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Folder Title:
Russia, 5/95 - Moscow State [University] Drafts [2]

Staff Office-Individual:
Speechwriting- Boorstin

Original OA/ID Number:
423

Row: 48  Section: 6  Shelf: 5  Position: 3  Stack: V
[Acknowledgments:] Rector Viktor Anotonovich Sadovnichy,

I can think of no better place than a great seat of learning like Moscow State University to speak about Russia's past and future. In this University the spirit of [tk] Lomonosov lives on. Just as he brought a new language to his people two centuries ago, today you are shaping a new language -- a language of democracy -- that will help all the Russian chart a new course for this ancient land. Here you openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And within these buildings, you can hear the echoes of your nation's history -- and ponder what is yet to come.

Yesterday all of Russia paused to remember the bright end to one of the darkest chapters in your nation's history. As we gathered at Poklannaya Gora [pah-KLO-nayah gah-RAH] the winged statue of Victory stood high above us but the memory of sacrifice cast a larger shadow. From the banks of the Volga to the harbors of
Vladivostok, World War II left its indelible, bloody mark on every city street and every country road and trail. Numbers do not tell the story of the silent heroes. Teachers put down their books to take up arms... farmers gave up their plows for swords. Fresh-faced soldiers died on icy battle fronts and rugged sailors were swallowed by the sea. No family went untouched, no child unscarred. It was sacrifice on a scale that we in the West can only imagine -- a testament to the awesome strength and resiliency of great peoples who defended great lands.

At the end of that war, and for fifty years to follow, a different conflict split us from one another. For Americans that conflict obscured the full measure of your terrible loss. And you could not seize fully the promise of your great victory. Through these years my nation stood firmly behind the principles of democracy and liberty and people throughout the Soviet empire -- in the face of great odds and dangers -- summoned the courage to pursue their freedom. And finally, first in drops and then in waves, your aspirations to liberty helped sweep away the Cold War. You seized the chance to reset history's clock. For that you have our gratitude, our admiration and our support.
Today you live in times of great and rapid change, when the recent past -- not to mention the world of fifty years ago -- seems like ancient history. After the tumultuous events of the last four years, the experiences of your parents and grandparents must seem far removed. But the struggles of their times can yield lessons for the struggles of these times.

Just as our nations joined together to defeat the forces of fascism fifty years ago, today we have the chance to usher in a new century as full of promise and peace as the old has been of destruction and devastation. The battle will not be won quickly or easily. But history proves that nations based on the principles of democracy and freedom -- despite their faults -- will outlast those that vest power in dictators and deny liberty to their people. And that the commitment and devotion of people to a cause larger than themselves can prevail over the most terrible of enemies.

Today the cause of your generation is to build a more free and open society. If you -- the Russian people -- turn back the forces of reaction and help democratic reforms take strong root in your nation, you will redeem the sacrifice of the generations
that came before. You will fulfill their legacy of hope and write a great new chapter in the history of your nation. And we respect your desire to chart your own course based on Russian traditions and Russian culture.

That principle lies at the heart of American history and American democracy. We, after all, have spent more than two hundred years trying to set our own course. Along the way, Americans have discovered that constructing and maintaining a democracy will cause great frustrations and even deep divisions among the people. It is a slow, difficult and sometimes painful experiment. But democracy is an experiment worth fighting for.

By protecting fundamental civil rights, it gives people the power to control their own destiny. By rewarding hard work, innovation and creativity, democracy gives people the power to create new economic opportunities and pass on to their children the possibility of a better life. By drawing a nation together, instead of driving its peoples apart, it gives a people a chance to take its rightful place on the global stage and to set an example for other nations. Democracy demands responsibility and in return, it gives every man, woman and child the best
opportunity to live up to the fullest extent of their God-given potential.

These are the things the Russian people stand to gain from democracy’s triumph. America stands to gain as well.

Let me be clear: our Administration supports the forces of economic reform, democracy and openness in Russia because their success benefits the American people. When your economy is strong, America has new trading prospects. When Russia is at peace with itself, Europe is more secure and the prospects for Russia’s global influence are strengthened. And when Russia and America join together to end the arms race, the security of families in both our countries is enhanced.

I am proud that, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of America. And to paraphrase what your Foreign Minister said when he came to Washington last month, I am equally proud to be the first American President able to stand in this capital city in more than four (ck) decades, secure in the knowledge that our missiles are not pointed at me. Both our nations are destroying thousands
of nuclear weapons at a faster rate than our treaties require. Compared with only a few years ago, when severe disagreements between our nations paralyzed relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in much safer, more hopeful times.

But if the forces of extremism or chaos in Russia should triumph, all that our nations have worked to accomplish would be threatened. The United States would have to reassess our global strategy, re-examine our measured reductions in defense spending, and contemplate the revival of a nuclear arms race.

The economic revolution that you have brought to your nation would also be at risk. Think for a moment how far you have come. More than 60 per cent of the economy is in private hands. Inflation is dropping and your government is taking sensible steps to control its budget deficit. Managers work to satisfy customers and to make profits. Employees search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And every day the Russian people decide what they want to buy in the freedom of the marketplace, rather than having choices dictated to them.
No right thinking person -- Russian or American -- would want to retreat from the course of democratic reform and the progress it has yielded. As you move forward, I urge you to look beyond the anxieties of daily life and the confusing press of events. I urge you to look back on the road you have already traveled and draw new courage for the journey ahead.

This, then, is my message to you: [Russian tk for "Stay the course."] We in America know it will not be easy. But you are a people who have always risen to the occasion -- in the last four years and in the last four decades. And now as you look forward to the months and years ahead, you must redouble your efforts to bring to life democracy and freedom throughout your nation.

Establishing a government of law, not men.... making real the idea of separation of powers.... dividing authority between Moscow, the provinces and your towns and villages.... and protecting the rights of the opposition.... these are elements of democracy that you are facing. They are problems that Americans recognize as part of the enduring challenge of democratic society.
No element among them is more fundamental than free elections. In our meetings today, President Yeltsin once again pledged to hold a new round of Parliamentary elections in December and a Presidential election next June. He has shown that he understands what has often been said about a new democracy: the second elections are more important than the first -- for they establish a pattern of peaceful transition of power.

I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise the power they have earned. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout the nation. These elections will shape your future. Do not fall into the trap of believing that your vote does not count. It does.

The heart of democracy does not lie in the ballot box alone. That is why it is so important that your generation continues to demand and support a free and independent press. Again, this will be a difficult, even dangerous, task -- as people in your press who have shown extraordinary determination and little fear have already discovered. Dmitri Kholodov [HAAH-la-dove] and Vladislav Lilistyev [VLAAH-dee-slav LEE-styev] were murdered in pursuit of the truth, victims of their vigorous belief in the
public's right to know. You must not allow those assassins who targeted them to steal from your people one of the essential freedoms of a democracy.
MEMORANDUM

TO: Distribution
FROM: Bob Boorstin
RE: Moscow State speech
DATE: May 7, 1995

Attached please find draft of Moscow State speech. Please get your comments to me as soon as possible Monday morning. I would like to prepare another, cleaner draft for presentation on the plane. I am available at 456-5696 or through WH Signal 757-5000, pager #4073.

Please note: the speech is too long. Please do not suggest long additions. Suggestions for cuts welcomed. Please scrub for condescension; I have attempted to deal with it by referring to American challenges throughout.

I put in suggestions through the text. No long additions; no net gain in length and perhaps overall cuts. I’m seriously flattered that you asked for my input.

I need help on the following:

(1) Anybody have a good Lomonosov quote? (p.1)

(2) Do we need the two grafs of Cold War history on pp. 2-3? I think it works. I shortened it somewhat.

(3) Did I go overboard on the “feel your pain” stuff? (p.3) I thought it alright.

(4) On p. 7 I stay away from numbers (income rise, unemployment etc.) because I think they’re too uncertain. Agreed? Yes

(5) Do we need the “second election” sentence? (p. 9) I think not. I like it

(6) Is it ridiculous for POTUS to refer to two slain journalists by their patronymics? (p.9) Isn’t that how Russians refer to them? Sounds odd from an American. But I defer to John Beyrle.

(7) I believe freedom of religion graf necessary. (p. 10) Agreed? Suggestions on content appreciated. Point of religion is not the Church per se but the values of human dignity and conscience it should represent.

