



EDUCATION

The End of the Cold War: Moscow



FROM THE
ARCHIVES

GRADES
8-12



President Reagan and Nancy Reagan receiving an official greeting from Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbachev in St. George's Hall at the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow. 5/29/88.



EDUCATION

From the Archives brings primary source documents and exploration into the classroom. These educational resources, carefully curated by our Education team, are meant to enhance historical discussions around relevant topics of today in history, civics, geography, and economics.

Overview: Most summits have a specific goal in mind, whether it is a peace treaty, arms negotiation, or trade. Many summits have alternate goals as well. These meetings are often used as an opportunity to get a feel for the other side and their points of view. Other times it is to make a statement to that nation, your own nation, or the world. Sometimes it is about making connections beyond the political ones.

The Moscow Summit was very much a Summit of alternate goals rather than substantive ones. President Reagan was determined to make a personal connection with everyday Russians. He wanted to help them understand the people of the United States and for him to better understand the hearts and minds of the Soviet people.

Suggested Classroom Activities: Consider having students look at the following documents and analyze what ‘message’ President Reagan was trying to convey. Also, have students hypothesize about which audience the message was directed towards. A student handout follows this page and can help students organize their thoughts when reading and discussing the documents.

Notes on Items:

Primary Source A: This document is the first part of President Reagan’s Briefing Book and contains the letter from General Colin Powell regarding the sensitivity of the document as well as the cover page and the proposed schedule. When looking at the proposed schedule, students should consider how much time President Reagan spent one-on-one with General Secretary Gorbachev and how much time was spent with other outside groups/people.

Primary Source B: This letter from the Congress of Russian-Americans is asking President Reagan to lend his support and attention to the Danilov Monastery, which the Soviet government was allowing to reopen to recognize the millennial anniversary of the Christianization of the Kievan Rus’. Considering the status of religion in Soviet society both officially and unofficially, what are some of the considerations that President Reagan has to think about prior to acting on this request.

Primary Source C & D: These documents are the official transcripts from President Reagan’s speech and question and answer session with the students of Moscow State University. What themes does President Reagan focus on with younger Soviet citizens? How does he respond to their questions? What is interesting about the concerns of Soviet college students at this time?

Primary Source E: The proposed guest list for the reciprocal dinner for General Secretary Gorbachev to be held at the Spaso House, which is the official residence of the American Ambassador. Which people are invited? Which people are not? Are there any interesting notes made about the proposed guests?

Primary Source F: The official transcript of the President Reagan's speech during the signing ceremony for the INF Treaty. This event probably received the greatest coverage from the Soviet press. What themes does President Reagan focus on here?

New York Times Article: An article looking at the perceptions of the presidential staff and of the press about the Moscow Summit contemporary to the event. A good overview of the trip and potential themes/audiences.

On the cover: President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev shake hands after signing the INF Treaty ratification in the Grand Kremlin Palace during the Moscow Summit. 6/1/88.

Student Handout

Questions on Primary Source M1:

1. How much time between the days of Sunday, May 29th and Thursday, June 2nd 1998, does President Reagan spend one-on-one with General Secretary Gorbachev?
2. How much time does President Reagan spend during the above time with other people and groups in addition to or instead of General Secretary Gorbachev?
3. Who seem to be the people President Reagan most wants to talk to during this visit and why do you think that is?

Questions on Primary Source M2:

1. President Reagan did visit the Danilov Monastery. What message do you think that he was trying to make about American values by doing this?
2. Who do you think was the intended audience? Could there be more than one audience? If so, to who else was his message directed?

Questions on Primary Source M3 & M4:

1. What does it seem like the 'theme' is for President Reagan's speech to the students of Moscow State University?
2. What were at least four (4) specific things that President Reagan highlighted in his speech that go with the 'theme'?
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.

3. What do you think about the questions that the students asked President Reagan? Which question stood out to you the most and why?

4. What do you think about the responses that President Reagan gave to the students? Which answer did you like/dislike the most and why?

Questions on Primary Source M5:

1. Looking at the entire list of proposed guests, what seems to be the common thread among those guests that were invited and those that were not?

2. Which comment(s) did you find the most strange/interesting/funny and why?

Questions on Primary Source M6:

1. What seems to be the 'theme' of this speech and what points lead you to believe that?

2. To whom does this speech seem directed?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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3832 ADD

23 May, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR HOWARD BAKER
KEN DUBERSTEIN
TOM GRISCOM
RHETT DAWSON
MARLIN FITZWATER
JIM KUHN
JACK COURTEMANCHE

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL 
SUBJECT: The President's Briefing Book On The Moscow Summit

Attached for your information is the President's Briefing Book prepared for the Moscow Summit. Although we are distributing copies to each of you, you are strongly encouraged to review the Briefing Book prior to departure and, to the extent consistent with your responsibilities in connection with Summit events, leave your copy here. We will have a copy of the Briefing Book available for your reference at the NSC area in Helsinki, Moscow, and London.

We cannot emphasize enough the damage that would result should any of the material contained in the Briefing Book fall into Soviet hands, nor can we emphasize enough the very severe limitations on storage and difficulties in handling of such sensitive classified documents in Helsinki and Moscow particularly.

cc:
Paul Stevens/Marybel Batjer
Bob Linhard/Steve Steiner
Nelson Ledsky/Rudy Perina

~~SECRET~~

THE MEETINGS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

Helsinki: May 25 - May 29, 1988

Moscow: May 29 - June 2, 1988

London: June 2 - June 3, 1988

BRIEFING BOOK

DECLASSIFIED
Sec. 3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2008
BY NARA mn DATE 4/12/13

Marybel Batjer

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PROPOSED OUTLINE SCHEDULE OF THE TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
THE MOSCOW SUMMIT
WEDNESDAY MAY 25-FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1988

DAY ONE (Wednesday, May 25, 1988)

Departure Statement on South Lawn (9:50 am)
Marine One departs South Lawn en route Andrews AFB (10:00 am)
Marine One arrives Andrews AFB (10:10 am)
Air Force One departs Andrews AFB en route Helsinki, Finland (10:15 am - Flight Time: 8 hrs. 25 mins, Time Change: +7 hrs.)
Air Force One arrives Vantaa Airport, Helsinki, Finland (1:40 am/6:40 pm EDT)
* Informal Arrival Greeting with President and Mrs. Koivisto at VIP Lounge
Depart Vantaa Airport en route Government Guest House (1:55 am)
Arrive Government Guest House (2:15 am/7:15 pm EDT)
REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Government Guest House
Helsinki, Finland

DAY TWO (Thursday, May 26, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Entire day) (NOTE: No White House Daily Operations Meeting)
REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Government Guest House
Helsinki, Finland

DAY THREE (Friday, May 27, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)
(White House Daily Operations Meeting at 9:30 am)
Private Lunch with Mrs. Reagan at Government Guest House
Depart Government Guest House with Mrs. Reagan en route Presidential Palace (12:50 pm)
Arrive Presidential Palace for Official Events with President and Mrs. Koivisto (1:00 pm)
* Arrival Ceremony (1:05-1:15 pm)
* Official Photo/Toast with President and Mrs. Koivisto (1:20-1:25 pm)
* Brief Bilateral Meeting with President Koivisto (1:25-1:35 pm)
* Lunch with President and Mrs. Koivisto (1:40-2:30 pm)
Depart Presidential Palace with Mrs. Reagan en route Finlandia Hall (2:35 pm)

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DAY THREE (Friday, May 27, 1988), contd.

