

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Speechwriting, White House Office of:
Speech Drafts, 1981-1989

Folder Title: Moscow State University,
05/31/1988 (Gilder) (Hayes) (11)

Box: 400

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: SPEECHWRITING, WHO of: Speech Drafts

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: Moscow State University, May 31, 1988 (Gilder)(Hayes)

Date: 1/23/97

[11 of 13]

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	to Rhett Dawson from Paul Schott stevens re Presidential Address at Moscow University (1p)	5/11/88	P5, P1

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 05/09/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Tuesday 05/10/88SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

(05/09/88 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HOBBS	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	HOOLEY	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	KRANOWITZ	☒	☐
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	POWELL	☒	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☒	☐
CRIBB	☐	☐	RISQUE	☒	☐
CRIPPEN	☒	☐	RYAN	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☒	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DONATELLI	☐	☐	DOLAN	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	COURTEMANCHE	☐	☒
GRISCOM	☒	☐	GRAHAM	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by close of business on Tuesday, May 10th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Legis. Aff. concurs.
(Suggestion: ① If we have INF Treaty for ratification in Moscow, we should make more of it in this speech directly to Soviet and American peoples; but ② if we do not have a Treaty to ratify at Moscow, we should delete the reference to it on p. 11).
 Rhett Dawson
 Ext. 2702

DDA
in class

and there is discussion of abandoning article __ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make irreversible change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school and undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just __ days ago, we saw events in Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/09/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Tuesday 05/10/88

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

(05/09/88 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HOBBS	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	HOOLEY	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	KRANOWITZ	☒	☐
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	POWELL	☒	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☒	☐
CRIBB	☐	☐	RISQUE	☒	☐
CRIPPEN	☒	☐	RYAN	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☒	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DONATELLI	☐	☐	DOLAN	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	COURTEMANCHE	☐	☒
GRISCOM	☒	☐	GRAHAM	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by close of business on Tuesday, May 10th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: Note: Since in the Soviet lexicon the word "peace" connotes one worldwide ~~system~~ political and economic system, we have suggested some changes in wording.

See suggestions on attached.

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Gilder/ARD)
May 9, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before I left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked I carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of ~~peace and~~ goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]

In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, ~~world peace~~^{conflict}, and such. Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow. ✓

Seriously, our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of ~~your~~^{the October} revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects ~~are peaceful, but they~~ will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a Zil would now cost less than 2 rubles, get ⁵ million ~~miles~~ ^{kilometers} to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

✓ (2) This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the ^{exciting} ~~mysterious~~ world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. ~~We are entering an age where thoughts come before things; increasingly it is an age of mind over matter.~~ We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where the human imagination paints its own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of the Gospel of John, that in the beginning was the word, the idea. And it was from this idea that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

There's a Russian story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the ²⁰50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological revolution. At any given moment in the United States there are a thousand economic experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and *persuades them to* ~~they should~~ invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government bureaucracies, no matter how big, ever to substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his scheme 24 hours^{9/11} a day; to substitute for the heart and soul of the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for^{so} long doing nothing." ✓

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change

blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, will the new China contribute to the 21st century?

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of local^g stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. *American* Look ⁱⁿ in the telephone book of any big city, ~~and~~ you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses; their children attending the same Sunday ~~School~~, growing up together, *lc* marrying, and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made ^{from} up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, ^{where} each ^{group} is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington, in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle... [and it is] substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics

OR
change
"America"
to
"American"

and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passage on human freedom; it comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that ~~such~~ freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history. cf

We watch and we hope, as changes take place in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,

and there is discussion of abandoning article __ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make irreversible change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school and undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just __ days ago, we saw events in Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and

the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to ~~live in peace and~~ prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. *A world without war* ~~Peace~~ between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling

with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and expansion.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

u/g We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, ~~this April~~ 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR. 
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Moscow State University -
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks, and we have no legal objection to their delivery. We have, however, marked several editorial changes on the attached copy for your consideration.

Thank you for submitting these remarks for our review.

Attachment

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

(Gilder/ARD)
May 9, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the peoples ⁱⁿ of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before I left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked I carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]

In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and such. Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.

Seriously, our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a Zil would now cost less than 2 rubles, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age where thoughts come before things; increasingly it is an age of mind over matter. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where the human imagination paints its own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of the Gospel of John, that in the beginning was the word, the idea. And it was from this idea that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

(I'm told that)
↑ There's a Russian story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological revolution. At any given moment in the United States there are a thousand economic experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own ~~lights~~ ^{dreams}. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government bureaucracies, no matter how big, ever to substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his scheme 24 hours-a-day; to substitute for the heart and soul of the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change

blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, will the new China contribute to the 21st century?

