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**Collection:** Speechwriting, White House Office of:  
Research Office, 1981-1989

**Folder Title:** 05/30/1988 Remarks: Meeting with Selected  
Soviet Citizens, Spaso House, Moscow (Peter/Barbara)

**Box:** 383

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Dis incorporated  
since RR saw

(Robinson/ARD)  
May 24, 1988  
12:00 noon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS  
SPASO HOUSE  
MOSCOW, USSR  
MONDAY, MAY 30, 1988

Thank you all and welcome to Spaso House. After the discussions we've just had, I thought it might be appropriate for me to begin by letting you know why I so wanted this meeting to take place.

You see, I wanted to convey to you that you have the prayers and support of the American people -- indeed, of people throughout the world. I wanted to convey this support to you, that you might in turn convey it to others, so that all those working for human rights throughout this vast land -- from the Urals to Kamchatka, from the Laptev Sea to the Caspian -- might be encouraged, and take heart.

In one capacity, of course, I speak as a head of government.

The United States views human rights as fundamental -- absolutely fundamental -- to our relationship with the Soviet Union and all nations. From the outset of our Administration, we've stressed that an essential element in improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is human rights -- and Soviet compliance with international covenants on human rights.

There have been hopeful signs -- indeed, I believe this a hopeful time for your nation.

Over the past 3 years, more than 300 political and religious prisoners have been released from labor camps. Fewer dissidents

and believers have been put in prisons and mental hospitals. And in recent months, more people have been permitted to emigrate or reunite with their families.

The United States applauds these changes. Yet the basic standards the Soviet Union agreed to almost 13 years ago in the Helsinki Accords, or a generation ago in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, still need to be met. If I may, I'd like to share with you the main aims of our human rights agenda during this summit meeting here in Moscow.

Freedom of religion. In the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." I'm hopeful the Soviet government will permit all the peoples of the Soviet Union to worship their Creator as they themselves see fit, in liberty.

And if I could add one personal note. Nancy and I have met Mother Teresa of Calcutta a number of times. We know her to be a woman of prayer, a woman of holiness. I just have to believe it's significant that Mother Teresa and her order, the Sisters of Charity, have been invited to open a house here in the Soviet Union this coming August.

Freedom of speech. Again in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." It is my fervent hope for you and your country that there will soon come a day when no one need fear prison for offenses that involve nothing more than the spoken or written word.

noting  
definitely  
2/2/292-0019  
missionaries  
of  
Charity



Freedom of travel. I've told the General Secretary how heartened we are that during the past year, the number of those permitted to emigrate has risen. We're encouraged as well that the number of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up.

And yet the words of the Universal Declaration go beyond these steps: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." It is our hope that soon there will be complete freedom of travel. In particular, I've noted in my talks here the many who have been denied the right to emigrate on the grounds that they held secret knowledge -- even though their secret work had ended years before, and their so-called secrets had long since become either public knowledge or obsolete. Such cases must be rationally reviewed.

Finally, institutional changes, to make progress permanent. The release of political prisoners is important -- but the unjust statutes on which they were convicted are still on the books, available to be used against others. This must change.

I've come to Moscow with this sharply defined human rights agenda because, as I suggested, it is our belief that this is a moment of hope. The new Soviet leaders appear to grasp the connection between certain freedoms and economic growth. The freedom to keep the fruits of one's own labor, for example, is a freedom that the present reforms seem to be enlarging.

We hope that one freedom will lead to another, and another -- that the Soviet government will understand that it is



the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the inquiring mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And that in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and, yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to grant him all his human rights.

This, as I said, is our hope. Yet, whatever the future may bring, the commitment of the United States will nevertheless remain unshakable. On human rights -- on the fundamental dignity of the human person -- there can be no relenting.

For now, we must work for more, always more.

And here I would like to speak to you not as a head of government, but as a man, a fellow human being.

I came here hoping to do what I could to give you strength. Yet I already know it is you who have strengthened me -- you who have given me a message to carry back.