Arrive Finlandia Hall (2:40 pm)

* View Helsinki Accords/VIP Greeting/Guest Book Signing (2:40-2:55 pm)

* Address (3:05-3:30 pm)

Depart Finlandia Hall en route Government Guest House (3:45 pm)

Arrive Government Guest House (3:55 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Remainder of day)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Government Guest House
Helsinki, FinlandDAY FOUR (Saturday, May 28, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)

(White House Daily Operations Meeting at 10:00 am)

Private Lunch with Mrs. Reagan at Government Guest House

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Baker/Powell (1:30-3:00 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Remainder of day)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Government Guest House
Helsinki, FinlandDAY FIVE (Sunday, May 29, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)

(White House Daily Operations Meeting at 9:00 am)

Depart Government Guest House en route Vantaa Airport (10:50 am)

Arrive Vantaa Airport (11:10 am)

* Informal Departure Greeting with President and Mrs. Koivisto at
VIP Lounge

* Event with Embassy Personnel (Brief Informal Remarks)

Air Force One departs Finland, Helsinki en route Moscow, U.S.S.R.
(11:30 am - Flight Time: 1 hr. 30 mins. (w/o interchange), Time
Change: +1 hr.)Air Force One arrives Vnukovo II Airport, Moscow, U.S.S.R. (2:00 pm/
6:00 am EDT)* Official Arrival Ceremony with President Gromyko at Vnukovo II
AirportDepart Vnukovo II Airport with Mrs. Reagan en route Grand Kremlin
Palace (2:20 pm)

Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace (2:45 pm)

Greeting with General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev at St. George's
Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (2:50-3:10 pm)

* Brief Remarks

1st Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at St. Catherine's
Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (3:15-4:00 pm)Depart Grand Kremlin Palace with Mrs. Reagan en route Spaso House
(4:05 pm)

Arrive Spaso House (4:15 pm)

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell at Spaso
House (4:30-5:00 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Remainder of Day)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Spaso House
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

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DAY SIX (Monday, May 30, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)
 (Shultz/Carlucci/Powell (Breakfast??) Meeting at New Embassy
 Complex - TBD)
 (Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 8:15-8:45 am)
 Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell at Spaso
 House (9:00-9:30 am)
 Depart Spaso House en route Grand Kremlin Palace (9:45 am)
 Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace (9:55 am)
 2nd Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at St. Catherine's
 Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (10:00-11:30 am)
 Depart Grand Kremlin Palace en route Spaso House (11:35 am)
 Arrive Spaso House (11:45 am)
 (Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 11:50 am-
 12:20 pm)
 WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (1 hr.)
 Private Lunch with Mrs. Reagan at Spaso House (12:45 pm-1:35 pm)
 PRIVATE TIME (10 mins.)
 Depart Spaso House with Mrs. Reagan en route Danilov Monastery
 (1:45 pm)
 Arrive Danilov Monastery (2:00 pm)
 * View Restoration of Icons (2:00-2:10 pm)
 * Meeting with Priests (2:15-2:30 pm)
 Depart Danilov Monastery en route Grand Kremlin Palace (2:35 pm)
 Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace (2:45 pm)
 PRIVATE TIME (15 mins.)
 3rd Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at St. Catherine's
 Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (3:00-4:15 pm)
 Depart Grand Kremlin Palace en route Spaso House (4:20 pm)
 Arrive Spaso House (4:30 pm)
 PRIVATE TIME (15 mins.)
 Meeting with Mrs. Reagan with Selected Soviet Citizens at Spaso
 House (4:45-5:15 pm)
 PRIVATE TIME (2 hrs.)
 Depart Spaso House with Mrs. Reagan en route Grand Kremlin Palace
 (7:15 pm)
 Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace for Official Dinner with General
 Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev (7:25 pm)
 * Receiving Line
 * Dinner
 * Toast Remarks
 Depart Grand Kremlin Palace with Mrs. Reagan en route Spaso
 House (9:30 pm)
 Arrive Spaso House (9:45 pm)
 REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Spaso House
 Moscow, U.S.S.R.

DAY SEVEN (Tuesday, May 31, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)
 (Shultz/Carlucci/Powell (Breakfast??) Meeting at New Embassy
 Complex - TBD)
 (Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 8:15-8:45 am)

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DAY SEVEN (Tuesday, May 31, 1988), contd.

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan travels to Leningrad on separate schedule.

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell at Spaso House (9:00-9:30 am)

PRIVATE TIME (15 mins.)

Depart Spaso House en route Kremlin/USSR Government Building (9:45 am)

Arrive Kremlin/USSR Government Building (9:55 am)

4th Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at Kremlin (10:00-11:30 am)

- * Brief Private Meeting in General Secretary's Private Office of USSR Government Building (10:05-10:20 am)
- * Walk through Kremlin Grounds (10:20-10:30 am)
- * Plenary Meeting in St. Catherine's Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (10:30-11:30 am)

Depart Grand Kremlin Palace en route House of Writers (11:35 am)

Arrive House of Writers for Event with Cultural and Art Community (11:45 am)

- * VIP Greeting (11:45-11:50 am)
- * Lunch (11:55 am-12:30 pm)
- * View Presentations/Remarks by Participants (12:30-12:45 pm)
- * Remarks (12:45-1:00 pm)

Depart House of Writers en route Spaso House (1:05 pm)

Arrive Spaso House (1:15 pm)

(Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 1:20-2:00 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (2 hrs. 15 mins.) (NOTE: Time available for White House Daily Operations Meeting if desired)

Depart Spaso House en route Moscow State University (3:30 pm)

Arrive Moscow State University (3:45 pm)

- * VIP Greeting (3:45-3:55 pm)
- * Address to Students/Faculty (4:05-4:30 pm)
- * Question and Answer Period (4:30-4:45 pm)
- * Greeting with American Students (4:50-4:55 pm)

Depart Moscow State University en route Spaso House (5:00 pm)

Arrive Spaso House (5:15 pm)

PRIVATE TIME (2 hrs. 45 mins.) (NOTE: Time available for White House Daily Operations Meeting if desired)

Reciprocal Dinner with Mrs. Reagan at Spaso House for General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev hosted by U.S. (8:00-10:45 pm)

- * Receiving Line
- * Dinner
- * Toast Remarks
- * View Entertainment

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Spaso House
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

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DAY EIGHT (Wednesday, June 1, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)

(Shultz/Carlucci/Powell (Breakfast??) Meeting at New Embassy Complex - TBD)

(Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 8:15-8:45 am)

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Carlucci/Baker/Powell at Spaso House (9:00-9:30 am)

PRIVATE TIME (15 mins.)

Depart Spaso House en route Grand Kremlin Palace (9:45 am)

Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace (9:55 am)

5th Meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev at St. Catherine's Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (10:00-11:00 am)

Possible Signing Ceremony in St. Vladimir Room, Grand Kremlin Palace (11:00 am-11:30 am)

Depart Grand Kremlin Palace en route Spaso House (11:35 pm)

Arrive Spaso House (11:45 pm)

PRIVATE TIME (45 mins.)

Lunch with Senior Advisors/Pre-Press Conference Briefing at Spaso House (12:30-1:30 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (2 hrs. 30 mins.) (NOTE: Time available for White House Daily Operations Meeting if desired)

Press Conference in Ballroom at Spaso House (4:00-4:30 pm)

PRIVATE TIME (1 hr. 15 mins.) (NOTE: Time available for White House Daily Operations Meeting if desired)

Depart Spaso House with Mrs. Reagan en route Bolshoi Theatre (5:45 pm)

Arrive Bolshoi Theatre (5:55 pm)

* Attend Ballet Performance with General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev (6:00-7:20 pm)

Depart Bolshoi Theatre with Mrs. Reagan en route Private Dacha outside Moscow (7:25 pm)

Arrive Private Dacha outside Moscow for Private Dinner with General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev (7:55 pm)

* Dinner

* Mix and Mingle

Depart Private Dacha outside Moscow with Mrs. Reagan en route Spaso House (10:05 pm)

Arrive Spaso House (10:35 pm)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Spaso House
Moscow, U.S.S.R.DAY NINE (Thursday, June 2, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME: Morning

(Shultz/Powell (Breakfast??) Meeting at New Embassy Complex - TBD)

(Shultz/Baker/Powell Meeting at Spaso House - 8:00-8:30 am)

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Baker/Powell at Spaso House (8:45-9:00 am)

Event with Embassy Personnel and Families at Spaso House (9:05-9:40 am)

* Remarks

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DAY NINE (Thursday, June 2, 1988), contd.