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of ^(our) primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of locals stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the ^{United States} Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses; their children attending the same Sunday School, growing up together, marrying, and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

among the people. It is the right to be ^{different} ~~eccentric~~, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington, in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle... [and it is] substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, ^{and} unintrusive ~~— even, in some sense, ineffective~~: A system of constraints on power to keep politics

and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passages on human freedom; it comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that such freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, as changes take place in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,

and there is discussion of abandoning article ^(of your constitution) __^ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make irreversible change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school and ^{college?} undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just __ days ago, we saw events in Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and

the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as ^asign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling

with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and expansion.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this April, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 05/09/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: C.O.B. Tuesday 05/10/88SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

(05/09/88 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HOBBS	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	HOOLEY	☐	☒
DUBERSTEIN	☐	☒	KRANOWITZ	☒	☐
MILLER - OMB	☐	☐	POWELL	☒	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	RANGE	☒	☐
CRIBB	☐	☐	RISQUE	☒	☐
CRIPPEN	☒	☐	RYAN	☐	☐
CULVAHOUSE	☒	☐	SPRINKEL	☐	☐
DAWSON	☐	☒	TUTTLE	☐	☐
DONATELLI	☐	☐	DOLAN	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	COURTEMANCHE	☐	☒
GRISCOM	☒	☐	GRAHAM	☒	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by close of business on Tuesday, May 10th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

- I incorporated some NSC fixes - others are factual fixes which you will review

- I took a shot at section on charges/values + recognition of imperfection on Earth but

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

+ 177

(Gilder/ARD)
May 9, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, [who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals.] It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even ~~though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.~~

Don't think this works

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, ~~and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.~~

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before I left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked I carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. ~~So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]~~

In this, our ^{4th} ~~third~~ summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

There needs to be some acknowledgment about Mr. Reagan being in Leningrad.

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: ~~disarmament~~, ^{arms reduction}, ^{building a safer} world ~~peace~~, and such. [Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.]

*Don't feel
humor
will be
understood*

~~Seriously,~~ Our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time ~~from the business of politics and diplomacy~~ ^{to talk} and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a Zil would now cost less than 2 rubles, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age where thoughts come before things; increasingly it is an age of mind over matter. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where the human imagination paints its own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of the Gospel of John, that in the beginning was the word, the idea. And it was from this idea that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

There's a ~~Russian~~ story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of ^{America's} ~~our~~ Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological revolution. At any given moment in the United States there are a thousand economic experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small ^{entrepreneurs} ~~enterprises~~ and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college ^{students} ~~kids~~, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government bureaucracies, no matter how big, ever to substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his ~~scheme~~^{idea} 24 hours-a-day; to substitute for the heart and soul of the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality. (i)

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

check this section || We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change

blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, will ~~the~~ ~~new~~ China contribute to the 21st century?

draw comparison At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population ^{now} lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. ~~In fact, it is something of a national pastime.~~ Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now *finishing the first-step in the process* ~~in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in~~ ~~in the individual states narrow the field of~~ ~~votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the~~ candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, ~~making~~ ^{now} four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of local ^{now radio + television} stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, ~~of dozens of denominations~~. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses; their children attending the same ~~Sunday School~~^S, growing up together, marrying, and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. ✓ It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. ~~The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals.~~ It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

It is recognizing that no system of government, no individual is perfect. But it is also understanding that democracy allows us to recognize our

among the people. It is the right ~~to be eccentric~~, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is ~~infinitely~~ precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of ~~God's creatures~~^{us} was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most ~~religious~~^{caring, unselfish} peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington, in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle... [and it is] substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- ~~even, in some sense,~~^{to recognize the rights of the} ~~ineffective~~^{people ☺}. A system of constraints on power to keep politics

and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passage on human freedom; it comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that such freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, ~~as changes take place in the press, as~~ *we see change -- yes, positive change --* ~~some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,~~ *taking place (1)*

and there is discussion of abandoning article — and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom. *

Reform that is not ~~irreversible~~ ^{guaranteed} will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make ~~irreversible~~ ^{permanent} change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall. ^{It is time to remove those barriers that we create to keep our people apart.}

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a ~~massive~~ ^{increased} exchange program, of ~~5,000~~ ^{other young people} high school and undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just 15 days ago, we saw ~~events in~~ ^{the first signs of your withdrawal from} Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and

^{insert:} You, here today in the auditorium, are the future. And part of that future will be change. There are those who are afraid of change, fearful that it will bring confusion, mistrust --- a loss of cultural and traditional values. That does not have to be the result. For change -- based on such values -- will lead to new

Josh: take the basic concept + go out how we can break down barriers, bridge over communication gap then push context - point out how far we past 1985 agenda.

the NSC add here to insert is good.

