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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder: Moscow State University, 5/31/88 [5 of 9] *OA 18119*

Date: 1/24/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. speech draft	Moscow State University, 5/25/88, 12:00pm, pp.5-6 (2pp, partial)	5/18/88	P5
2. speech draft	item #1, p. 8 (1p, partial)	5/18/88	P5
3. speech draft	item #1, pp. 10-11 (2pp, partial)	5/18/88	P5 <i>CCB 12/20/00</i>

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].

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justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress; and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians on reasonable terms, (a measure the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them they urge it with solicitude) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope, of rendering our tranquility permanent. I add with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished, by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of Government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecayed lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: The state of our revenue with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper Department; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honorable extinction of our Public Debt, accords as much with the true interest of our country, as with the general sense of our Constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and House of Representatives: The Statements, which will be laid before you relative to the Mint, will shew the situation of that institution; and the necessity of some further Legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect; and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the Frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for Arsenals, and for replenishing our Magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians; will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects, which may arise in the course of the Session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious, and necessary for the peace happiness and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

In a letter to James Madison, dated May 20, 1792, (See page 586) Washington had not only expressed his determination not to stand for the Presidential office again, but had asked Madison's advice as to the proper time for and the best way of making known his intentions and even sought help in the preparation of a valedictory address. He was deterred from taking this step then on two counts: one, a too-early declaration of retirement would suggest vanity; and, second, it might be looked upon as a shrewd maneuver to remain in office. He even went so far as to outline in that letter to Madison of four years earlier what became in substance the major points of The Farewell Address. Now, in the Fall of 1796, the Presidential election was approaching and a third term was in prospect. Washington, this time, would not be dissuaded. He had prepared, with the aid of Hamilton and with some revisions by John Jay, what remains one of the great documents of American history. The four-way collaboration—Washington, Madison, Jay and Hamilton—was in the President's handwriting, with many corrections, alterations and addenda. The political effect of The Farewell Address was tremendous immediately, but its enduring force derives from Washington's character; every word of it reflects his steadfastness, sincerity, courage and forthrightness. It is the seal upon his devoted career for the independence of his country.

United States, September 19, 1796

FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a Citizen, to Administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually

arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your Suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last Election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our Affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the Organization and Administration of

the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of Success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your Union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its Administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and Virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of rec-

ommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our Country from the rest,

or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits and political Principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of Maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same Intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation enervated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the National navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a Maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future Maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed

by an indissoluble community of Interest as one Nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular Interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign Nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and Wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective Sub divisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason, to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes wch. may disturb our Union, it

occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by Geographical discriminations: *Northern* and *Southern*; *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other Districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render Alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The Inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the Negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their Interests in regard to the *MISSISSIPPI*. They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with *G: Britain* and that with *Spain*, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our Foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of [*sic*] these advantages on the UNION by wch. they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with Aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of Your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No Alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all Alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its

powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government presupposes the duty of every Individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and Associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the Constituted authorities are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party; often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the Community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the Mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or Associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. one method of assault may be to effect, in the

forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the laws and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseperable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human Mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing

faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration. It agitates the Community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in Governments of a Monarchical cast Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective Constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the Powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human

heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote then as an object of primary importance, Institu-

tions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debts, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the Debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseperable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the Conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towds. all Nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages wch. might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which en-

nobles human Nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one Nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate envenomed and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by illwill and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and Wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favourite Nation of priviledges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom eql. priviledges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite Nation) facility to

betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful Nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled, with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissi-

tudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities:

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by our justice shall Counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European Ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humour or Caprice? 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent Alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. So far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy). I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our Commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and deversifying by gentle means the streams of Commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed; in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them; conventional rules

of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one Nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its Independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from Nation to Nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the Destiny of Nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign Intrigue, to guard against the Impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my Official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must Witness to You and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d. of April 1793 is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain I was well satisfied that our Country, under all

the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a Neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a Neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and amity towards other Nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty five years of my life dedicated to its Service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the Mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a Man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several Generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free

Government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

EIGHTH ANNUAL ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

The last of the Addresses to Congress recommended means for the improvement of agriculture, the establishment of a military academy and a national university, and the gradual strengthening of the Navy. Washington made a special appeal for better understanding with the French Republic and ended on a note of hope that the Government he helped to found, dedicated to the protection of liberty, would be perpetual. Farewell dinners and receptions followed the final address on the state of the Union. Washington remained in Philadelphia to attend the inauguration of the second President and his Vice President, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, on March 4th. Then he returned to Mount Vernon in the hope of finding the freedom from public responsibility he had so long and earnestly sought.

December 7, 1796

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: In recurring to the internal situation of our Country, since I had last the pleasure to Address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The Acts of the last Session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to insure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard on the one hand, our advanced Settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly Individuals, who cannot be restrained by their Tribes;

and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by Treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the Power, as well as justice of the Government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek Nation at Cole-rain, in the State of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land, by that State, broke up without its being accomplished; the Nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any Sale; the occasion however has been improved, to confirm by a new Treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States; and to obtain their consent, to the establishment of Trading Houses and Military Posts within their boundary; by means of which, their friendship, and the general peace, may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late Session, at which the appropriation was passed, for carrying into effect the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the Posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon however as the Governor General of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation; and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michelimackina, and Fort Miami; where, such repairs, and additions have been ordered to be made, as appeared indispensable.

The Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix, mentioned in the Treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson Esqr. of New York, for the third Commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrews, in Passamaquoddy Bay, in the beginning of October; and directed surveys to be made of the Rivers in dispute; but deeming it impracticable to have these Surveys completed before the next Year, they adjourned, to meet at Boston in August 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other Commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh Article of the Treaty with Great

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis	Gen.	1	Ecclesiastes	Eccl.	838
Exodus	Ex.	70	Song of Solomon	Song	848
Leviticus	Lev.	127	Isaiah	Is.	856
Numbers	Num.	169	Jeremiah	Jer.	943
Deuteronomy	Deut.	227	Lamentations	Lam.	1031
Joshua	Josh.	276	Ezekiel	Ezek.	1040
Judges	Judg.	309	Daniel	Dan.	1109
Ruth	Ruth	342	Hosea	Hos.	1132
First Samuel	1 Sam.	347	Joel	Joel	1145
Second Samuel	2 Sam.	390	Amos	Amos	1150
First Kings	1 Kin.	426	Obadiah	Obad.	1160
Second Kings	2 Kin.	468	Jonah	Jon.	1162
First Chronicles	1 Chr.	508	Micah	Mic.	1164
Second Chronicles	2 Chr.	547	Nahum	Nah.	1172
Ezra	Ezra	592	Habakkuk	Hab.	1176
Nehemiah	Neh.	605	Zephaniah	Zeph.	1180
Esther	Esth.	624	Haggai	Hag.	1184
Job	Job	634	Zechariah	Zech.	1186
Psalms	Ps.	678	Malachi	Mal.	1198
Proverbs	Prov.	800			

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Gospel:—			
According to Matthew	Matt.	1	
According to Mark	Mark	46	
According to Luke	Luke	75	
According to John	John	123	
The Acts	Acts	159	
Romans	Rom.	208	
First Corinthians	1 Cor.	228	
Second Corinthians	2 Cor.	246	
Galatians	Gal.	259	
Ephesians	Eph.	265	
Philippians	Phil.	272	
Colossians	Col.	277	
First Thessalonians	1 Thess.	282	
Second Thessalonians	2 Thess.	286	
First Timothy	1 Tim.	288	
Second Timothy	2 Tim.	294	
Titus	Titus	298	
Philemon	Philem.	300	
Hebrews	Heb.	301	
James	James	316	
First Peter	1 Pet.	321	
Second Peter	2 Pet.	327	
First John	1 John	330	
Second John	2 John	335	
Third John	3 John	336	
Jude	Jude	337	
Revelation	Rev.	338	

GENESIS

The Creation

In the beginning ^bGod ^ccreated the heavens and the earth.