(8) Does the Chechnya lead-in work? (p. 11) I think it’s as good as we’re going to get. It’s fine.

(9) Should we mention the Human Rights Commissioner? The President’s meeting with him? (p. 11-12)
(10) I refer to Iran only in passing. (p. 12) Given the audience and the fact that we’ll have come from the press conference, I think this makes sense. Agree

(11) Is the NATO stuff (p. 12) necessary? Yes. And it reads well.
I want to thank you for your invitation to speak with you today. I am greatly honored by the degree you have awarded me. And I am particularly thankful that you did not ask me to wear the heavy academic robes that usually go along with such ceremonies.

I can think of no better place than a great university like Moscow State to speak about Russia’s past and future. In your classrooms, leaders for the 21st Century prepare to chart a new course for this ancient land. On this campus students openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And within these buildings, those who listen can hear the echoes of your nation’s history -- and ponder what is yet to come. [Lomonosov quote tk]

Yesterday all of Russia paused to remember the bright end to one of the most fearsome, heroic darkest chapters in this century’s your nation’s history. [Bob - Stalinism was at least as dark a chapter in Russia’s history as WWII. And the War was not Russia’s alone.]. As we gathered at Poklannaya Gora [pronounce tk] the winged statue of Victory stood high above us but the memory of sacrifice cast a larger shadow. From Murmansk in the tundra to the lower Volga, the
banks of the Volga to the harbors of Vladivostok [Vladivostok was not really involved in the
War; World War II left its indelible, bloody mark on every city street and every country road and
trail. Numbers do not tell the story of the silent heroes. Teachers exchanged their books for
guns... farmers gave up the plow for the sword. Fresh-faced soldiers died on icy battle fronts and
rugged sailors were swallowed by the sea. No family went untouched, no child unscarred. It was
sacrifice on an immense scale that we in the West can only imagine [Poland’s sacrifice was just as
great and we should not by suggestions of our lesser sacrifice set the stage for Russian demands
for greater compensation] -- a testament to the awesome strength and resiliency of great peoples
who defended great lands.

Yesterday we also commemorated a time when, in the face of forces of evil unmatched in modern
history, our nations stood together in an unparalleled alliance. We remembered the day fifty years
ago when Russian and American soldiers met at a bridge spanning the Elbe River and celebrated
the end of [Don’t refer to a particular number of years. Soviet involvement was just under four
years; ours was three and a half. WWII itself was five and a half] terrible four [ek] years of brutal
war and the bright promise of peace. But even before the last fires of war had cooled -- before
the last of the fascist armies had surrendered -- another new form of tyranny snuffed out the spark
of cooperation between our two nations. An Iron Curtain separated our peoples, divided Europe
and cast a chill over the entire world.

For four decades the dream of a better world for which our peoples fought was deferred and
more an arms race without end consumed the treasuries of our nations. Yet, from under the
rubble of communism's broken promises. These were years when my nation stood firmly behind the principles of democracy and liberty. Years when Communism broke its promises and the system slowly dissolved. And years when people throughout the Soviet empire -- Russians as well, in the face of great odds and dangers -- fought for and won summoned the courage to pursue their freedom. First in drops and then in waves, your devotion to liberty helped washed away the past. In a matter of months, the Cold War became a subject for history. And for that you have our gratitude, our admiration and our support.

We in the West marveled as the people of Russia and the New Independent States forced the dawn of a new day. You began the hard work of building a free, open and democratic societies. You seized the chance to reset history's clock and renew your nations. And we Americans -- though aware of the many difficulties that lay before you -- saw a chance for our nations to work together for the common good, as we had battled against a common evil fifty years before.

We knew, as you did, that the challenge was enormous and that progress -- when it came -- would be unsteady and uneven. We identified with your fears as your nation headed into an uncertain future. But we were determined to help when we could to clear the obstacles from the path to a more free and open society.

Today, on behalf of all the American people, let me tell you that we know how hard these first years of transformation have been. We understand. Americans recall the hard times of our past and recognize the uncertainties of today's economy when we read reports of Russian families
struggling to make ends meet. We root for the advocates of democracy and moderation, wince when they stumble and condemn the forces of evil that assassinate the members of a free and independent press. And we are eager to see the talents and dignity of your great people reflected as Russia takes her rightful place in the order of nations -- as a pacesetter for reform, a peacemaker among nations, and a partner in global trade and investment.

Let me be clear: our Administration supports the forces of economic reform, democracy and openness in Russia because their success will benefit Russians, other European peoples and Americans. We believe that the success of reform will further enhance the security of Americans, lead to greater prosperity for our citizens, and increase cooperation on a variety of critical international issues. And we know that the triumph of extremism or chaos in Russia would threaten those benefits -- causing us to reassess our global strategy, examine our measured reductions in defense spending, and contemplate the revival of a nuclear arms race. We do not relish that thought.

Ultimately, it will be you -- the Russian people -- who will write the history and chart the future of your land. We respect the limits of our influence. We have no desire to interfere in Russia's internal affairs. We have plenty of problems of our own.

The United States was built on the principle that there exist self-evident truths and standards of liberty, but that every country must be free to develop these according to its traditions and needs. That principle is the cornerstone of liberty on which the United States was built. Americans
recognize that no democracy has achieved perfection and that Russians will draw from many sources -- the free Assembly of Novgorod, Russia's reformers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Russia's fighters for democracy like Andrey Sakharov -- as you construct a government of laws and institutions unique to your nation. And if our experience is any guide, when that government is built your work will have just begun. A free and open democracy is not built of solid rock; it must be constantly sculpted and renewed. In your efforts, as Count Tolstoy wrote, time and patience will be "the strongest of all warriors."

As you move forward I urge you not to forget to look back. The anxiety of daily life and the confusing press of events too often hides the distance you have come. Think for a moment about where Russia stands today.

• The elements of an open society -- free elections, frank political debate and an independent media -- are beginning to take root.

• Inflation has dropped by half in the last three months alone and your government has taken strong, sensible steps to control the budget.

• Consumer goods are widely available. Just a few years ago citizens of Moscow did not own enough cars to cause a traffic jam. [They say progress is a mixed blessing.]

• American nuclear weapons are no longer targeted at Russian cities and towns. To paraphrase your Foreign Minister, I am the first American President to be able to stand in this capital city secure in the knowledge that our missiles are not pointed at me.
Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a rate faster than treaties require.

The evidence is clear. Compared with only a few years ago, when severe tension disagreements between our nations paralyzed relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in much safer, more hopeful times.

Yes, there is much more to do: It is hard to see how these bright spots illuminate your life when economic reform has yet to touch your lives, democratic progress is under assault and your nation grapples with internal troubles. But we Americans are familiar with these challenges we are grappling with these challenges ourselves. In my nation, as in yours, we are fighting for economic growth, adapting our democracy to meet new needs, and struggling with questions of diversity and the responsibilities of power. Let me address these challenges in turn.

First, economic reform.

Russia today is suffering not only from the pains of giving birth to a market economy but also from the last convulsions of the Communist-command economy. You have accomplished much already. But your nation has already seen a revolution in economic behavior—more than 60 percent of the economy is in private hands. Managers work for the bottom line. Employees search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And the Russian people are using shopping skills
acquired under the old system to become some of the world's most careful consumers. Your
economy grows and spawns new markets every day.

But the enthusiasm of the first months of freedom has long since faded. To many, economic
reform has come to mean hardship, crime, corruption and uncertainty. That should not surprise
any of us when Russians wake up wondering whether there is a safety net to catch them if they
lose their jobs... when the products that you could not find yesterday you cannot afford today...
and when a privileged few monopolize opportunities that belong to the many.

True economic reform will require time and sacrifice. And it will demand an all-out battle to
stamp out corruption and crime and to protect those who cannot protect themselves.

You know all too well the impact of corruption and organized crime on your economy. Profitable
items once owned by the state -- land, oil, factories and apartment buildings -- have been moved
into private hands under questionable circumstances. Some of the richest pay no taxes at all. The
demands of extortionists has stopped some would-be entrepreneurs from even going into
business. And as the price of krysha [tk pronounce] ["cover" or protection] rises, many business
owners increase their prices and bury their dreams of expansion.