Josh: the President can reassure young Soviets that our world is one of constant change - these they should see change on positive not negative

the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the ~~remarkable statesmanship and courage~~ ^{serious discussions} that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling

with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and expansion.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of ^{reform} glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this ^{May} April, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

Ro / Carol / Heidi

(Gilder/ARD)
May 9, 1988
4:00 p.m. S

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev, who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals. It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University, even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before I left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds of letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked I carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]

"Bog Z Vamu"

In this, our third summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and such. Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.

Seriously, our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day -- issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time from the business of politics and diplomacy and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called a technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a Zil would now cost less than 2 rubles, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age where thoughts come before things; increasingly it is an age of mind over matter. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where the human imagination paints its own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of the Gospel of John, that in the beginning was the word, the ^{truth} ~~idea~~. And it was from this ^{truth and the ideas that stem from this truth} ~~idea~~ that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

There's a Russian story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological revolution. At any given moment in the United States there are a thousand economic experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government bureaucracies, no matter how big, ever to substitute for millions of individuals each living and breathing his scheme 24 hours-a-day; to substitute for the heart and soul of the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality?

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world. Nations such as South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change

blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of freedom. How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, will the new China contribute to the 21st century?

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin America, where 90 percent of the population lives under democratic government; in the Philippines, in South Korea, and Taiwan, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years is a Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now in the midst of primary season, in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election. At one point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of locals stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

But Freedom doesn't begin or end with elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, of dozens of denominations. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses; their children attending the same Sunday School, growing up together, marrying, and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

among the people. It is the right to be eccentric, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that individual life is ^{intrinsically} ~~infinitely~~ precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of God's creatures was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality ~~made up of~~ ✓ hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington, in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle... [and it is] substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- even, in some sense, ineffective: A system of constraints on power to keep politics

and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passage on human freedom; it comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that such freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, as changes take place in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,

and there is discussion of abandoning article __ and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds. We look forward to seeing these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not irreversible will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make irreversible change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples, I am proposing a massive exchange program, of 5,000 high school and undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: [Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. And just __ days ago, we saw events in Afghanistan that give us hope that soon the fighting may end and

the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of regional conflicts around the globe, and that the remarkable statesmanship and courage that led to the treaty in Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: A colonial revolution with Britain cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our strongest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling

with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and expansion.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of glasnost will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this ^{May}~~April~~, 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *TONY DOLAN*

FROM JAMES L. HOOLEY
Deputy Assistant to the President
Director of Presidential Advance

☐ Information

☐ Action

*PLEASE NOTE RICK AHEARN'S SPEECH
COMMENTS (AND MY EDITS TO HIS
COMMENTS). HE IS IN MOSCOW, SO DID
NOT RECEIVE THEM IN TIME TO MEET
DEADLINE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE
IMPORTANT TO NOTE.*

CC: GRISCOM/DAWSON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(Dictated but not read via phone)

May 16, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES L. HOOLEY

FROM: FREDERICK L. AHEARN

SUBJECT: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY SPEECH

Just a few brief notes on the proposed Moscow State University speech text. There are a few points that should be called to your attention so corrections can be made on what are, in several instances, glaring errors.

1. On page 1, it is still to be confirmed that the speech will be broadcast live in the Soviet Union as mentioned in line 2, paragraph 3. *I do not believe that we have confirmation - JH*

2. Also on page 1 next to the bottom line, I thought this was our 4th summit, not the 3rd summit. *- correct (4th, that is) - JH*

✓ 3. Page 5 last line of the next to the last paragraph, may I suggest we insert students in place of kids.

✓ 4. Finally, page 13 the 3rd line of the next to the last paragraph, we are meeting in Moscow in May and June, not April 1988.

5. In the Helsinki speech, page 9 the last 2 lines make reference to few functioning churches and no bells. When the President visits Danilov Monastery, he will find the bells to be deafening in their sound as we all noticed on the pre-advance, so we may want to change this to say almost no bells.

Doesn't Josh remember our cardrums being split when we walked into the monastery grounds on the pre-advance??

