

RED STARS OVER MINNESOTA



GREG GAUT AND MARSHA NEFF

ON A RAINY AND UNUSUALLY COLD JUNE

afternoon in 1990, seven Soviet ZIL limousines turned onto Summit Avenue, the elegant boulevard in St. Paul where Gilded Age capitalists like James J. Hill built their homes. The motorcade stopped suddenly about a block before the governor's residence. Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev emerged, surrounded by frantic security personnel, and walked hand-in-hand toward the excited crowds standing behind snow fences. People cheered wildly, including some who had come to angrily demand Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian independence. The Gorbachevs shared handshakes and greetings and eventually made their way on foot to the mansion, where their hosts, Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich and his wife, Lola, welcomed them to a formal luncheon.¹

The Gorbachevs arrived in Minnesota on June 3, 1990, immediately after a summit meeting with President George H. W. Bush in Washington. Their visit was the focal point for a variety of Minnesota hopes and dreams. Governor Perpich had invited them with the hope of bolstering his standing as a politician of international stature and, thereby, securing his reelection in November. Corporate leaders competed for an opportunity to meet Gorbachev in hopes of being first in line if the Soviet Union became a major trading partner and investment opportunity. Savoring the end of more than four decades of Cold War tension, thousands of ordinary Minnesotans clogged the motorcade route to cheer the people who had given them a reason to believe that a more peaceful world was possible. Some well-wishers

may have read Gorbachev's book *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, in which he identified nuclear weapons, the environment, and poverty as global problems that could only be solved by cooperation between nations. Meanwhile, Raisa Gorbachev, whom the Soviet leader acknowledged as his intellectual and political partner, encouraged Minnesotans to hope that former enemies could approach each other with warm-hearted sincerity and well-meaning curiosity.²

Many Minnesotans also felt optimistic about their state and believed that Minnesota ranked high on such measures as good government, civic activism, and corporate philanthropy. In boldly inviting Gorbachev, Governor Perpich was acting out of a common feeling that Minnesota was an above-average place that could—and should—play a significant role on the national and international stage. After all, Minnesota had contributed disproportionately to national politics in recent decades. Two Minnesota senators had become vice president, and both went on to become the Democratic nominee for president (Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale); a third played a decisive role in bringing down the presidency of Lyndon Johnson (Eugene McCarthy). Minnesotans were still proud of the national recognition the

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state had achieved when a 1973 *Time* magazine cover story proclaimed Minnesota to be the “the state that works.”³

In the summer of 1990, many Minnesotans also had reasons to feel upbeat about unfolding events in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was five years into what he called “perestroika,” a remarkable attempt to restructure his nation’s political system, economy, and foreign policy. He had effectively ended the Communist system by allowing contested elections and a free press. He had begun introducing market reforms into the

economy. He had completely withdrawn Soviet combat troops from Afghanistan. He had facilitated the end of Communist rule in Eastern Europe by making it clear that the Soviet military would not intervene to maintain the status quo. As a result, popular uprisings swept through the Warsaw Pact nations, and the Berlin Wall was dismantled. He had also met five times with Ronald Reagan and negotiated significant nuclear arms reduction treaties. Just a few months after his visit to Minnesota, Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.⁴

But there were other, more problematic, sides to the unfolding drama in the Soviet Union. Its economy was on a downward spiral and its political situation was increasingly unstable. General Secretary Gorbachev’s ruling Communist Party was deeply divided. Gorbachev led the reformist wing of party activists who, by this time, were socialists in roughly the same sense that European social democrats were socialists. The bulk of the party elite in the army, the ministries, and the KGB were entrenched conservatives who wanted to stop his reforms. By repeatedly trying to win conservatives to his side, he lost the allegiance of liberal-minded intellectuals and party members, many of whom turned to Boris

Historic handshake, 1990: Governor Rudy Perpich greeting General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on the lawn of the governor’s residence, St. Paul, while Raisa Gorbachev, Lola Perpich, and crowds outside of the wrought-iron fence look on



Yeltsin, who was elected chairman of the Russian Republic's legislature on the day Gorbachev left for the summit.⁵ The conservatives, meanwhile, responded by preparing the coup that fatally destabilized the Soviet Union in August 1991.

Gorbachev most likely agreed to the visit because several Minnesota-based corporations had long done business in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's biggest challenge in the summer of 1990 was holding together the union's 15 republics. Democratization had opened the door for parties favoring national independence to win elections in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the three Baltic republics. (Lithuania had declared independence in March 1990.) Nationalist sentiment was also growing in Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, and Moldova. To preserve the Soviet Union, Gorbachev proposed a more decentralized federation in which the republics would gain power at the expense of the central government in Moscow. He even supported the creation of a legal process by which republics could seek independence. He resisted pressure from conservatives who wanted to crack down militarily on Lithuania but did try to force the Lithuanians to back off by suspending oil deliveries in April.⁶

In sum, Gorbachev left behind big problems when he boarded his Aeroflot jet for North America. After a brief stop in Ottawa to meet Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Gorbachev and his entourage arrived in Washington on May 30 for a three-day conclave with President Bush. Although the summit did not achieve a major breakthrough in nuclear arms reduction as hoped, it

was marked by much good feeling on both sides. In the end, Bush agreed to a trade document conditioned on the promised reform of Soviet emigration laws, and Gorbachev allowed Bush to announce they were "in full agreement" that the admission of the

new, unified Germany into NATO was "a matter for the Germans to decide." Before the summit, Bush had surprised many by rejecting sanctions against the Soviet Union in retaliation for its Lithuanian policy. At the meeting, he warned Gorbachev—but only privately—that use of force in the Baltics would have negative consequences.⁷