Depart Spaso House with Mrs. Reagan en route Grand Kremlin Palace
(9:45 am)

Arrive Grand Kremlin Palace (9:55 am)

Farewell with General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev in St. George's
Hall, Grand Kremlin Palace (10:00-10:15 am)

* Brief Remarks

Depart Grand Kremlin Palace with Mrs. Reagan en route Vnukovo II
Airport (10:20 am)

Arrive Vnukovo II Airport (10:40 am)

* Official Departure Ceremony with President Gromyko at Vnukovo
Airport (10:40-10:55 am)

Air Force One departs Moscow, U.S.S.R. en route London, England
(11:00 am - Flight Time: 3 hrs. 35 mins. (w/o interchange), Time
Change: -3 hrs.)

Air Force One arrives Heathrow Airport, London, England (11:35 am)

* Informal Arrival

Marine One departs Heathrow Airport en route Winfield House
(11:40 am)

Marine One arrives Winfield House (12:00 Noon)

PRIVATE TIME (15 mins.)

Private Lunch with Mrs. Reagan at Winfield House with Ambassador and
Mrs. Price (12:15-12:45 pm)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (3 hrs. 55 mins.)

Depart Winfield House with Mrs. Reagan en route Buckingham Palace
(4:40 pm)

Arrive Buckingham Palace (4:55 pm)

* Tea with Queen Elizabeth II (5:00-5:50 pm)

Depart Buckingham Palace en route FCO Quadrangle (5:55 pm)

Arrive FCO Quadrangle (6:00 pm)

* Review Honor Guard

Depart FCO Quadrangle en route #10 Downing Street

Arrive #10 Downing Street (6:15 pm)

* Tete-a-Tete with Prime Minister Thatcher (6:15-7:00)

* Pre-Dinner Reception with Mrs. Reagan with Prime Minister
Thatcher (7:00-7:30 pm)

* Dinner with Mrs. Reagan with Prime Minister Thatcher (7:30-
9:45 pm)

* View "Beating the Retreat" (9:45-10:00 pm)

Depart #10 Downing Street with Mrs. Reagan en route Winfield
House (10:00 pm)

Arrive Winfield House (10:15 pm)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Winfield House
London, England

DAY TEN (Friday, June 3, 1988)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME (Morning)

(Shultz/Powell (Breakfast??) Meeting at location TBD)

(White House Daily Operations Meeting at 8:30 am in Churchill Hotel)

Presidential Briefing with Shultz/Baker/Powell at Winfield House
(9:30-10:00 am)

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DAY TEN (Friday, June 3, 1988), contd.

Pre-Brief for Bilateral Meeting at Winfield House (10:00-10:20 am)
PRIVATE TIME (10 mins.)
Bilateral Meeting with Prime Minister Takeshita of Japan at Winfield House (10:30-11:00 am)
PRIVATE TIME (20 mins.)
Depart Winfield House with Mrs. Reagan en route Guildhall (11:20 am)
Arrive Guildhall (11:35 am)
* VIP Greeting (11:40-11:55 am)
* Address (12:05-12:30 pm)
* View Prime Minister's Thatcher's Remarks (12:30-12:40 pm)
Depart Guildhall with Mrs. Reagan en route Winfield House (12:45 pm)
Arrive Winfield House (1:00 pm)
PRIVATE TIME (10 mins.)
Event with U.S. Embassy Personnel at Winfield House (1:10-1:20 pm)
Marine One departs Winfield House en route Heathrow Airport (1:25 pm)
Marine One arrives Heathrow Airport (1:45 pm)
* Informal Departure
Air Force One departs London, England en route Andrews Air Force Base (1:50 pm - Flight Time: 7 hrs. 40 mins. (w/o interchange), Time Change: -5 hrs.)
* Lunch on board
Air Force One arrives Andrews AFB (4:30 pm)
* Arrival Ceremony
* Pre-Program
* Remarks
Marine One departs Andrews AFB en route the White House (4:50 pm)
Marine One arrives South Lawn (5:00 pm)

NOTE: All times are tentative and subject to change.

DOC: MOSCOW

05/23/88 2:30 p.m.



President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Red Square during the Moscow Summit. 5/31/88



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**CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN-AMERICANS
WASHINGTON OFFICE**

April 19, 1988

Lisa Jameson
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

*STILL
PROBLEMS
WITH
DANILOV*

Dear Dr. Jameson:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter that I sent to Father Vladimir Shibaef by express mail. I have already received a telephone reply informing me that he would like to speak on May 3rd. Since you are unavailable this week, Rudy Parina agreed to help me attain a visa for Father Shibaef.

On a different note, the Congress of Russian-Americans would like to suggest a possible gesture of good will for President Reagan to express to the Russian people. In celebration of the Millennium of the Christianization of the Kievan Rus', the Soviet Government has agreed to open the Danilov Monastery, but there is no guarantee that it will stay open after 1988. If, however, the President were to make a tangible gesture of support, there might be more domestic and international pressure to keep the monastery open forever. Specifically, we have in mind returning a set of bells belonging to the Monastery and now housed at Harvard University. If the White House is interested in such an action, I would be happy to pursue the matter further with Harvard University.

In any event, I appreciate your concern and attention to these matters, and look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

Eugenia Ordynsky
Executive Director

enclosure



President Reagan lighting candles during a visit to the Danilov Monastery in Moscow, USSR. 5/30/88.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, USSR)

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1988

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF
MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Lecture Hall
Moscow State University
Moscow, USSR

4:10 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Rector Logunov, and I want to thank all of you very much for a very warm welcome. 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 taking your final examinations. So let me just say Zhelayu vam uspekha. (Applause.) Nancy couldn't make it today because she's visiting Leningrad, which she tells me is a very beautiful city -- but she, too, says hello and wishes you all good luck.

Let me say it's also a great pleasure to once again have this opportunity to speak directly to the people of the Soviet Union.

Before I left Washington, I received many heartfelt letters and telegrams asking me to carry here 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 come to Moscow to meet 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're 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 DNA for medical researchers. These microcomputers today aid the design of everything from houses to cars to spacecraft -- they even design

MORE

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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're 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're 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're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of the 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 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 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 native inhabitants, 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'll 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.

And that's 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 had always hung on to power. So one day, in a town meeting, an old woman

MORE

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got up and said to him, "There is a folk legend here 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 so that you should sit there for so long and do nothing." (Laughter and applause.)

We are seeing the power of economic freedom spreading around the world -- places such as the Republic of Korea, Singapore, 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 that are 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 does. In the Philippines, in 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's something of a national pastime. Every four years the American people choose a new president, and 1988 is one of those years. At one point there were 13 major candidates running in the two major parties, not to mention all the others, including the Socialist and Libertarian candidates -- all trying to get 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'll see dozens of churches, representing many different beliefs -- in many places synagogues and mosques -- and you'll 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 life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness -- that no government can justly deny -- the guarantees in their Constitution for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion.

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 his 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 no greater legal standing than the word of the accused.

Go to any university campus, and 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.

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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 had before this one was being president of a union, the Screen Actors Guild. 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 stick -- to dream -- to follow your dream, or stick to your conscience, even if you're 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 put on this world has been put there for a reason and has something to offer.

America is a nation made up of hundreds of nationalities. Our ties to you are more than ones of good feeling; they're ties of kinship. In America, you'll find Russians, Armenians, Ukrainians, peoples from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They come from every part of this vast continent, 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, a few individuals and families have been allowed 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, Baltic-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 Dostoevsky about the quest for truth, the home of Kandinsky and the Scriabin about imagination, the rich and noble culture of the Uzbek man of letters, Alisher 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. He writes, "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

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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. We watch and we hope as we see positive changes taking place. There are some, I know, in your society who fear that change will bring only disruption and discontinuity -- who fear to embrace the hope of the future.

Sometimes it takes faith. It's like that scene in the cowboy movie "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid," which some here in Moscow recently had a chance to see. The posse is closing in on the two outlaws, 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, and finally admits, "I can't swim." Butch breaks up laughing and says, "You crazy fool, the fall will probably kill you." And, by the way, both Butch and Sundance made it, in case you didn't see the movie. I think what I've just been talking about is perestroika and what its goals are.

But change would not mean rejection of 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, in 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. And 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's time to remove the barriers that keep people apart.

