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Josh's
D's

(Gilder/ARD)
May 17, 1988
4:00 p.m.

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

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

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, 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 college 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, or the ability to store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

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 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. 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 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.

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 and to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same 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."

X
We are seeing the power of freedom spreading around the world -- ^{Countries} 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, free-market agricultural

policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling first thrill of 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 South 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 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Communist and Socialist candidates -- all trying to get [poluchit] my job.

Over 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise in no way connected with 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.

X 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 ~~a President,~~ ^{any official} carries no more weight, than the word of the accused.

X 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 principles of} ~~You'll see~~ ^{-- the people's right} ~~of assembly is guaranteed in the Constitution and enforced by policemen -- they are there to protect the demonstrators.~~ ^{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

union, the Screen Actors Guild of America. I lead my union out on strike for higher pay -- 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 and Central Asian republics: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Recently, your government has been allowing a few individuals and families out to visit relatives in the West. We can only hope that it won't be long before many more 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 small, 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 Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of Alizheer Navoi 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 that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

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

We watch and we hope as 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.

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 culture, in family and community -- and it must take its life from the eternal things, from the source of all life, which is faith.

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

[

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 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 ~~and other young people~~ ^{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} ~~I hope that~~ ~~eventually we could have thousands of such exchanges every year.~~

Gorbachev and I agreed on working up to 2,000 exchanges a year, from each country, in the near future.

J 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. 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.

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.

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

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 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 history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

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

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, 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].

[Nyeh pucha nyeh peara]

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

Master

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

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

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

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

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

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

Michael Gorbachev

response [tell wife you] look like he's listening? Did I hear something?

insert

Mention Mrs Reagan

just "wish you" (No down no feathers)

ophone

know each other well. [We have been very busy trying to solve the major problems that confront us: disarmament, world peace, and such. ^{Hopefully, we can reach an agreement} Now, I know you are very serious students, but if this ^{to stop building missiles, and start building something} were America, someone would ask me when we were going to get ^{both countries would like to see --} around to building a blue jeans factory in Moscow.]

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

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

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

5 kopee piece

[note to resolution & etc this; = ...]

Do Russians want war?

- ⇒ If you want to find out, ask the grave of three unknown soldiers, and the mother who cry over them.
- ⇒ Ask the soldier who were embracing us on the Elbe

^{no chips} these remarkable inventions has ^{more} the computing power ^{than} of a roomful of old-style computers. ^{or the ability to perform} Calculations that once took months, even years, are now completed in fractions of a second. One of these chips can store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

(Insert II, MSUS) ^{Dread} And they're getting smaller and more powerful all the time.

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

~~This is more than a productivity explosion; operating in the mysterious world of quantum physics, today's computers signal~~ Like a chrysalis we are emerging from ^{the cocoon of} a quantum leap in the world's economy! We are rapidly moving

~~from the economy of the Industrial Revolution -- an economy~~ ^{confronted to and limited by} feeding on and tied to the Earth's physical resources -- ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ to, as

~~one economist titled his book, The Economy In Mind, in which~~ ^{there are no bounds on} human imagination and the freedom to create are the most precious natural resources.

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

↓
no
①

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

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

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

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

Mikhail Lomonosov, the founding father of this great university

I walked in an elevator and saw
a sign saying button 5 doesn't work,
so press 2 and 3.