2 And the earth was ^{1a}formless and void, and ^bdarkness was over the ²surface of the deep; and ^cthe Spirit of God ^dwas moving over the ²surface of the waters.

3 Then ^aGod said, "Let there be light"; and there was light.

4 And God saw that the light was ^agood; and God ^bseparated the light from the darkness.

5 And ^aGod called the light day, and the darkness He called night. And ^bthere was evening and there was morning, one day.

6 ^a Then God said, "Let there be ^{1a}an ^aexpanse in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters."

7 And God made the ¹expanse, and separated ^athe waters which were below the ¹expanse from the waters ^bwhich were above the ¹expanse; and it was so.

8 And God called the ¹expanse heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.

9 ^a Then God said, "^aLet the waters below the heavens be gathered into one place, and let ^bthe dry land appear"; and it was so.

10 And God called the dry land earth, and the ^agathering of the waters He called seas; and God saw that it was good.

11 Then God said, "Let the earth sprout ^{1a}vegetation, ²plants yielding seed, and fruit trees bearing fruit after ³their kind, ⁴with seed in them, on the earth"; and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth ¹vegetation, ²plants yielding seed after ³their kind, and trees bearing fruit, ⁴with seed in them,

after ³their kind; and God saw that it was good.

13 And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

14 ^a Then God said, "Let there be ^{1a}lights in the ^{2b}expanse of the heavens to separate the day from the night, and let them be for ^csigns, and for ^dseasons, and for days and years;

15 and let them be for ¹lights in the ²expanse of the heavens to give light on the earth"; and it was so.

16 And God made the two ¹great lights, the ^agreater ²light ³to govern the day, and the lesser ²light ³to govern the night; ^{He} made ^bthe stars also.

17 ^a And God placed them in the ¹expanse of the heavens to give light on the earth.

18 and ¹to ^agovern the day and the night, and to separate the light from the darkness; and God saw that it was good.

19 And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

20 ^a Then God said, "Let the waters ¹teem with swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth ²in the open ³expanse of the heavens."

21 And God created ^athe great sea monsters, and every living creature that moves, with which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every winged bird after its kind; and God saw that it was good.

22 And God blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let birds multiply on the earth."

¹ *Ps. 102:25; Is. 40:21; John 1:1, 2; Heb. 1:10 *Ps. 89:11, 90:2; Acts 17:24; Rom. 1:20; Heb. 11:3; Job 38:4; Is. 42:5; 45:18; Rev. 4:11
² ¹ Or, a waste and emptiness
² Lit., face of
³ Or, hovering
⁴ Jer. 4:23
⁵ Job 38:9 *Ps. 104:30; Is. 40:13, 14
⁶ Deut. 32:11; Is. 31:5
⁷ *Ps. 33:6; 9; 2 Cor. 4:6
⁸ *Ps. 145:9, 10 *Is. 45:7
⁹ *Ps. 74:16 *Ps. 65:8
¹⁰ *Or, a firmament
¹¹ *Is. 40:22; Jer. 10:12; 2 Pet. 3:5
¹² *Or, firmament
¹³ Job 38:9-11 *Ps. 148:4
¹⁴ *Or, firmament
¹⁵ *Ps. 104:5-9; Jer. 5:22; 2 Pet. 3:5 *Ps. 24:1; 2:30, 5
¹⁶ *Ps. 33:7; 95:5; 146:6
¹⁷ *Or, grass *Or, herbs *Lit., its
¹⁸ Lit., in which its seed
¹⁹ *Ps. 65:9-13; 104:14; Heb. 6:7
²⁰ ¹ Or, grass *Or, herbs *Lit., its
²¹ Lit., in which its seed
²² ¹ Or, luminaries, light-bearers
² Or, firmament
³ *Ps. 74:16; 136:7 *Ps. 139:1; 150:1
⁴ Jer. 10:2 *Ps. 104:19
⁵ Ps. 83; Is. 40:26
⁶ *Or, firmament *Jer. 33:20, 25
⁷ *Lit., for the dominion of *Jer. 31:35
⁸ *Or, swarms *Lit., on the face of *Or, firmament
⁹ *Ps. 104:25-28

- 12 As far as the east is from the west,
So far has He ^aremoved our transgressions from us.
- 13 Just ^aas a father has compassion on his children,
So the LORD has compassion on those who ¹fear Him.
- 14 For ^aHe himself knows ¹our frame;
He ^bis mindful that we are but ^cdust.
- 15 ¹ As for man, his days are ^alike grass;
As a ^bflower of the field, so he flourishes.
- 16 When the ^awind has passed over it, it is no more;
And its ^bplace acknowledges it no longer.
- 17 But the ^alovingkindness of the LORD is from everlasting to everlasting on those who ¹fear Him,
And His ²righteousness ^bto children's children.
- 18 To ^athose who keep His covenant,
And who remember His precepts to do them.
- 19 ¹ The LORD has established His ^athrone in the heavens;
And His ^bsovereignty rules over ²all.
- 20 Bless the LORD, you ^aHis angels,
^bMighty in strength, who ^cperform His word,
^dObedient to the voice of His word!
- 21 Bless the LORD, all you ^aHis hosts,
You ^bwho serve Him, doing His will.
- 22 Bless the LORD, ^aall you works of His,
In all places of His dominion;
Bless the LORD, O my soul!

12-13 Sam. 12:12; Is. 38:17; 43:25; Zech. 3:9; Heb. 9:26
13 ¹Or, remove
^aMal. 3:17
14 ¹He, what we are made of
^aPs. 29:16 ^bPs. 78:39 ^cGen. 3:19; Eccl. 12:7
15 ¹Ps. 90:5; Is. 40:6; 1 Pet. 1:24
16 ¹Or, James 1:10, 11
17 ¹Or, revere
18 ¹Ps. 40:7; Job 7:10; 8:18; 20:9
19 ¹Or, faithfulness to His gracious promises
^aPs. 25:6 ^bEx. 20:6; Deut. 5:10; Ps. 105:8
20 ¹Deut. 7:9; Ps. 25:10
21 ¹Or, kingdom
^aPs. 114:4 ^bPs. 47:2; 8; Dan. 4:17, 25
22 ¹Ps. 148:2 ^bPs. 29:1; 78:25
^aMal. 6:10
^bPs. 91:11; Heb. 1:14
21 ¹ Kin. 22:19; Neh. 9:6; Ps. 148:2; Luke 2:13
22 ¹Ps. 104:4
23 ¹Ps. 103:22
24 ¹Dan. 7:9
^aPs. 40:22
25 ¹Or, The one who
^aAmos 9:6
^bPs. 19:1 ^cPs. 18:10
26 ¹Or, His angelic spirits
²Or, His ministers
27 ¹Ps. 148:8; Heb. 1:7-9; Kin. 2:11; 6:17
28 ¹Or, move out of place
29 ¹Gen. 1:2; 7:4
30 ¹Ps. 106:9; Is. 50:2 ^bPs. 29:3; 77:18
31 ¹Ps. 33:7

PSALM 104

The LORD's Care over All His Works.

