographies.) A 30-minute question and answer period will conclude the program. You will be seated at the head of a horseshoe shaped table with the following:

Representative Lee Hamilton	Librarian of Congress
James Billington (on your right)	Moderator and Soviet specialist
Francis Miko (on your left)	Professor, Columbia University,
Marshall Schulman	Russian Research Center

Since the group has a policy of not taping the program, your remarks will not be taped. A microphone will be available.

Approximately 26 Senators and Representatives will attend the breakfast. (See opposite for list of attendees.) Members of the media will not be present.

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3. Background: The breakfast seminar for members of Congress only will follow an all-day CRS workshop on "Gorbachev Reform Program After the 1988 Party Conference." (See opposite for workshop agenda.) Conducted at the request of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the purpose of the breakfast seminar is to assess Gorbachev's leadership position, Soviet domestic and foreign policy over the next five years, and implications for the United States.

STAT



William M. Baker

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**SHULMAN, MARSHALL DARROW**, educator; b. Jersey City, Apr. 8, 1916; s. Harry Max and Bessie (Waldman) S.; m. Elizabeth Van Anda Thomson, 1948 (dec. Nov. 1956); children: Lisa, Michael; m. Colette Schwarzenbach, 1960. A.B., U. Mich., 1937; postgrad., Harvard U., 1939-40; M.A., Columbia U., 1948, Ph.D., 1959; cert., Russian Inst., 1948. Newspaper reporter Detroit News, 1937-38; writer Nat. Safety Council, 1938-39; v.p. Council for Democracy, 1940-42; info. officer U.S. Mission to UN, 1949-50; spl. asst. to sec. Dept. State, 1950-53; asso. dir. Russian Research Center, Harvard U., 1954-62, lectr. dept. govt., 1956-60, research asso., 1962-67; prof. internat. politics Fletcher Sch. Law and Diplomacy, Dartmouth Coll., 1961-67; prof. govt. Columbia U., 1967-74, dir. Russian Inst., 1967-74, 76-77, 81-82, dir. Harriman Inst. Advanced Study of Soviet Union, 1982—, Adlai E. Stevenson prof. internat. relations, 1973-77, 80—; ambassador, spl. advisor on Soviet affairs to sec. state Dept. State, 1977-80; scholar in residence Aspen Inst. Humanistic Studies, summer 1973; adv. com. East-West trade U.S. Dept. Commerce, 1975—; mem. Internat. Inst. Strategic Studies, London. Author: Stalin's Foreign Policy Reappraised, 1963, Beyond the Cold War, 1966. Served from pvt. to capt. USAAF, 1942-46; glider pilot, psychol. warfare officer. Decorated Bronze Star; Rockefeller Pub. Service award, 1953-54; Carnegie vis. research scholar, 1963-64; Whitney Shepardson fellow Council Fgn. Relations, 1974-75. Fellow Am. Acad. Arts and Scis.; mem. Internat. Polit. Sci. Assn., Council Fgn. Relations (N.Y.), Am. Polit. Sci. Assn. Clubs: Harvard (N.Y.C.), Century (N.Y.C.). Home: 450 Riverside Dr New York NY 10027 Office: 420 W 118th St New York NY 10027

**ROSS, JOSEPH E.**, government official, lawyer; b. Bklyn., Jan. 12, 1923; s. Joseph John and Mary Elizabeth (Hurd) R.; m. Joan Marie Needham, Nov. 16, 1946; children—Richard, Patricia, John, Kenneth, Edward, Dennis, Chris, David. B.A., St. John's U., 1943, LL.B., 1948. Bar: N.Y., U.S. Supreme Ct. Assoc. Bain & Hoopes, Esquire, N.Y.C., 1948-51; commd. capt. U.S. Navy, 1965, various legal duties, 1951-66, dir. mil. justice, Washington, 1966-69, ret., 1969; asst. chief legis. sect. Dept. Justice, Washington, 1969-72; chief Am. Law div. Congl. Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, 1972—. Mem. Fed. Bar Assn. (pres. 1984-85), ABA, Aircraft Owners and Pilots Assn., Judge Advocates Assn. Roman Catholic. Club: Brent Soc. (Arlington, Va.). Office: CRS-D Library of Congress Washington DC 20540

LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 59 STORIES

Copyright © 1988 The Christian Science Publishing Society;  
The Christian Science Monitor

June 23, 1988, Thursday

SECTION: National; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1578 words

HEADLINE: Speechwriting for a president

BYLINE: Charlotte Saikowski, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: Washington

BODY:

... House thought the bust of Lenin and a red banner would have to be covered. But it was quickly realized that it would be 'dramatic to have Reagan walk into the lion's den.'

At first, says Gilder, he had writer's block, wondering how to write for such an alien audience. But then he decided to 'let Reagan be Reagan' and 'trust that his humanity would come through the cultural and ideological barriers.'

In working on the speech, Gilder sought advice from James Billington, head of the Library of Congress and author of 'Icon and the Ax.' He also talked with Yakov Smirnov, the Soviet emigre and standup comic who is becoming known to US audiences for his witty comments about Soviet society.

The President, Gilder says, wanted to talk about the importance of freedom and what it means. Yakov, he says, helped make the theme concrete in terms of Soviets' own experience. Reagan ended up talking about ...

LEVEL 2 - 2 OF 59 STORIES

Copyright © 1988 U.S. News & World Report

June 13, 1988

SECTION: WASHINGTON WHISPERS; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 93 words

HEADLINE: Author! Author!

BYLINE: Edited by Charles Fenyesi

BODY:

... Moscow State University last week -- one of 18 addresses he delivered during the summit trip -- was written by Josh Gilder, 34, cousin of conservative economic guru George Gilder. Acclaimed as one of the best speeches the President has given during his eight years in office, it was crafted by Gilder over a 10-day span, with input from Soviet emigre humorist Yakov Smirnoff and historian James Billington, the Librarian of Congress. Gilder is leaving the White House to return to George Bush's campaign staff.

LEVEL 2 - 3 OF 59 STORIES

Copyright © 1988 The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union;  
TASS

June 11, 1988, Saturday

LENGTH: 67 words

HEADLINE: ANATOLY DOBRYNIN RECEIVES US GUESTS

DATELINE: MOSCOW, JUNE 11

BODY:

ANATOLY DOBRYNIN, SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RECEIVED PRESIDENT OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY JOHN BRADEMANS AND JAMES BILLINGTON, DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. LARGEST LIBRARY, THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, AT THEIR REQUEST.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE SOVIET-U.S. SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSCOW THEY DISCUSSED WAYS OF EXTENDING EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITIES AND LIBRARY SERVICES OF THE USSR AND USA.

LEVEL 2 - 4 OF 59 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

June 11, 1988, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: Commentary

LENGTH: 625 words

HEADLINE: Backstairs at the White House

BYLINE: By HELEN THOMAS, UPI White House Reporter

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Backstairs

BODY:

... team three years ago.

Gilder wrote two speeches Reagan delivered at the Moscow summit that were viewed as outstanding and displaying a depth of understanding about the Soviet Union. The speeches were delivered at the Danilov Monastery and Moscow State University and were classics in summing up the differences between a free society and a totalitarian government without the usual polemics.

Gilder said he had a lot of help from James Billington, the librarian of Congress, and comedian Yakov Smirnov, a Russian emigre, who guided him with their knowledge of Russian literature and mores.

Gilder, who is a devoted admirer of the president, said he simply let 'Reagan be Reagan' in his speeches.



© 1988 The Washington Post, June 1, 1988

"I hope somebody was able to tell the president," said Elaine Crispen, Nancy Reagan's press secretary.

Among those at Mrs. Reagan's table were Gorbachev, Librarian of Congress James Billington, Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) and economist Tat'yana Zaslavskaya.