These problems require sensible, solid solutions and will take time to correct.
Unemployment in your nation is holding steady but those Russians who lose jobs or fear being captured by live-in-poverty must be confident that the economic safety net is strong enough to break their fall. Inflation must continue to be curbed so that families struggling to become members of the new Russian middle class look ahead in confidence, no longer fear the future.

Continuing your nation's recent record of more disciplined budgets is vital to achieving longterm economic stability. I say this from experience because, since the beginning of my Administration, I have tried to meet these goals every day. We continue to pursue them because they promise the kind of long-term economic growth that will benefit all the American people.

Breaking the habits of corruption and the grip of organized crime is another long-term task. Part of the solution will be found in writing new laws to regulate economic activities -- and giving independent authorities the power to enforce those laws. Achieving economic reforms should not be an excuse for the privileged few to exploit their access or for the strong and well-armed to prey on the weak. In the United States, after many years of testing and failure, we have discovered new methods for cracking down on organized crime. Our Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened an office here in Moscow and our agents will continue to cooperate with your government in its efforts to break the power of the gangs.

The transition to a more honest and open market economy will be long. Most of you will not feel the impact of economic reforms in the near future. New problems will appear as your economy gains ground. But in the midst of the pain, I would urge you also to see the promise. Look, for example, at nations like Japan, Korea and Germany -- all devastated by war, all once dismissed as
economic basket cases, and all ranked today among the world's most dynamic economies. And remember, too, that the United States -- within the limits of our own budget -- will stand with you where we can be helpful.

Economic reform will be empty and unstable—and all Russians with an active stake in the new economy will legitimately fear future instability—unless you apply the same kind of energy to making your young democracy more open and more free. This is the second great challenge that you face.

As the world's oldest democracy, we Americans have spent more than two hundred years trying to improve the institutions and habits of a free and open society. We still work at it every day; we have learned that a democratic nation demands constant renewal—and that it is only as strong and vibrant as the sum of its parts.

In just a few short years you have begun the long process of bringing to life a new, democratic state. And despite many dangers, you have shaped the elements that will make your nation stronger, more prosperous and more free.

No element is more visible or vital than free elections. The Russian people recognized that from the start. And I am pleased that President Yeltsin has pledged to hold a new round of Parliamentary elections in December and a Presidential election next June. [It has been said that in
a new democracy, the second elections are more important than the first -- for they establish a pattern of a peaceful transition of power.]

These elections must be free and fair. And I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise the power they have earned. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout the nation. These elections will shape your future. Do not fall into the trap -- as too many young Americans have -- of believing that your vote does not count. It does.

One of the most extraordinary developments in Russia since I visited here in early 1994 has been the rapid rise of an independent and outspoken media. Your press -- print, radio and television alike -- have played a critical role in probing the toughest issues of the day. They have shown great skill and little fear. Sadly, the targets of investigation and criticism have killed some of your most vigorous journalists -- [first and patronymic tk] and Vladislav [patronymic tk]. They worked in different mediums but they shared a profound belief in the public’s right to know. Their colleagues, their readers and their viewers should resolve to follow the trail they blazed.

Freedom of religion, too, has played a key role in building the foundations of a more open, democratic state. Released from tyranny, you have returned to the Church by the millions, seeking refuge in its stability and finding hope in its teachings. [anecdote]

In seeking to renew your nation, there are still many difficult tasks you must undertake.... establishing a government of law, not men.... making real the idea of separation of powers....
dividing authority between Moscow, the provinces and your towns and villages.... and protecting the rights of the opposition.

Americans -- and especially American Presidents -- will tell you that constructing and maintaining a democracy is a messy, time-consuming process. But dissent and debate are not just noisy consequences of an open society -- they are vital elements of democracy. Attacks yield to compromise, disagreements to legislation. We continue the struggle because we believe that a democratic system gives each and every man, woman and child the best opportunity to live up to the fullest extent of their God-given potential. And because history has shown us that, despite their many faults, nations based on the principles of democracy and freedom will outlast those that vest power in dictators and deny liberty to their people.

In Russia, the struggle between proponents of reform and the forces of reaction in your nation persists. We believe that only a more prosperous and democratic Russia can take its rightful place on the international stage. Already -- in the Middle East, the New Independent States and as far away as El Salvador -- America has benefited from Russia’s new role. But this integration into global society will proceed smoothly only if Russia is at peace with herself and her neighbors. That is the final challenge I wish to discuss.

There are few nations on earth who can rival Russia’s vast human and natural resources, nor her diversity. Within your borders live [number tk] ethnic groups. That number does not include all the peoples now spread among the New Independent States. When Americans and others in the
West look back on the events of the last four years, we are struck by the remarkably peaceful nature of your revolutionary transition.

It would have been easy to surrender to or ignore the cries of the extremists who, in the name of patriotism, tried to rally political support by stirring up fear and nostalgia for empire. The vast majority of Russians rejected their poisonous arguments. Your accomplishment -- to go through a massive social and political upheaval and the breakup of an empire with so little brutality and bloodshed -- has few precedents in history. Your restraint was a critical factor in paving the way for Russia to take its place in the global community as a free nation among others, a modern state at peace with itself and its neighbors.

It is against the backdrop of that great achievement that we Americans have viewed the tragedy in Chechnya. As I told President Yeltsin earlier today, we hope that this terrible exception to the nonviolent record of building a new Russia can be brought to a rapid, peaceful conclusion. Continued fighting in that region can only spill more blood and further erode international support for Russian reform. We believe, as the Russian people do, that nations that fail to find strength in their diversity quickly lose their way.

Our differences over Chechnya -- like our opposition to your nation's nuclear cooperation with Iran -- are real. But it is precisely at moments like this that patience and steadiness are required. We must not hold our relationship hostage to any one issue. When our nations disagree, as we do with every great power, we must manage our differences candidly, constructively and resolutely.
Crises come and go. But interests endure.

That is why my nation wants to link together Russia and the countries of NATO. We need to seek security together, not apart. NATO remains what is has always been -- a defensive alliance. NATO will bring in new partners. But our alliance also believes that a democratic Russia will deserves a clear chance to join with its fellow democracies. When NATO's strategy succeeds, all of Europe will share a common commitment to democracy, free-market economies and the sovereignty of every nation-a mutual respect for borders[ borders are not the issue]. The kind of tensions in Central Europe that helped ignite two World Wars will be reduced -- and Russia, the nation that suffered more than any other from those wars, will be more secure.

As we close the door on a century of war, the world wants and needs Russia to be a strong and active player on the international stage. But if Russia is to take her rightful place, we believe the trends toward democracy, economic freedom and tolerance must continue. A Russia at war with itself, trying to dominate her removed from her neighbors and isolated from the world would ill serve her people.

Yesterday your nation looked back 50 years and paid homage to the heroes of a terrible time. We recalled the memories of your parents and grandparents who fought to defeat the fascist armies and died in numbers that we cannot grasp. All of us -- Russian and American, British, Chinese and French -- honored their sacrifice.
Today we look ahead 50 years. To the next century when your children and grandchildren will recall those who stood against coups, voted in free elections and claimed the basic rights and liberties they had long been denied. They will look back and give thanks for your belief that freedom could take root in Russian lands.

There are those in my nation who dismiss that hope. They argue that democracy cannot grow in Russian soil. That markets will never flourish. That your nation is destined to relive the worst chapters in its history.

I think they are mistaken. They forget the silent heroism of those who kept alive the Russian spirit under the constant assault of enemy guns. They ignore the courage of those who persevered in the face of terror. They discount all those who stood their ground while the system stole away their rights. And like so many before them, they underestimate the strength and resilience of the Russian people.

As you fight to build a more free, democratic and prosperous society, you will need to call upon every ounce of your strength and test your resilience at every turn. There will be more hard times and setbacks. Progress will be measured not in glorious victories but gradual improvements.

You must know, however, that you will not be alone.

If you can stay on the course of economic reform, mwee svami. [we are with you]
If you fight for your democratic rights and freedoms, mwee svami.

If you resist the forces of fear and adopt the habits of hope, mwee svami.

The greatness of nations has always been defined by their ability to redefine themselves in every age and time. Russians and Americans share this bond -- we know that we must learn from our past and find the courage to change. Today, fifty years after the poet of the siege of Leningrad, Anna Akhmatova, wrote these words, "the hour for courage strikes upon our clocks." For the sake of your generation and generations to come, we must rise to the challenge.