- B**LESS the LORD, O my soul!
O LORD my God, Thou art very great;
Thou art ^bclothed with splendor and majesty,
Covering Thyself with ^alight as with a cloak,
^bStretching out heaven like a tent curtain.
- 2 He ^alays the beams of His upper chambers in the waters;
He makes the ^bclouds His chariot;
He walks upon the ^cswings of the wind;
He makes ²the winds His messengers,
³Flaming ^bfire His ministers.
- 5 He ^aestablished the earth upon its foundations,
So that it will not ^btotter for ever and ever.
- 6 Thou ^adidst cover it with the deep as with a garment,
The waters were standing above the mountains.
- 7 At Thy ^arebuke they fled,
At the ^bsound of Thy thunder they hurried away.
- 8 The mountains rose; the valleys sank down
To the ^aplace which Thou didst establish for them.
- 9 Thou didst set a ^aboundary that they may not pass over;
That they may not return to cover the earth.
- 10 ¹ He sends forth ^asprings in the valleys;
They flow between the mountains;

9 ¹Job 38:10; 11; Jer. 5:22
10 ¹Lit., The one who sends ^aPs. 107:35; Is. 41:18

- 11 They ^agive drink to every beast of the field;
The ^bwild donkeys quench their thirst.
- 12 ¹ Beside them the birds of the heavens ^adwelt;
They ²lift up ^btheir voices among the branches.
- 13 ¹ He ^awaters the mountains from His upper chambers;
²The earth is satisfied with the fruit of His works.
- 14 ¹ He causes the ^agrass to grow for the ²cattle,
And ^bvegetation for the ³laborer of man,
So that ^ahe may bring forth ^bfood ^cfrom the earth,
- 15 And ^awine which makes man's heart glad,
^bSo that he may make his face glisten with oil,
And ^cfood which ^dsustains man's heart.
- 16 The trees of the LORD ^adrink their fill,
The cedars of Lebanon which He planted,
- 17 Where the ^abirds build their nests,
And the ^bstork, whose home is the ^cfir trees.
- 18 ¹ The high mountains are for the ^awild goats;
The ^bcliffs are a refuge for the ^crock badgers.
- 19 He made the moon ^afor the seasons;
The ^bsun knows the place of its setting.
- 20 Thou ^adost appoint darkness and it becomes night,
In which all the ^bbeasts of the forest ¹prowl about.
- 21 The ^ayoung lions roar after their prey,
And ^bseek their food from God.
- 22 When the sun rises they withdraw,
And lie down in their ^adens.

11 ¹Ps. 104:13 ²Job 39:5
12 ¹Or, Over; Above
²Lit., give forth
^aMat. 8:20
13 ¹Lit., Who
^aPs. 85:9; 147:8
14 ¹Lit., Who
²Or, beasts
³Or, cultivation by or service of
^aJob 38:27; Ps. 147:8
^bGen. 1:29
^cJob 28:5
15 ¹Lit., bread
^aJudg. 9:13; Prov. 31:5; Eccl. 10:19
^bPs. 23:5; 92:10; 141:5; Luke 7:46
^cGen. 18:5; Judg. 19:5, 8
16 ¹Lit., one satisfied
17 ¹Or, cypress
^aPs. 104:12
^bLev. 11:19
18 ¹Job 39:1
²Prov. 30:26
^cLev. 11:5
19 ¹Gen. 1:14
²Ps. 19:6
20 ¹Lit., creep
^aPs. 74:16; Is. 45:7
^bPs. 50:10; Is. 36:9
^cJob 5:8
21 ¹Lit., And to seek
^aJob 38:39
^bPs. 145:15; Joel 1:20
22 ¹Job 37:8
²Gen. 3:19
23 ¹Or, With
²Or, creatures
^aPs. 40:5
^bPs. 136:5; Prov. 3:19; Jer. 10:12; 51:15
^cPs. 65:9
24 ¹Or, This
²Or, broad of dimensions
(lit., hands)
^aPs. 8:8; 69:34
^bJob 41:1
^cPs. 107:23; Ezek. 27:9
^dJob 41:1; Ps. 74:14; Is. 27:1
25 ¹Lit., one appointed time
^aPs. 145:15
^bJob 36:31; 38:41; Ps. 136:25; 147:9

- 23 Man goes forth to ^ahis work
And to his labor until evening.
- 24 ¹ O LORD, how ^amany are Thy works!
¹In ^bwisdom Thou hast made them all;
The ^cearth is full of Thy ²possessions.
- 25 ¹ There is the ^asea, great and ²broad,
In which are swarms without number,
Animals both small and great.
- 26 There the ^aships move along,
And ¹Leviathan, which Thou hast formed to sport in it.
- 27 ¹ They all ^await for Thee,
To ^bgive them their food in ^cdue season.
- 28 Thou dost give to them, they gather it up;
Thou ^adost open Thy hand, they are satisfied with good.
- 29 Thou ^adost hide Thy face, they are dismayed;
Thou ^bdost take away their ^cspirit, they expire,
And ^dreturn to their dust.
- 30 Thou dost send forth Thy ^aspirit, they are created;
And Thou dost renew the face of the ground.
- 31 ¹ Let the ^aglory of the LORD endure forever;
Let the LORD ^bbe glad in His works;
- 32 ¹ He ^alooks at the earth, and it ^btrembles;
He ^ctouches the mountains, and they smoke.

28 ¹Ps. 145:16
29 ¹Or, breath
^aDeut. 31:17; Ps. 30:7; Job 34:14, 15; Ps. 146:4; Eccl. 12:7
^bGen. 3:19; Job 10:9; Ps. 90:3
30 ¹Or, breath
^aJob 33:4; Ezek. 37:9
31 ¹Ps. 86:12; 111:10
^aGen. 1:31
32 ¹Lit., The one who
^aJudg. 5:5; Ps. 97:4, 5; 114:7
^bHab. 3:10
^cEx. 19:18; Ps. 144:5

conviction that his "life hasn't been sufficiently in keeping with his high principles. Long ago he'd written about people asking him, "You preach, but how do you live?" He wrote that this was a most natural question, and "that it always shuts my mouth." He added that he hadn't fulfilled a thousandth part of Christ's commandments, not because he didn't wish to, but because he was unable; but he was trying with all his heart. Now he writes in his diary that he rarely met a man with more vices than himself—voluptuousness, self-interest, malice, vanity, and especially self-love. He thanks God that he's still struggling against all that.

By 1910 Sofia makes hysterical scenes almost daily. On November 8 Tolstoy writes

in his diary: "More and more I am oppressed by my life." The following night he hears Sofia rummaging in his study. Is she looking for that will? After 48 years of marriage he writes her a farewell letter—the situation at home has become now unbearable, he says, and aside from that he can no longer bear to live in luxury.

Well before dawn he leaves Yasnaya Polyana for the last time, quietly, accompanied only by his doctor. Some think he hoped to go to a monastery and then become a penniless pilgrim.

Tolstoy fell ill on a southbound train of the Ryazan-Urals Railway and was taken to the stationmaster's house at Astopovo (page 788). For a week all Russia and much of the

world—informed by telegraph—held its breath. On November 20, 1910, he died.

FIFTY YEARS LATER—at a ceremony in the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, in the presence of the general secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.—the main speaker, the author Leonid Leonov, said Tolstoy's name is paired with those of Homer, Luther, Buddha. Last fall on the 75th anniversary of his death, powerful and eloquent men again met to praise Tolstoy. But I cannot imagine a more memorable tribute than what I've witnessed at Yasnaya Polyana in the spring.

The grave is a mound in the woods, amid

two maples, three elms, and an oak. This is the place Tolstoy requested—near a ravine where he and his brothers, when they were little, believed a green stick was buried on which was written the secret of happiness for all human beings. There is no cross, no marker. The wind is still. Birds sing.