While we press for human rights through diplomatic channels, you press with your very lives -- day in, day out; year after year; risking your jobs, your homes, your all.

If I may, I want to give you one thought from my heart.

Coming here, being with you -- looking into your faces -- I have to believe that the history of this troubled century will indeed be redeemed in the eyes of God and man, and that freedom will truly come to all. For what injustice can withstand your strength? And what can conquer your prayers?

And so I say with Pushkin:

"It's time, my friend, it's time! The heart begs for peace;  
the days fly past.... It's time, my friend, it's time!"

Thank you and God bless you.

(Robinson/ARD)  
May 20, 1988  
5:00 p.m.

Barbara

RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS  
SPASO HOUSE  
MOSCOW, USSR  
MONDAY, MAY 30, 1988

Thank you all and welcome to Spaso House. After the discussions we've just had, I thought it might be appropriate for me to begin by letting you know why I so wanted this meeting to take place.

You see, I wanted to convey to you that you have the prayers and support of the American people -- indeed, of people throughout the world. I wanted to convey this support to you, that you might in turn convey it to others, so that all those working for human rights throughout this vast land -- from the Urals to Kamchatka, from the Laptev Sea to the Caspian -- might be encouraged, and take heart.

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and believers have been put in prisons and mental hospitals. And in recent months, more people have been permitted to emigrate or reunite with their families.

The United States applauds these changes. Yet the basic standards the Soviet Union agreed to almost 13 years ago in the Helsinki Accords, or a generation ago in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, still need to be met. If I may, I'd like to share with you the main aims of our human rights agenda during this summit meeting here in Moscow.

Freedom of religion. In the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." I'm hopeful the Soviet government will permit all the peoples of the Soviet Union to worship their Creator as they themselves see fit, in liberty.

Freedom of speech. Again in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." It is my fervent hope for you and your country that there will soon come a day when no one need fear prison for offenses that involve nothing more than the spoken or written word.

Freedom of travel. I've told the General Secretary how heartened we are that during the past year, the number of those permitted to emigrate has risen. We're encouraged as well that the number of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up.

And yet the words of the Universal Declaration go beyond these steps: "Everyone has the right to leave any country,

including his own, and to return to his country." It is our hope that soon there will be complete freedom of travel. In particular, I've noted in my talks here the many who have been denied the right to emigrate on the grounds that they held secret knowledge -- even though their secret work had ended years before, and their so-called secrets had long since become either public knowledge or obsolete. Such cases must be rationally reviewed.

Finally, institutional changes, to make progress permanent. The release of political prisoners is important -- but the unjust statutes on which they were convicted are still on the books, available to be used against others. This must change.

I've come to Moscow with this sharply defined human rights agenda because, as I suggested, it is our belief that this is a moment of hope. The new Soviet leaders appear to grasp the connection between certain freedoms and economic growth. The freedom to keep the fruits of one's own labor, for example, is a freedom that the present reforms seem to be enlarging.

We hope that one freedom will lead to another, and another -- that the Soviet government will understand that it is the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the inquiring mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And that in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and, yes, that his nation

respects him. Respects him enough to grant him all his human rights.

This, as I said, is our hope. Yet I want you to know that if this hope is not met, the commitment of the United States will nevertheless remain unshakable. On human rights -- on the fundamental dignity of the human person -- there can be no relenting.

For now, we must work for more, always more.

And here I would like to speak to you not as a head of government, but as a man, a fellow human being.

I came here hoping to do what I could to give you strength. Yet I already know it is you who have strengthened me -- you who have given me a message to carry back.

While we press for human rights through diplomatic channels, you press with your very lives -- day in, day out; year after year; risking your jobs, your homes, your all.

If I may, I want to give you one thought from my heart.

Coming here, being with you -- looking into your faces -- I have to believe that the history of this troubled century will indeed be redeemed in the eyes of God and man, and that freedom will truly come to all. For what injustice can withstand your strength? And what can conquer your prayers?