I'm proposing an increased exchange program of high school students between our countries. General Secretary Gorbachev mentioned on Sunday a wonderful phrase you have in Russian for this. "Better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times." Mr. Gorbachev and I first began working on this in 1985; in our discussion today, we agreed on working up to several thousand exchanges a year from each country in the near future. But not everyone can travel across the continents and oceans. Words travel lighter; and that's why we'd like to make available to this country more of our 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 INF Treaty -- which General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last December in Washington and whose instruments of ratification we will exchange tomorrow -- 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 16 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.

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It's 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 help lead to solutions in Southern Africa, Ethiopia, Cambodia, the Persian Gulf, 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've been told that there's a popular song in your 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 battlefields 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'll find the same answer, the same longing in every heart. People do not make wars, governments do -- and 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're 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 is our responsibility to have 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.

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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 marvelous sound."

We do not know what the conclusion of this will be of this journey, but we're 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 marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Thank you all very much and da blagoslovit vas gospod'.
God bless you. (Applause.)

END

4:02 P.M. (L)



President Reagan speaks to the students and faculty of Moscow State University. 5/31/88.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, USSR)

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1988

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WITH STUDENTS AT MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY

Lecture Hall
Moscow State University
Moscow, USSR

4:03 P.M. (L)

MR. LOGONUV: Dear friends, Mr. President has kindly agreed to answer your questions. But since he doesn't have too much time, only 15 minutes -- so, those who have questions, please ask them.

Q And this is a student from the history faculty, and he says that he's happy to welcome you on behalf of the students of the University. And the first question is that the improvement in the relations between the two countries has come about during your tenure as President, and in this regard he would like to ask the following question: It is very important to get a handle on the question of arms control, and specifically, the limitation of strategic arms. Do you think that it will be possible for you and the General Secretary to get a treaty on the limitation of strategic arms during the time that you are still President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the arms treaty that is being negotiated now is the so-called START treaty, and it is based on taking the Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles and reducing them by half, down to parity, between our two countries. Now, this is a much more complicated treaty than the INF Treaty, the intermediate-range treaty, which we have signed and which our two governments have ratified, and is now in effect.

So, there are many things still to be settled -- that you and we have had negotiators in Geneva for months working on various points of this treaty. Once we had hoped that maybe, like the INF Treaty, we would have been able to sign it here at this summit meeting. It is not completed -- there are still some points that are being debated. We are both hopeful that it can be finished before I leave office, which is in the coming January, but I assure you that if it isn't -- I assure you that I will have impressed on my successor that we must carry on until it is signed.

My dream has always been that once we've started down this road, we can look forward to a day, you can look forward to a day, when there will be no more nuclear weapons in the world at all. (Applause.)

Q The question is, the Universities influence public opinion and the student wonders how the youths have changed since the days when you were a student up until now?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, wait a minute. How you have changed since the era of my own youth?

Q How just students have changed -- the youth have changed? You were a student -- (laughter) -- at your time there were one type, now they have changed?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I know there was a period in our

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country when there was a very great change for the worst. When I was Governor of California, I could start a riot just by going to a campus. But that has all changed, and I could be looking out at an American student body, as well as I'm looking out here and would not be able to tell the difference between you.

I think that back in our day -- I did happen to go to school, get my college education in a unique time -- it was the time of the Great Depression, when, in a country like our own, there was 25 percent unemployment and the bottom seemed to have fallen out of everything. But we had -- I think what maybe I should be telling you from my point here, because I graduated in 1932 -- that I should tell you that when you get to be my age, you're going to be surprised how much you recall the feelings you had in these days here, and that how easy it is to understand the young people because of your own having been young once. You know an awful lot more about being young than you do about being old. (Laughter.)

And I think there is a seriousness, I think there is a sense of responsibility that young people have, and I think that there is an awareness on the part of most of you about what you want the -- your adulthood to be and what the country you live in you want it to be. And I have a great deal of faith. I said the other day to 78 -- 76 students -- they were half American and half Russian. They had held a conference here and in Finland and then in the United States, and I faced them just the other day, and I had to say, I couldn't tell the different looking at them which were which, but I said one line to them. I said I believe that if all the young people of the world today could get to know each other, there would never be another war. And I think that of you. I think that of the other students that I've addressed in other places.

And of course I know also that you're young and therefore there are certain things that at times take precedence. I'll illustrate one myself. Twenty five years after I graduated, my alma mater brought me back to the school and gave me an honorary degree. And I had to tell them they compounded a sense of guilt I had nursed for 25 years because I always felt the first degree they gave me was honorary. (Laughter.)

You're great. Carry on. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, you have just mentioned that you welcome the efforts -- settlement of the Afghanistan question. And -- the difference of other regional conflicts. What conflicts do you mean? Central America conflicts, South East Asian, or South African -- I am --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, for example, in South Africa, where Namibia has been promised its independence as a nation -- another new African nation. But it is impossible because of a civil war going on in another country there and that civil war is being fought on one side by some 30,000 to 40,000 Cuban troops who have gone from the Americas over there and are fighting on one side with one kind of authoritative government. When that country was freed from being a colony and given its independence, one faction seized power and made itself the government of that nation. And leaders of another -- seeming the majority of the people had wanted simply the people to have the right to choose the government that they wanted, and that is the civil war that is going on.

But what we believe is that those foreign soldiers should get out and let them settle it. Let them -- the citizens of that nation, settle their problems.

And the same is true in Nicaragua. Nicaragua has been -- Nicaragua made a promise -- they had a dictator. There was a revolution, there was an organization that -- and was aided by others in the revolution, and they appealed to the Organization of American States for help in getting the dictator to step down and stop the

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killing. And he did. But the Organization of American States had asked, what are the goals of the revolution, and they were given in writing, and they were the goals of pluralistic society, of the right of unions and freedom of speech and press and so forth -- and free elections, a pluralistic society. And then the one group that was the best organized among the revolutionaries seized power, exiled many of the other leaders and has its own government, which violated every one of the promises that had been made. And here again, we want -- we're trying to encourage the getting back those -- or making those promises come true and letting the people of that particular country decide their fate.

Q Esteemed Mr. President, I'm very much anxious and concerned about the destiny of 310 Soviet soldiers being missing in Afghanistan. Can you -- are you willing to help in their search and their return to the motherland?

THE PRESIDENT: Very much so. We would like nothing better than that.

Q The reservation of the inalienable rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution faces certain problems. For example, the right of people to have arms, or for example, the problem appears -- an evil appears whether spread of pornography or narcotics is compatible with these rights. Do you believe that these problems are just unavoidable problems connected with democracy or they could be avoided?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if I understand you correctly, this is a question about the inalienable rights of the people -- does that include the right to do criminal acts and -- for example, in the use of drugs and so forth? No. (Applause.) No, we have a set of laws.

I think what is significant and different about our system is that every country has a constitution, and most constitutions or practically all of the constitutions in the world are documents in which the government tells the people what the people can do. Our Constitution is different and the difference is in three words -- it almost escapes everyone. The three words are, "We the people." Our Constitution is a document in which we the people tell the government what its powers are. And it can have no powers other than those listed in that document. But very carefully, at the same time, the people give the government the power with regard to those things which they think would be destructive to society, to the family, to the individual and so forth -- infringements on their rights. And thus, the government can enforce the laws. But that has all been dictated by the people.

Q Mr. President, from history I know that people who have been connected with great power, with big posts, say good-bye, leave these posts with great difficulty. Since your term of office is coming to an end, what sentiments do you experience and whether you feel like, if, hypothetically, you can just stay for another term? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'll tell you something. It was -- I think it was a kind of revenge against Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was elected four times -- the only President. There had kind of grown a tradition in our country about two terms. That tradition was started by Washington, our first President, only because there was great talk at the formation of our country that we might become a monarchy, and we had just freed ourselves from a monarchy. So, when the second term was over, George Washington stepped down and said he would do it -- stepping down -- so that there would not get to be the kind of idea of an inherited aristocracy.

Well, succeeding presidents -- many of them didn't get a chance at second term -- they did one term and were gone. But that tradition kind of remained. But it was just a tradition. And then Roosevelt ran the four times -- died very early in his fourth term.