Although Gorbachev was beginning to lose popular support at home, he was a famous and extremely popular public figure in the United States. Even before launching his world-changing reforms, he had impressed many with his charm and intelligence. Only 54 when he came to power, Gorbachev was much more vigorous and photogenic than the staid Soviet leaders who had preceded him. In a Gallup Poll published just before the summit, 68 percent of Americans said their overall opinion of Gorbachev was very or mostly favorable, while 21 percent were mostly or very unfavorable, and 11 percent had no opinion. At about the same time, a Washington Post/ABC News poll reported a 73 percent positive response for Gorbachev.⁸

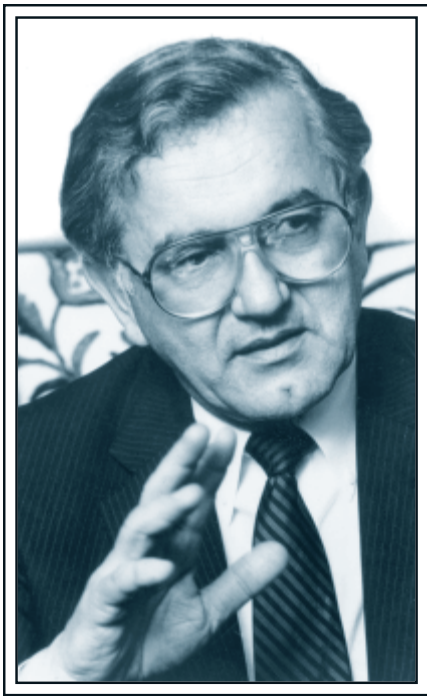
During the summit, Gorbachev's face appeared on the cover of *Time*, which ran a lengthy and remarkably upbeat interview with him. The So-

viet leader said that in spite of all the difficulties, he was "an optimist" who continued to believe that he could succeed in "making good on the potential of the socialist idea." He argued that several developments in the 1980s had led people to "regain hope for a better future." He noted that the "bankruptcy of militarism had become more obvious," that humanity had begun to think seriously in ecological terms, that people from different cultures were increasingly aware of their "interests in common," and that the Soviet Union and other Communist countries had chosen the path of democracy.⁹

IN THE MONTHS BEFORE

the Washington summit, the media speculated that the Gorbachevs might also tour the United States, as Nikita Khrushchev had done in 1959. Khrushchev's visit to Iowa was the only time a Soviet leader had been anywhere in the country other than the East Coast or California.¹⁰ Gorbachev wanted to visit Ronald Reagan and George Schultz in California, but he also needed to return quickly to Moscow to prepare for the upcoming Communist Party congress. Just a few weeks before the summit, the Gorbachevs decided to stop briefly in Minnesota on their way to the West Coast.

Gorbachev most likely agreed to the visit because several Minnesota-based corporations—especially the computer firm, Control Data Corporation—had long done business in the Soviet Union. When the corporation's officials learned that Gorbachev was interested in a post-summit tour, they passed the word to Perpich, who had worked for Control Data between his two terms as governor. Albert Eisele, who had been



Governor Rudy Perpich, about 1985

other media outlets and his newspaper's reporters. The day after his appointment, the officers of the union that represented *Star Tribune* reporters asked their boss to reconsider his "affiliation with the governor's office in connection with the upcoming Gorbachev visit." They charged that chairing the committee added to a list of "recent apparent conflicts of interest" that made it difficult for reporters to explain to readers "that our newspaper is an effective watchdog." In particular, the reporters feared that the publisher's decision to "work hand-in-hand with the incumbent" would undermine the newspaper's credibility in covering the governor's race. Parkinson replied that he had not sought the job but accepted Perpich's request in order to further the interests of the state of Minnesota, not those of the governor. He argued that community service was an appropriate role for a newspaper publisher and stated he would not be involved in day-to-day reporting for the event.¹⁴

Some *Star Tribune* journalists were also embarrassed by what they perceived as the "boosterism" of their newspaper's coverage. Jay Weiner, president of the reporters' union, was quoted as saying that the paper's relation to the event was "really kind of small-town" and not what a big-city newspaper should be doing. In an internal memo, a veteran correspondent worried that the unfolding coverage was "so overdone" that the writers were coming across as a "bunch of overzealous, cheerleading, provincial juveniles rather than as serious professional journalists with some sense of maturity, judgment and perspective."¹⁵

Although Perpich had invited Gorbachev primarily to build Minnesota's business ties to the Soviet Union, the state's "briefing kit" for visiting journalists suggested that the visit flowed naturally from the fact that Minnesotans had participated in a remarkable amount of "citizen diplomacy" and cultural exchanges in the 1980s. The Twin Cities and Duluth, for example, had sister-city relationships with the Soviet cities Novosibirsk and Petrozavodsk, respectively. The local nonprofit CONNECT US/USSR had organized 35 exchange programs linking Minnesotans and Soviets around common interests, from bicycling to chemical-dependency counseling. Minnesota colleges sent students to the Soviet Union, and the Minneapolis Children's Theatre Company had toured two productions there. In 1986 a joint cast of Minnesota and Soviet youth performed the play *Peace Child* for two nights at the University of Minnesota's Northrop Auditorium, melding cultural exchange with citizen diplomacy for disarmament.¹⁶