And so I say with Pushkin:

"It's time, my friend, it's time! The heart begs for peace; the days fly past.... It's time, my friend, it's time!"

Thank you and God bless you.



Barbara

(Robinson/ARD)  
May 16, 1988  
11:00 a.m. SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS  
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW  
MONDAY, MAY 31, 1988

*Scheduling memo*

Thank you all and welcome to Spaso House. I want above all today to hear what you have to say, but I thought it might be appropriate for me to begin by letting you know why I so wanted this meeting to take place.

*Wide World Atlas p 82, 84*

You see, I wanted to convey to you that you have the prayers and support of the American people -- indeed of people throughout the world. I wanted to convey this support to you, that you might in turn convey it to others, so that all those working for human rights throughout this vast land -- from the Urals to Kamchatka, from the Laptev Sea to the Caspian -- might be encouraged, and take heart.

In one capacity, of course, I speak as a head of government.

The United States views human rights as fundamental -- absolutely fundamental -- to our dealings with the Soviet Union and all nations. From the outset of our Administration, we've stressed that in order for relations between the United States and the Soviet Union to improve, human rights inside the Soviet Union must be granted fuller -- much fuller -- recognition.

There have been hopeful signs -- indeed, I believe this a hopeful time for your nation.

*more than*

Over the past 3 years, ~~some~~ 300 political and religious prisoners have been released from labor camps. The incarceration of dissidents in ~~prisons~~ and mental hospitals has ~~decreased~~. And

*slowed*

*Lisa Robinson  
NSC  
x 3912  
(Pres Doc  
Nat'l  
Strategy Forum  
5-4-88)*

*Amb. Shifter  
Cite  
nat'l  
Strategy  
Forum  
5-4-88*

in recent months, more people -- individuals and families alike -- have been permitted to emigrate.

The United States applauds these changes. Yet the basic standards the Soviet Union agreed to in the Helsinki Accords still are not being met. If I may, I'd like to share with you the four main aims of our human rights agenda during this summit meeting here in Moscow.

*Article  
18  
p414  
Everyone's  
United  
Nations*

Freedom of religion. In the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." I'm urging the Soviet government to permit all the peoples of the Soviet Union to worship their Creator as they themselves see fit, in liberty.

*ibid  
Article  
19  
p414*

Freedom of speech. Again in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." It is my fervent hope for you and your country, that there will soon come a day when no man need fear prison for offenses that involve nothing more than the spoken or written word.

Emigration, the freedom to depart. I've told the General Secretary how heartened we are that during the past year, the numbers of those permitted to emigrate has risen. We're encouraged as well that the numbers of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up.

*ibid  
Article  
13 #2  
p413*

And yet the words of the Universal Declaration go beyond these steps: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." It is our hope that the peoples of the Soviet Union will soon have complete

*Amb. Shifter  
Cite  
Strategy  
Forum  
5-4-88  
8 H. R.*



freedom of travel. In particular, I've noted in my talks here the many who have been denied the right to emigrate on the grounds that they held secret knowledge -- even though their secret work had ended years before, and their so-called secrets had long since become either public knowledge, or obsolete. Such cases must be rationally reviewed.

Finally, institutional changes, to make progress permanent. What does it matter to the fate of this great land if some political prisoners are released -- but the charges on which they were convicted can still be used against others? How can hope for the future rest on any firm foundation -- until the political articles of the Criminal Code are repealed?

I've come to Moscow with this sharply-defined human rights agenda because of perestroika -- because as I suggested, it is our belief that this is a moment of hope, that perestroika offers the promise of genuine, lasting change. The General Secretary and others appear to grasp the connection between certain freedoms and economic growth. The freedom to keep the fruits of one's own labor, for example, is a freedom that the present reforms seem to be enlarging.

We hope that one freedom will lead to another, and another -- that the Soviet government will come to understand that it is the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the inquiring mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And that in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own

Kathy  
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Strategy  
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5-4-88

Kathy  
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self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and, yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to grant him all his human rights.