A newly married couple and three attendants approach on the path, everyone talking, the couple laughing and kissing. They walk the last hundred feet in silence. The bride, with a gesture as graceful as a ballerina's, places her flowers on the grave, and all stand a while. They leave without having said a word. When they begin to talk again, he playfully tugs at her skirt and she takes his arm. □

*T*olstoy's death mask lies amid funeral wreaths (below) in Yasnaya Polyana. Attuned to his spirit, newlyweds leave flowers at his grave on the estate (right). He chose this site where, as a child, a brother claimed to have buried a stick bearing the secret of happiness. "The whole meaning and joy of life," Tolstoy concluded, lay in the search for perfection and understanding of God's will.



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10 'Because you have ^akept the word of ^bMy ¹'perseverance, ^cI also will keep you from the hour of ^{2a}testing, that *hour* which is about to come upon the whole ^{3e}world, to ⁴test ^fthose who dwell upon the earth.

11 'I am coming quickly; ^bhold fast what you have, in order that no one take your ^ccrown.

12 'He who overcomes, I will make him a ^b'pillar in the temple of My God, and he will not go out from it anymore; and I will write upon him the ^c'name of My God, and ^d'the name of the city of My God, ^e'the new Jerusalem, which comes down out of heaven from My God, and My ^f'new name.

13 'He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.'

14 'And to the angel of the church in ^a'Laodicea write:

¹ 'The Amen, ^c'the faithful and true Witness, ^d'the ^e'Beginning of the creation of God, says this:

15 'I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot; ^bI would that you were cold or hot.

16 'So because you are lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will ¹'spit you out of My mouth.

17 'Because you say, "I am rich, and have become wealthy, and have need of nothing," and you do not know that you are wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked,

18 I advise you to ^a'buy from Me ^b'gold refined by fire, that you may become rich, and ^c'white garments, that you may clothe yourself, and ^d'that ^e'the shame of your nakedness may not be revealed; and eye salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see.

19 'Those whom I love, I reprove and discipline; be zealous therefore, and ^b'repent.

20 'Behold, I stand ^a'at the door and ^b'knock; if anyone hears My voice and opens the door, ^cI will come in to him, and will dine with him, and he with Me.

10 ¹Or, steadfastness
2^{Or}, temptation
3^{Lit.}, in
4^{Unholy}, earth
5^{Or}, tempt
6^{John} 17:6,
Rev. 3:8
7^{Rev} 1:9
8²Tim. 2:12,
2^{Pat}. 2:9
9^{Rev} 2:10
10^{Matt} 24:14,
Rev. 16:14
11^{Rev} 6:10,
8:13, 11:10,
13:8, 14,
17:8

11¹Rev. 13:22, 12:20
12^{Rev} 2:25
13^{Rev} 2:10
14¹Kin. 7:21,
2:9
15^{Rev} 14:1, 22:4
16^{Ezek} 48:35,
Rev. 21:2
17^{Gal} 4:26
18^{Heb} 13:14,
Rev. 21:2, 10
19^{Is} 62:2, Rev. 2:17
20¹Rev. 3:6
21¹Is., origin
or source
22^{Rev} 1:11
23^{Cor} 1:20
24^{Rev} 1:5, 3:7
25^{Gen} 49:3,
Deut. 21:17,
Prov. 8:22,
John 13:1, Col.
1:18, Rev.
21:6, 22:13
26^{Rev} 3:1
27^{Rom} 12:11
28¹Lit.,
somet.

17¹ Hos.
12:8, Zech.
11:5, Matt.
5:3, 1^{Cor} 4:8
18¹Is. 55:1,
Matt. 13:44
19¹Pet. 1:7
20^{Rev} 3:4
21^{Rev} 16:15
22¹Cor. 11:32, Heb.
12:6
23^{Rev} 2:5
24^{Matt} 24:33,
James 5:9
25^{Luke} 12:36,
John 10:3
26^{John} 14:23
27¹Rev. 2:7
28^{Matt} 19:28,
2^{Tim} 2:12,
Rev. 2:26,
20:4
29^{John} 16:33,
Rev. 5:6, 2:17, 14
30²Rev. 2:7
31¹Lit., say-

21¹He who overcomes, I will grant to him ^bto sit down with Me on My throne, as ^cI also overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne.
22¹He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.'

21¹Or, in spirit
22¹Rev. 1:10
23¹Or, halo
24¹Rev. 4:6, 5:11, 7:11
25¹Rev. 4:10, 5:6, 8, 14, 19:4
26^{Matt} 19:28, Rev. 20:4
27¹Rev. 4:10
28¹Is. 6:7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19:4
29^{Ezek} 1:22, Rev. 15:2, 21:18, 21
30^{Ezek} 4:4, Rev. 4:8, 5:6, 6:1, 6:7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19:4
31^{Ezek} 1:18, 10:12

21 'He who overcomes, I will grant to him ^bto sit down with Me on My throne, as ^cI also overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne.
22 'He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.'

CHAPTER 4

AFTER ^athese things I looked, and behold, ^ba door ^cstanding open in heaven, and the first voice which I had heard, ^dlike the sound of a trumpet speaking with me, ^esaid, ^f"Come up here, and I will ^gshow you what must take place after these things."

2 Immediately I was ¹in the Spirit; and behold, ^ba throne was standing in heaven, and ^c'One sitting on the throne.

3 And He who was sitting was like a ^a'jasper stone and a ^b'sardius in appearance; and ^cthere was a ^d'rainbow around the throne, like an ^e'emerald in appearance.

4 And ^a'around the throne were ^b'twenty-four thrones; and upon the thrones I saw ^c'twenty-four elders ^d'sitting, clothed in ^e'white garments, and ^f'golden crowns on their heads.

5 And from the throne proceed ^a'flashes of lightning and sounds and peals of thunder. And ^bthere were ^c'seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are ^d'the seven Spirits of God;

6 and before the throne ^athere was, as it were, a ^b'sea of glass like crystal; and in the ^c'center and ^d'around the throne, ^e'four living creatures ^f'full of eyes in front and behind.

2¹Or, in spirit
22¹Rev. 1:10
23¹Or, halo
24¹Rev. 4:6, 5:11, 7:11
25¹Rev. 4:10, 5:6, 8, 14, 19:4
26^{Matt} 19:28, Rev. 20:4
27¹Rev. 4:10
28¹Is. 6:7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19:4
29^{Ezek} 1:22, Rev. 15:2, 21:18, 21
30^{Ezek} 4:4, Rev. 4:8, 5:6, 6:1, 6:7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19:4
31^{Ezek} 1:18, 10:12

7 'And the first creature was like a lion, and the second creature like a calf, and the third creature had a face like that of a man, and the fourth creature was like a flying eagle.

8 And the ^a'four living creatures, each one of them having ^b'six wings, are ^c'full of eyes around and within; and ^d'day and night ^e'they do not cease to say, "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, IS THE ^f'LORD GOD, THE ALMIGHTY, ^g'who was and who is and who is to come."

9 And when the living creatures give glory and honor and thanks to Him who ^a'sits on the throne, to ^b'Him who lives forever and ever,

10 the ^a'twenty-four elders will ^b'fall down before Him who ^c'sits on the throne, and will worship ^d'Him who lives forever and ever, and will cast their ^e'crowns before the throne, saying,

11 "Worthy art Thou, our Lord and our God, to receive glory and honor and power; for Thou ^a'didst create all things, and because of Thy will they ^b'existed, and were created."

CHAPTER 5

AND I saw ¹in the right hand of Him who ^a'sat on the throne a ^b'book written inside and on the back, ^c'sealed up with seven seals.