Perhaps with all of this in mind, Perpich told reporters that planners

were actively considering a public event where average Minnesotans could see Gorbachev. He envisioned the Soviet leader making a major speech at an outdoor rally or participating in an ecumenical prayer service at St. Paul's Catholic cathedral. But in the end, the schedule reflected the political needs of the governor, the corporate interests of the Operations Committee, and Gorbachev's desire to foster business ties and see American agriculture first hand.¹⁷

Even apart from the Gorbachevs' spontaneous improvisations, the official itinerary was so overloaded that there was little hope of it being followed. The couple was scheduled to arrive at the Minneapolis airport at 1:25 P.M. and be greeted by a host of elected officials. Their motorcade would then proceed to the governor's residence for a luncheon. Next, the Gorbachevs would tour the two cities en route to the Radisson Plaza Hotel in Minneapolis, where Mikhail would address a meeting of business leaders while Raisa went to visit a "typical American family." At about 6:00 P.M., the Gorbachevs would reunite and drive to a family farm near Farmington, 25 miles south of Minneapolis. After a brief tour, they would make a final stop at Control Data Corpora-



The official visit logo, replete with Minnesota and Soviet symbols

shared optimism about the future that transcended their political differences.²²

Meanwhile, the state Department of Transportation was planting thousands of petunias and marigolds and posting a number of welcoming signs in Russian along the motorcade route, struggling occasionally with the Cyrillic alphabet. The event planners also worked to remove some existing billboards that, they felt, sent the wrong message. A local liquor distributor had just begun an advertising campaign featuring Gorbachev holding a bottle of vodka with the caption, “The party’s over.” The company agreed to replace those billboards with a message that said, in Russian, “Welcome Mr. President! To your health!”²³

WHEN THE GORBACHEVS

arrived in Minneapolis on June 3, it was rainy, windy, and, at 48 degrees, unseasonably cold. The plane was a bit late, but rather than rush to their limousine, the Gorbachevs first met the official welcoming party of politicians and then walked up to

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the cheering crowd for more greetings. When the motorcade finally approached the governor’s mansion, the couple stopped the car and interacted with the crowds, first on one side of the street and then the other. As if to make up for the lack of public



“River Mississippi,” highway sign posted on Interstate 94 at the river bridge

appearances, they did this two more times after their luncheon.

Thousands of Minnesotans came out to see and welcome the Gorbachevs, but the crowds also included a small number of protesters, some of whom had traveled from as far as Chicago and St. Louis. Most were Latvians, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians holding national flags and signs. They were joined by Eritrean refugees protesting Soviet aid to Ethiopia; Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian immigrants protesting Soviet policy in Asia; and Muslim students protesting the Afghanistan war. There was also a man in coat and tails and a false

mustache, who told a reporter, “I am the ghost of Neville Chamberlain. In 1938, Chamberlain made a deal with Hitler. In 1990 Perpich is making a deal with Gorbachev.”²⁴

Groups representing Baltic peoples had also placed pro-independence

advertisements in that day’s newspapers. The Lithuanian World Community from Cincinnati ran an ad titled “Mr. Gorbachev, you’re no Joseph Stalin,” which praised Gorbachev for his “heroic pursuit of democracy and freedom” and asked him to reverse Stalin’s illegal annexation of Lithuania. A few Baltic protesters in the crowd chanted “Gorby go home” and compared him with Hitler. The Gorbachevs impressed many by their willingness to approach and greet critics as well as supporters. Several reporters wrote that some Baltic protesters were swept up in the excitement and began cheering as Gorbachev came toward them.²⁵

At about 2:30 the Gorbachevs entered the governor’s mansion for lunch. Almost half of the 50 guests were Soviet officials, including Alexander Bessmertnikh, the new ambassador to the U.S., and several of Gorbachev’s key advisors, among them Anatoly Chernyaev, Evgenii Primakov, and Stanislav Shatalin. Members of the Perpich family, British publisher Robert Maxwell, Minnesota corporate leaders close to the governor, U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock, and other Washington officials, including Dr. Condoleezza Rice, then a little-known National Security Council staff member, rounded



Souvenir handkerchief: in original, yellow printing on a red background

At the Radisson event, hosted by Dwayne Andreas, CEO of agribusiness giant Archer Daniels Midland, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed 145 business leaders. Although Perpich wanted to promote Minnesota businesses, the majority of the invited guests were trade-association executives and leaders of Fortune 500 companies based elsewhere, such as Chase Manhattan Bank, Coca-Cola, and Occidental Petroleum. There was intense competition for invitations, especially from Minnesota business leaders. When some guests, including CEOs from Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, Anheuser-Busch, and American Express, decided at the last moment not to attend, they were replaced by Minnesotans.²⁹

Gorbachev urged his listeners to trade with and invest in the

Soviet Union, suggesting that the best opportunities would come to companies that jumped in early. He acknowledged the difficulties faced in doing business in a society that did not have a market-oriented commercial system or even a convertible currency. Gorbachev asked for patience as these problems were being solved, assuring the audience, “You will not lose your money in the Soviet Union—I would like to dispel those fears.” Business leaders quoted in press reports seemed genuinely impressed with Gorbachev, at least with his candor, but many noted that structural barriers to doing business in the Soviet Union remained high.