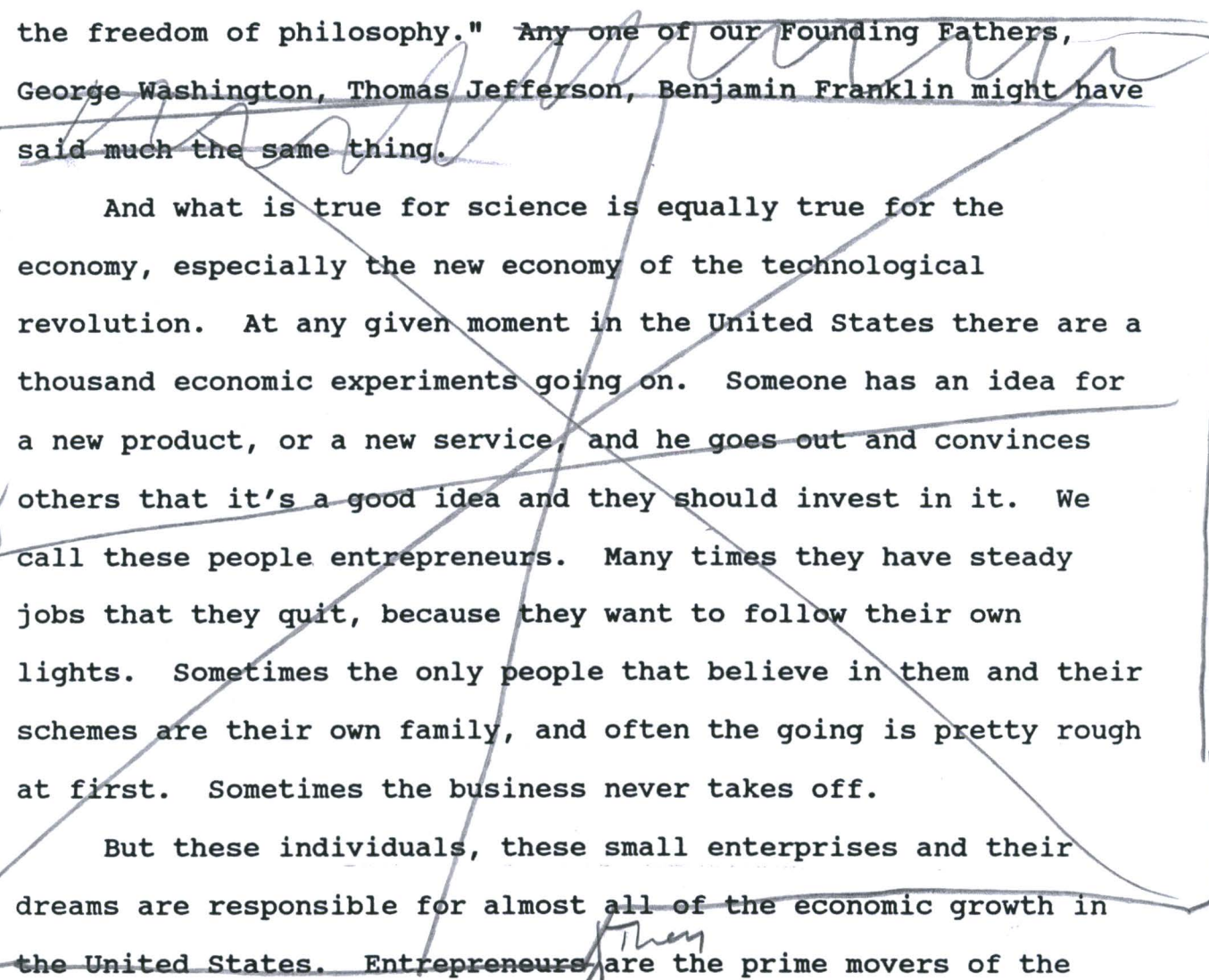
"that the achievements of science are considerable and rapid, particularly once the yoke of slavery is cast off and replaced by the freedom of philosophy." Any one of our Founding Fathers, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin might have said much the same thing.

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

But these individuals, these small enterprises and their dreams are responsible for almost all of the economic growth in the United States. ~~Entrepreneurs~~ ^{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~~ ^{students} kids, no older than you, in the garage behind their home.

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

I like explorers men with a vision courage



Like an explorer

When kid

Wrote in 3rd grade, note to
teacher, "I love you"
That's ok, but I don't like kids,
writes harder, + says "That's
ok we won't have any

learned in their struggles along the way -- yes, it's what they learned from failing. *(Insert 3)*

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

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

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

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

How long our nation will - just a joke

no borders, for humors
See, so wonderful, we can
See drop laughter -- better than
(- elevator 4+3=7)

get transcripts for Yateley

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

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

We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom. In fact, it is something of a national pastime. Every 4 years ~~is a~~ Presidential election year, and 1988 is one of ~~them~~. ^{More years.} We are now in the midst of primary season ~~in which the American people, in votes and caucuses across the country, winnow down the candidates to the final few who will run in the national election.~~ At one

point there were 14 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention ^{all the others} ~~the candidates of all the other parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties -- all vying for my job.~~ ^{candidates trying to get [poluchit]}

^{Over 1000 local television stations, 85 hundred radio stations, and 1700 daily newspapers, each one has independent private enterprise beholden in no way to the government} ~~Every day on the television, four nationwide independent news organizations, and hundreds of locals stations, plus thousands of independent newspapers, report on the candidates,~~

grill them in interviews, and bring them together for debates. ~~When it's all over, a new President will have been chosen, and I the next president.~~ ^{In the end, the people vote -- they decide who will be the next president.}

*An America, no one has all the power. split
No one wants to be, too powerful
... at times*

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

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

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

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

But freedom is more, even than this: Freedom is the right to question, and change, the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace. *It is the right of* ~~the right of~~ *children to allow us to recognize shortcomings* ~~two young men in college to start a computer firm in their garage and seek solutions.~~ *and seek solutions.* It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by all the experts, and watch it catch fire

Insert 4

open, come
+ go
as you
please

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

One whole country is made up of people who didn't agree - left.