2 And I saw a ^a'strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the ^b'book and to break its seals?"

3 And no one ^a'in heaven, or on the earth, or under the earth, was able to open the ^b'book, or to look into it.

4 And I ^abegan to weep greatly, because no one was found worthy to open the ^b'book, or to look into it;

5 and one of the elders ^a'said to me, "Stop weeping; behold, the

7^{Ezek} 1:10, 10:14
8¹Lit., they have no rest, saying
9^{Ezek} 1:5, Rev. 4:6, 9:5, 6:1, 6, 7:11, 14:3, 15:7, 19:4
10¹Rev. 14:11, 6:3
11¹Rev. 1:4
12¹Rev. 4:2, 10:6, 10:6, 14:7, 15:7
13¹Rev. 5:8, 14:7, 11:16, 19:4
14¹Rev. 4:2, 10:6, 14:7, 10:6, 15:7
15¹Lit., were
16¹Rev. 1:6, 5:12
17¹Acts 14:15, Rev. 10:6, 14:7
18¹Lit., upon
19¹Or, scroll
20¹Rev. 4:9, 5:7, 13
21¹Is. 29:11, Dan. 12:4
22¹Or, scroll
23¹Rev. 10:1, 18:21
24¹Or, scroll
25¹Rev. 5:13, Phil. 2:10
26¹Or, scroll
27¹Or, scroll
28¹Rev. 4:9, 5:7, 13
29¹Is. 11:1, 10:12, Rev. 22:16
30¹Lit., in the middle of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the middle of the elders
31¹Rev. 4:4, 5:8, 14:3
32¹John 1:29, Rev. 5:8, 12:17, 13:8
33¹Rev. 5:9, 12:13, 8:13
34¹Zech. 3:9, 4:10
35¹Rev. 1:6, 14:14
36¹Rev. 5:11, 5:9
37¹John 1:29, Rev. 5:6, 13:13

^a'Lion that is ^b'from the tribe of Judah, the ^c'Root of David, has overcome so as to open the ^d'book and its seven seals."

6 And I saw ¹'between the throne (with the four living creatures) and ²'the elders a ^b'Lamb standing, as if ^c'slain, having seven ^d'horns and ^e'seven eyes, which are ^f'the seven Spirits of God, sent out into all the earth.

7 And He came, and He took ^a'it out of the right hand of Him who ^b'sat on the throne.

8 And when He had taken the ^a'book, the ^b'four living creatures and the ^c'twenty-four elders ^d'fell down before the ^e'Lamb, having each one a ^f'harp, and ^g'golden bowls full of incense, which are the ^h'prayers of the ⁱ'saints.

9 And they ^a'sang a ^b'new song, saying,

"Worthy art Thou to take the ^a'book, and to break its seals; for Thou wast ^b'slain, and didst ^c'purchase for God with Thy blood men from ^d'every tribe and tongue and people and nation.

10 "And Thou hast made them to be a ^a'kingdom and ^b'priests to our God; and they will ^c'b reign upon the earth."

11 And I looked, and I heard the voice of many angels ^a'around the throne and the ^b'living creatures and the ^c'elders; and the number of them was ^d'myriads of myriads, and thousands of thousands.

12 saying with a loud voice, "Worthy is the ^a'Lamb that was ^b'slain to receive

8¹Or, scroll
9¹Or, scroll
10¹Rev. 4:6, 5:6, 11:14, 14:3
11¹Rev. 4:4, 5:14
12¹Rev. 14:2, 15:2
13¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
14¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
15¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
16¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
17¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
18¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
19¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
20¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
21¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
22¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
23¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
24¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
25¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
26¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
27¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
28¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
29¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
30¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7
31¹Rev. 15:2, 15:7

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April 15, 1988

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAGE: Pg. 246 A1

LENGTH: 2343 words

HEADLINE: U.N.-Mediated Afghan Accords Signed in Geneva; Soviet Troops to
Begin Withdrawal May 15;
Excerpts from Afghan Accords Signed in Geneva

BODY:

Following are excerpts from the agreements on Afghanistan signed April 14 in Geneva. The two bilateral agreements were signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan. The declaration on international guarantees was signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The agreement on interrelationships, including the annex, was signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union signing as witnesses. All four agreements were to enter into effect May 15, 1988.

Bilateral Agreement -- Between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in Particular on Noninterference and Nonintervention

The Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the High Contracting Parties,

Desiring to normalize relations and promote good neighborliness and cooperation as well as to strengthen international peace and security in the region,

Considering that full observance of the principle of noninterference and nonintervention in the internal and external affairs of states is of the greatest importance for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the fulfillment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the inalienable rights of states freely to determine their own political, economic, cultural and social systems in accordance with the will of their peoples, without outside intervention, interference, subversion, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever . . . have agreed as follows:

Article I

Relations between the High Contracting Parties shall be conducted in strict compliance with the principle of noninterference and nonintervention by states in the affairs of other states.

Article II

For the purpose of implementing the principle of noninterference and nonintervention each High Contracting Party undertakes to comply with the

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following obligations:

1. To respect the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, national unity, security and non-alignment of the other High Contracting Party, as well as the national identity and cultural heritage of its people;

2. To respect the sovereign and inalienable right of the other High Contracting Party freely to determine its own political, economic, cultural and social systems, to develop its international relations and to exercise permanent sovereignty over its natural resources, in accordance with the will of its people, and without outside intervention, interference, subversion, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever;

3. To refrain from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever so as not to violate the boundaries of each other, to disrupt the political social or economic order of the other High Contracting Party, to overthrow or change the political system of the other High Contracting Party or its government, or to cause tension between the High Contracting Parties;

4. To insure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity or disrupt the political, economic and social stability of the other High Contracting Party;

5. To refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at the other High Contracting Party, or any act of military, political, or economic interference in the internal affairs of the other High Contracting Party, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force;

6. To refrain from any action or attempt in whatever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of the other High Contracting Party or any of its institutions;

7. To refrain from the promotion, encouragement or support, direct or indirect, of rebellious or secessionist activities against the other High Contracting Party, under any pretext whatsoever, or from any other action which seeks to disrupt the unity or to undermine or subvert the political order of the other High Contracting Party;

8. To prevent within its territory the training, equipping, financing and recruitment of mercenaries from whatever origin for the purpose of hostile activities against the other High Contracting Party, or the sending of such mercenaries into the territory of the other High Contracting Party and accordingly to deny facilities, including financing for the training, equipping and transit of such mercenaries;

9. To refrain from making any agreements or arrangements with other states designed to intervene or interfere in the internal and external affairs of the other High Contracting Party;

10. To abstain from any defamatory campaign, vilification or hostile propaganda for the purpose of intervening or interfering in the internal affairs of the other High Contracting Party;

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11. To prevent any assistance to or use of or tolerance of terroristt groups, saboteurs or subversive agents against the other High Contracting Party;

12. To prevent within its territory the presence, harboring, in camps and bases or otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping and arming of individuals and political, ethnic and any other groups for the purpose of creating subversion, disorder or unrest in the territory of the other High Contracting Party and accordingly also to prevent the use of mass media and the transportation of arms, ammunition and equipment by such individuals and groups;

13. Not to resort to or to allow any other action that could be considered as interference or intervention.

Declaration on International Guarantees -- The governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the United States of America...undertake to invariably refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and to respect the commitments contained in the Bilateral Agreement Between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in Particular on Noninterference and Nonintervention [and] urge all states to act likewise.

Bilateral Agreement -- Between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Voluntary Return of Refugees

The Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, heereinafter referred to as the High Contracting Parties,

Desiring to normalize relations and promote good neighborliness and cooperation as well as to strengthen international peace and security in the region,

Convinced that voluntary and unimpeded repatriation constitutes the most appropriate solution for the problem of Afghan refugees present in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and having ascertained that the arrangements for the return of the Afghan refugees are satisfactory to them,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

All Afghan refugees temporarily present in the territory of the Islaamic Republic of Pakistan shall be given the opportunity to return voluntarily to their homeland in accordance with the arrangements and conditions set out in the present agreement.