This, as I said, is our hope. Yet I want you to know that if it is disappointed, the commitment of the United States will remain unshakable. On human rights -- on the fundamental dignity of the human person -- there can be no relenting.

For now, we must work for more, always more.

And here I would like to speak to you not as a head of government, but as a man, a fellow human being.

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While we press for human rights through diplomatic channels, you press with your very lives -- day in, day out; year after year; risking your jobs, your homes, your all.

If I may, I want to give you one thought from my heart.

Coming here, being with you -- looking into your faces -- I have to believe that the history of this troubled century will indeed be redeemed in the eyes of God and man, and that freedom will truly come to all. For what injustice can withstand your strength? And what can conquer your prayers?

And so I say with Pushkin:

"It's time, my friend, it's time! The heart begs for peace; the days fly past.... It's time, my friend, it's time!"

Thank you and God bless you.

~~And now I want nothing more than to talk with you.~~

Alexander  
Pushkin  
The  
Penguin  
Book of  
Russian  
Verse  
by Dmitri  
Obolensky  
p. 115

Barbara

Document No.

561375

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/16/88

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

COB 5/19/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS

|                | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |           | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HOBBS     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAKER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HOOLEY    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DUBERSTEIN     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | KRANOWITZ | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| MILLER - OMB   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | POWELL    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAUER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RANGE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIBB          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RISQUE.   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIPPEN        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RYAN      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CULVAHOUSE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | SPRINKEL  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DAWSON         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | TUTTLE    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DONATELLI      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | DOLAN     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| GRISCOM        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

## REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to my office by close of business Thursday, May 19, 1988. Thankyou;

## RESPONSE:

see changes 156

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)  
May 16, 1988  
11:00 a.m.

Received SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS  
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW MAY 16 PM 12:04  
MONDAY, MAY 31, 1988

Thank you all and welcome to Spaso House. I want above all today to hear what you have to say, but I thought it might be appropriate for me to begin by letting you know why I so wanted this meeting to take place.

You see, I wanted to convey to you that you have the prayers and support of the American people -- indeed of people throughout the world. I wanted to convey this support to you, that you might in turn convey it to others, so that all those working for human rights throughout this vast land -- from the Urals to Kamchatka, from the Laptev Sea to the Caspian -- might be encouraged, and take heart.

In one capacity, of course, I speak as a head of government.

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There have been hopeful signs -- indeed, I believe this a hopeful time for your nation.

Over the past 3 years, some 300 political and religious prisoners have been released from labor camps. The incarceration of dissidents in prisons and mental hospitals has decreased. And



in recent months, more people -- individuals and families alike -- have been permitted to emigrate.

The United States applauds these changes. Yet the basic standards the Soviet Union agreed to in the Helsinki Accords still ~~are not being~~ <sup>need to be</sup> met. If I may, I'd like to share with you ~~the four main aims of~~ our human rights agenda during this summit meeting here in Moscow.

Freedom of religion. In the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion." I'm <sup>hopeful</sup> ~~urging~~ the Soviet government <sup>will</sup> ~~to~~ permit all <sup>of its</sup> ~~the~~ peoples ~~of the Soviet Union~~ to worship their Creator as they themselves see fit, in liberty.

Freedom of speech. Again in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." It is my fervent hope for you and your country, that there will soon come a day when no <sup>one</sup> ~~man~~ need fear prison for <sup>nothing</sup> ~~offenses that involve~~ nothing more than the spoken or written word.

Emigration, the freedom to <sup>travel</sup> ~~depart~~. I've told the General Secretary how heartened we are that during the past year, the numbers of those permitted to emigrate has risen. We're encouraged as well that the numbers of those permitted to leave for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up.

