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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13577
Folder ID Number: 13577-007

Folder Title:
Reciprocal Dinner Toast 7/31/91 [OA 6030] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	2	6

D² - Recip. Dinner

no. 2574758

UM

DATE:

10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26

SUBJECT:

Disaster assistance lang.
"What can Soviets do for us?"
One way proposition, so why
talk about it.

				ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒		☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐			
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐		☒	☐
DARMAN N/U	☒	☐		☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒		☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐			
CARD	☐	☒			
DEMAREST	☒	☐			
FITZWATER	☐	☒			
GRAY N/C	☒	☐			
HOLIDAY N/U	☒	☐			
MCCLURE N/C				☒	☐
PETERSMEYER				☐	☐
PORTER N/C				☒	☐
ROGICH N/U				☒	☐
SMITH N/C				☒	☐
UNTERMAYER				☐	☐
SNOW				☐	☒
ROGERS				☐	☒
PORTER ROSE				☐	☒
				☐	☐
				☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00AM, FRIDAY, JULY 26. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
91 JUL 25 PM 3:45 July 25, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991**

President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, distinguished guests, welcome to Spaso House. I am delighted to have you to our American home in Moscow -- in the hope of repaying, in at least some small measure, the warmth and hospitality shown to us by the Soviet people since our arrival.

We are here in Moscow to further strengthen our relationship -- to launch a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we have seen that despite political differences, we can move forward together. The START agreement is simply the most visible aspect of our new political and economic cooperation.

From the cultural to the scientific, the United States and the Soviet Union have worked to expand exchanges between our citizens. And we have both opened new Consulates -- yours in New York, ours in Kiev -- so that our people may know each other better. And finally, we have signed an agreement on disaster assistance. With it, we broaden our efforts to reach and rescue the victims of natural disasters in our countries, and to help them rebuild their lives whether in Armenia or San Francisco.

More and more, we see that our peoples share a sense of curiosity, hope and -- most importantly -- peace. We are ready to work with the Soviet people to establish a partnership in the new world order based on the rule of law and the promise of freedom.

Again, I am honored to host such a distinguished group of guests tonight -- the men and women who are leading the way to a new Soviet Union, a new era of democracy, a new hope of a better life for all. God has blessed our two nations with abundant resources -- and infinite reserves of ingenuity, talent and dedication. Together, we can build peace -- and with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

I am reminded of an old Russian proverb: "You can't tie a knot with one hand." Tonight, the United States offers our hand, as we tie the knot of friendship -- and peace -- together. I raise my glass: Za mir! To peace!

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/25/91

10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

SUBJECT:

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	SMITH	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

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July 27, 1991

RESPONSE: MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT A. SNOW

The NSC staff concurs with the attached remarks with changes as indicated.

cc: Phillip Brady

Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MILITARY & AIRCRAFT

RECEIVED

91 JUL 25 P 5. 50

91 JUL 25 PM 3:45

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
July 25, 1991

BRIEF REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

*President Nazarbaev,
President Ter-Petrosyan,
Mayor Popov*

President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, ⁱⁿ a distinguished ~~to~~ guests, welcome to Spaso House. I am delighted to have you ~~to~~ our American home in Moscow -- in the hope of repaying, in at least some small measure, the warmth and hospitality shown to us by the Soviet people since our arrival.

We are here in Moscow to further strengthen our relationship *with the Soviet government and with all peoples in each republic in this great land.* -- to launch a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we have seen that, despite political differences, we can move forward *and our common efforts to liberate Kuwait and bring peace to the Middle East are* together. The START agreement ~~is~~ simply the most visible aspects of our new political and economic cooperation.

→ **Insert A**
~~From the cultural to the scientific, the United States and the Soviet Union have worked to expand exchanges between our citizens. And we have both opened new Consulates -- yours in New York, ours in Kiev -- so that our people may know each other better. And finally, we have signed an agreement on disaster assistance. With it, we broaden our efforts to reach and rescue the victims of natural disasters in our countries, and to help them rebuild their lives whether in Armenia or San Francisco.~~

More and more, we see that our peoples share a sense of curiosity, hope and -- most importantly -- peace. We are ready to work with the Soviet people to establish a partnership in the new world order based on the rule of law, ~~and~~ the promise of freedom, *the will of the people.*

Insert B

2

Again, I am honored to host such a distinguished group of guests tonight -- the men and women who are leading the way to a new Soviet Union, a new era of democracy, a new hope of a better life for all. God has blessed our two nations with abundant resources -- and infinite reserves of ingenuity, talent and dedication. Together, we can build peace -- and with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

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#

INSERT A

We are building a new relationship ~~to create a newer world~~. This new relationship will be built not just by politicians and bureaucrats in Washington and Moscow but, in a much more profound way, by our peoples--in Seattle and Sverdlosk, Houston and Stavropol, by Americans in California's Silicon Valley and Russians from your great universities and scientific institutes.