Article II

The government of the Republic of Afghanistan shall take all necessaary measures to insure the following conditions for the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland:

a. All refugees shall be allowed to return in freedom to their homeland;

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b. All returnees shall enjoy the free choice of domicile and freedom of movement within the Republic of Afghanistan;

c. All returnees shall enjoy the right to work, to adequate living conditions and to share in the welfare of the state;

d. All returnees shall enjoy the right to participate on an equal basis in the civic affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan

e. All returnees shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, including freedom of religion, and have the same obligations and responsibilities as any other citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan without discrimination.

The government of the Republic of Afghanistan undertakes to implement these measures and to provide, within its possibilities, all necessary assistance in the process of repatriation.

Article III

The government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall facilitate the voluntary, orderly and peaceful repatriation of all Afghan refugees staying within its territory and undertakes to provide, within its possibilities, all necessary assistance in the process of repatriation.

Article IV

For the purpose of organizing, coordinating and supervising the operations which should effect the voluntary, orderly and peaceful repatriation of Afghan refugees, there shall be set up mixed commissions in accordance with the established international practice

Article V

With a view to the orderly movement of the returnees, the commissions shall determine frontier crossing points and establish necessary transit centers

Article VI

At the request of the governments concerned, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will cooperate and provide assistance in the process of voluntary repatriation of refugees

Article VII

The arrangements set out in Articles IV and V above shall remain ineffect for a period of 18 months. After that period the High Contracting Parties shall review the results of the repatriation and, if necessary, consider any further arrangements that may be called for.

Agreement -- On the Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan

1. The diplomatic process initiated by the secretary general of the United Nations with the support of all governments concerned and aimed at achieving,

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through negotiations, a political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan has been successfully brought to an end . . .

3. The government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan . . . agreed that the political settlement should be based on the following principles of international law:

- * The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any states, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;

- * The principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered;

- * The duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

- * The duty of states to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

- * The principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

- * The principle of sovereign equality of states;

- * The principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

The two governments further affirmed the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homeland in a voluntary and unimpeded manner

5. The Bilateral Agreement on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in Particular on Noninterference and Nonintervention; the Declaration of International Guarantees; the Bilateral Agreement on the Voluntary Return of Refugees, and the present Agreement on the Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan will enter into force on 15 May 1988. In accordance with the time frame agreed upon between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Afghanistan there will be a phased withdrawal of the foreign troops which will start on the date of entry into force mentioned above. One half of the troops will be withdrawn by 15 August 1988 and the withdrawal of all troops will be completed within nine months.

6. The interrelationships in Paragraph 5 above have been agreed upon in order to achieve effectively the purpose of the political settlement, namely, that as from 15 May 1988, there will be no interference or intervention in any form in the affairs of the parties; the international guarantees will be in operation; the voluntary return of the refugees to their homeland will start and be completed within the time frame envisaged in Paragraph 5. It is therefore essential that all the obligations deriving from the instruments concluded as component parts of the settlement be strictly fulfilled and that all the steps required to insure full compliance with all the provisions of the instruments be completed in good faith.

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7. To consider alleged violations and to work out prompt and mutually satisfactory solutions to questions that may arise in the implementation of the instruments . . . representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall meet whenever required.

A representative of the secretary general of the United Nations shall . . . assist in the organization of the meetings and participate in them

Annex: Memorandum of Understanding -- The secretary general will appoint a senior military officer as deputy to the representative, who will be stationed in the area, as head of two small headquarters units, one in Kabul and the other in Islamabad, each comprising five military officers, drawn from existing U.N. operations, and a small civilian auxiliary staff.

The two headquarters units will be organized into two inspection teams to ascertain on the ground any violation of the instruments comprising the settlement. Whenever considered necessary by the representative of the secretary general or his deputy, up to 40 additional military officers (some 10 additional inspection teams) will be redeployed from existing operations within the shortest possible time (normally around 48 hours).

Whenever necessary the representative of the secretary general . . . will periodically visit the area for consultations with the parties and to review the work of his personnel.

(Gilder/ARD)
May 23, 1988
5:00 p.m.

(X)
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

~~WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1988~~
Tuesday, May 31, 1988

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University. And I want to thank you all for turning out. I know you must be very busy this week studying and you are all now taking your final examinations -- so let me just wish you [Nyah pooka nyeh peara].

[Did I hear something?] In America we might say "break a leg," which is just as untranslatable.

Nancy couldn't make it today because she is visiting Leningrad -- which she tells me over the phone is a very beautiful city -- but she, too, says hello and wishes you good luck.

Let me say, it's also a great pleasure to once again have this 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. So while I have you all together -- electronically at least -- I want to tell you that before I left Washington I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here a simple message. A simple message, perhaps, but 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.

As you know, ~~we came to Moscow to meet~~ one of your most distinguished graduates. In this, our fourth summit,

General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to know each other well.

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 to talk to you much as I would to any group of university students in the United States. I want to talk, not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow.

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, 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 -- no bigger than a fingerprint, one of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers.

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives: replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of D.N.A. for medical researchers. Micro-computers today aid the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft -- they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read -- or help

Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber-optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we are emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources -- into, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his 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 book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of

X
communication. The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov (~~Phonetics~~) knew that. "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."

You know, one of the first contacts between your country and mine took place between Russian and American explorers. The Americans were members of Cook's last voyage on an expedition searching for an Arctic passage; on the island of Unalaska, they came upon the Russians, who took them in and together, with the ~~inhabitants of the island,~~ native Indians, held a prayer service on the ice.

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They 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, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many do, particularly the successful ones. Often 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. Like an athlete in competition, or a

scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

That is why it's so hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are a problem around the world. There's an old story 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 and do nothing."

We are seeing the power of economic freedom spreading around the world -- places such as the Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have vaulted into the technological era, barely pausing in the industrial age along the way. Low-tax agricultural policies in the sub-continent mean that in some years India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over The People's Republic of China, where one quarter of the world's population is now getting its first taste of economic freedom.

At the same time, the growth of democracy has become one of the most powerful political movements of our age. In Latin

America in the 1970's, only a third of the population lived under democratic government -- today over 90 percent do. In the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, 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 the American people choose a new President, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 14 major candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates -- all trying to get [poluchit] my job.

About 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise, fiercely independent of the Government, report on the candidates, grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. In the end, the people vote -- they decide who will be the next President.

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, representing many different beliefs -- in many places synagogues and mosques -- and you will see families of every conceivable nationality, worshipping together.

Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights -- among

them freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion -- that no government can justly deny.

of.
Re: Council's JJA

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no Government power; there, every defendant has the right to a trial by a jury of their peers, usually 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman, or any official, has not greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, there you'll find an open, sometimes heated, discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of Government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them -- the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and protected by the police.

X

Go into any Union Hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law. As a matter of fact, one of the many jobs I've had before this one was being president of a union, the Screen Actors Guild, of America. I led my union out on strike -- and I'm proud to say, we won.

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. It is the

understanding that allows us to recognize shortcomings and seek solutions. It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people. It is the right to follow your star, or stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters.

Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer.

America is a nation made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than ones of good feeling; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, people from all the Baltic States and Central Asian Republics: They come from every part of this land, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each cultural heritage is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Recently, your government has been allowing a few individuals and families to visit relatives in the West. We can only hope that it won't be long before all are allowed to do so, and Ukrainian-Americans, Latvian-Americans, Armenian-Americans, can freely visit their homelands, just as this Irish-American visits his.