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And suddenly, in the atmosphere at that time, they added an amendment to the Constitution that presidents could only serve two terms.

When I get out of office -- I can't do this while I'm in office, because it will look as I'm selfishly doing it for myself -- when I get out of office, I'm going to travel around, what I call the mashed potato circuit, that is the after-dinner speaking and the speaking to luncheon groups and so forth -- I'm going to travel around and try to convince the people of our country that they should wipe out that amendment to the Constitution because it was an interference with the democratic rights of the people. The people should be allowed to vote for who they wanted to vote for, for as many times as they want to vote for him; and that it is they who are being denied a right. (Applause.)

But you see, I will no longer be President then, so I can do that and talk for that. There are a few other things I'm going to try to convince the people to impress upon our Congress, the things that should be done. I've always described it that if -- if in Hollywood when I was there, if you didn't sing or dance, you would up as an after-dinner speaker. And I didn't sing or dance. (Laughter.) So I have a hunch that I will be out on the speaking circuit, telling about a few things that I didn't get done in government, but urging the people to tell the Congress they wanted them done. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, I've heard that a group of American Indians have come here because they couldn't meet you in the United States of America. If you fail to meet them here, will you be able to improve -- to correct it and to meet them back in the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't know that they had asked to see me. If they've come here or whether to see them there-- (laughter) -- I'd be very happy to see them.

Let me tell you just a little something about the American Indian in our land. We have provided millions of acres of land for what are called reservations -- or reservations, I should say. They, from the beginning, announced that they wanted to maintain their way of life, as they had always lived there in the desert and the plains and so forth. And we set up these reservations so they could, and have a Bureau of Indian Affairs to help take care of them. At the same time, we provide education for them -- schools on the reservations. And they're free also to leave the reservations and be American citizens among the rest of us -- and many do. Some still prefer, however, that way -- that early way of life.

And we've done everything we can to meet their demands as to what they -- how they want to live. Maybe we made a mistake. Maybe we should not have humored them in that wanting to stay in that kind of primitive lifestyle. Maybe we should have said, no, come join us; be citizens along with the rest of us. As I say, many have; many have been very successful.

And I'm very pleased to meet with them, talk with them at any time and see what their grievances are or what they feel they might be. And you'd be surprised -- some of them became very wealthy because some of those reservations were overlaying great pools of oil, and you can get very rich pumping oil. And -- so I don't know what their complaint might be.

Q Mr. President, I'm very much tantalized since yesterday evening by the question, why did you receive yesterday -- did you receive -- and when you invite yesterday -- refuseniks or dissidents? And for the second part of the question is just what are your impressions from Soviet people? And among these dissidents, you have invited a former collaborator with a Fascist -- who was a policeman serving for Fascist.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's one I don't know about, or

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maybe the information hasn't been all given out on that. But you have to understand that Americans come from every corner of the world. I received a letter from a man that called something to my attention recently. He said you can go to live in France, but you cannot become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Germany, you cannot become a German -- or a Turk, or a Greek, or whatever. But he said anyone, from any corner of the world can come to live in America and become an American.

You have to realize that we are a people that are made up of every strain, nationality and race of the world. And the result is that when people in our country think someone is being mistreated or treated unjustly in another country, these are people who still feel that kinship to that country because that is their heritage. In America, whenever you meet someone new and become friends, one of the first things you tell each other is what your bloodline is. For example, when I'm asked, I have to say Irish, English, and Scotch -- English and Scotch on my mother's side, Irish on my father's side. But all of them have that.

Well, when you take on to yourself a wife, you do not stop loving your mother. So there -- Americans all feel a kind of a kinship to that country that their parents, or their grandparents, or even some great-grandparents came from -- you don't lose that contact. So what I have come -- and what I have brought to the General Secretary -- and I must say he has been very cooperative about it -- I have brought lists of names that have been brought to me from people that are relatives or friends that know that -- or that believe that this individual is being mistreated here in this country and they want him to be allowed to emigrate to our country.

Some are separated families. One that I met in this -- the other day was born the same time I was. He was born of Russian parents who had moved to America, oh, way back in the early 1900's -- and he was born in 1911. And then sometime later, the family moved back to Russia. Now he's grown, has a son. He's an American citizen -- but they wanted to go back to America and being denied on the grounds that, well, they can go back to America, but his son married a Russian young lady and they want to keep her from going back.

Well, the whole family said no, we're not going to leave her alone here. She's a member of the family now. Well, that kind of a case is brought to me personally so I bring it to the General Secretary. And as I say, I must say, he has been most helpful and most agreeable about correcting these things.

Now, I'm not blaming you -- I'm blaming bureaucracy. We have the same type of thing happen in our own country. And every once in a while, somebody has to get the bureaucracy by the neck and shake it loose and say stop doing what you're doing. And this is the type of thing and the names that we have brought. And it is a list of names, all of which have been brought to me personally by either relatives or close friends and associates.

(Applause.) Thank you very much. You're all very kind. I thank you very much. And I hope I answered the questions correctly -- nobody asked me what it was going to feel like to not be President anymore. I have some understanding because after I'd been Governor for eight years and then stepped down, I want to tell you what it's like. We'd only been home a few days and someone invited us out to dinner. Nancy and I both went out, got in the back seat of the car and waited for somebody to get in front and drive us. (Laughter.)

(A gift is presented.)

THE PRESIDENT: That is beautiful. Thank you very much.
(Applause.)

END

5:11 P.M. (L)



Dave Brubeck plays for guests at the reciprocal dinner for General Secretary Gorbachev at the Spaso House. 5/31/88

RECIPROCAL DINNER - SPASO HOUSE
May 31, 1988

* Indicates we have no
knowledge of marital status

GUESTS PROPOSED BY AMERICAN EMBASSY

GUEST

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

YES 2 Mr. and Mrs. Tenghiz Abuladze

Embassy/
Courtemanche/
Billington

Georgian filmmaker. Winner of this year's Lenin prize for his trilogy on Stalinism, including "Repentance" - in America last year.

YES 1 Professor/M Yuriy Afanas'Yev

Embassy

Prominent historian. Vigorous advocate of objective and honest approach to study of Soviet history. In the forefront of "Glasnost" in that field.

~~YES~~ 1 Chinguiz Aitmatov

Courtemanche/
Billington

Writer "The Executioners Block." Favorite of Gorbachev.

YES* 1 Bella Akhmedulina

Billington

Writers who have become establishment figures, but have remained vigorously critical.

YES 2 Mr. and Mrs. S.F. Akhromeyev

Embassy

Chief of the General Staff. Full Member of the Central Committee.

~~YES~~ 2 Mr. and Mrs. G.A. Arbatov

Embassy

Academician and Director of the SA/Canada Institute. Full member of the Central Committee.

~~YES~~* 1 ? Baklanov

Billington

Editor - Znamia

PAGE TOTAL: 10

MEN: 6

WOMEN: 4

GUEST

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

YES 2 Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Bessmertnykh

Embassy

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Oversees Relations with U.S.

YES 1 Ms. A.P. Biryukova

Embassy

Secretary of the Central Committee. Responsible for social issues, consumer affairs. Highest-ranking female in Soviet politics.

~~YES~~ YES

2 Mr. and Mrs. O.T. Bogomolov

Embassy

Child Econ. Advisor to Gorbaachev.

~~ADD~~ Abel G. Aganbeyan

YES 1 Mr. Peter Brown

MRS. REAGAN

Producer, "Phantom of the Opera."

YES 2 Mr. and Mrs. Fyodor Burlatskiy

Embassy/
Billington

Prominent reformist, political commentator and biographer of Khrushchev. Heads the Soviet "public" Human Rights Commission. A strong proponent of political reform and "Glasnost'."

NO - suggest to print more other print

Courtemanche/
Billington

Filmmaker "Scarecrow" - a reform film viewed now as a classic.