Meanwhile, Raisa Gorbachev was practicing a different kind of diplomacy with comparable success. Accompanied by Lola Perpich,

she left downtown Minneapolis to visit a family on the city’s south side. The Soviet advance team had sought a typical American family, and Jon Cranney, director of the Children’s Theatre Company, proposed the Karen and Steve Watson family because their 13-year-old daughter, Lisa, had traveled to the Soviet Union with the company in 1989.³⁰ Karen, a nurse, and Steve, an elementary-school arts teacher, had four children; Lisa was the oldest.

Raisa Gorbachev frequently accompanied her husband on official and unofficial trips. Fashionable, well-informed, outspoken, and clearly influential, she was a striking departure from the wives of earlier Soviet leaders. As a result, she became a celebrity in her own right and the subject of extensive media coverage, including a *Time* magazine cover story in 1988. Like her husband, she thrived on travel, and their journeys abroad, especially to Western Europe, had clearly influenced their political thinking. But this was an unprecedented opportunity for the woman who had earned the Soviet equivalent of a PhD in sociology to interact with average Americans and learn about their lives. As her motorcade neared the Watsons’ neighborhood, she asked to stop at a small commercial mall at Forty-Sixth Street and Nicollet Avenue. First, Gorbachev entered Pepito’s Nicollet Deli and chatted with the staff and customers. Then she went into Snyder’s Drug Store on the corner, and after browsing and questioning the staff about their jobs, bought some Nintendo gum dispensers for her grandchildren and macadamia nuts for herself.³¹

An estimated 7,500 cheering people were waiting outside when the motorcade arrived at the Watsons' home. Raisa Gorbachev first walked to the crowd to exchange greetings, paying special attention to a group of schoolchildren who held a banner welcoming her in Russian. Once inside the home, she sat around a table with the family members and asked them detailed questions about their lives, especially family finances. The Watsons told her that they stretched their budget by shopping at "garage sales," a term that seemed to leave the Russians somewhat perplexed. Press accounts make clear that Gorbachev's attention was most closely focused on Karen Watson. Gorbachev asked how she managed four children and a part-time job without a *babushka* around to supply childcare. The visit was scheduled for just 20 minutes but lasted twice as long because Gorbachev ignored aides trying to keep her on schedule. Finally, gifts were exchanged, and when Gorbachev emerged, she asked the schoolchildren if she could take their banner home with her.³²

By all accounts, Raisa Gorbachev's visit with the Watsons was marked by genuine warmth on both sides. By this time, another couple, Richard and Cecilia Brand, had learned that the Gorbachevs were tired and far behind schedule and would not visit their farm after all. The disappointed Brands had been preparing frantically for five days and were convinced that the Soviet leader could have learned something from their 650-acre farm where they milked 80 highly productive cows and planted corn and soybeans. The Brands were invited to the airport to meet the Gorbachevs as they departed.³³

Meanwhile, Mikhail Gorbachev was keeping his last appointment, a

visit to the suburban headquarters of Control Data Corporation, where the CEO and about 4,000 employees and guests were waiting. There was a brief demonstration of a Cyber 962, a huge mainframe computer used to control U.S. nuclear plants. Control Data announced that the federal government would approve the \$32 million sale of six Cyber 962s to the Soviet Union. Without mentioning the Chernobyl accident, Gorbachev told his hosts that nuclear power involved many risks but the Soviet Union was dependent on it and needed to make it as safe as possible.³⁴

The Gorbachevs then drove to the airport, made their farewells, and flew to San Francisco, where they enjoyed a warm reunion with the Reaganes. Mikhail Gorbachev also spoke to a jammed auditorium at Stanford University, lunched with business and civic leaders, and held a brief but ground-breaking meeting with South Korean president Roh Tae Woo.³⁵

POST-VISIT MEDIA ANALYSES

were very positive, and not just in the *Star Tribune* and *Pioneer Press*. *The Economist* (London) favorably compared Minnesota ("where it was cold and wet, and the organization impeccable") to San Francisco ("where it was warm and sunny, and the organization a shambles"). Some stories in the international media suggested that the visit had been a political victory for Governor Perpich, a tremendous public-relations victory for

Minnesota and its urban center, and a significant economic opening for the state's businesses. "Savoring the afterglow of a world-class visit" was the headline in the *New York Times*. In Britain, *The Guardian* story was titled "The Man Who Put Minnesota on the Map," referring to Perpich.³⁶

Minnesota business leaders apparently believed that they had benefited, because they made good on their open-ended pledges to cover the bills. In July Roger Parkinson announced that the Operating Committee had spent \$586,000 in addition to in-kind contributions valued

By all accounts, Raisa Gorbachev's visit with the Watsons was marked by genuine warmth on both sides.

at several hundred thousand; later, the committee's tax return listed total expenses of \$607,845. Costs included advance planning for sites and the press, media relations, and the motorcade—but not the luncheon, which was covered by other corporate donations. Some donations were as small as \$1,000, but Honeywell and Archer Daniels Midland each contributed \$100,000, while Medtronic, Northwest Airlines, and Cargill gave \$50,000 each. In the end, donations totaled \$679,800, and the surplus was returned. Corporate fundraising did not, however, cover the overtime wages that Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Hennepin and Ramsey counties paid to police and other employees.³⁷

A few Minnesota Republicans grumbled that they doubted Perpich could raise the money to match Maxwell's \$50 million grant, especially since the mission of the Gorbachev-

Gorbachevs wow Twin Cities crowds



With his wife, Raisa, at his side, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev waves to an enthusiastic crowd outside the governor's residence in St. Paul. He talked the crowd "happily and well-being." His willingness to walk into the crowds kept his security people on their toes. Gov. Rudy Perpich is behind the Soviet leader.