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 limited, unintrusive: 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 of Dostoevski about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of Alishir Navai about beauty and heart. 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 writers of the 20th century, Boris Pasternak, in the novel, Dr. Zhivago: "I think that if the beast who 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 we see positive changes taking place. 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.

There are some, I know, who look with a wary eye on the changes taking place in your society, fearful that change will bring only disruption and discontinuity -- that to embrace the hope of the future must mean a complete rejection of the past.

It's like that scene in the movie "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid," which some here in Moscow recently had a chance to see. The posse is closing in on Butch and Sundance, who find themselves trapped on the edge of a cliff, with a sheer drop of hundreds of feet to the raging rapids below. Butch turns to Sundance and says their only hope is to jump into the river below, but Sundance refuses. He says he'd rather fight it out with the posse, even though they're hopelessly outnumbered. Butch says that's suicide and urges him to jump, but Sundance still refuses. Finally, Sundance admits, "I can't swim." Butch

breaks up laughing and says, "You crazy fool, the fall will probably kill you."

7. *rejection of*
But change should not mean ~~to reject~~ the past. Like a tree growing strong through the seasons, rooted in the earth and drawing life from the sun, so too, positive change must be rooted in traditional values -- in the land and culture, in family and community -- and it must take its life from the eternal things, from the source of all life, which is faith. Such change will lead to new understandings, new opportunities, to a broader future in which the tradition is not supplanted, but finds its full flowering.

That is the future beckoning to your generation. At the same time, we should remember that reform that is not institutionalized will always be insecure. Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A bird 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 spoken of how important it is to institutionalize change -- to put guarantees on reform. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall. It is time to remove the barriers that keep people apart.

I am proposing an increased exchange program of high school students between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times." General Secretary Gorbachev and I first began working on this in 1985; in our discussion today, we agreed on working up to 2,000 exchanges a year, from each

country, in the near future. But not everyone can travel across the continents and oceans. Words travel lighter: That is why we would like to make available to this country more of our ~~11 thousand~~^{11,000} magazines and periodicals; and our television and radio shows, that can be beamed off a satellite in seconds. Nothing would please us more than for the Soviet people to get to know us better and to understand our way of life.

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 15 days ago, we saw the beginning of your withdrawal from Afghanistan, which gives 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 the continuing destruction of conflicts in many regions of the globe and that the serious discussions that led to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Southeast 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 conflict.

I have been told that there is a popular song in this country -- perhaps you know it? -- whose evocative refrain asks the question, "Do the Russians want a war?" In answer it says, "Go ask... that silence lingering in the air/ above the birch and poplar there. / Beneath those trees the soldiers lie.... / Go ask my mother, ask my wife/ Then you will have to ask no more... / Do the Russians want a war?"

But what of your one-time allies? What of those who embraced you on the Elbe? What if we were to ask the watery graves of the Pacific, or the European battlegrounds where America's fallen were buried far from home. What if we were to ask their mothers, sisters, and sons: Do Americans want war? Ask us, too, and you will find the same answer, the same longing in every heart. People do not make wars, governments do -- no mother would ever willingly sacrifice her sons for territorial gain, for economic advantage, for ideology. A people free to choose, will always choose peace.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: After a 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 one with Japan, but now the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are two of our closest allies and friends.

Some people point to the trade disputes between us as a 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 American and Soviet 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.

And as important as these official people-to-people exchanges are, nothing would please me more than for them to become unnecessary, to see travel between East and West become so routine that university students in the Soviet Union could take a month off in the summer and, just like students in the West do now, put packs on their backs and travel from country to country in Europe with barely a passport check in between. Nothing would please me more than to see the day that a concert promoter in, say, England could call up a Soviet Rock group -- without going through any government agency -- and have them playing in Liverpool the next night.

Is this just a dream? Perhaps, but it is a dream that it is our responsibility to make come true.

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 famous passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing his nation to a speeding troika, Gogol 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, but we are hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May, 1988, we may be allowed that 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 ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

3524 Add-on

Josh

DATE: 5/18/88

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

COB 5/19/88

SUBJECT: REVISEDPRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

(5/18 - 12:00 draft)

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

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

May 19, 1988

TO: TONY DOLAN

NSC staff concurs with the changes marked.

Paul Schott Stevens
Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Gilder/ARD)
May 18, 1988
12:00 p.m.

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

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

It's a great pleasure to be here at Moscow State University. And I want to thank you all for turning out. I know you must be very busy this week studying and you are all now taking your final examinations -- so let me just wish you ~~[Nye] pooka nye~~ ^{[Ni pooka ni pyera].} ~~peara].~~

[Did I hear something?] In America we might say "break a leg," which is just as untranslatable.

Nancy couldn't make it today because she is visiting Leningrad -- which she tells me over the phone is a very beautiful city -- but she, too, says hello and wishes you good luck.

Are we certain?
Let me say, it's also a great pleasure to once again have this 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. So while I have you all together -- electronically at least -- I want to tell you that before I left Washington I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here a simple message. A simple message, perhaps, but 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.

As you know, I've just come from a meeting with one of your most distinguished graduates. In this, our fourth summit,

General Secretary Gorbachev and I have spent many hours together, and I feel that we are getting to know each other well.

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 to talk to you much as I would to any group of ^{University} college students in the United States. I want to talk, not just of the realities of today, but of the possibilities of tomorrow.

More likely to be understood

✓

Standing here before a mural of your revolution, I want to talk about a very different revolution that is taking place right now, 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 -- no bigger than a fingerprint, one of these chips has more computing power than a roomful of old-style computers, or the ability to store in its memory every word in every book in ^{kilometers} miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

State suggestion

✓

established at my first meeting with the General Secretary,

As part of an exchange program, we now have an exhibition touring your country that shows how information technology is transforming our lives: replacing manual labor with robots, forecasting weather for farmers, or mapping the genetic code of D.N.A. for medical researchers. Micro-computers today aid the

—

design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft -- they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read -- or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we are emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources -- into, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

Overstated In the new economy, human invention increasingly ^{transcends the limits of} ~~makes~~ physical resources ~~obsolete~~. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man paints his 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 in the New Testament: In the beginning was the word, the idea, and it

was from this idea that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

But progress is not foreordained. The key is freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication, ^{freedom to create.} The renowned scientist, scholar, and founding father of this University, Mikhail Lomonosov, knew that. "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."

You know, one of the first communications between your country and mine was a letter from the president of one of our oldest universities to ~~Michael~~ ^{Mikhail} Lomonosov on a subject of scientific inquiry. And one of the first contacts was between Russian and American explorers. The Americans were members of Cook's last voyage on an expedition searching for an Arctic passage; on the island of Unalaska, they came upon the Russians, who took them in and together, with the native Indians, held a prayer service on the ice.

The explorers of the modern era are the entrepreneurs, men with vision, with the courage to take risks and faith enough to brave the unknown. These entrepreneurs and their small enterprises are responsible for almost all the economic growth in the United States. They 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, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

Some people, even in my own country, look at the riot of experiment that is the free market and see only waste. What of all the entrepreneurs that fail? Well, many do, particularly the successful ones. Often 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. Like an athlete in competition, or a scholar in pursuit of the truth, experience is the greatest teacher.

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No, repressive bureaucracies of totalitarian states are different

State thinks this will be taken in USSR as in bad taste

Singapore + Taiwan not yet examples of political freedom. (And Taiwan is not a "country".)