* 1 Rolan Bykov

PAGE TOTAL: 9

MEN: 5

WOMEN: 4

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>	
2 Mr. and Mrs. Ye. I. Chazov	Embassy	Minister of Health. Full Member of the Central Committee. Oversees medical and health cooperation with the U.S. as well as Soviet anti-drug programs.	NO
1 Father Boris Danilenko	Courtemanche	Danilov Monastery.	NO
2 Mr. and Mrs. A.F. Dobrynin	Embassy	Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Head of the International Department of the Central Committee. Former Ambassador to Washington.	YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. Y. Dubinin	Embassy	Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.	YES
* 1 Oleg Efremov	Courtemanche/ Billington	Moscow Art Theatre.	YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. S.N. Fedorov	Embassy	Director of the Eye Microsurgery Clinic. A pioneer surgeon of world distinction.	YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. I.T. Frolov	Embassy	Ideology Adviser to Gorbachev. Academician. Has lectured at a number of U.S. Universities on the history of science, ecological issues and arms control. President of the Soviet Philosophical Society. Full Member of the Central Committee.	NO

PAGE TOTAL: 12

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 5

PAGE TOTAL: 13

MEN: 8

WOMEN: 5

GUESTS

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

2 Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev

Embassy

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. **YES**

1 Katya Gordeyeva

Embassy

Figure skater. Gold-medal winner at the Calgary Winter Olympics. Soviet rock star. **YES**

* 1 Boris Grebenshchikov

Courtemanche

Director, Bolshoi Ballet. **YES** *NO! He's not a rock star!*

* 1 Yuriy Grigorovich

Courtemanche

Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. **YES**

1 S.M. Izvekov (Pimen)

Embassy

Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. World chess champion. From Azerbaijan. **NO** *(No Karpov?)*

ND
1 Mr. Gary Kasparov

Embassy

2 Mr. and Mrs. Yel'Im Klimov

Embassy/
Billington

First Secretary of the Cinematographers' Union. One of the earliest proponents of "Glasnost'." Heavily engaged in upgrading cooperation with U.S. filmmakers. **YES**

2 Mr. and Mrs. V.A. Korotich

Embassy/
Billington

Editor of the weekly "Ogonyok." Korotich's name has become synonymous with "Glasnost'." **YES**

you really should have Anatoly KARPOV - he is world chess champ!

28

GUEST

2 Mr. and Mrs. I.D. Laptev

RECOMMENDED BY

Embassy

IDENTIFIERS

Editor-in-Chief, "Izvestiya," Candidate Member of the Central Committee. "Izvestiya," the daily of the Soviet Government, has vigorously supported economic and political reform over the past three years.

Yes

* 2 Andris Liepa and
Nina Ananishvili

Courtemanche

Bolshoi Ballet
1986 Gold Medal winners, Grand Prix International Competition - Jackson, Mississippi

Yes

see what happens
2 Mr. and Mrs. Ye.K. Ligachev
NO - if removed from posts
2 Mr. and Mrs. Dimitriy Likhachev

Embassy

Embassy/
Courtemanche/
Billington

"Second Secretary" of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Yes

2 Mr. and Mrs. A.I. Luk'yanov

Embassy

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Oversees "democratization" and legal reform. Studied with Gorbachev at Moscow Law Faculty.

Yes

PAGE TOTAL: 10

MEN: 5

WOMEN: 5

29

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. V.L. Mal'Kevich	Embassy	President, USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. By all accounts, a fast riser slated for a key appointment in the Foreign Trade Sector soon. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. G.I. Marchuk	Embassy	President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Full Member of the Central Committee. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yu.M. Maslyukov	Embassy	First Deputy Chairman, Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. Chairman, USSR State Planning Committee. Candidate Member of the Politburo. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. Zubin Mehta	MRS. REAGAN	Conductor, New York Philharmonic. Will be in Soviet Union. YES
NO 1 Alexander Mei	Courtemanche/ Billington	Minister
NO * 1 Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk	Courtemanche/ Billington	Runs Danilov Monastery - somewhat of a spokesman for the church. ?
YES 1 Mr. Arthur Mitchell	MRS. REAGAN	Dance Theater of Harlem. Will be in Soviet Union.

PAGE TOTAL: 11

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 4

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. V.S. Murakhovskiy	Embassy	First Deputy Chairman, Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. Chairman, Gosagroprom. Will visit the U.S. in June. Close to Gorbachev. <i>YES</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. V.P. Nikonov	Embassy	Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary for Agriculture. Visited the U.S. in late 1987 and called on the President. <i>YES</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Obukhkov	Embassy	Ambassador-at-Large. Arms Control Negotiator. <i>YES</i>
* 1 Bulat Okudzhava	Billington	Writer who has become an establishment figure, but remains vigorously critical. <i>NO - other award</i>
* 1 Sergo Parajanov	Billington	Armenian filmmaker - most innovative in USSR - true genius - uses Christian symbolism. <i>YES award</i>
* 1 Yury Platonov	Courtemanche/ Billington	Architect. <i>NO - put in est</i>
2 Maya Plisetskaya and Rodion Shchedrin	Embassy/ Billington	Prima ballerina of the "Bolshoi." The premier representative of the Soviet ballet world. Her spouse is the eminent composer. <i>YES</i>

PAGE TOTAL: 11

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 4



GUEST

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

* 1 Juris Podnieks

Courtemanche/
Billington

Latvian filmmaker - "It Is Not Easy To Be Young." Important to represent Baltic Republics.

YES

1 Professor/M G. Kh. Popov

Embassy

Economist and Editor-in-Chief of "Voprosily Ekonomiki." An outspoken and active proponent of political and economic reform.

YES
of new

1 Ye.M. Primakov

Embassy

Academician and Director of the Institute of World Economics and Politics. Candidate Member of the Central Committee.

YES

* 1 Edward Radzinsky

Courtemanche/
Billington

Playwright.

NO - other source

Siberian writer.

NO - other source

2 Mr. and Mrs. G.P. Razumovskiy

Embassy

Candidate Member of Politburo and Secretary of CPSU Central Committee. Close to Gorbachev and rising. At 51, soon to become the youngest member of the Politburo.

YES

* 1 Anatoliy Rybakov

Courtemanche

Author, "Children of the Arbat."

NO - other list

PAGE TOTAL: 8

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 1

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. N.I. Ryzhkov	Embassy	Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. <i>YES</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. R.Z. Sagdeyev	Embassy	Director of the Institute of Space Research. <i>YES</i>
* 1 ? Sagdaev	Billington	Communist party-type - plays positive role. <i>NO!</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. Andrey Sakharov	Embassy/ Courtemanche/ Billington	Academician. Nobel Prize Laureate. Physicist. <i>YES</i>
* 1 ? Schmitke	Courtemanche/ Billington	Baltic composer. <i>NO!</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. Mikhail Shatrov	Embassy	Playwright. A strong defender of "Glasnost" and one of the architects of The Revival of the Honest Reappraisal of the Stalinist Period. Has been the lightning rod for criticism from conservatives because of the anti-Stalinist character of his recent plays. <i>YES</i>
2 Mr. and Mrs. V.V. Shcherbitskiy	Embassy	Politburo Member and First Secretary, Ukraine Central Committee. The most senior member of the Politburo in terms of years of service on that body. Visited the U.S. in 1985 and called on the President. <i>YES</i>

PAGE TOTAL: 12

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 5

53

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. F.A. Shevardnadze	Embassy	Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs. YES
1 Ms. V.V. Tereshkova	Embassy	Head, All-Union Friendship Society. Former Cosmonaut. Full Member of the Central Committee. YES
1 Tat'Yana Tol'Staya	Embassy	Writer and great grand-daughter of Lev Tol'Stoy. One of the best young Soviet writers.
2 Mr. and Mrs. Vladislav Tret'Yak	Embassy	Hockey goalie and coach. Probably the USSR's best-known athlete. YES
* 1 Zurab Tsereteli	Courtemanche/ Billington	Sculptor. NO - OTHER LUNCH
2 Mr. and Mrs. Mikhail Ul'Yanov	Embassy	Actor and Director. The Soviet Union's most well-known actor. Close to Gorbachev and a defender of reform. Famous for his portrayals of Lenin as a human being in Shatrov's plays. YES
2 Elena Valova and Oleg Vasliev	Courtemanche	1984 Olympic Champion Figure Skaters. NO - SUGGEST ONE SKATE IS SUGGEST
2 Mr. and Mrs. Ye.P. Velikhov	Embassy/ Billington	Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences.
PAGE TOTAL: 13	MEN: 6	WOMEN: 7