Onlookers, even protesters, win favor of smiles and handshakes

BRUCE OWEN, ANNE BRATTON AND GEORGE EDWARDS

At 6:30 p.m. Sunday, May Young was being chased against a restraining fence at Summit Avenue and Cherokee Street, jolting that, if she were lucky, she might glimpse the chief who had just proposed Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.

Five minutes later, the leader of the Soviet Union was striding confidently toward her and two other women, Polly Williamson and Lisa Jennings. As the red-eyed crowd behind the woman surged forward, threatening to spill into the street, Gorbachev stopped and simply held up the open palm of his right hand.

"All we wanted to do was shake his hand," said Williamson, a student at the College of St. Catherine. "He moved all the police aside and opened his arms for us. And he smiled at us all, basically. He just held up his hand and we were like, 'Oh, yes.'"

A few feet away, Soviet security agents circled the waving lines and nudged aside their American counterparts to find amateur photographers ready for a closer picture.

"He said, 'Let this girl get a picture,'" said Julie Schwartz of St. Paul, ducked out of the crowd from the rear.

Then Gorbachev, the trademark leader on his hand and an interpreter on his right wing, told the excited, shouting crowd to step back.

CROWDS CONTINUED ON SA 4

A red letter day

- **BUSINESS TOOK BACK SEAT**
Visit ended on a business trip for Minnesota turned into heaven for its citizens Sunday. Analysis. SA
- **STAR ROLE FOR MINNESOTA**
Sunday's unobscured visit gives Minnesota a special place as a special time in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations. 11A
- **HOW SMALL THE WORLD SEEMED**
Gorbachev's visit-down South's American captured the imagination. Joe Scarborough's column. 4A
- **REVERBY OF TV COVERAGE**
Local broadcast media held its act together Sunday with Gorbachev coverage. SA
- **ESSAY GUESTS WINKED**
From more than 1,000 entries, here are the winners of our essay contest. "What I would say to President Gorbachev if I could spend two minutes with him." SA

Minnesota stands up and cheers

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev swept himself into Minnesota's waking area Sunday, shaking crowds and exciting security forces with the spontaneity that has made him one of the most colorful leaders in the western world.

In the wake of his seven-hour visit through the Twin Cities, Gorbachev lauded Minnesota a model for a new state, leading his name to a \$100 million international environmental research initiative and causing his trademark chair among business executives, political leaders and common folk.

"If Minnesota didn't believe the Cold War was over, they do now," said Al Skold, a former Minnesota newspaperman who now works as a lobbyist in Washington and who was a behind-the-scenes player in arranging the Gorbachev visit.

After promising for three weeks, Minnesota turned out a trademark welcome — the kind that has given it an international reputation among politicians and diplomats as a place of "cold weather, warm people."

The weather was Siberian when Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, arrived at Min-

GORBACHEVS CONTINUED ON SA 4

Cities to get \$100 million tech institute

WILL SALSBURY STAY WIRE

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and British Prime Minister Robert Haward on Sunday signed one of Gov. Rudy Perpich's pet projects — a world-class research institute.

Perpich gave \$50 million and Gorbachev gave a \$50 million.

The research center, to be located in the Twin Cities, will be called the Gorbachev-Maxwell Institute of Technology for Environmental and Technological Research.

Perpich pledged to raise another \$50 million in private contributions for the center, making it a \$100 million project. He got an immediate boost from Wayne Anderson, chairman of Archer Daniels Midland Co., who contributed \$1 million.

As announced by Perpich, the institute will bring American, European and Soviet scientists together to conduct research on environmental, communications and

BIOSCIENCE CONTINUED ON SA 4

SPORTS V SUPER CANESCO
It's easy to get carried away watching the A's slugger. 3K

BUSINESS V THE BIG BANKS
The top 100 banks in Minnesota are ranked. 7D

SPORTS V PISTONS MAKE FINALS
Defending NBA champs beat Bulls 93-74 in Game 7 of East finals. 1E

WEEK V A SECOND FRONT PAGE
The Washington superpower surrenders each; the Olympic Festival torch has begun. 1B

EXPRESS V TONY AWARDS
Festivities cap best Broadway season in many years. 10C

WEEK V PARTLY CLOUDY
Forecasting clouds in the afternoon with a haze in the middle. 11 UPPER 60S

There would be no Gorbachev-Maxwell Institute.

Besides the institute, Governor Perpich had hoped that the Gorbachev visit would position Minnesota-based companies to become major players in the Soviet economy. Instead, the Soviet Union fragmented into its 15 republics at the end of 1991, forcing Gorbachev to resign. The new government of Russia, the largest of the former republics, followed the advice of neo-liberal advisors from the West and attempted an abrupt transition to a market economy by means of "shock therapy," a policy of radical price deregulation and privatization. This led to massive inflation, economic depression, and gangster capitalism. As a result, few U.S. businesses were able to generate profitable opportunities in Russia in the 1990s. Today, Minnesota's trade with former Soviet republics remains negligible. The state typically exports more to Malaysia than to Russia.³⁹

The one company that seemed to benefit directly from the Gorbachev visit was Control Data. After the visit, the firm planned a joint venture to build computers in the Soviet Union for Soviet and East European use. Unfortunately, joint ventures with the Soviet Union were about to become as obsolete as Control Data's mainframe computers, which were rapidly being eclipsed by microcomputer technology. By 1990, Control Data was already diversifying and moving increasingly into computer services. The remnants of its computer hardware division would be sold in 1999.⁴⁰