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER LISTED ON THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

(Glider/ARU)
May 9, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

As you know, I've just come from meetings with one of your most distinguished graduates, General Secretary Gorbachev. ~~[who sends you his greetings and wishes you luck on your finals.]~~ It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University. ~~[even though I know I wasn't your first choice. Unfortunately, Michael Jackson was busy.]~~

It's also a great pleasure to once again have the opportunity to speak directly on this live broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union. As you may know, this speech is also being carried live back in the United States, where it is now 8 in the morning, ~~and I imagine a lot of sleepy people are just tuning in.~~ but first Lady is seeing great city of Leningrad.

So while I have you all together -- electronically, at least -- let me just say that before I left Washington for this summit, I received hundreds letters and telegrams. Many contained a simple message that they asked I carry with me when I came here. A simple message, yes, but perhaps also some of the most important business of this summit -- it is a message of peace and goodwill and hope for a growing friendship and closeness between our two peoples. ~~So let me just say, from America to the Soviet Union: [Russian for "God be with you."]~~

In this, our ^{fourth} ~~third~~ summit, General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to

Don't say
unless he
really does.

Demens
Pres. Most
Says won't
know
Michael Jackson.

Insert short para. on
President's regret that he
doesn't have time to visit
other cities in USSR.

know each other well. We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: ^{arms reductions, building a safer} ~~disarmament, world peace, and~~ such. Now, ~~I know you are very serious students, but if this were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.~~

~~Seriously, our discussions, of course, have been focused primarily on many of the important issues of the day --~~ issues I want to touch on with you in a few moments. But first I want to take a little time ~~from the business of politics and diplomacy~~ and talk to you much as I would to any group of college students in the United States. I want to talk not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow. I want, together with you, to extend our imaginations into the future, and try to discover what is in store there for your generation -- whether you live in the Soviet Union, or America, or anywhere in this world of ours.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, one that has nothing to do with parties or politics. It is quietly sweeping the globe, without bloodshed or conflict. Its effects are peaceful, but they will fundamentally alter our world, shatter old assumptions, and reshape our lives.

It's easy to underestimate, because it's not accompanied by banners or fanfare. It's been called ^{the} technological, or information, revolution, and as its emblem one might take the tiny silicon chip. That chip, the basic component of today's new-age computers, is no bigger than a fingerprint, but one of

Don't rub
in what
Sovs don't
have -

these remarkable inventions has the computing power of a roomful of old-style computers. Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

~~And they are~~ ^{These chips are} getting smaller and more powerful all the time. One scientist brings this all down to Earth by comparing the computer chip to cars. If automotive technology, he says, had progressed as fast as semiconductor technology in the past 20 years, a Zil would now cost less than 2 rubles, get 3 million miles-to-the-gallon, deliver enough power to drive an ocean liner, and 6 of them would fit on the head of a pin.

This is more than a productivity explosion. Operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal a quantum leap in the world's economy. We are rapidly moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- to, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

Think again of that little computer chip. Those chips, the driving force of the modern economy, are made from sand, one of the most common substances on Earth. Their value doesn't come from the material that makes them up, but from the microscopic architecture designed into them by ingenious human minds.

Or take the example of this speech, being broadcast live via satellite, around the world. That satellite -- the product of human invention -- replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy of the technological revolution, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are entering an age where thoughts come before things; increasingly it is an age of mind over matter. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where the human imagination paints its own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we are returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the first line of the Gospel of John, that in the beginning ^{there} was the word, the idea. And it was from this idea that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

(Few 50-story buildings in USSR)

There's a ~~Russian~~ story about two men who find the elevator in their high-rise isn't working, so they start to walk up the stairs. On the 50th floor, one of them turns to the other and says, "I've got good news, and I've got bad news. The good news is that we've only got one more floor to climb. The bad news is that I forgot the key."

We cannot forget the key. And the key to this new economic age is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov lived his life for the ideals of open inquiry, scrutiny of ones own ideas and independent judgement. "It is common knowledge," he said,

"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of ^{America's} ~~our~~ Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

And what is true for science is equally true for the economy, especially the new economy of the technological revolution. At any given moment in the United States there are a thousand ~~economic~~ experiments going on. Someone has an idea for a new product, or a new service, and he goes out and convinces others that it's a good idea and they should invest in it. We call these people entrepreneurs. Many times they have steady jobs that they quit, because they want to follow their own lights. Sometimes the only people that believe in them and their schemes are their own family, and often the going is pretty rough at first. Sometimes the business never takes off.