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PRESENTATION WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  ADDRESS TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY MAY 10, 1995

[Acknowledgments:] Rector Viktor Anatolyevich Sadovnichy,

I can think of no better place than a great seat of learning like Moscow State University to speak about Russia’s past and future. In this University the spirit of [tk] Lomonosov lives on. Just as he brought a new language to his people two centuries ago, today you are shaping a new language -- a language of democracy -- that will help all the Russian chart a new course for this ancient land. Here you openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And within these buildings, you can hear the echoes of your nation’s history -- and ponder what is yet to come.

Yesterday all of Russia paused to remember the bright end to one of the darkest chapters in your nation’s history. As we gathered at Poklannaya Gora [pah-KLO-nayah gah-RAH] the winged statue of Victory stood high above us but the memory of sacrifice cast a larger shadow. From the banks of the Volga to the harbors of Vladivostok, World War II left its indelible, bloody mark on every city street and every country road and trail. Numbers do not tell the story of the silent heroes. Teachers put down their
books to take up arms... farmers gave up their plows for swords. Fresh-faced soldiers died on icy battle fronts and rugged sailors were swallowed by the sea. No family went untouched, no child unscarred. It was sacrifice on a scale that we in the West can only imagine -- a testament to the awesome strength and resiliency of great peoples who defended great lands.

At the end of that war, and for fifty years to follow, a different conflict split us from one another. For Americans, that conflict obscured the full measure of your terrible loss. And you could not seize fully the promise of your great victory. Through these years my nation stood firmly behind the principles of democracy and liberty and people throughout the Soviet empire -- in the face of great odds and dangers -- summoned the courage to pursue their freedom. And finally, first in drops and then in waves, your aspirations to liberty helped sweep away the Cold War. You seized the chance to reset history's clock. For that you have our gratitude, our admiration and our support.

Today you live in times of great and rapid change, when the recent past -- not to mention the world of fifty years ago -- seems like ancient history. After the tumultuous events of the last four years, the experiences of your parents and grandparents must seem far removed. But the struggles of their times can yield lessons for the struggles of these times.

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Just as our nations joined together to defeat the forces of fascism fifty years ago, today we have the chance to usher in a new century as full of promise and peace as the old won has been of destruction and devastation. The battle will not be won quickly or easily. But history proves that nations based on the principles of democracy and freedom -- despite their faults -- will outlast those that vest power in dictators and deny liberty to their people. And that the commitment and devotion of people to a cause larger than themselves can prevail over the most terrible of enemies.

Today the cause of your generation is to build a more free and open society. If you -- the Russian people -- turn back the forces of reaction and help democratic reforms take strong root in your nation, you will redeem the sacrifice of the generations that came before. You will fulfill their legacy of hope and write a great new chapter in the history of your nation. And we respect your desire to chart your own course based on Russian traditions and Russian culture.

That principle lies at the heart of American history and American democracy. We, after all, have spent more than two hundred years trying to set our own course. Along the way, Americans have discovered that constructing and maintaining a democracy will
cause great frustrations and even deep divisions among the people. It is a slow, difficult and sometimes painful experiment. But democracy is an experiment worth fighting for.

By protecting fundamental civil rights, it gives people the power to control their own destiny. By rewarding hard work, innovation and creativity, democracy gives people the power to create new economic opportunities and pass on to their children the possibility of a better life. By drawing a nation together instead of driving its peoples apart, it gives a people a chance to take its rightful place on the global stage and to set an example for other nations. Democracy demands responsibility and in return, it gives every man, woman and child the best opportunity to live up to the fullest extent of their God-given potential.

These are the things the Russian people stand to gain from democracy's triumph. America stands to gain as well.

Let me be clear: our Administration supports the forces of economic reform, democracy and openness in Russia because their success benefits the American people. When your economy is strong, America has new trading prospects. When Russia is at peace with itself, Europe is more secure and the prospects for Russia's global influence are strengthened. And when Russia and
America join together to end the arms race, the security of families in both our countries is enhanced.

I am proud that, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of America. And to paraphrase what your Foreign Minister said when he came to Washington last month, I am equally proud to be the first American President able to stand in this capital city in more than four (ck) decades, secure in the knowledge that our missiles are not pointed at me. Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a faster rate than our treaties require. Compared with only a few years ago, when severe disagreements between our nations paralyzed relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in much safer, more hopeful times.

But if the forces of extremism or chaos in Russia should triumph, all that our nations have worked to accomplish would be threatened. The United States would have to reassess our global strategy, re-examine our measured reductions in defense spending, and contemplate the revival of a nuclear arms race.

The economic revolution that you have brought to your nation would also be at risk. Think for a moment how far you have come. More than 60 per cent of the economy is in private hands. Inflation is dropping and your government is taking sensible
steps to control its budget deficit. Managers work to satisfy customers and to make profits. Employees search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And every day the Russian people decide what they want to buy in the freedom of the marketplace, rather than having choices dictated to them.

No right thinking person -- Russian or American -- would want to retreat from the course of democratic reform and the progress it has yielded. As you move forward, I urge you to look beyond the anxieties of daily life and the confusing press of events. I urge you to look back on the road you have already traveled and draw new courage for the journey ahead.

This, then, is my message to you: [Russian tk for "Stay the course."] We in America know it will not be easy. But you are a people who have always risen to the occasion -- in the last four years and in the last four decades. And now as you look forward to the months and years ahead, you must redouble your efforts to bring to life democracy and freedom throughout your nation.

Establishing a government of law, not men.... making real the idea of separation of powers.... dividing authority between Moscow, the provinces and your towns and villages.... and protecting the rights of the opposition.... these are elements of democracy that you are facing. They are problems that Americans
recognize as part of the enduring challenge of democratic society.

No element among them is more fundamental than free elections. In our meetings today, President Yeltsin once again pledged to hold a new round of Parliamentary elections in December and a Presidential election next June. He has shown that he understands what has often been said about a new democracy: the second elections are more important than the first -- for they establish a pattern of peaceful transition of power.

I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise the power they have earned. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout the nation. These elections will shape your future. Do not fall into the trap of believing that your vote does not count. It does.

The heart of democracy does not lie in the ballot box alone. That is why it is so important that your generation continues to demand and support a free and independent press. Again, this will be a difficult, even dangerous, task -- as people in your press who have shown extraordinary determination and little fear have already discovered. Dmitri Kholodov [HAH-la-dove] and Vladislav Lilistyev [VLAH-dee-slav LEE-styev] were murdered in pursuit of the truth, victims of their vigorous belief in the
public's right to know. You must not allow those assassins who targeted them to steal from your people one of the essential freedoms of a democracy.
I want to thank you for your invitation to speak with you today. I am greatly honored by the degree you have awarded me. And I am particularly thankful that you did not ask me to wear the heavy academic robes that usually go along with such ceremonies.

I can think of no better place than a great university like Moscow State to speak about Russia’s past and future. In your classrooms, leaders for the 21st Century prepare to chart a new course for this ancient land. On this campus students openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And within these buildings, those who listen can hear the echoes of your nation’s history -- and ponder what is yet to come. [Lomonosov quote tk]

Yesterday all of Russia paused to remember the bright end to one of the darkest chapters in your nation’s history. As we gathered at Poklannaya Gora [pronounce tk] the winged statue of Victory stood high above us but the memory of sacrifice cast a larger shadow. From the banks of the Volga to the harbors of Vladivostok, World War II left its indelible, bloody mark on every city street and every country road and trail. Numbers do not tell the story of the silent heroes.
Teachers exchanged their books for guns... farmers gave up the plow for the sword. Fresh-faced soldiers died on icy battle fronts and rugged sailors were swallowed by the sea. No family went untouched, no child unscarred. It was sacrifice on a scale that we in the West can only imagine -- a testament to the awesome strength and resiliency of great peoples who defended great lands.

Yesterday we also commemorated a time when, in the face of forces of evil unmatched in modern history, our nations stood together in an unshakable alliance. We remembered the day fifty years ago when Russian and American soldiers met at a bridge spanning the Elbe River and celebrated the end of four [ck] years of brutal war and the bright promise of peace. But even before the last fires of war had cooled -- before the last of the fascist armies had surrendered -- a new form of tyranny snuffed out the spark of cooperation between our two nations. An Iron Curtain separated our peoples, divided Europe and cast a chill over the entire world.