And yet the words of the Universal Declaration go beyond these steps: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." It is our hope that <sup>soon there will be</sup> ~~the peoples of the Soviet Union will soon have~~ complete

freedom of travel. In particular, I've noted in my talks here the many who have been denied the right to emigrate on the grounds that they held secret knowledge -- even though their secret work had ended years before, and their so-called secrets had long since become either public knowledge, or obsolete. Such cases must be rationally reviewed.

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self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and, yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to grant him all his human rights.

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For now, we must work for more, always more.

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Thank you and God bless you.

And now I want nothing more than to talk with you.



master

Document No.

561375

3690

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Barb

DATE: 5/16/88

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

COB 5/19/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS

|                | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |           | ACTION FYI                          |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HOBBS     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAKER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HOOLEY    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
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| MILLER - OMB   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | POWELL    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAUER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RANGE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIBB          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RISQUE    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CRIPPEN        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | RYAN      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CULVAHOUSE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | SPRINKEL  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DAWSON         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | TUTTLE    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DONATELLI      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | DOLAN     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| GRISCOM        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan's office with an info copy to my office by close of business Thursday, May 19, 1988. Thankyou;

RESPONSE:

May 19, 1988

TO: TONY DOLAN

NSC Staff concurs with changes as marked.

Paul Schott Stevens  
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson  
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

Master

(Robinson/ARD)  
May 16, 1988  
11:00 a.m.

Received SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING WITH SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS  
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW MAY 16 PM 12:00  
MONDAY, MAY 31, 1988

X

0

After the discussions

we've just had,  
Thank you all and welcome to Spaso House. ~~I want above all~~  
~~today to hear what you have to say,~~ but I thought it might be  
appropriate for me to begin by letting you know why I so wanted  
this meeting to take place.

You see, I wanted to convey to you that you have the prayers  
and support of the American people -- indeed of people throughout  
the world. I wanted to convey this support to you, that you  
might in turn convey it to others, so that all those working for  
human rights throughout this vast land -- from <sup>Transcarpathia</sup> ~~(the Urals)~~ to NO  
Kamchatka, from <sup>Arkhangel'sk</sup> ~~(the Laptev Sea)~~ to the Caspian -- might be NO  
encouraged, and take heart.

Why leave  
out  
Gypsies  
Russia +  
Ukraine?

In one capacity, of course, I speak as a head of government.

The United States views human rights as fundamental --  
absolutely fundamental -- to our <sup>relationship</sup> ~~(dealings)~~ with the Soviet Union  
and all nations. From the outset of our Administration, we've  
stressed that <sup>an essential element in improving</sup> ~~in order for~~ relations between the United States  
and the Soviet Union <sup>is</sup> ~~to improve~~, human rights <sup>and Soviet compliance</sup> ~~inside the Soviet~~  
<sup>with international covenants on human rights.</sup> ~~Union must be granted fuller -- much fuller -- recognition.~~

State  
Dept  
says this is  
too  
"dramatic"  
with

There have been hopeful signs -- indeed, I believe this a  
hopeful time for your nation.

Over the past 3 years, <sup>more than</sup> ~~some~~ 300 political and religious  
prisoners have been released from labor camps. <sup>Many fewer</sup> ~~The incarceration~~  
<sup>and believers have been put</sup> ~~(of) dissidents in prisons and mental hospitals has decreased.~~ And



in recent months, more people ~~(individuals and families)~~  
~~(like)~~ have been permitted to emigrate, <sup>or reunite with their families.</sup>

The United States applauds these changes. Yet the basic  
standards the Soviet Union agreed to in the Helsinki Accords, <sup>almost 3 years ago</sup>  
<sup>or a generation ago in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,</sup> still ~~are not being~~ met. If I may, I'd like to share with you  
the <sup>need to be</sup> ~~four~~ main aims of our human rights agenda during this summit  
meeting here in Moscow.

Freedom of religion. In the words of the Universal  
Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom  
of thought, conscience and religion." I'm <sup>hopeful</sup> ~~urging~~ the Soviet  
government <sup>will</sup> ~~to~~ permit all the peoples of the Soviet Union to  
worship their Creator as they themselves see fit, in liberty.