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. Entrepreneurs are the prime movers of the technological revolution. In fact, one of the largest personal computer firms in the United States was started by two college kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at this riot of experiment and progress and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many of them do, particularly the successful ones. Usually several times. And if you ask them the secret of their success, they will tell you, it's all that they

perhaps
add statistic
on new job
creation

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing.

That is why it's so hard for Government ^{planners} ~~bureaucracies~~, no matter how ^{sophisticated} ~~big~~, ever to substitute for millions of individuals ~~decisions and ideas which are made~~ each ~~living and breathing his scheme~~ 24 hours-a-day; to substitute for the heart and soul of the entrepreneur, hoping beyond hope to make his impossible dream a reality^X.

Trying to drive a bureaucracy into the modern economy is like trying to put a jet engine on a horse and buggy. If you want to take flight, you must have wings.

The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same around the world. There's an old anecdote about a town -- it could be anywhere -- with a bureaucrat who is known to be a good for nothing, but he somehow has always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman gets up and says to him, "There is a folk legend where I come from that when a baby is born an angel comes down from heaven and kisses it on one part of its body. If the angel kisses him on his hand, he becomes a handyman, if he kisses him on his forehead, he becomes bright and clever. And I've been trying to figure out where the angel kissed you that you should sit there for long doing nothing."

We are seeing the power of ^{prosperity and economic} freedom spreading around the world. ~~Nations such as~~ ^{the Republic of} South Korea, Singapore, ^{and} Taiwan, have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax, free-market agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most ^{significant} ~~exciting~~ are the ^{profound} ~~winds of~~ changes

Careful -
China
not yet
example
of
"freedom"

Taiwan
not a nation/
country/state
- be careful

occurring in the Peoples Republic of
~~blowing over~~ mainland China, where one quarter of the world's
population is now feeling that first taste, that first thrill of
~~beginning to the benefits of increasing productivity~~
~~freedom~~. ~~How many entrepreneurs, how many great minds, will the~~
~~new China contribute to the 21st century?~~ (Not yet new China)

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of
the most powerful political movements of our age -- in Latin
America, ~~where 90 percent of the population lives under~~ ^{in the 1970's only a third} ^d
democratic government; ~~in the Philippines, in South Korea, and~~ ^{now it's over 90 percent. India South Korea}
~~elsewhere~~, free, contested, democratic elections are the order of
the day. Throughout the world, free markets are the model for
growth; democracy is the standard by which governments are
measured.

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. ~~In~~
~~fact, it is something of a national pastime.~~ Every 4 years is a
Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of them. We are now
~~finishing the season for preliminary votes in individual states~~
~~in the midst of primary season, in which the American people in~~
~~around the country by which the people narrow the field~~ ^{explain better}
~~votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates~~
to the final few who will run in the national election. At one
point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties,
not to mention the candidates of all the other parties, including
the Communist and Socialist parties -- all ~~vying~~ ^{seeking} for my job.

Every day on the television, four nationwide independent
news organizations, and hundreds of local ^{radio and television} stations, plus
thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates,
~~conduct~~ ^{conduct}
~~grill them in~~ interviews, and bring them together for debates.
When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I

will stand with him ^{on her} on the steps of the Capitol building as he's sworn in by the Chief Justice of the ~~Supreme Court~~ ^{United States. (correct title)}.

But Freedom ~~doesn't~~ ^{only} begin ^{or end} with ^{free} elections. Go to any American town, to take just an example, and you will see dozens of churches, ~~of dozens of denominations~~. In many places synagogues and mosques. Look in the telephone book of any big city, and you will see the names of every conceivable nationality -- they are living there together, side-by-side, working together in the same factories and businesses; their children attending the same ~~Sunday~~ ^{School}, growing up together, marrying, and raising families of their own.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside a judge whose only responsibility is to the law; and there you will see a jury, usually of 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the final arbiters of guilt or innocence.

Go into any schoolroom, you will see children being taught the self-evident truth, written in our Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that just governments are instituted among men only to secure and protect those rights.

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the ^{right to take initiative.} ~~continuing revolution of the marketplace.~~ The right of two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage that out-competes its giant rivals. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

among the people. It is the right ~~to be secure~~, to follow your imagination, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the belief that ^{every} individual life is ~~infinitely~~ precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of ~~God's creatures~~ ^{us} was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, ~~Azerbaijians~~ ^(very few), Armenians, Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each ^{of them} is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most ~~religious~~ ^{unselfish} peoples on Earth; because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned, but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world. "Reason and experience," said George Washington, in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle... [and it is] substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government."