For four decades and more an arms race without end consumed the treasuries of our nations.

These were years when my nation stood firmly behind the principles of democracy and liberty. Years when Communism broke its promises and the system slowly dissolved. And years when people throughout the Soviet empire -- in the face of great odds and dangers -- summoned the courage to pursue their freedom. First in drops and then in waves, your devotion to liberty helped wash away the past. In a matter of months, the Cold War became a subject for history. And for that you have our gratitude, our admiration and our support.
We in the West marveled as the people of Russia and the New Independent States forced the dawn of a new day. You began the hard work of building a free, open and democratic societies. You seized the chance to reset history's clock and renew your nations. And we Americans -- though aware of the many difficulties that lay before you -- saw a chance for our nations to work together for the common good, as we had battled against a common evil fifty years before.

We knew, as you did, that the challenge was enormous and that progress -- when it came -- would be unsteady and uneven. We identified with your fears as your nation headed into an uncertain future. But we were determined to help when we could to clear the obstacles from the path to a more free and open society.

Today, on behalf of all the American people, let me tell you that we know how hard these first years of transformation have been. We understand Americans recall the hard times of our past and recognize the uncertainties of today's economy when we read reports of Russian families struggling to make ends meet. We root for the advocates of democracy and moderation, when they stumble and condemn the forces of evil that assassinate the members of a free and independent press. And we are eager to see the talents and dignity of your great people reflected as Russia takes her rightful place in the order of nations -- as a pacesetter for reform, a peacemaker among nations, and a partner in global trade and investment.

Let me be clear: our Administration supports the forces of economic reform, democracy and openness in Russia because their success will benefit the American people. Our belief that the
success of reform will further enhance the security of Americans, lead to greater prosperity for
our citizens, and increase cooperation on a variety of critical international issues. And we know
that the triumph of extremism or chaos in Russia would threaten those benefits -- causing us to
reassess our global strategy, examine our measured reductions in defense spending, and
contemplate the revival of a nuclear arms race. We do not relish that thought. We know you don't

Ultimately, it will be you -- the Russian people -- who will write the history and chart the future of
your land. We respect the limits of our influence. We have no desire to interfere in Russia's
internal affairs. I have plenty of problems of my own.

Every country must be free to develop according to its traditions and needs. That principle is the
cornerstone of liberty on which the United States was built. Americans recognize that no
democracy has achieved perfection and that Russians will draw from many sources as you
construct a government of laws and institutions unique to your nation. And if our experience is
any guide, when that government is built your work will have just begun. A free and open
democracy is not built of solid rock; it must be constantly sculpted and renewed. In your efforts,
as Count Tolstoy wrote, time and patience will be “the strongest of all warriors.”

As you move forward I urge you not to forget to look back. The anxiety of daily life and the
confusing press of events too often hides the distance you have come. Think for a moment about

where Russia stands today.
• The elements of an open society -- free elections, frank political debate and an independent media -- are beginning to take root.
• Inflation has dropped by half in the last three months alone and your government has taken strong, sensible steps to control the budget.
• Consumer goods are widely available. Just a few years ago citizens of Moscow did not own enough cars to cause a traffic jam. [They say progress is a mixed blessing.]
• American nuclear weapons are no longer targeted at Russian cities and towns. To paraphrase your Foreign Minister, I am the first American President to be able to stand in this capital city secure in the knowledge that our missiles are not pointed at me.
• Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a rate faster than treaties require.

The evidence is clear. Compared with only a few years ago, when severe disagreements between our nations paralyzed relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in much safer, more hopeful times.

It is hard to see how these bright spots illuminate your life when economic reform has yet to touch your lives, democratic progress is under assault and your nation grapples with internal troubles. But we Americans are familiar with these challenges. In my nation, as in yours, we are fighting for economic growth, adapting our democracy to meet new needs, and struggling with questions of diversity and the responsibilities of power. Let me address these challenges in turn.
First, economic reform.

Russia today is suffering not only from the pains of giving birth to a market economy but also from the last convulsions of the Communist command economy. But your nation has already seen a revolution in economic behavior. More than 60 percent of the economy is in private hands. Managers work for the bottom line. Employees search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And the Russian people are using shopping skills acquired under the old system to become some of the world's most careful consumers. Your economy grows and spawns new markets every day.

But the enthusiasm of the first months of freedom has long since faded. To many, economic reform has come to mean hardship, crime, corruption and uncertainty. That should not surprise any of us when Russians wake up wondering whether there is a safety net to catch them if they lose their jobs... when the products that you could not find yesterday you cannot afford today... and when a privileged few monopolize opportunities that belong to the many.

True economic reform will require time and sacrifice. And it will demand an all out battle to stamp out corruption and crime and to protect those who cannot protect themselves.

You know all too well the impact of corruption and organized crime on your economy. Profitable items once owned by the state -- land, oil, factories and apartment buildings -- have been moved into private hands under questionable circumstances. Some of the richest pay no taxes at all. The
demands of extortionists has stopped some would-be entrepreneurs from even going into business. And as the price of krysha [pronounce] [“cover” or protection] rises, many business owners increase their prices and bury their dreams of expansion.

These problems require sensible, solid solutions.

Unemployment in your nation is holding steady [ck] but those Russians who lose jobs or live in poverty must be confident that the economic safety net is strong enough to break their fall. Inflation must continue to be curbed so that families struggling to become members of the new Russian middle class no longer fear the future. Continuing your nation’s recent record of more disciplined budgets is vital to achieving longterm economic stability. I say this from experience because, since the beginning of my Administration, I have tried to meet these goals every day. We continue to pursue them because they promise the kind of long-term economic growth that will benefit all the American people.

Breaking the habits of corruption and the grip of organized crime is another long-term task. Part of the solution will be found in writing new laws to regulate economic activities -- and giving independent authorities the power to enforce those laws. Achieving economic reforms should not be an excuse for the privileged few to exploit their access or for the strong and well-armed to prey on the weak. In the United States, after many years of testing and failure, we have discovered new methods for cracking down on organized crime. Our Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened
an office here in Moscow and our agents will continue to cooperate with your government in its efforts to break the power of the gangs.

The transition to a more honest and open market economy will be long. Most of you will not feel the impact of economic reforms in the near future. New problems will appear as your economy gains ground. But in the midst of the pain, I would urge you also to see the promise. Look, for example, at nations like Japan, Korea and Germany -- all devastated by war, all once dismissed as economic basket cases, and all ranked today among the world's most dynamic economies. And remember, too, that the United States -- within the limits of our own budget -- will stand with you where we can be helpful.

Economic reform will be empty -- and all Russians with an active stake in the new economy will legitimately fear future instability -- unless you apply the same kind of energy to making your young democracy more open and more free. This is the second great challenge that you face.

As the world's oldest democracy, we Americans have spent more than two hundred years trying to perfect the institutions and habits of a free and open society. We still work at it every day. But in that work we have learned that a democratic nation demands constant renewal and that it is only as strong and vibrant as the sum of its parts.
In just a few short years you have begun the long process of bringing to life a new, democratic state. And despite many dangers, you have shaped the elements that will make your nation stronger, more prosperous and more free.

No element is more visible or vital than free elections. The Russian people recognized that from the start. And I am pleased that President Yeltsin has pledged to hold a new round of Parliamentary elections in December and a Presidential election next June. [It has been said that in a new democracy, the second elections are more important than the first -- for they establish a pattern of a peaceful transition of power.]

These elections must be free and fair. And I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise the power they have earned. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout the nation. These elections will shape your future. Do not fall into the trap -- as too many young Americans have -- of believing that your vote does not count. It does.

One of the most extraordinary developments in Russia since I visited here in early 1994 has been the rapid rise of an independent and outspoken media. Your press -- print, radio and television alike -- have played a critical role in probing the toughest issues of the day. They have shown great skill and little fear. Sadly, the targets of investigation and criticism have killed some of your most vigorous journalists -- [first and patronymic tk] and Vladislav [patronymic tk]. They worked in different mediums but they shared a profound belief in the public’s right to know. Their colleagues, their readers and their viewers should resolve to follow the trail they blazed.
Freedom of religion, too, has played a key role in building the foundations of a more open, democratic state. Released from tyranny, you have returned to the Church by the millions, seeking refuge in its stability and finding hope in its teachings. [anecdote]

In seeking to renew your nation, there are still many difficult tasks you must undertake.... establishing a government of law, not men.... making real the idea of separation of powers.... dividing authority between Moscow, the provinces and your towns and villages.... and protecting the rights of the opposition.