One couple who accepted an invitation but failed to show up were Anatoly Virganski and his wife Irina, the Gorbachevs' daughter. A spokesman said the White House did not know why the couple did not attend.

Elsewhere in the room, seated between Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov and Ligachev was White House Chief of Staff Howard ...

LEVEL 2 - 7 OF 59 STORIES

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May 31, 1988, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 1878 words

HEADLINE: The Communicator & the Communists

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW, May 30, 1988

BODY:

... at public functions but were decked out in glittering evening dresses tonight.

After dinner, guests toured the quarters where Richard Nixon stayed on his 1972 and 1974 visits. They also saw three small chapels within the Kremlin Palace.

Earlier, the Reagans met with Soviet dissidents at Spaso House and before that visited the 13th-century Danilov Monastery, continuing their crash course in Russian culture that James Billington, the librarian of Congress and a Soviet expert, had a hand in devising. Headquarters of the Russian Orthodox Church since the state spent \$ 45 million on its restoration, the 700-year-old monastery's previous lives were as a factory where umbrellas and refrigerators were made, and as a center for juvenile delinquents.

Mrs. Reagan, showing herself to be an apt student of Billington (he wrote "The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of ...

NAME: RONALD REAGAN; NANCY REAGAN; MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; RAISA GORBACHEV; JAMES BILLINGTON; ANDREI VOZNESENSKY

LEVEL 2 - 8 OF 59 STORIES

Copyright © 1988 U.S. News & World Report

May 30, 1988

SECTION: CURRENTS; People Making News; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 104 words

HEADLINE: Power poet

BODY:

... Nemerov, 68, last week was named the nation's third Poet Laureate, a post he takes up in September. Nemerov, who succeeds Richard Wilbur, was born in New York and educated at Harvard. "Teaching has been, for me, an education. Lord knows what it has been for my students," wrote the novelist and critic, a professor of English at Washington University, St. Louis. Librarian of Congress James Billington said Nemerov's work ranges "from the profound to the poignant to the comic."

LEVEL 2 - 9 OF 59 STORIES

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May 30, 1988, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 1876 words

HEADLINE: In Moscow, The First Ladies' Tour de Frost;  
At the Kremlin, Nancy and Raisa Say Nyet to Reports of Chilly Relations

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW, May 29, 1988

BODY:

... Mrs. Reagan as "really looking forward to what she will be seeing, feeling it is a place that's such a central part of this country's consciousness and wanting to know as much about it as she can. She's pushing the other things out of her mind."

She was believed by some to have been upstaged during the Washington summit because she wasn't prepared, but she is said to have done her homework for this trip. Among those who helped her were Lisa Jameson of the National Security Council staff and James Billington, librarian of Congress and a Soviet scholar, who is part of her entourage here.

"She's been very impressed with him and he's on the trip at her invitation. He'll be with her at times, including the trip to Leningrad," according to one source.

Besides the books Billington recommended, the National Geographic Society sent over reading material and tapes. Sources say she tried to learn some basic Russian greetings, with enthusiasm and determination.

STAT

**CORBACHEV'S REFORM PROGRAM AFTER THE SOVIET PARTY CONFERENCE**

07-12-1988

EF-100

July 14, 1988

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.

PAGE: 1

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Total: 1

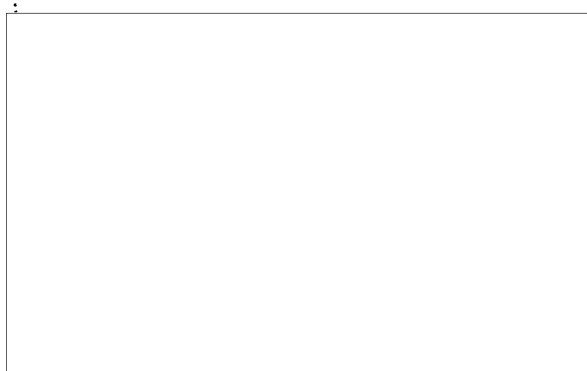
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Jean Boone  
 Stuart Goldman  
 Ellen Laipson  
 Francis Miko  
 William Robinson  
 Joseph Ross  
 Bob Sutter