The Carlson Companies' Radisson Hotel chain was another Minnesota-based pioneer in the emerging Russian market—and one of the first to learn how lawless the business cli-

Maxwell Institute was so vague. As it turned out, the institute had much bigger problems. In 1990 Robert Maxwell's media empire was financially overextended, and, outside of Minnesota, rumors circulated about improper business practices. Then, on November 6, 1991, Maxwell un-

expectedly died after falling into the Atlantic Ocean from the deck of his luxury yacht. He was 68, and although there was speculation about suicide and even murder, his death was ruled an accident. His publishing company, under the leadership of his sons, declared bankruptcy in 1992.³⁸

mate of the new Russia could be. The Radisson Slavanskaya Hotel and Business Center in Moscow was a joint venture, brokered by H. R. Haldeman—formerly Richard M. Nixon’s chief of staff—involving Intourist, the Soviet tourist agency, American entrepreneur Paul Tatum, and the Carlson Companies. When the hotel opened in 1991 it was immediately profitable, quickly becoming the accommodation of choice for western business travelers and American officials. (President Bill Clinton stayed there during the 1994 summit with Boris Yeltsin.) The hotel’s financial success led to tensions among its partners, however. When the Soviet Union dissolved, the Moscow city government took over the Soviet share (50 percent) and tried to push Tatum (who owned 40 percent) out of the deal and out of the hotel, where he lived. Radisson, which owned 10 percent and managed the hotel, also fell out with Tatum and in 1994 sued to end their partnership. The hotel, meanwhile, increasingly became a hangout for the new, mafia-like *biznesmen* and their conspicuously armed bodyguards who dominated Moscow in the early years of Russian capitalism. The fight for control climaxed in November 1996 when Tatum was shot down in an apparent contract murder while walking from the hotel to the nearby metro station with two bodyguards. There had already been about 450 contract killings in Russia that year, most of them unsolved, but Tatum was the first western executive to die as a result of doing business in Russia.⁴¹

Governor Perpich, whose personal hopes and dreams were behind the Gorbachev visit, was also thwarted. Because of his occasional moody and erratic behavior, *Newsweek* mag-

azine had recently characterized him as “Governor Goofy,” a phrase often repeated in the media. Although the Gorbachev visit did help refurbish the governor’s reputation, his approval ratings never fully rebounded. Perpich was able to defeat his former commissioner of commerce, Mike Hatch, in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party primary, but he lost a close election to a moderate Republican, Arne Carlson, in November 1990.⁴²

WHAT ABOUT THE HOPES and dreams of the thousands who stood in the cold and rain to see the man and woman they hoped would continue to use their power to create a more peaceful world? With the

break-up of the Soviet Union, the Baltic and Ukrainian protestors did achieve their goal: except for a few unfortunate incidents, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Ukraine attained independence without large-scale violence.

The end of the Cold War did not, however, end tensions between the U.S. and Russia, and world politics became more, rather than less, conflicted. There was no “peace dividend” in the United States, and the hoped-for new global order based on multilateralism did not materialize. In his January 1992 State of the Union message, President Bush triumphantly declared that “by the grace of God, America won the Cold War,” and was now “the undisputed leader of the age.” Subsequently, the



Clinton and George W. Bush administrations alienated Russia by aggressively pursuing NATO expansion in eastern and central Europe, with Bush even admitting Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, thereby violating promises made by the previous two presidents. In 2002 the United States and Russia did sign a nuclear arms reduction treaty, but, unlike earlier treaties, this agreement did not guarantee permanent reductions and left each country with more than enough warheads to destroy all human life.

In 2008 Russia, under Vladimir Putin, invaded Georgia, motivated in part by the Bush administration's insistence that this former republic, too, be admitted to NATO.⁴³

IT SEEMED TO MANY on that June day in 1990 that the United States and the Soviet Union, bitter adversaries for so long, could come together and lead the world toward nuclear disarmament and environmental sustainability. It also

appeared that Minnesota, by warmly welcoming Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev, could play a major role in fostering international cooperation. In retrospect, it is clear that the intoxicating dreams that fueled the emotional bonds between the Gorbachevs and the Perpichs and between the Gorbachevs and the crowds had no chance of becoming realities. Nevertheless, Minnesota's ambitions and hopes for change were, for seven hours at least, a powerful force.⁴⁴ □

Notes

This article is dedicated to Theofanis G. Stavrou, who has taught Russian history at the University of Minnesota since 1962. Research was supported by a faculty research grant from Saint Mary's University. The authors are grateful to Debbie Miller at the Minnesota Historical Society library and Scott Kuzma at the Iron Range Research Center in Chisholm for assisting with sources, and Philip Bush, John Sayer, and Russell Doty for sharing ideas and reading drafts.

1. *Boston Globe*, June 4, 1990, p. 1; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, June 4, 1990, p. 1A; *Minnesota Daily*, June 4, 1990, special ed., p. 7; *Washington Post*, June 4, 1990, p. A1; *The Economist*, June 9, 1990, p. 21–22.

2. Harper and Row published the English translation of *Perestroika* in hardcover in 1987 and an expanded paperback version in 1988. Although his ideas continued to evolve, Gorbachev had already abandoned the idea of inevitable conflict between the two superpowers and called for multilateral action to confront global problems; see p. 123.