NO - SUGGEST
PUT ON
WRITERS
UNION
LUNCH

26

<u>GUEST</u>	<u>RECOMMENDED BY</u>	<u>IDENTIFIER</u>
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yu.D. Vorontsov	Embassy	First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Played active role in Geneva negotiations. Former Ambassador to France and India. Full Member of the Central Committee. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. V.I. Vorotnikov	Embassy	Politburo Member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Republic. YES
2 Mr. Andrey Voznesenskiy and Zoya Boguslavskaya	Embassy	Mr. Voznesenskiy is a poet and his wife, Zoya Boguslavskaya is a writer. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. A.N. Yakovlev	Embassy	Politburo Member Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Accompanied Gorbachev to Washington Summit. Former Ambassador to Canada. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. Yegor Yakovlev	Embassy/ Billington	Editor of "Moscow News," the limited circulation newspaper which has been at the cutting edge of "Glasnost'." A favorite target of conservatives. YES
2 Mr. and Mrs. D.T. Yazov	Embassy	Candidate Member of Politburo and Minister of Defense. YES
* 1 Mark Zakharov	Courtemanche/ Billington	Director

PAGE TOTAL: 13

MEN: 7

WOMEN: 6

GUEST

RECOMMENDED BY

IDENTIFIER

2 Mr. and Mrs. V.G. Zakharov

Embassy

Minister of Culture, Full Member of the Central Committee. A key player in U.S./Soviet cultural cooperation and exchange programs. YES

+ * 1 ? Zalygin
1 ADD TATYANA ZASLAWSKAYA
2 Mr. and Mrs. L.N. Zaykov

Billington
Embassy

Editor - Novy Mir. NO - other list
Politburo Member and First Secretary, Moscow Party Committee. YES

1 Monk Zion

Courtemanche/
Billington

Young monk at Danilov Monastery who paints icons and frescoes - inspiring person. NO - NOT FOR SPASL

PAGE TOTAL: 6

MEN: 4

WOMEN: 2

TOTAL OF ALL PAGES: 128

MEN: 76

WOMEN: 52

Handwritten notes:
Total
2003
add name of woman
- about 200 pages of info in Soviet Embassy
had 2003 book

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Moscow, USSR)

For Immediate Release

June 1, 1988

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV
IN EXCHANGE OF THE INF TREATY RATIFICATION DOCUMENTS

The Kremlin
Moscow, USSR

12:15 P.M. (L)

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV: Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, comrades: We are approaching the end of the meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the fourth such meeting in three years. The visit of the United States President to our country is drawing to a close.

The President and I have summed up the results of a dialogue between our two countries at the highest level. We have discussed both the immediate and longer-term prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations. We have signed documents which record what has been achieved and provide guidelines for the future. Among them, an historic place will belong to the ratification documents which give effect to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The exchange a few minutes ago of the Instruments of Ratification means that the era of nuclear disarmament has begun.

Assessing the work done over these past few days, we can stay our satisfaction, say that what has been happening these days in Moscow is big politics, politics that effect the interests of millions and millions of people. Each such meeting dealt a blow at the foundations of the Cold War. Each of them made huge breaches in the Cold War fortress and opened up passages to modern, civilized world politics worthy of the truly new times.

But big politics means difficult politics in which every step is not easy to take. Weighing carefully each one of our new steps, we measure it against the security interests of our two nations and of the world as a whole. For that is the only way to achieve truly substantial results with the necessary margin of viability. Big politics also means big responsibility and so it cannot be built on pursuing only one's own interest, which is always inherently one-sided.

Such politics also needs a great idea. Humankind has conceived that idea in the pangs of wars and disasters, tragedies and calamities, strivings and discoveries of the 20th century. This, in our view, is the idea of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. It is that idea that is inscribed in the mandate which the Soviet people give to their representatives at the start of any negotiations. This particularly applies to our negotiations with the United States of America.

Addressing the Soviet people and the Americans, addressing all nations from these hallowed steps of the Moscow Kremlin, I hereby declare we have been working honestly and with perseverance, and we shall continue to do so, to fulfill that historic mandate.

The first lines have already been written into the book

MORE

- 2 -

of a world without wars, violence, or nuclear weapons. I believe that no one can now close that book and put it aside. President Ronald Reagan and I have agreed that the immediate task before us, which is to conclude a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, can and must be accomplished. In our joint endeavors and discussions, we have learned to understand each other better; to take into account each other's concerns and to search for solutions.

The atmosphere in our relations is improving. We're working to make it a constant, not only in our official contacts, but also in the day-to-day management of Soviet-U.S. relations. In this, too, we are guided by a mandate from our peoples.

Thanks to the atmosphere of the meetings in Washington and in Moscow, and as a result of the agreements reached, Americans and Soviet people now have more opportunities for communication and for getting to know each other. I'm convinced that scientists, students, schoolchildren, cultural personalities, ordinary tourists, athletes, and of course businessmen, will continue to enlarge and add new colors to the fabric of cooperative and even friendly relations. Sometimes, they can do that better than politicians.

Historians who will one day describe and evaluate what is now being done have probably not yet been born. But every day, babies are being born who will live in the 21st Century and to whom we must bequeath a safe and humane world.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, I wish to tell all those who are concerned, and yet hopeful about the future, we shall work to achieve that goal, and we can only do it by working together. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. General Secretary, these are historic moments. As we exchange these documents, the instruments of ratification, this treaty, the terms of which we formally agreed to last December in Washington, enters into force.

Mr. General Secretary, you know that our way here has not been easy. At crucial moments your personal intervention was needed and proved decisive, and for this we are grateful. So too, Mr. General Secretary, you are aware of how important the objective, not just of arms control, but of arms reduction, has been to my own thinking, and to the policy of my administration since its outset.

Seven years ago, when I first suggested the concept of a double-zero treaty, there were those who said that this was so unrealistic an idea that it was irresponsible to even propose it. Others simply dismissed the concept as a propaganda ploy or a geopolitical gambit.

But skepticism and doubt bring a barren harvest. And today, on this table before us, we see the fruits of hope -- evidence of what candor and realism can accomplish. We have dared to hope, Mr. General Secretary, and we have been rewarded.

For the first time in history, an entire class of U.S.-Soviet nuclear missiles is eliminated. In addition, this treaty provides for the most stringent verification in history. And for the first time, inspection teams are actually in residence in our respective countries.

And while this treaty makes possible a new dimension of cooperation between us, much remains on our agenda. We must not stop here, Mr. General Secretary; there is much more to be done.

As will be seen in our joint statement later today, more progress has been made toward a strategic arms treaty during our meetings. We must try to move forward in the months ahead to complete this START treaty as soon as possible. So let us continue to expand the frontiers of trust, even as we verify, Mr. General

MORE

- 3 -

Secretary, even as we verify.

Mr. General Secretary, we've agreed many times that there remain differences, important fundamental differences, between us. Yet as we work over the long run to narrow these differences, as we work for what I hope will be a new era of peace and expanded human freedom, we must also acknowledge our solemn responsibility to take steps now to reduce the chances of conflict and to prevent war.

This we have done today, a first step toward a brighter future, a safer world. America's allies and friends welcome this treaty too. We consulted them fully during its negotiation. We made clear that we would never put their security or their interests at risk, that on the contrary we would sign a treaty only if it enhanced their security, as this one does.

And finally, if I may, I would like to take a moment to thank the United States Senate for their work on this treaty. The way of democracy is sometimes a complicated way, and sometimes trying. But it is a good way, and we believe the best way.

And once again, Mr. General Secretary, I want to extend to you and to all those who labored so hard for this moment, my warmest personal thanks. (Applause.)

END

12:40 P.M. (L)



The New York Times

May 22, 1988

U.S. Aides See Summit Pomp, Not Substance

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS, Special to the New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21— President Reagan, heading a contingent of about 600 Americans, will meet five times with Mikhail S. Gorbachev during next week's Moscow summit meeting, which is expected to be heavy with symbolism and ceremony.