Total: 7

Grand Total: 34

Our Fax at CRS  
287-6745



STAT



Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

June 24, 1988

Honorable Robert Gates  
Deputy Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:

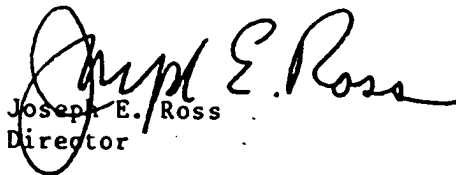
We are delighted that you will be able to join us for the CRS Member Breakfast hosted by the Honorable Lee H. Hamilton on "Gorbachev's Reform Program after the Soviet Party Conference" on July 14, 1988, 8:00 a.m - 9:00 a.m., in the U.S. Capitol, Room EF 100.

As you know, the Breakfast for Members of Congress will be the concluding event of a congressional Research Service workshop sponsored by the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Committee plans to issue a report on the proceedings. The workshop will look at the impact of the Soviet Communist Party Conference on Gorbachev's leadership position and on Soviet domestic and foreign policy over the next five years, and will examine the implications for the United States.

Our format at the breakfast will be for the rapporteur, Francis Miko, to offer a very brief summation of the highlights of the workshop. We would then ask you and our other speaker to each provide your own brief assessment of Soviet reform after the Party Conference and implications for the United States (10 to 15 minute), leaving time for discussion with the Members. We are enclosing a copy of our agenda and a list of questions to be addressed at the workshop to help you to tailor your own remarks. Could you provide a one-page summary of your presentation?

If you have any questions about the breakfast meeting or the workshop, please call our coordinator, Francis Miko (287-7670). We look forward to seeing you on July 14. Should you have the time, we would also welcome your participation at the workshop.

Sincerely,

  
Joseph E. Ross  
Director



**Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress**

Washington, D.C. 20540

**GORBACHEV REFORM PROGRAM AFTER THE 1988 PARTY CONFERENCE**

**A ROUNDTABLE WORKSHOP**

July 13, 1988

Madison Building, The Library of Congress, Dining Room A *Gorbachev*

The workshop will look at the impact of the Soviet Communist Party Conference on Gorbachev's leadership position and on Soviet domestic and foreign policy over the next five years, and will examine the implications for the United States.

**8:30 a.m. Continental Breakfast**

**9:00** Welcome, James Billington, The Librarian of Congress  
Joseph E. Ross, Director of the Congressional Research

**9:15** Introduction, Francis Miko, Workshop Moderator, CRS

**9:30** Gorbachev's Political Status and Program  
Moderator: Stuart Goldman, Specialist in Soviet Affairs, CRS

**11:00** Break

**11:15** Gorbachev's Economic Reform Program  
Moderator: John Hardt, Associate Director and Senior Specialist in  
Soviet Economics, CRS

**12:45 p.m. Lunch**

**2:00** Soviet Foreign and Security Policy; Implications for the United  
States  
Moderator: Francis T. Miko, Specialist in Soviet and East European  
Affairs, CRS

**3:30** Concluding Remarks

CRS-2

-Is the success (or partial success) of Gorbachev's reform program in the U.S. interest?

Soviet Foreign and Security Policy; Implications for the United States

- How did the Party Conference address Soviet security and foreign policy issues (directly or indirectly)?

- What are the implications of the Party Conference for the role of the Soviet military and the resources it can expect over the next few years?

- What are the Soviet foreign policy priorities over the next five years?

- Will the Soviet role in Third World regional disputes be likely to grow or diminish? What are the implications for Soviet policy in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and other regions?

- What are the implications for U.S. policy under a new Administration?