When Tom Brokaw asked Mikhail Gorbachev during a 1987 interview on NBC what issues he discussed with his wife, Gorbachev responded, "We discuss everything." To Brokaw's follow-up question, "Including Soviet affairs, on the highest levels?" Gorbachev responded: "I think I have answered your question in *toto*. We discuss everything." See Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 35.

3. *Time*, Aug. 13, 1973. See also Daniel J. Elazar, "A Model of Moralism in Government," in *Minnesota in a Century of Change: The State and its People since 1900*, ed. Clifford E. Clark Jr. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1989), 329–59; *Daedalus*

129 (Summer 2000), a collection of essays exploring Minnesota's uniqueness, entitled "Minnesota: A Different America?"

4. For the best overview of Gorbachev's reform initiatives, see Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*.

5. Archie Brown, *Seven Years That Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 280.

6. Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 268–70; Don Oberdorfer, *The Turn: From the Cold War to a New Era* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1991), 403; Jack F. Matlock Jr., *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (New York: Random House, 1995), 380.

7. Oberdorfer, *The Turn*, 428; Pavel Palazchenko, *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze: The Memoir of a Soviet Interpreter* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 192; Michael Beschloss and Strobe Talbott, *At the Highest Levels: The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 223–24, 227; Raymond Garthoff, *The Great Transition* (Washington: Brookings, 1994), 424, 427; Matlock, *Autopsy*, 381. Just over a month later, Gorbachev met with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and publically agreed that a unified Germany could be part of NATO.

8. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1990* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1991), 53; Oberdorfer, *The Turn*, 411. That same week, a Gallup poll indicated that 65 percent of Americans approved of George Bush's job as president. Gorbachev's favorable ratings, according to Gallup, peaked at 77 percent in 1989.

9. *Time*, June 4, 1990, p. 27. Despite the cover date, the issue was on the newsstands

in time for the summit, which began on May 30.

10. When Leonid Brezhnev visited the U.S. in 1973, he met with President Nixon in Washington and at Nixon's retreat in San Clemente, California. On Khrushchev's visit to Iowa, see Alexandr Fursenko and Timothy Fafali, *Khrushchev's Cold War* (New York: Norton, 2006), 236–38.

11. *New York Times*, May 17, 1990, p. A20; Rudy Perpich to Ambassador Yurly [sic] V. Dubinin, Feb. 26, 1990, Official Gubernatorial Gorbachev Visit Records, Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich Collection, Iron Range Research Center, Chisholm, MN, hereinafter, Perpich papers.

12. "Soviet President Gorbachev Accepts Governor's Invitation to Visit Minnesota," news release, May 15, 1990, Perpich papers; *New York Times*, May 20, 1990, p. I16; *Washington Post*, May 23, 1990, p. A6.

13. *Star Tribune*, May 26, 1990, p. 10D, May 27, 1990, p. 1B. According to a recent retrospective of Ridgeway's company, his last-minute planning of the Gorbachev visit made his career; Tom Mason, "The Big Event: Paul Ridgeway," *Twin Cities Business*, Oct. 2007, www.tcbmag.com/archives/october2007/index.aspx (accessed July 1, 2009).

14. Jay Weiner, Liz McConnell, Anthony Carideo to Roger Parkinson, May 22, 1990, and Roger Parkinson to Weiner, McConnell, Carideo, May 29, 1990, "Allegations of Conflict of Interest" file, Roger P. Parkinson Papers, Minnesota Historical Society (MHS). It should be noted that Parkinson allowed the controversy to be discussed openly in the pages of the newspaper; see *Star Tribune*, May 26, 1990, p. 1B, May 27, 1990, p. 23A.

15. Jim Walsh, "Parkinson's Disease," *City Pages*, June 6, 1990, p. 4; "Re: Gorby-

mania,” memo to JK and TJM from FWright, May 29, 1990, Parkinson papers.

16. Minnesota Department of Trade and Economic Development, *Minnesota Welcomes Gorbachev*, press kit, June 3, 1990, MHS; *Star Tribune*, Sept. 16, 1986, p. 1C, May 26, 1990, p. 10D.

17. *Star Tribune*, May 17, 1990, p. 1A, May 25, 1990, p. 1A. As late as May 25, the advance team was investigating the Basilica of St. Mary in Minneapolis and the St. Paul Cathedral as possible tour stops; “Advance Schedule/Itinerary” file, Parkinson papers.

18. “Schedule of Visit of President and Mrs. Gorbachev to Minneapolis-St. Paul,” Parkinson papers.

19. Jim Klobuchar, “All Dressed Up for Gorby No-Show?” *Star Tribune*, May 23, 1990, p. 1B; Nick Coleman, “Gorby-Groveling a Bit Nauseating,” *Pioneer Press*, May 17, 1990, p. 1D.

20. *Pioneer Press*, June 3, 1990, p. 5G. At the bottom of the ad was an English translation: “Today a new world is emerging, and we must look for new ways for its future development.”

21. *Pioneer Press*, June 4, 1990, p. 9A.

22. *Minnesota Daily*, June 1, 1990, p. 7.

23. *Star Tribune*, May 30, 1990, p. 5B; *Pioneer Press*, May 25, 1990, p. 1A. The revised billboards also caused a small stir, as some local Russian-language specialists noted that the last line was written incorrectly: “Na zdorove” instead of “Za zdorove.” The liquor distributor said he would not change it again.

24. *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 20A.