That is why we Americans want to work with all levels of Soviet society. Beyond Washington and Moscow, we look for greater interaction between the citizens of our states and your republics, our municipalities and yours. And beyond government, we seek greater understanding in a larger society--among businessmen, students, artists and scientists.

INSERT B

Those of us who have had the privilege of visiting you this week stand inspired and a little awed by the incredible transformations you have wrought in just a few years. And we are honored to host such a distinguished group of guests tonight--~~the~~ men and women who are leading the way to a new Soviet Union, a new era of democracy, a new hope of a better life for all.

I think, in particular, of Boris Yeltsin, Levron Ter-Petrosyan, and Nursultan Nazarbaev, three men who are leading their republics to a new era of economic growth and democracy. I think of Valentin Fedorov and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy--~~prophets of economic liberalism with the courage to defy the old stereotypes.~~

I think of Yelena Bonner, a tireless champion of human rights and faithful guardian of the immortal work of Andrei Sakharov. I think of Anatoliy Rybakov whose literary works filled in the blank spots and tore down the hateful legacy of Stalinism.

And, finally, I think of a man I respect and admire, who has captured the imagination of all those around the world who believe, as I do, that one man can make a difference for the good--~~Mikhail Gorbachev.~~

delicacies and fine foods of the Soviet Union we have eaten here tonight."

page 1, para 3, first line

should be has vice have (6th word).

STATE
-NOT NSC-

We have the following comments on the Reciprocal Dinner
Toast:

Introductory Para.

Given that Ambassador Matlock is in a certain sense, the host of the dinner, and since he is completing four years in Moscow as the President's personal representative there, it would be a very good gesture for the President to mention him -- preferably in the introductory paragraph. Alternatively, you could add a sentence thanking him and pointing to the arrival in September of Ambassador Strauss.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

page 1, para 3.

In policy terms, we are strongly emphasizing our economic ties at this Summit. It would, therefore, be good to begin this para by saying, "From the cultural to the scientific and economic, the United States..."

We have the following comments on the Draft for the START
Treaty Signing Ceremony:

page 2, para 1, line 2,

substitute "eliminating the most destabilizing" vice "deep cuts in our". The sentence should now read, "... can be put simply: eliminating the most destabilizing strategic nuclear forces reduce the risk of war".

page 2, para 2, line 3

suggest line be amended as follows: substitute "treaty provisions" vice "paper promises" (we don't want to call Gorbachev's signature a paper promise).

page 2, para 2, line 5

suggest line be amended to read "

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1991

91 JUL 26 P2:40

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Reciprocal Dinner Toast

We have reviewed the attached draft remarks and have no comments from a policy standpoint. We approve the draft in its present form.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/25/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOWSUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	SMITH	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:00AM, FRIDAY, JULY 26. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 JUL 25 PM 3:45

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
July 25, 1991

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991**

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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 JUL 26 PM 2:32

July 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Reciprocal Dinner Toast,
Spaso House, Moscow, Wednesday, July 31, 1991

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the proposed presidential remarks.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 JUL 26 All: 45

DATE: 7/25/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
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DEMAREST	☒	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
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GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

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RESPONSE:

OK
DB

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 JUL 25 PM 3:45

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
July 25, 1991

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 JUL 26 A10:35

DATE: 7/25/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW

SUBJECT:

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	SMITH	☒	☐
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CARD	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
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FITZWATER	☐	☒	PORTER ROSE	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

No comment

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 JUL 25 PM 3:45

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
July 25, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991**

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#-# #

Document No. 257475

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 JUL 26 A9:59

DATE: 7/25/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00AM, FRI., JULY 26
 PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST
SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
 SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
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GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

No comment. Thanks.

Elizabeth Luttig
 07/26/91

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft two
July 25, 1991

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RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST \ SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991 \ 7:00 P.M.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, PRESIDENT YELTSIN, PRESIDENT NAZARBAEV [NAW-ZER-BYE-EV], PRESIDENT TER-PETROZIAN; MAYOR POPOV, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, WELCOME TO SPASO HOUSE. I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE YOU TO OUR AMERICAN HOME IN MOSCOW -- IN THE HOPE OF REPAYING, IN AT LEAST SOME SMALL MEASURE, THE WARMTH AND HOSPITALITY SHOWN TO US BY THE SOVIET PEOPLE SINCE OUR ARRIVAL.