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(continued on next page)

b

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**ROUTING SLIP**

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8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/OCA		X		
14	D/PAO		X		
15	D/PERS				ER
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SUSPENSE \_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Remarks

Executive Secretary

29 June 88  
Date

STAT





Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

June 24, 1988

Honorable Robert Gates  
Deputy Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Mr. Gates:


We are delighted that you will be able to join us for the CRS Member Breakfast hosted by the Honorable Lee H. Hamilton on "Gorbachev's Reform Program after the Soviet Party Conference" on July 14, 1988, 8:00 a.m - 9:00 a.m., in the U.S. Capitol, Room EF 100.

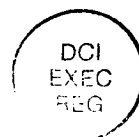
As you know, the Breakfast for Members of Congress will be the concluding event of a congressional Research Service workshop sponsored by the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Committee plans to issue a report on the proceedings. The workshop will look at the impact of the Soviet Communist Party Conference on Gorbachev's leadership position and on Soviet domestic and foreign policy over the next five years, and will examine the implications for the United States.

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If you have any questions about the breakfast meeting or the workshop, please call our coordinator, Francis Miko (287-7670). We look forward to seeing you on July 14. Should you have the time, we would also welcome your participation at the workshop.

Sincerely,

  
Joseph E. Ross  
Director



P-310-10



## Congressional Research Service The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

### GORBACHEV REFORM PROGRAM AFTER THE 1988 PARTY CONFERENCE

#### A ROUNDTABLE WORKSHOP

July 13, 1988

Madison Building, The Library of Congress, Dining Room A

The workshop will look at the impact of the Soviet Communist Party Conference on Gorbachev's leadership position and on Soviet domestic and foreign policy over the next five years, and will examine the implications for the United States.

8:30 a.m. Continental Breakfast

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Joseph E. Ross, Director of the Congressional Research

9:15 Introduction, Francis Miko, Workshop Moderator, CRS

9:30 Gorbachev's Political Status and Program  
Moderator: Stuart Goldman, Specialist in Soviet Affairs, CRS

11:00 Break

11:15 Gorbachev's Economic Reform Program  
Moderator: John Hardt, Associate Director and Senior Specialist in  
Soviet Economics, CRS

12:45 p.m. Lunch

2:00 Soviet Foreign and Security Policy; Implications for the United  
States  
Moderator: Francis T. Miko, Specialist in Soviet and East European  
Affairs, CRS

3:30 Concluding Remarks

## GORBACHEV REFORM PROGRAM AFTER THE 1988 PARTY CONFERENCE

### Questions to be Addressed

#### Gorbachev's Political Status and Program

- Are Gorbachev and his program strengthened or weakened politically by the results of the Conference? What did he need from the Conference and what did he get?

-What did the Conference reveal about the extent of support and opposition to Gorbachev's programs?

-What is the significance of changes in personnel and the process of delegate selection resulting from the Conference? Do the changes strengthen or weaken Gorbachev and his program?

- What specific aspects of his political program have been endorsed or rejected?

-In light of the Conference, where is Gorbachev's political reform program likely to lead over the next five years? Have the prospects for success improved or diminished?

- What constitutes success or failure for Gorbachev in the near term and what signposts should we be looking for?

#### Gorbachev's Economic Reform Program

- How did the Party Conference assess the status, needs, and prospects of the Soviet economy?

- Is the process of economic reform likely to accelerate or slow after the Conference?

-What early results are imperative to the success of the economic reforms? What would be the implications of failure to achieve these results?

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-Is the success (or partial success) of Gorbachev's reform program in the U.S. interest?

Soviet Foreign and Security Policy; Implications for the United States

- How did the Party Conference address Soviet security and foreign policy issues (directly or indirectly)?

- What are the implications of the Party Conference for the role of the Soviet military and the resources it can expect over the next few years?

- What are the Soviet foreign policy priorities over the next five years?

- Will the Soviet role in Third World regional disputes be likely to grow or diminish? What are the implications for Soviet policy in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and other regions?

- What are the implications for U.S. policy under a new Administration?