Freedom is the belief that ^{every} individual life is infinitely precious; it is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every one of [God's ^{us} creatures] was put on this world for a reason and has something to offer. America is a nationality made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to your land are more than ones

of good feelings; they are ties of kinship. In America, you will find Russians, ~~Azerbaijians~~ Armenians, Ukrainians, ^{people from} Estonians, ~~Latvians, and Lithuanians~~ all the ~~Baltic and Central Asian republics~~: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Inserts

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

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

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

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

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

We watch and we hope, as ^{we see positive changes taking} ~~changes take place in the press, as~~ ^{place} ~~some dissidents are released, some are allowed to travel abroad,~~

~~and there is discussion of abandoning article — and allowing true freedom of worship to all creeds.~~ ^{and teach} 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.

~~Insert 6~~ Reform that is not ~~irreversible~~ ^{irreversible} will always be insecure.

Such freedom will always be looking over its shoulder. A falcon on a tether, no matter how long the rope, can always be pulled back. That is why, in my conversation with General Secretary

Gorbachev, I have urged him to look for ways to ~~make irreversible~~ ^{inhibit analysis} change. ~~And we have been talking together about one sad reminder~~ ^{And -- to put guarantees on reforms}

of a divided world, the Berlin Wall. ^{It is time to remove the barriers that keep people apart.}

~~And to bring down the barriers of misunderstanding between our peoples,~~ I am proposing a ^{increased} massive exchange program, of 5,000-7 high school and ^{other young people} undergraduate students a year between our countries. You have a wonderful phrase in Russian for this:

~~[Russian phrase], and for those here who will no doubt understand my English better than my Russian~~ "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times." ~~Insert 7~~

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

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

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

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

X
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 a ~~bloody Pacific conflict~~ ^{one} with Japan, but now those nations are two of our ^{closest} strongest allies and friends.

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

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

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

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

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, ^{but we are hopeful that} ~~we do not know if~~ the promise of ^{reform} ~~glasnost~~ will be fulfilled. ~~But~~ in this Moscow Spring, this ^{May} ~~April~~, 1988, we may be allowed to ~~to~~ ^{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 ~~on~~ ringing through ~~(perezvon)~~ leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

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

Gen 5

(Gilder/ARD)
May 17, 1988
4:00 p.m.

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

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

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, 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 college 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, or the ability to store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

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 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. 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 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.

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 and to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same 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 freedom spreading around the world -- 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, free-market agricultural

policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling first thrill of 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 South 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 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Communist and Socialist candidates -- all trying to get [poluchit] my job.

Over 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise in no way connected with 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 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 a President, 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. You'll see policemen -- they are there to protect the demonstrators.

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 lead my union out on strike for higher pay -- 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 and Central Asian republics: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Recently, your government has been allowing a few individuals and families out to visit relatives in the West. We can only hope that it won't be long before many more 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 small, 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 Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of Alizheer Navoi 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 that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

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

We watch and we hope as 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. 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 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 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 and other young people 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." I hope that eventually we could have thousands of such exchanges every year. [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.] 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.

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.

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

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 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 history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

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

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, 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].

(Gilder/ARD)
May 17, 1988
4:00 p.m.

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

Thank you all very much. [acknowledgements]

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 [Nyeh 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.

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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 college 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, or the ability to store in its memory every word in every book in miles of library shelves. They would enable you to hold the entire contents of the Lenin Library in the palm of your hand.

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 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. 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 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.

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 and to make their dreams come true. The fact is, bureaucracies are pretty much the same 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 freedom spreading around the world -- 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, free-market agricultural

policies in the sub-continent mean that India is now a net exporter of food. Perhaps most exciting are the winds of change blowing over mainland China, where one quarter of the world's population is now feeling first thrill of 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 South 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 candidates running in the 2 major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Communist and Socialist candidates -- all trying to get [poluchit] my job.

Over 1,000 local television stations, 8,500 radio stations, and 1,700 daily newspapers, each one an independent, private enterprise in no way connected with 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 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 a President, 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. You'll see policemen -- they are there to protect the demonstrators.

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 lead my union out on strike for higher pay -- 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 and Central Asian republics: They come from every part of the Soviet Union, from every continent, to live in harmony, seeking a place where each is respected, each is valued for its diverse strengths and beauties and the richness it brings to our lives.

Recently, your government has been allowing a few individuals and families out to visit relatives in the West. We can only hope that it won't be long before many more 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 small, 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 Dostoyevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of Alizheer Navoi 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 that sleeps in man could be held down by threats -- any kind of threat, whether of jail or of retribution after death -- then the highest emblem of humanity would be the lion tamer in the circus with his whip, not the prophet who sacrificed himself. But... this is just the point -- what has for centuries raised man above the beast is not the cudgel but an inward music: the irresistible power of unarmed truth..."

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

We watch and we hope as 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. 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 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 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 and other young people 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." I hope that eventually we could have thousands of such exchanges every year. [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.] 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.

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.

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

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 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 history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air, and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free.

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

We do not know what will be the conclusion of this journey, 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].