Americans -- and especially American Presidents -- will tell you that constructing and maintaining a democracy is a messy, time-consuming process. But dissent and debate are not just noisy consequences of an open society---they are vital elements of democracy. Attacks yield to compromise, disagreements to legislation. We continue the struggle because we believe that a democratic system gives each and every man, woman and child the best opportunity to live up to the fullest extent of their God-given potential. And because history has shown us that, despite their many faults, nations based on the principles of democracy and freedom will outlast those that vest power in dictators and deny liberty to their people.

In Russia, the struggle between proponents of reform and the forces of reaction in your nation persists. We believe that only a more prosperous and democratic Russia can take its rightful place on the international stage. Already -- in the Middle East, the New Independent States and as far
away as El Salvador -- America has benefited from Russia's new role. But this integration into
global society will proceed smoothly only if Russia is at peace with herself. That is the final
challenge I wish to discuss.

There are few nations on earth who can rival Russia's vast human and natural resources, nor her
diversity. Within your borders live [number tk] ethnic groups. That number does not include all
the peoples now spread among the New Independent States. When Americans and others in the
West look back on the events of the last four years, we are struck by the remarkably peaceful
nature of your revolutionary transition.

It would have been easy to surrender to or ignore the cries of the extremists who, in the name of
patriotism, tried to rally political support by stirring up fear. The vast majority of Russians
rejected their poisonous arguments. Your accomplishment -- to go through a massive social and
political upheaval and the breakup of an empire with so little brutality and bloodshed -- has few
precedents in history. Your restraint was a critical factor in paving the way for Russia to take its
place in the global community -- a modern state at peace with itself and its neighbors.

It is against the backdrop of that great achievement that we Americans have viewed the tragedy in
Chechnya. As I told President Yeltsin earlier today, we hope that this terrible exception to the
nonviolent record of building a new Russia can be brought to a rapid, peaceful conclusion.

Continued fighting in that region can only spill more blood and further erode international support
for Russian reform. We believe, as the Russian people do, that nations that fail to find strength in their diversity quickly lose their way.

Our differences over Chechnya -- like our opposition to your nation's nuclear cooperation with Iran -- are real. But it is precisely at moments like this that patience and steadiness are required. We must not hold our relationship hostage to any one issue. When our nations disagree, as we do with every great power, we must manage our differences candidly, constructively and resolutely. Crises come and go. But interests endure.

That is why my nation wants to link together Russia and the countries of NATO. We need to seek security together, not apart. NATO remains what it has always been -- a defensive alliance. NATO will bring in new partners. But our alliance also believes that a democratic Russia deserves a clear chance to join its fellow democracies. When NATO's strategy succeeds, all of Europe will share a common commitment to democracy, free-market economies and a mutual respect for borders. The kind of tensions in Central Europe that helped ignite two World Wars will be reduced -- and Russia, the nation that suffered more than any other from those wars, will be more secure.

As we close the door on a century of war, the world wants and needs Russia to be a strong and active player on the international stage. But if Russia is to take her rightful place, we believe the trends toward democracy, economic freedom and tolerance must continue. A Russia at war with itself, removed from her neighbors and isolated from the world would ill serve her people.
Yesterday your nation looked back 50 years and paid homage to the heroes of a terrible time. We recalled the memories of your parents and grandparents who fought to defeat the fascist armies and died in numbers that we cannot grasp. All of us -- Russian and American, British, Chinese and French -- honored their sacrifice.

Today we look ahead 50 years. To the next century when your children and grandchildren will recall those who stood against coups, voted in free elections and claimed the basic rights and liberties they had long been denied. They will look back and give thanks for your belief that freedom could take root in Russian lands.

There are those in my nation who dismiss that hope. They argue that democracy cannot grow in Russian soil. That markets will never flourish. That your nation is destined to relive the worst chapters in its history.

I think they are mistaken. They forget the silent heroism of those who kept alive the Russian spirit under the constant assault of enemy guns. They ignore the courage of those who persevered in the face of terror. They discount all those who stood their ground while the system stole away their rights. And like so many before them, they underestimate the strength and resilience of the Russian people.
As you fight to build a more free, democratic and prosperous society, you will need to call upon every ounce of your strength and test your resilience at every turn. There will be more hard times and setbacks. Progress will be measured not in glorious victories but gradual improvements.

You must know, however, that you will not be alone.

If you can stay on the course of economic reform, mwee svami. [we are with you]

If you fight for your democratic rights and freedoms, mwee svami.

If you resist the forces of fear and adopt the habits of hope, mwee svami.

The greatness of nations has always been defined by their ability to redefine themselves in every age and time. Russians and Americans share this bond -- we know that we must learn from our past and find the courage to change. Today, fifty years after the poet of the siege of Leningrad, Anna Akhmatova, wrote these words, “the hour for courage strikes upon our clocks.” For the sake of your generation and generations to come, we must rise to the challenge.

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5/6/95, pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE
MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MAY 10, 1995

[Acknowledgments]

I want to thank you for inviting me to speak with you today. I am greatly honored by the degree you have awarded me. And I am thankful that you did not ask me to wear the heavy academic robes that usually go along with such ceremonies.

Yesterday all of Russia paused to remember a bright and terrible moment in your history. The winged statue of Victory stood high above the monument at Poklannaya Gora, but the memory of sacrifice cast a larger shadow. From the banks of the Volga to the harbors of Vladivostok, World War II left its indelible, bloody mark on every city street and every country road and trail. Numbers do not tell the story. Teachers exchanged their books for guns... farmers gave up the plow for the sword. Fresh-faced soldiers died on icy battle fronts and rugged sailors were swallowed by the sea. No family went untouched, no child unscarred. It was sacrifice on a scale that we in the West can only imagine -- a testament to the silent heroism, strength, and resiliency of great peoples who defended great lands.
In that war of fifty years ago, our nations stood together against an evil unmatched in modern history. Hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles separated our armies. The forces of fascism came within miles of your capital but no nation invaded the United States. Our soldiers could not speak with each other. They could not speak your language, nor yours ours. Twenty-seven million Russians lost their lives -- but only ..., while the United States came within miles of your capital while the United States mainland went untouched. mainland of the United States Together they summoned the strength to defeat the dark forces of fascism. And when victory was won, for one bright moment, it seemed as if side by side and died side by side greater than history had ever seen. Yesterday we also mark the Allied victory our victory over the also marked the alliance.... a great wall of resistance where battles were bricks and blood was mortar. For without your contributions, the war might have been lost, or stretched out another several years.

But as we fought five decades ago against a common evil, today we can fight together for the common good. to fulfill the promise of an enduring peace that shone so brightly, but too briefly, fifty years ago today.

The alliance was based on our shared opposition to Nazi aggression. The end of the war eliminated the basis for that alliance, and left Europe divided. Now the Cold War is over; the empire is gone; Russians, etc. are building democratic institutions; and we can build a more lasting set of relationships -- this time based on shared interests and values among free peoples and governments. We can also complete the task we could not have achieved in the 40s and 50s by uniting Europe's eastern and western halves under common security and economic institutions.
They fought for a united Europe, free of dictatorship and the hate that fuels it. But this dream was not yet to be. Before the fires of war had cooled, another system of fear and repression sundered the continent, cut short the hopes of millions, and scarred the lives of two generations. Then free people rose up and gave us the opportunity and responsibility so cruelly blocked fifty years ago.

Russia has a rare opportunity to redefine itself: past or future? Across its eleven time zones, chance to set the clock again, a chance for renewal.

But my trip to Moscow and Kiev also offers the United States, Russia and Ukraine a chance to look forward. Four years after the collapse of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War, the people of the New Independent States are reaching for a new day of political and economic freedom.

Look how far we've come

only five years ago, the party and KGB ruled everywhere; no free press, no free elections, stagnant economy. fear palpable.

