



A KOPECK FOR HIS THOUGHTS

As Communism Crumbles, American Journalists Look Inside Gorby's Head and Feel the Hurt

Mikhail S. Gorbachev has never seemed lonelier than he did last week," *New York Times* correspondent Bill Keller reported early this year. In his piece on the Soviet leader's first 1990 trip to Lithuania, Keller really put you there—not just on the scene but up *real close*. Gorbachev, he said, was a man "pleading for the wayward republic to trust him, help him, save him, by preserving the union."

Call it *perestroika* of the press or a kinder, gentler media, but an awful lot of reporters seem to have developed an uncanny ability to read Gorby's mind. And more than that, they really *care* about the guy.

PART I. KNOWING

Pundits Who Know Beyond a Shadow of a Doubt:

"The bitter and frustrating experience of the Russians for the last decade in Afghanistan was **doubtless in Gorbachev's mind** at the Communist Party Congress."—George McGovern, *Foreign Affairs*, 1987-88

"Soviet problems with ethnic unrest will **doubtless be very much on Gorbachev's mind** this week."—*Time*, March 21, 1988

"Uppermost in **Mr. Gorbachev's mind** was clearly Nikita Khrushchev's coup of June 1957."—*The Sunday Telegraph*, October 2, 1988

"Expanding trade and expanding investment... is **certainly very much on Mr. Gorbachev's mind**."—John Whitehead, deputy secretary of State, December 6, 1988

"The cost of defense has **long been on Mr. Gorbachev's mind**."—*The Christian Science Monitor*, February 3, 1989

"[The Ukraine's] economic importance **clearly preys on Mikhail Gorbachev's mind**."—Jeff Trimble, *U.S. News & World Report*, April 3, 1989

"The hulking Soviet economy, groping toward modernity, is **never far from Gorbachev's mind**."—*The Christian Science Monitor*, June 20, 1989

Pundits Who Think They Know:

"In Gorbachev's mind [the American military-industrial complex] **seems** to be both all-powerful and [motivated] by an implacable hostility to the Soviets."—*Time*, January 4, 1988

"The thought that he would be treated as less than equal has **probably** never crossed Gorbachev's mind."—Henry Kissinger, as quoted in *The Washington Post*, June 4, 1988

"The paradoxical gist of it all, **if I am reading Mr. Gorbachev's mind correctly**, is that the party should continue to run things but with more checks and balances: not so many, of course, that it might lose power."—*The Daily Telegraph*, November 28, 1988

"To get rid of American influence. **Is it wholly unworthy to suggest** that some such thought may be going through Mr. Gorbachev's mind?"—*The Sunday Telegraph*, November 5, 1989

Ladies and Gentlemen, Michael Dobbs, Journalist, Psychic, Neurobiologist:

"In Gorbachev's mind, everything is interconnected."—Michael Dobbs, *The Washington Post*, July 7, 1989

"In Gorbachev's mind, foreign policy and domestic policy are closely connected."—Michael Dobbs, *The Washington Post*, December 1, 1989

Meanwhile, as Usual, the Soviets

Lag Far Behind:

"Even Central Committee aides in Moscow admit that no one can read Gorbachev's mind."—Dimitri Simes, *Newsday*, October 7, 1988

With a Few Exceptions:

"I couldn't read Mr. Gorbachev's mind as to what his motives might be."—Ronald Reagan (Reuters), January 11, 1989

PART II. CARING

When He's Tired:

"Gorbachev **looked tired and somewhat drawn** as he stepped out of his special Soviet Zil limousine in front of the West German presidential palace."—Roy Gutman, *Newsday*, June 13, 1989

"**Looking tired and grim**, Gorbachev said that deadly ethnic riots that have broken out recently are still 'isolated seats' of violence."—Alison Mitchell, *Newsday*, July 2, 1989

"Addressing the nation **in sorrowful**

tones and looking tired, Gorbachev said the Kremlin had exhausted all peaceful means."—Michael Dobbs, *The Washington Post*, January 21, 1990

"President Mikhail Gorbachev **looked tired but in high spirits** as he cast his vote."—*Financial Times*, March 5, 1990

When He's Cranky:

"In response, an **incensed** Gorbachev defended Ligachev as being dedicated to the cause of *perestroika*."—William Drozdiak, *The Washington Post*, March 14, 1989

"[Starkov's] troubles began October 13... when an **irate** Gorbachev called a meeting of senior Soviet editors and broadcasters. The Soviet president **lashed into** the most daring practitioners of *glasnost*."—Alison Mitchell, *Newsday*, October 25, 1989

"Gorbachev was **visibly annoyed** by Sakharov's proposal for a debate [on] the party's political monopoly."—Vincent J. Schodolski, *Chicago Tribune*, December 13, 1989

"Gorbachev was **incensed** to be confronted by a Lithuanian nationalist."—Mary McGrory, *The Washington Post*, January 21, 1990

When He's Not Sure How He Feels:

"Gorbachev seems **confused, and often angered**, by the rise of nationalism under his watch."—David Remnick, *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1989

"Gorbachev has been enormously **frustrated** by the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute."—Esther B. Fein, *The New York Times*, August 27, 1989

"Gorbachev may be **confused** but does not appear worried."—Gregory F. Trevorton, *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1989

"According to an elected official who has seen him recently, 'Gorbachev is **upset, unstable**, unlike himself of a year ago.'"—William Safire, *The New York Times*, October 19, 1989

"For years Mikhail Gorbachev was **deeply worried** about the terrible shape of the Soviet economy. And he still is."—Abe Mellinkoff, *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 11, 1989

—David Shenk