Democracy is less a system of government than it is a system to keep government small, unintrusive -- ~~even, in some sense,~~ ^{and under the control of the people:} ~~ineffective~~ A system of constraints on power to keep politics

and government secondary to the important things in life, the true sources of value found only in family and faith.

But I hope you know, I go on about these things not simply to extol the virtues of my own country, but to speak to the true greatness of the heart and soul of your land. Who, after all, needs to tell the land that produced Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the country of Tolstoi about family and faith, the home of ^{Gogol} Scriabin about imagination. The great culture of your diverse land speaks with a glowing passion to all humanity. let me cite one of the most eloquent contemporary passage on human freedom; it comes, not from the literature of America, but from this country, from one of the greatest novels of the 20th century, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

The irresistible power of unarmed truth -- today the world looks expectantly to signs of change, steps toward greater freedom in the Soviet Union, because we know that such freedom in this land would mean a flowering and renaissance of humanity unparalleled in modern history.

We watch and we hope, as ~~changes take place in the press, as some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,~~

we see positive changes taking place.

Tolstoi was at odd w/Chor

~~and there is discussion of abandoning Article 20 - the right to~~
~~true freedom of worship to all creeds.~~ We look forward to seeing
these first steps turn into strides, to change that builds an
unstoppable momentum, pulled along by that irresistible power of
unarmed truth, the irresistible power of freedom.

Reform that is not ^{guaranteed} irreversible will always be insecure.

Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon
on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled
back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary
Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to make ~~irreversible~~
^{secure and institutional} change. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder
of a divided world, the Berlin Wall.

And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between
our peoples, I am proposing a massive ^{increase in our} exchange programs of ~~5,000~~
high school and undergraduate students ~~a year~~ between our
countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this:

[Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand
my English better than my Russian: "Better to see something once
than to hear about it a hundred times."

Just a few years ago, few would have imagined the progress
our two nations have made together: The I.N.F. treaty, which
General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in
Washington, the first true nuclear arms reduction treaty in

history, calling for the elimination of an entire class of U.S. and
^{Soviet} nuclear missiles. And just days ago, we saw ^{the beginning of your} ~~events in~~ withdrawal
Afghanistan, ^{which} ~~that~~ gives us hope that soon the fighting may end and ^{from}

I hope we can quickly start discussing
how to exchange large numbers of such young
people for opportunities to spend a summer
with families in the other country, to learn each
other's languages and way of life.

(Nothing is irreversible)

I hope that eventually we
could have thousands of
such exchanges each year.

the healing may begin, and that that suffering country may find self-determination, unity, and peace at long last.

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address together the continuing destruction of ~~(regional)~~ ^{in many regions of} conflicts ~~around~~ the globe, and that the ~~(remarkable)~~ statesmanship ~~and courage~~ that led to the ~~(treaty in)~~ ^{few records on} Afghanistan will ^{help} lead to solutions in Africa, ^{Southwest} Asia, ~~and~~ Central America, ~~the~~ Persian Gulf, and ~~the~~ Middle East.

I have often said, nations do not distrust each other because they are armed, they are armed because they distrust each other. If this globe is to live in peace and prosper, if it is to embrace all the possibilities of the technological revolution, then nations must renounce, once and for all, the right to an expansionist foreign policy. Peace between nations must be an enduring goal -- not a tactical stage in a continuing struggle.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: colonial revolution with Britain ^{we have} cemented for all ages the ties of kinship between our nations; after a terrible civil war between North and South, we healed our wounds and found true unity as a Nation. We fought two world wars in my lifetime against Germany, and a bloody Pacific conflict with Japan, but now those nations are two of our ^{closest} ~~(strongest)~~ allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as sign of strain, but they are the frictions of all families, and the family of free nations is a big and vital and sometimes boisterous one. I can tell you that nothing would please my heart more, than in my lifetime to see our diplomats grappling

with the problem of trade disputes between America and a growing, exuberant, exporting Soviet Union that had opened up to economic freedom and ^{growth.} ~~expansion.~~

Bad word!

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in ^{the} ~~Soviet~~ ^{of your country.} history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

I am reminded of the mysterious, ambiguous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a spreading troika, he asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, we do not know if the promise of ^{reform} ~~glorious~~ will be fulfilled. But in this Moscow Spring, this ^{MAY} ~~April~~ 1988, we may be allowed to hope that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvellous sound of a new openness will keep on ringing through [perezvon] leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and [in Russian: God bless you].