We know that the challenge is enormous and that progress will be unsteady.
- Because of an agreement I reached last year with President Yeltsin, Russian nuclear weapons are no longer aimed at American cities and towns.

- Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a rate faster than treaties require. Just last week the last nuclear weapons were removed from Kazakhstan, and Ukraine and Belarus will soon follow... we have eliminated 2,400 nuclear warheads from missiles and strategic bombers in Russia, Uk, Bel, Kazak

- We are cooperating with the Russians to prevent nuclear weapons and bomb-making materials from falling into the hands of terrorists and smugglers.

- Russia has supported our efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East and we are working together to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. I am hopeful that our efforts will succeed this week.

- Russia has made important strides toward a market economy. Almost 60 percent of its economy is now in private hands and the Russian government has taken strong, sensible measures to control the country's budget.

- inflation dropped in half in three months; interest rates cut by almost two thirds in a year; unemployment at 7.5 percent; GDP decline in output appears to have bottomed out; real incomes up by 10 percent in 93 and even more in 94; chief economic bodies headed by like-minded, responsible people; Russian budget now be taken seriously;

- The elements of a free society -- free elections, open political debate, and a strong, independent media -- are beginning to take root.

- a few years ago not enough cars to have a traffic jam in Moscow
• worked together in Cambodia El Salvador, Middle East

These accomplishments too often get lost as we look at developments in Russia. Day to day events obscure even recent history. But compared with only a few years ago, when severe disagreements with Moscow paralyzed relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in much safer, more hopeful times.

Russia has a proto-market but no rule of law; elected parliament but few locally elected officials; prominent nouveau riche but no stable middle class;

Russia in Russian hands

Ultimately, Russia's fate lies in the hands of the Russian people. Ultimately, Russians will write the history and chart the future of their land. The struggle between proponents of reform and the forces of reaction persists throughout the former Soviet Union. Peaceful, democratic change is not inevitable. Every country will have its different ways. We Americans believe that every nation must find its own way; that principle lies at the heart of the founding of our nation.

We understand that every country has its own traditions and its own needs, and that Russian democracy cannot and should not be a duplicate copy of our own. Each people must find its own way to a mature and successful system of self-government. None of us have achieved perfection in this respect. But the breakthrough that has now been made in Russia is of such enormous
dimensions that we are confident that progress in that direction will continue into the future and will produce results not only greatly advantageous to the Russian people themselves but will also help to set standards for peoples the world over.

The international community cannot seek to heal every domestic dispute or to resolve every ethnic conflict. Some are simply beyond our reach. But within practical bounds and with a sense of clear strategic priorities, we must do what we can to promote the democratic spirit and the economic reforms that can tip the balance for progress...

I have no desire to interfere in Russia’s problems. I have enough of my own at home. I am here, rather, because we believe that supporting the forces of openness, democracy and economic reform is in the interest of the American people. I aim to improve the lives and security of American citizens, to create a democratic prosperous and stable partner for trade and investment and continue cooperation on important regional and international issues.... if Russia were to revert to imperialism or were to plunge into chaos, we would need to reassess our plans for defense spending and Russia would have to do the same... should NIS continue on path to reform, Americans will reap important benefits: enhance security, greater economic prosperity; should Russia revert to authoritarian rule, our lives will be poorer, our security diminished...

a nation of 150 million able to trade
During the Cold War we saw in each other only dangers. Now that the walls have come down, we can see hope and opportunity.

**US policy**

Russia matters to us. Economic and human resources are vast; potential intellectual, spiritual and economic contribution immense; J Just as your foreign policies will be rooted in your leaders' sense of your self-interests, so ours will be rooted in our own. And our self-interest demands that we support Russian reform, because a reformist Russia is a Russia with which we can work together to make the world a better place. We can help open doors, but it's up to you to walk through.

When we have disagreements, as we do with every great power, we must manage those differences candidly, constructively and resolutely. We cannot hold our relationship hostage to any one issue. Steady and patience required...

We cannot expect quantum leaps forward in our relationship, only gradual progress. Nor can we let the crisis of the moment divert us from our long-term policy. Crises come and go. Interests endure.

danger is clear if reform doesn't work, if dictators rise or the nation disintegrates into chaos
The world wants and needs Russia in the 21st century to be a strong state and an active player on the international stage. Russia has an immense amount to contribute, because of its vast human and natural resources. But when we say we want and need Russia to be strong, we do not mean just any Russia; we believe that a strong, active, internationally engaged Russia must also be a democratic prosperous Russia, fully at peace with itself and with its neighbors, fully integrated into the world community. Moreover, we believe that Russia can be strongly only if it is democratic and integrated.

**economy**

Russian national wealth up for grabs: [Hiatt... land, oil, factories, stores, apartment buildings moving into private hands in a serious, deadly business; market economy does not mean a system where the strong exploit the poor, where people have a right to amass great fortunes without paying taxes; where corruption is allowed to flourish, whether official or unofficial; [After the initial euphoria of throwing off the dead hand of the past, Russians have come increasingly to identify reform with crime, corruption, hardship and fear of the future.]

inflation means that goods are there but you can’t afford to buy them. if you can’t find a job, the social safety net isn’t big enough to catch you
organized crime -- we know what it is; what it takes to break its grip; even sent the FBI to help; they have taken up residence in the United States; no business should have to pay extortion money, krysha, or cover; competition intense with opening of economy; gang activities have drive up prices and made Moscow one of most expensive cities for some goods/services; risk of running afoul of racketeer s[Hockstader] has discouraged business expansion and risk-taking essential to capitalism; officials participating in these things

not a license for strong to prey on the weak or for a few to use privilege or access to get more the United States, given limited possibility for usefulness and many strains on our own economy, will be helpful where it can...

so easy to see the pain, not the promise; suffering today not only birth pangs of capitalism but death throes of communism; miracle of prosperity in Japan, Korea and Germany -- all nations written off as basket cases within the last 50 years -- who have discovered that prosperity awaits those who are willing to sustain democratic and economic reform

The more that people work in and own private enterprises, the more likely they are to participate in the democratic process and reinforce reform.

Your nation is moving from vested interests for the few to investment opportunities for the many. [too rosy now]

Like the rise of democracy, the transition to an open economy involves a revolution of attitudes and skills. You are learning how to be managers in a profit-driven world, how to be employees in
a competitive economy, and how to be consumers in an open market. You are, in short, learning
the ways and means of economic freedom.

Whole areas of the economy have yet to respond to the stimulus of reform. for the average
household, this means goods priced beyond capability and prospects that seem dim...
The temptations, the pressures to relax budgetary discipline are always there.
inflation makes people feel they can’t keep up and that no matter how hard they work, they will
not be rewarded for their labor; ... hurts the ordinary people, backbone who have to believe future
can be better than present;
 system of order for private companies to develop

building some sort of social safety net for the dislocated; social safety net is inadequate to handle
the growing numbers of unemployed and of Russians whose incomes are below the poverty line

must create a coalition capable of attracting the millions of Russians who now have a stake in the
new economy, and which could serve as a political foundation for slow, but steady, economic
reform; without an economy producing an ever-widening middle class, there will be no popular
base here for politics of the middle ground [Friedman]

everything is coming together because a broad policy-making group has realized that they will not
survive politically if they fail to control inflation;
sign of strength when Yeltsin sacked economic advisers after Black Tuesday; strong upper-middle class that no longer accepts a govt that plays around with the currency; it owns much of the media and it will finance most parties in the next election;

democracy

The Cold War ended not only because of the West championed a set of principles but because the Russian people and Russian reformers alone with others throughout the former Soviet Union and Central Europe, demanded changes -- insisted upon basic political and economic freedom. The forces of reform in this part of the world were not just among the victors -- they made the victory possible. And you did so at considerable risk and sacrifice. We know that reform and transformation have brought with them hardship and uncertainty. So let me echo today, in the context of the end of the Cold War, what I said yesterday at the museum in the context of that struggle: you have our gratitude; you have our admiration; you have our support.