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 ^{the People's Republic of} ~~(mainland)~~ China, where one quarter of the world's population is now ^{stretching its economic muscles and shaking off} ~~feeling their first thrill of freedom~~ ^{the constraints that shackle productivity.}

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Philippines and ^{the Republic of} ~~South~~ Korea, free, contested, democratic elections, ~~are the order of the day~~ ^{we see} Throughout the world, free ^{representative} markets are the model for growth; democracy is the ^{model for} ~~standard by~~ ^(State suggestion) which ~~governments are measured~~ ^{human progress,}

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No, not yet freedom"

rain election was Marcos' rigged election though there were legislative elections)

confusing - not all independent & one another

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More likely to be understood

wrong word -

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Sounds like the Baltic states are part of the Soviet Union! We don't recognize them!

all
shks from the
from every part of this land
~~from every part of the Soviet Union~~

✓
✓

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~~There are some, I know, who look with a wary eye on the changes taking place in your society, fearful that change will bring only disruption and discontinuity -- that to embrace the hope of the future must mean a complete rejection of the past.~~

[Insert to come: story on Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid]

But Like a tree growing strong through the seasons, rooted in the earth and drawing life from the sun, so too, positive change must be rooted in traditional values -- in the land and

Too Much

Why does he have to take sides in internal debate?
No!

culture, in family and community -- and it must take its life from the eternal things, from the source of all life, which is faith. Such change will lead to new understandings, new opportunities, to a broader future in which the tradition is not supplanted, but finds its full flowering.

That is the future beckoning to your generation. At the same time, we should remember that reform that is not institutionalized 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 ^{encouraged the effort} ~~urged him to look for ways~~ to institutionalize change -- to put guarantees on reform. And we have been talking together about one sad reminder of a divided world, the Berlin Wall. It is time to remove the barriers that keep people apart.

I am proposing an increased exchange program of high school students between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this: "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times." General Secretary Gorbachev and I first began working on this in 1985; in our discussion today, we agreed on working up to 2,000 exchanges a year, from each country, in the near future. But not everyone can travel across the continents and oceans. Words travel lighter: That is why we would like to make available to this country more of our ___ thousand magazines and periodicals; and our television and radio shows, that can be beamed off a satellite in seconds.

Gorbo doesn't like being lectured to.

Will be very difficult to say

Nothing would please us more than for the Soviet people to get to know us and our way of life.

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 the beginning of your withdrawal from Afghanistan, which gives 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.

US and Soviet ✓

It is my fervent hope that our constructive cooperation on these issues will be carried on to address (together) the continuing destruction of conflicts in many regions of the globe and that the serious discussions that led to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, Southeast, and Central America.

Too much like a US-Soviet condominium

Parties to the conflicts are the keys, not US + USSR

help
Southern Ethiopia, Cambodia, the Persian Gulf, Middle East, 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 conflict.

I have been told that there is a popular song in this country -- perhaps you know it? -- whose evocative refrain asks

the question, "Do the Russians want war?" In answer it says, "Go ask... the silence that lingers in the air, above the birch and poplar there/ Beneath those trees the soldiers lie.... Go ask those who gave the soldiers life/ Go ask my mother, ask my wife/ Then you will have to ask no more/ Do the Russians want a war?"

But what of your one-time allies? What of those who embraced you on the Elbe? What if we were to ask the ~~(the)~~ watery graves of the Pacific, or the European battlegrounds where America's fallen were buried far from home? What if we were to ask their mothers, sisters, and sons: Do Americans want war? Ask us, too, and you will find the same answer, the same longing in every heart. People do not make wars, governments do -- no mother would ever willingly sacrifice their sons for territorial gain, for economic advantage, for ideology. A people free to choose, will always choose peace.

Americans seek always to make friends of old antagonists: After a 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 one with Japan, but now ^{the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan,} ~~these nations~~ are two of our closest 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 ^{American and Soviet} ~~our~~ diplomats grappling

It took
about 100
years

State
says we
have to
specify
that it's
a new
Germany

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

We want them to export and import

And as important as these official people-to-people exchanges are, nothing would please me more than for them to become unnecessary, to see travel between East and West become so routine that ~~college~~^{University} students in the Soviet Union could take a month off in the summer and, just like students in the West do now, put a pack on their back and travel from country to country in Europe with barely a passport check in between. Nothing would please me more than to see the day that a concert promoter in, say, England could call up a Soviet Rock group -- without going through any government agency -- and have them playing in Liverpool the next night.

Is this just a dream? Perhaps, but it is a dream that it is our responsibility to make come true.

Your generation is living in one of the most exciting, hopeful times in ~~Soviet~~^{Your country's} 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~~^{famous} passage near the end of Gogol's Dead Souls. Comparing ~~this~~^{the Russian} nation to a ~~speeding~~^{spreading} troika, ~~he~~^{Gogol} asks what will be its destination. But he writes, "there was no answer save the bell pouring forth marvellous sound."

Every Soviet school kid knows it by heart. President should indicate he knows it's famous

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, but we are hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled. In this Moscow spring, this May, 1988, we may be allowed that 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 ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

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

CA10C

Document No. 561336

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/18/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB 5/19/88

SUBJECT: REVISED PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
(5/18 - 12:00 draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to TOny Dolan's office bwith an info copy to my office by close of business Thursday, May 19, 1988. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

see p-12 / 56

Nothing would please us more than for the Soviet people to get to know us ^{better to understand} and our way of life.

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 the beginning of your withdrawal from Afghanistan, which gives 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 conflicts in many regions of the globe and that the serious discussions that led to the Geneva accords on Afghanistan will lead to solutions in Africa, Asia, Southeast, 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 conflict.

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CARD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1988



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

FROM: C. DEAN MCGRATH, JR. *C. Dean McGrath*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Revised Presidential Address: Moscow State
University (May 18, 12:00 Draft)

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

Thank you for submitting these revised remarks for our review.

Attachment

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

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Carol

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

RESPONSE:

LEGIS. AFF. ; p. 3 -- will the average American listener know what a chrysalis is?

p. 7 -- (see suggested change marked) - a jury may, in fact, give a policeman's word more weight than it gives the accused's word (and usually does because juries usually find in a case that the policeman is more credible than the criminal defendant involved. Rhett Dawson Ext. 2702)

design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft -- they even design better and faster computers. They can translate English into Russian or enable the blind to read -- or help Michael Jackson produce on one synthesizer the sounds of a whole orchestra. Linked by a network of satellites and fiber optic cables, one individual with a desktop computer and a telephone commands resources unavailable to the largest governments just a few years ago.

Like a chrysalis, we are emerging from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy confined to and limited by the Earth's physical resources -- into, as one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which there are no bounds on human imagination and the freedom to create is the most precious natural resource.

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made, but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire.

In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We are breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man paints his 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 in the New Testament: In the beginning was the word, the idea, and it

of churches, representing many different beliefs -- in many places synagogues and mosques -- and you will see families of every conceivable nationality, worshipping together.

Go into any schoolroom, and there you will see children being taught the Declaration of Independence, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion that no government can justly deny them.

Go into any courtroom, and there will preside an independent judge, beholden to no Government power; and there will be a jury of usually 12 men and women -- common citizens, they are the ones, the only ones, who weigh the evidence and decide on guilt or innocence. In that court, the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and the word of a policeman, or any official, *has only as much weight as the citizens on the jury believe it deserves.* ~~carries no more weight than the word of the accused.~~

Go to any college campus, there you'll find an open, sometimes heated, discussion of the problems in American society and what can be done to correct them. Turn on the television, and you'll see the legislature conducting the business of Government right there before the camera, debating and voting on the legislation that will become the law of the land. March in any demonstration, and there are many of them -- the people's right of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and enforced by the police.

Go into any Union Hall, where the members know their right to strike is protected by law. As a matter of fact, one of the many jobs I've had before this one was being president of a