Freedom of speech. Again in the words of the Universal  
Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to freedom  
of opinion and expression." It is my fervent hope for you and  
your country, that there will soon come a day when no <sup>one</sup> ~~man~~ need  
fear prison for offenses that involve nothing more than the  
spoken or written word.

<sup>Freedom of movement, travel.</sup>  
~~Emigration, the freedom to depart~~ I've told the General  
Secretary how heartened we are that during the past year, the  
numbers of those permitted to emigrate has risen. We're  
encouraged as well that the numbers of those permitted to leave  
for short trips -- often family visits -- has gone up.

And yet the words of the Universal Declaration go beyond  
these steps: "Everyone has the right to leave any country,  
including his own, and to return to his country." It is our hope  
that <sup>soon there will be</sup> ~~the peoples of the Soviet Union will soon have~~ complete



freedom of travel. In particular, I've noted in my talks here the many who have been denied the right to emigrate on the grounds that they held secret knowledge -- even though their secret work had ended years before, and their so-called secrets had long since become either public knowledge, or obsolete. Such cases must be rationally reviewed.

Finally, institutional changes, to make progress permanent.

*Fate doesn't make the idea that as most won't work. We will give it credit of doubt.*  
*overstated - overly optimistic*  
~~The release of~~  
~~What does it matter to the fate of this great land if some~~  
~~political prisoners are released~~ <sup>is important --</sup> ~~but the~~ <sup>unjust statutes</sup> ~~charges~~ <sup>on which they</sup> ~~were convicted~~ <sup>are still in the books, available to</sup> ~~can still~~ <sup>be used against others?</sup> ~~How can hope~~ <sup>unjust</sup> ~~for the future rest on any firm foundation~~ <sup>until the political</sup> ~~articles of the Criminal Code are repealed?~~ <sup>These must change.</sup>

I've come to Moscow with this sharply-defined human rights agenda ~~because of perestroika~~ because as I suggested, it is our belief that this is a moment of hope, ~~that perestroika offers~~ <sup>new Soviet leaders</sup> ~~the promise of genuine, lasting change.~~ The ~~General Secretary~~ <sup>and others</sup> appear to grasp the connection between certain freedoms and economic growth. The freedom to keep the fruits of one's own labor, for example, is a freedom that the present reforms seem to be enlarging.

We hope that one freedom will lead to another, and another -- that the Soviet government will ~~come to~~ understand that it is the individual who is always the source of economic creativity -- the inquiring mind that produces a technical breakthrough, the imagination that conceives of new products and markets. And that in order for the individual to create, he must have a sense of just that -- his own individuality, his own

self-worth. He must sense that others respect him -- and, yes, that his nation respects him. Respects him enough to grant him all his human rights.

This, as I said, is our hope. Yet ~~I want you to know that~~ <sup>whatever the future may</sup> ~~bring,~~ <sup>NO.</sup> ~~if it is disappointed,~~ the commitment of the United States will <sup>& this hope is not met,</sup> remain unshakable. On human rights -- on the fundamental dignity of the human person -- there can be no relenting.

For now, we must work for more, always more.

And here I would like to speak to you not as a head of government, but as a man, a fellow human being.

I came here hoping to do what I could to give you strength. Yet I already know it is you who have strengthened me -- you who have given me a message to carry back.

While we press for human rights through diplomatic channels, you press with your very lives -- day in, day out; year after year; risking your jobs, your homes, <sup>the well-being of your families.</sup> ~~your all.~~ <sup>NO.</sup>

If I may, I want to give you one thought from my heart.

Coming here, being with you -- looking into your faces -- I have to believe that the history of this troubled century will indeed be redeemed in the eyes of God and man, and that freedom will truly come to all. For what injustice can withstand your strength? And what can conquer your prayers?

And so I say with Pushkin:

"It's time, my friend, it's time! The heart begs for peace; the days fly past.... It's time, my friend, it's time!"