25. *Star Tribune*, June 3, 1990, p. 20A, June 4, 1990, p. 1A; *Pioneer Press*, June 4, 1990, p. 1A. Before the visit, Perpich said that he would not raise questions of human rights or of independence for the Soviet republics with Gorbachev, disappointing some in Minnesota’s Baltic community; *Pioneer Press*, May 27, 1990, p. 1A.

In his memoir, Gorbachev’s translator observed that there was little that Gorbachev enjoyed more than mingling with the crowds. The Baltic protestors did not upset him because they “seemed good natured and there were almost no hostile calls or chanting of slogans”; Palazchenko, *My Years with Gorbachev*, 194.

26. Guest list, Official Visit Records, Perpich papers. U.S. chief of protocol Joseph Reed, who traveled with the Gorbachevs, criticized the exclusion of the senators; *Newsweek*, June 18, 1990, p. 18.

27. Luncheon menu (in Russian and English), Official Visit Records, Perpich papers; *Star Tribune*, May 31, 1990, p. 7B.

28. Rudy Perpich to Mikhail Gorbachev, May 25, 1990, Perpich papers; *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 16A; *Pioneer Press*, June 4, 1990, p. 1A.

29. Here and below, *Pioneer Press*, June 2, 1990, p. 1A; *Star Tribune*, June 2, 1990, p. 1A, June 4, 1990, p. 15A.

30. Karen Watson, as told to Nancy Stesin, “A Woman Today: ‘Guess Who Came to My House,’” *Ladies Home Journal*, Sept. 1990, p. 24, 221, 222.

31. *Time*, June 6, 1988, p. 38–39, 42–43; Brown, *Gorbachev Factor*, 34–35; *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 18A. See also Brown, *Seven Years*, 230.

32. Watson, “A Woman Today,” 221; *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 18A.

33. *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 22A.

34. *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 17A.

35. *Washington Post*, June 5, 1990, p. A1; Oberdorfer, *The Turn*, 431–33.

36. *The Economist*, June 9, 1990, p. 21; *New York Times*, June 6, 1990, p. A16; *The Guardian*, June 5, 1990, online edition.

37. “Gorbachev Visit,” news release, July 6, 1990; “Gorbachev Visit: Expenditures, 9/04/90,” showing a larger total of \$588,322, and 1990 tax return, both in “Finances 1990–1991” file, all in Parkinson papers. By far the largest item was the fee for Ridgeway’s advance-planning team: \$176,075, plus almost \$25,000 in expenses. “Gorbachev Visit: Donations, 1990,” Parkinson papers, lists \$679,800 in donations by deposit date through Aug. 1, 1990; the file also holds copies of letters indicating that portions of donations were returned to some donors. See also *Pioneer Press*, July 6, 1990, p. 3B.

38. *New York Times*, obituary, Nov. 6, 1991, p. A1, D23; *Business Week*, Dec. 23, 1991, p. 70.

39. After the end of the Soviet Union, Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev created the Gorbachev Foundation as a vehicle for continuing their political advocacy. Raisa Gorbachev died in 1999 at age 67. Mikhail Gorbachev continues to lead the foundation; see its webpage, www.gorby.ru/en/ (accessed July 1, 2009).

In 2007, Minnesota exports to Russia jumped from the typical level of \$32 million in 2006 to \$217 million, apparently due to a one-time sale of transportation equipment. In 2008, the total returned to normal. Even the 2007 amount represented only 1.3 percent of Minnesota’s annual exports and only 3 percent of total U.S. exports to Russia; Minnesota Department of Employment and Economic Development, *Annual Export Statistics: 2007 and Annual Export Statistics: 2008*, www.exportminnesota.com/itradestats.htm (accessed July 1, 2009).

40. *Pioneer Press*, Jan. 5, 1991, p. 4C; *Star Tribune*, Oct. 12, 2007, p. 1D; Charles Babbage Institute, “CDC Historical Timeline,” www.cbi.umn.edu/collections/cdc/histtimeline.html (accessed July 1, 2009).

41. The most complete account can be found in Erin Arverlund and Maria Atanasov, “Murder in Moscow,” *Fortune*, Mar. 3, 1997, p. 128–34. See also *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1996, p. A3; *The Economist*, Nov. 9, 1996, p. 78; *Newsweek*, Nov. 25, 1996, p. 42–44; *Business Week International*, May 1,



1995, p. 28. Curt Carlson’s 1994 biography touts the Radisson Slavanskaya as an important breakthrough into the post-Communist East European market, describing it as a “fifty-fifty” joint venture between the Carlson Companies and the City of Moscow. It does not mention the partnership with Tatum or the then-ongoing dispute; Curtis L. Carlson, *Good As Gold: The Story of the Carlson Companies* (Minneapolis: Carlson Companies, 1994), 222.

42. *Newsweek*, Jan. 22, 1990, p. 29; *The Economist*, Sept. 8, 1990, p. 27; *Star Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1990, p. 1A.

43. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 251; Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 675; George Friedman, “Georgia and the Balance of Power,” *New York Review of Books*, Sept. 25, 2008, p. 24, 26.

44. Historian and commentator Nick Hayes reached a similar conclusion in a retrospective, “Gorby Hits the Twin Cities at the End of an Era,” *Moscow Times*, June 1, 2005, p. 11. Although he chided Minnesotans for surrendering to “a mass frenzy of Gorbymania,” he concluded that there was reason to believe in Gorbachev because he “represented the chance of something else.” Hayes provided commentary as Don Shelby’s co-anchor during WCCO-TV’s live coverage of the Gorbachevs’ visit; *Star Tribune*, June 4, 1990, p. 23A.

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