- 2 -

WE ARE HERE IN MOSCOW TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND WITH ALL THE PEOPLES IN THIS LAND -- TO LAUNCH A NEW ERA OF HOPE. IN THE PAST YEAR ALONE, WE HAVE SEEN THAT DESPITE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES, WE CAN MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER. THE START AGREEMENT; OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO LIBERATE KUWAIT; AND OUR RESOLVE TO BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST OFFER VIVID TESTIMONY TO OUR NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

- 3 -

OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP WILL BE BUILT NOT JUST BY POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW, BUT IN A MORE PROFOUND WAY BY OUR PEOPLES -- IN SEATTLE AND SVERDLOVSK; HOUSTON AND STAVROPOL -- BY AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA'S SILICON VALLEY AND RUSSIANS IN YOUR GREAT UNIVERSITIES AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES.

AMERICANS LOOK UPON THE SOVIET UNION WITH PROFOUND CURIOSITY AND HOPE; THEY WANT TO WORK WITH ALL LEVELS OF SOVIET SOCIETY.

- 4 -

WE ALL SEEK GREATER UNDERSTANDING IN A LARGER SOCIETY -- AMONG BUSINESSMEN, STUDENTS, ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS -- PEOPLE ENGAGED IN EVERY IMAGINABLE PROFESSION AND ENDEAVOR.

WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE TO ESTABLISH A PARTNERSHIP IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER BASED ON THE RULE OF LAW, THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM, AND THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

- 5 -

THOSE OF US WHO HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF VISITING YOU THIS WEEK LOOK UPON YOUR SOCIETY WITH A SENSE OF RESPECTFUL AWE. YOU HAVE WROUGHT INCREDIBLE TRANSFORMATIONS IN JUST A FEW YEARS. WE ARE HONORED TO HOST SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF GUESTS -- MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL LEAD THE SOVIET UNION TO A NEW ERA OF DEMOCRACY, A NEW HOPE OF A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.

GOD HAS BLESSED OUR TWO NATIONS WITH ABUNDANT RESOURCES -- AND INFINITE RESERVES OF INGENUITY, TALENT AND DEDICATION.

- 6 -

TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD A LASTING PEACE -- AND WITH IT, A BRIGHTER TOMORROW FOR OUR CHILDREN.

I AM REMINDED OF AN OLD RUSSIAN PROVERB: "YOU CAN'T TIE A KNOT WITH ONE HAND." TONIGHT, THE UNITED STATES OFFERS OUR HAND, AS WE TIE THE KNOT OF FRIENDSHIP -- AND PEACE -- TOGETHER. I RAISE MY GLASS: ZA MIR! TO PEACE!

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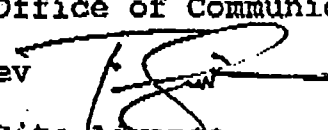
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TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

Memorandum

Kiev, July 30, 1991

TO: Christina Martin, Special Assistant to the Deputy
Assistant for Communications, Office of Communications

THROUGH: Tim Simonson, Lead Advance, Kiev 

FROM: Bradley A. Blakeman, Babi Yar Site Advance

The following persons will attend the Babi Yar Holocaust Memorial ceremony. I am sure you will want to have them included in the President's speech.

Survivors of Babi Yar Massacres

Raisa Dashkevich (DASH-KAY-VICH)

Maria Paltee (PAL-TEE)

David Ayzenberg (EISENBERG)

Yakov Kaper (COPPER)

David Budnik (BOOD-NEEK)

Ukrainians Who Helped Rescue Jewish Survivors

Olga Rozhchenko (RAJ-CHENKO)

Natalia Chekhova (CHEKOVA)

The Glagolevi family (GLAGO-LEVY)

CC: Sig Rogich, Assistant to the President
David Demerest, Assistant to the President
Jay Farmer, Special Assistant to the President

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TONIGHT OUR GUESTS INCLUDE STATESMEN AND MILITARY LEADERS SUCH AS FOREIGN MINISTER BESSMERTNYKH AND GENERAL MOISEYEV, WHO HAVE BROUGHT CREDIT TO YOUR COUNTRY AROUND THE WORLD. THEY INCLUDE REPUBLIC LEADERS SUCH AS BORIS YELTSIN, LEVRON TER-PETROSYAN AND NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV. THEY INCLUDE ECONOMIC REFORMERS, SUCH AS MAYOR POPOV OF MOSCOW, WHO ARE PROMOTING FREE MARKETS AND MORE DEMOCRATIC RULE -- HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SUCH AS YELENA BONNER AND ARTIST ANATOLIY RYBAKOV, WHOSE WORKS FILL IN THE BLANK PAGES OF SOVIET HISTORY UNDER STALIN'S RULE.