Thank you and God bless you.

~~And now I want nothing more than to talk with you.~~

(BARR)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM

JIM HOOLE *JH*

SUBJECT

REMARKS TO SELECTED SOVIET CITIZENS

Tony, the remarks Peter wrote are great; but he may have the scenario out of order. The President will be speaking after he has chatted casually with some of the group at his table, and after three or four of the group have made remarks to him in behalf of the group. Therefore, the end line is not appropriate.

As with the case of the Monks meeting, which I referred to in a separate memo, we are flexible on this. If Tom and you think that it serves the President better to re-arrange the format, it is an easy thing to do at this point. Let's talk to Tom.

cc: T. Griscom  
R. Dawson



Девичьи лица ярче роз,  
 И блеск, и шум, и говор балов,  
 А в час пирушки холостой  
 Шипенье пенистых бокалов  
 И пунша пламень голубой.  
 Люблю воинственную живость  
 Потешных Марсовых полей,  
 Пехотных ратей и коней  
 Однообразную красоту,  
 В их стройно зыблемом строю  
 Лоскутья сих знамён победных,  
 Сиянье шапок этих медных,  
 Насквозь простреленных в бою.  
 Люблю, военная столица,  
 Твоей твердыни дым и гром,  
 Когда полночная царица  
 Дарует сына в царский дом,  
 Или победу над врагом  
 Россия снова торжествует,  
 Или, взломав свой синий лёд,  
 Нева к морям его несёт  
 И, чуя вешни дни, ликует.

the girls' faces brighter than roses, the sparkle, the noise, and the  
 murmur of voices at the balls, and, at the hour of the banquet  
 feasting, the hissing of the foaming wine-glasses and the blue fire  
 of the punch. I love the warlike animation of the playing-fans  
 Mars, the uniform beauty of the troops of foot and horse, and  
 their ranks swaying in ordered rhythm, those tattered flags  
 victory, the glitter of those bronze helmets, shot through in battle.  
 I love, O warlike capital, the smoke and the booming gun of the  
 fortress, when the northern empress presents a son to the imperial  
 house, or when Russia celebrates another victory over an enemy,  
 or when the Neva, breaking up her blue ice, carries it to the sea  
 and exults, scenting the days of spring.

Красуйся, град Петров, и стой  
 Неколебимо, как Россия!  
 Да умирится же с тобой  
 И побеждённая стихия;  
 Вражду и плен старинный свой  
 Пусть волны финские забудут  
 И тщетной злобою не будут  
 Тревожить вечный сон Петра!

★

Пора, мой друг, пора! покоя сердце просит —  
 Летят за днями дни, и каждый час уносит  
 Частичку бытия, а мы с тобой вдвоём  
 Предполагаем жить . . . И глядь — как раз —  
 умрём.  
 На свете счастья нет, но есть покой и воля.  
 Давно завидная мечтается мне доля —  
 Давно, усталый раб, замыслил я побег  
 В обитель дальнюю трудов и чистых нег.

City of Peter, stand in all your splendour, stand unshakeable as  
 Russia! May the conquered elements, too, make their peace with  
 you, let the Finnish waves forget their ancient enmity and bondage,  
 and not disturb with their vain rancour Peter's everlasting sleep!

★

It's time, my friend, it's time! The heart begs for peace; the days fly  
 away, and every hour carries off a fragment of life: and you and I  
 make plans together to live, yet suddenly we shall die. There is no  
 happiness in the world, but there is peace and freedom. I have long  
 been dreaming of an enviable fate: long have I, a weary slave,  
 planned to flee to a distant home of work and pure delight.



ALEKSANDR PUSHKIN

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THE PENGUIN BOOK OF  
RUSSIAN VERSE

INTRODUCED AND EDITED BY

*Dimitri Obolensky*  
//

★

WITH PLAIN PROSE TRANSLATIONS  
OF EACH POEM

PENGUIN BOOKS

mh

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