In an important way, Mr. Reagan's main audience in Moscow will not be Mr. Gorbachev at all, but the Soviet people who meet him in a variety of settings outside the formal conferences, or see him on television.

Mr. Reagan's aides are playing down expectations that the meetings will produce substantive achievements. "This is not a high-water mark," Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, cautioned reporters this week.

At the talks Mr. Gorbachev plans to seek a joint United States-Soviet unmanned flight to Mars, the Soviet leader said in an interview with the Washington Post [Page 13.] The four-day visit is the first by an American President to the Soviet capital in 14 years. Mr. Reagan will visit monks at a monastery, students at a university, and writers at a club - all events designed to give visible encouragement to changes in Soviet intellectual and religious life, while providing the striking television images that have become the hallmark of the Reagan Presidency.

"It's important to talk to the Soviet people, to make them part of this," said Tom Griscom, director of White House communications. "This is their chance to hear directly from the President of the United States."

The Reagan Administration is clearly disappointed that it has failed to reach agreement with the Kremlin on a new treaty reducing long-range, or strategic, missiles. Planners had long hoped that signing such a pact would be the centerpiece of the Moscow meeting, but as those hopes have faded, the Administration has focused attention on completing negotiations before the end of the year.

"I think it is possible that we could have that, yes, while our - this Administration is still here," the President said this week in an interview with foreign journalists.

At a minimum, the White House would like to be able to exchange documents in Moscow ratifying the treaty, signed at the Washington summit meeting last December, banning intermediate-range missiles. That treaty has encountered snags in the Senate, however, and Howard H. Baker Jr., the chief of staff, said today that it "will be a tight squeeze to see it the Senate does complete action on that before the President reaches Moscow."

In his radio address today, the President praised the Senate for beginning debate on the treaty and expressed the hope that it would be approved "in time to bring it into force during my meetings with the General Secretary in Moscow." Other Possible Agreements

Time has been set aside at the end of the summit meeting for the two leaders to sign any agreements that are produced, and a few minor pacts are being prepared to fill that session and convey an air of progress, particularly if the intermediate-range treaty is not ready. One agreement that is likely to be ready for signing in Moscow would require both sides to give each other notice of any nuclear missile tests. A second possible agreement would spell out verification

procedures for peaceful nuclear explosions. A third potential pact would codify procedures for carrying out experiments at nuclear test sites.

Ms. Ridgway added that a number of agreements are nearing completion in the maritime area, including ones covering search and rescue procedures, ocean pollution, transportation technologies and fishing rights.

The official also raised the possibility that a new three-year cultural agreement could be approved in Moscow. And in a speech to the graduating class at the Coast Guard Academy this week, Mr. Reagan expressed his desire to encourage more student exchanges between the two countries.

"I hope that more Soviet young people can view first-hand America's democratic system and way of life," he said. First Stop, Helsinki

Mr. Reagan will leave Washington on Wednesday, and fly to Helsinki, where he will spend three days resting from his flight and making final preparations for the summit meeting. On Friday, he will deliver a major address in Helsinki focusing on the summit agenda and human rights issues covered by the Helsinki Accords.

The traveling White House arrives in Moscow on Sunday afternoon, and the President and Mr. Gorbachev have their first meeting shortly thereafter.

Two direct meetings are on the schedule for Monday, as well as a visit by the President to Danilov monastery on the outskirts of the city. The stop is designed, in the words of Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, "to symbolize our concern for religious freedom."

On Monday afternoon, Mr. Reagan will meet with a group of dissidents at Spaso House, the American Ambassador's residence, "to discuss freedom of speech, press, emigration, that sort of thing," Mr. Fitzwater said. A Visit With Intellectuals

The official state dinner in the Kremlin follows the meeting at Spaso House.

On Tuesday, the fourth meeting between the leaders will occupy the morning, and at lunch time, the President visits a writers' club for a meeting with poets, artists, film makers, and other intellectuals. As a former actor, the President has a particular interest in meeting members of the movie world, Mr. Griscom said.

Tuesday afternoon, Mr. Reagan speaks at Moscow University, and hopes to use that forum to make a special appeal to Soviet youth. The President's advisers want television to capture the image of the President, surrounded by Soviet young people, and as Mr. Griscom put it, "That's the way this President is able to communicate - using the environment he's in to reinforce his message."

Tuesday night, the Reagans host a dinner for the Gorbachevs at Spaso House, and Wednesday morning is the final one-on-one meeting. Any signing ceremonies would probably follow. The President gives a press conference that afternoon, attends the Bolshoi Ballet at night, and the Reagans have supper with the Gorbachevs at their dacha, or summer home.

After leaving Moscow Thursday morning, the President goes to London, where he meets with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and has tea with the Queen. On Friday, he delivers a speech summing up his impressions of the summit meeting before flying home.

In making up the President's official party, a lot of feelings have been hurt and egos bruised, according to White House aides. The delegation was severely limited, said one official, "because the Embassy in Moscow can just hold so many people."

"It's very difficult, very cramped working conditions," he added. "More people want to go on this trip than if we were going to Ouagadougou. It's amazing how many people think the President couldn't function without them."

"Nobody really knows" the exact number of officials who will be going, the official said, but he estimated a total of about 600, including technical support staff to handle transportation, communications and security. Some Principal Officials for U.S. The principal officials who will accompany the President include the following: WHITE HOUSE Howard H. Baker Jr., chief of staff Kenneth M. Duberstein, deputy chief of staff. Tom Griscom, director of communications. Marlin Fitzwater, press secretary. Rhett Dawson, assistant to the President for operations. James L. Hooley, director of advance. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL Lieut. Gen. Colin L. Powell, national security adviser. Col. Robert E. Linhard, special assistant to the President for arms control. Linton F. Brooks, arms control adviser Steven E. Steiner, arms control adviser. Nelson Ledsky, director of office of European and Soviet Affairs. STATE DEPARTMENT George P. Shultz, Secretary of State Michael H. Armacost, Undersecretary for Political Affairs. Allen Wallis, Undersecretary for Economic Affairs. Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Gaston J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs. H. Allen Holmes, Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs. Charles H. Thomas, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs. Thomas W. Simons Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs. Charles E. Redman, press spokesman. Max M. Kampelman, chief arms negotiator. DEFENSE DEPARTMENT Frank C. Carlucci, Secretary of Defense Richard L. Armitage, Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs.

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Accessed from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/05/22/world/us-aides-see-summit-pomp-not-substance.html?pagewanted=all&pagewanted=print> (19 April 2016)



President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev greet a young child while touring Red Square during the Moscow Summit. 5/31/88.



President Reagan and Nancy Reagan greeting Moscow citizens on Arbat Street during the Moscow Summit. 5/29/88.



EDUCATION

Student Programs

“We’re entering a **NEW ERA**,
and **EDUCATION** holds the **KEY**.”
Ronald Reagan

HIGH SCHOOL



STUDENT LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

A five day program to develop leadership skills such as: communication, optimism, and informed decision making. Students build these skills as they create a plan of action to bring real change to their community and the world.

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An annual leadership conference where students from across the nation share their hard earned leadership knowledge and experience.

STUDENT LEADERSHIP AWARD PROGRAM

Offers high school administrators a way to recognize outstanding students whose leadership is emblematic of our nation’s 40th President.

SCHOLARSHIPS



GE-REAGAN FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

Exclusive network of college-bound students nationwide who possess exemplary leadership, drive, integrity, and citizenship rewarded with \$40,000 each in scholarships and support for further leadership growth.

RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION SCHOLARS PROGRAM

Annual scholarships totaling \$50,000 for Ventura County, CA high school seniors with outstanding leadership and character.

GREAT COMMUNICATOR DEBATE SERIES

National series of high school debates to develop informed citizens and leaders, culminating with a national championship and \$50,000 in scholarships.

COLLEGE



LEADERSHIP AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY PROGRAM

Real History. Real Leaders. Real World.

Spend a Summer or Semester in Washington, DC interning, taking an accredited college course on leadership, and transforming your future.

INTERNSHIPS

Gain authentic experience in a world class organization and high paced office environment. Positions are available in both Washington, D.C. and our Simi Valley, CA offices.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Help shape our programs and share your experiences with others.