Even though our country has over two hundred years of practice in trying to perfect the institutions and attitudes of democracy, social justice and ..., we still haven’t gotten any of those entirely right. Democracy always in a constant state of renewal...

free press: murder of Kholodov [ck] and Vladislav [tk patronymic] Listyev gunned down in the entryway of his Moscow apartment; No nation is free where those who speak out become the targets of assassins; healthy role media playing on toughest issues of the day: economic reform, crime, corruption, Chechnya;
Human rights must be protected [commissioner]

important of elections -- pleased that Yeltsin has pledged to hold Dec 95 parliamentary elections and June 96 presidential elections -- elections must be honest; financed openly, free press, observers, etc.

open society, participatory government, government of law, not men; equal protection under the law; federal system where, as in my country, authority is shared by central, state and local separation of powers: razdelenie vlasti [rahz-dell-len-EE-yah VLASS-tee]

but you must vote -- turn out is too low;

It is, frankly, a messy process. Not a day passes where I'm not attacked in the press or by Congress. But... Dissent and open debate are not just noisy consequences of democracy; they are vital elements of a democratic and civil society. These freedoms are a refutation of -- and an antidote to -- totalitarianism and dictatorship.... that's why I will meet tomorrow with opposition leaders...

We understand that it takes time to affect the immense changes -- in habits, attitudes and demands on public authority -- through which Russia has recently been passing.

We believe in a democratic, market system because it gives everyone a chance to participate to the fullest extent of their potential. But it is also humane because it tries to take care of those who cannot take care of themselves.
In every great power today, nationalist sentiments swelling up on the fringes. Often in this century that current became an undertow that drowned the host and its neighbors. It is our generation's duty to address the insecurities that nourish that extremism...neither by surrendering nor ignoring...Each country will have its different way but we should all be concerned by those who stress the differences, aggravate antagonisms, and rally political support with fear.

These are the people who want to turn back the clock, to hold Russia back...

**diverse nation state**

one thing much admired throughout your second resolution -- transition from totalitarian nightmare was managed with remarkable peacefulness; carried through changes of such enormous and even revolutionary importance, comparable to only one or two earlier crises in Russia's history, and have done this with so extraordinarily small a measure of brutality and loss of human life; That the Russian people have endured these enormous social and political changes, including the total breakup of the traditional Tsarist and Soviet empire and the complete change of their social and political system, and done this with so little human sacrifice, is something for which there are few precedents even in the history of other great countries.... You have gone from being part of an empire held together by force to reinventing yourselves as a modern nation-state, prepared to take its place in the community of nations.

It is against the backdrop of that achievement that the tragedy and blunder of Chechnya are particularly lamentable. Violence on a massive scale has stained the map of Russia with blood.
We do not mean to give unwanted or offensive advice -- quite the contrary, part of our concern is precisely that Russia be a modern state in which all people feel like full citizens, not subjects of Moscow's rule, a Modern state at peace with itself as well as its neighbors. Chechnya has been a setback to precisely that goal for yourselves that we share. It has weakened Russia -- in part because it has weakened the forces of Russian reform.

But I feel that I would be remiss if I did not tell you that the recent action in question is widely regarded in my own country as a tragic mistake. All those Americans who consider themselves friends of Russia greatly hope that this action will be brought to an early and peaceful conclusion. American people view with great sadness and compassion the tragedy in Chechnya; we hope, indeed we pray, that this tragic exception to the nonviolent record, can be rapidly overcome... The tragic war in Chechnya, where continued fighting can only spill more blood and further erode international support for Russian reform, is one example. I do not believe the war is in your nation's best interests -- and I repeated that message to President Yeltsin during our meetings today.

There is no substitute for political negotiations based on good will, even among the most diverse peoples. Military force is the worst choice among many for bringing a nation together.

Russia must find strength in its diversity or lose... make diversity source of strength; in order to protect democracy, each of us has a personal responsibility to denounce intolerance and ethnic hatred and anti semitism and anything else that undermines the ability of everybody to be productive as possible... if you make any decision that deprives anybody who lives in your country
of the right to live up to the fullest of their capacity, you have weakened your own ability to be free and prosperous and successful...

The opposite of integration is self-integration; don’t do that; you tried that already. It led not only to the opposite of integration but to the opposite of strength -- the Soviet Union collapse. It’s in Russia’s interest to reconstruct; it leads to lasting prosperity and door to Western institutions is open to countries...

Responsibility. Iran and nuclear cooperation.

Let me be clear. NATO will accept new members. NATO has always been defensive alliance. No offensive ambitions. It will help stabilize situation in countries where wars can break out. NATO not something to fear but to welcome... when we succeed, a Europe far different from the one of fifty years ago... Building an enlarged alliance and building a unique relationship with Russia are part of the same process. They share the same objective: a solid foundation for Europe’s security and stability. a common commitment to democracy, free-market economies and mutual respect for borders...

Russia and the West need to build their security together, not apart. Democratic Russia deserves an unimpeded chance to join its fellow democracies. That is why the United States seeks to link Russia and the West’s premier security organization 0-- NATO -- in close partnership. Whatever voices of the past may say, NATO is not an instrument of cold war aggression. It never was...A democratic Russia can be NATO’s friend and partner.
NATO will bring in new members...doing so carefully and deliberately will help stabilize Central Europe... growth of evolving NATO will help block the poison of nationalist insecurity and competing ambition in and around Central Europe that contribute to two world wars. No nation suffered more than Russia from the terrible consequences of these wars, so NATO’s mission in Central Europe is also in Russia’s interest.... NATO is not and will never be a threat to Russian security. Just the opposite: by stabilizing Central Europe, NATO will build predictability and reduce tension, paving the way for Russian security and cooperation with its natural Western partners.

Conclusion

In the end, our hope for the future of Russian reform is rooted in our faith in the institutions that have secured our own freedom and prosperity. But it is also rooted in the Russian people, despite suppression of human rights and human initiative by Communist system that brought the world Cold War, still greatness of Russian people shines through.

The Russian people have constantly confounded those who underestimated their resilience. Fifty years ago, the silent heroism of the entire Russian people kept alive the strength of the Russian spirit. “The strongest of all warriors are these two -- Time and Patience.” [Tolstoy]

I can think of no better place than a great university like Moscow State to speak about Russia’s past and future. In your classrooms leaders for the 21st Century prepare to chart a new course for this great and ancient land. On your campus students openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And within these buildings, those who listen can hear the echoes of your nation’s history.
History has given us a great opportunity. The end of Communism has opened up possibilities undreamed of four years ago. As President, on behalf of the interests of the American people, I must make the most of those opportunities. Move from hostility to opportunity. ...

I believe the greatness of nations in the 21st century will be dined not by whether they can dictate to million and millions of people within and beyond their borders but instead by whether they can provide their citizens without regard to their race or gender, the opportunity to live up to their God-given potential.

There are those who believe that Russia is destined... I am not among them... A great American Historian, George Bancroft, once wrote: "The history of the future cannot be read in the experience of the past." ... Democracy works. Free markets work. And moreover, they work together. They reinforce each other. And together they will strengthen your nation’s security and your prosperity.

Fifty years ago, faced with a terrible enemy, the American and Russian people traveled long distances before they joined together in the moment of victory. The American people have not forgotten that sacrifice. Today, facing a world of opportunity and uncertainty, our peoples again have much distance to cover. But I believe we can find common ground.
We have so much in common. Both rooted deeply in the land... built of diverse heritage...
struggling with responsibilities of vast territory and power... deal with dilemmas of human nature...

Yesterday I joined world leaders in paying homage to the Russian people’s heroic contribution and sacrifice in World War II.

Yesterday, we looked back 50 years. Today, I would like to look ahead 50 years -- to the next century when you, your children and your grandchildren will be deeply grateful to the Russian who stood up against the coup of August 1991, who voted in the first post-Communist constitution, and who voted in free and fair elections in December 1995 and June 1996 -- just as you and we are grateful to your parents and grandparents who fought and, in such terrible numbers, died in the struggle against Fascism.

As you work to build that future, we are with you -- mwee svami.

If you can stay on the course of reform -- economic reform, dedicated to the market, political reform which means democracy -- we are with you -- mwee svami.

If you resist the forces of ugly nationalism and ethnic hatred and fear of the future, we are with you -- mwee svami.
We are with you. For we share this bond -- the key to each of our futures is not in clinging to the past but in having the courage to change. Greatness of a nation that has lasted for centuries and centuries is the ability to redefine itself in every age and time... Once again, as Anna Akhmatova wrote, "the hour for courage strikes upon our clocks."