AND, FINALLY THERE IS MY HOST IN MOSCOW, A MAN I RESPECT AND ADMIRE, A MAN WHOSE DEEDS DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS HAVE GIVEN HOPE TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE, AS I DO, THAT ONE INDIVIDUAL CAN CHANGE THE WORLD FOR THE BETTER. WE FEEL HONORED TO HAVE SUCH A DISTINGUISHED AND DIVERSE GROUP OF SOVIET CITIZENS WITH US TONIGHT.

GOD HAS BLESSED OUR TWO NATIONS WITH ABUNDANT RESOURCES -- AND INFINITE RESERVES OF INGENUITY, TALENT AND DEDICATION. TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD A LASTING PEACE -- AND WITH IT, A BRIGHTER TOMORROW FOR OUR CHILDREN.

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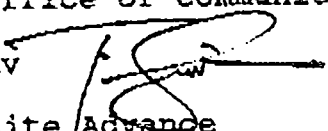
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CC: Sig Rogich, Assistant to the President
David Demarest, Assistant to the President
Jay Farmer, Special Assistant to the President

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- 1) Check intro w/ guest list
- 2) Add toast to Gorbachev at end

**RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST \ SPASO HOUSE, MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991 \ 7:00 P.M.**

 PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, PRESIDENT YELTSIN, PRESIDENT NAZARBAEV [NAW-ZER-BYE-EV], PRESIDENT TER-PETRO^SZYAN; ✓ MAYOR POPOV, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, WELCOME TO SPASO HOUSE. I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE YOU TO OUR AMERICAN HOME IN MOSCOW -- IN THE HOPE OF REPAYING, IN AT LEAST SOME SMALL MEASURE, THE WARMTH AND HOSPITALITY SHOWN TO US BY THE SOVIET PEOPLE SINCE OUR ARRIVAL.

- 2 -

WE ARE HERE IN MOSCOW TO STRENGTHEN FURTHER OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND WITH ALL THE PEOPLES IN THIS LAND -- TO LAUNCH A NEW ERA OF HOPE. IN THE PAST YEAR ALONE, WE HAVE SEEN THAT DESPITE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES, WE CAN MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER. THE START AGREEMENT; OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO LIBERATE KUWAIT; AND OUR RESOLVE TO BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST OFFER VIVID TESTIMONY TO OUR NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

- 3 -

OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP WILL BE BUILT NOT JUST BY POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS IN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW, BUT IN A MORE PROFOUND WAY BY OUR PEOPLES -- IN SEATTLE AND SVERDLOVSK; HOUSTON AND STAVROPOL -- BY AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA'S SILICON VALLEY AND RUSSIANS IN YOUR GREAT UNIVERSITIES AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES.

AMERICANS LOOK UPON THE SOVIET UNION WITH PROFOUND CURIOSITY AND HOPE; THEY WANT TO WORK WITH ALL LEVELS OF SOVIET SOCIETY.

- 4 -

WE ALL SEEK GREATER UNDERSTANDING IN A LARGER SOCIETY -- AMONG BUSINESSMEN, STUDENTS, ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS -- PEOPLE ENGAGED IN EVERY IMAGINABLE PROFESSION AND ENDEAVOR.

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- 6 -

who are promoting free markets and whose democratic rule.

TONIGHT OUR GUESTS INCLUDE STATESMEN AND MILITARY LEADERS SUCH AS FOREIGN MINISTER BESSMERTNYKH AND GENERAL MOISEYEV, WHO HAVE BROUGHT CREDIT TO YOUR COUNTRY AROUND THE WORLD. THEY INCLUDE REPUBLIC LEADERS SUCH AS BORIS YELTSIN, LEVRON TER-PETROSYAN AND NURSULTAN NAZARBAEV. THEY INCLUDE ECONOMIC REFORMERS, SUCH AS ^{Mayor of Moscow} VALENTIN FEDOROV, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SUCH AS YELENA BONNER AND ^{an} ARTISTS SUCH AS ANATOLIY RYBAKOV, *whose works are filling in the blank pages from \$ Stalin*

And, finally there is my host in Moscow,
a man I respect and admire, a man whose
deeds during the past six years have given
hope to those who believe, as I do, that
one individual can change the world for the better.

- 7 -

WE FEEL HONORED TO HAVE SUCH A DISTINGUISHED AND
DIVERSE GROUP OF SOVIET CITIZENS WITH US TONIGHT.

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- 8 -

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Gen.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOW^{TS}
FROM: MARY KATE GRANT
SUBJECT: KIEV ARRIVAL STATEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, August 1, at 1:00 p.m., you will make a 4 minute arrival statement in Kiev, Ukraine at Boristol Airport. There are 400 invited guests in addition to the official parties.

Grant / Simon
A: KIEV.ARR Draft four
July 30, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN KIEV
AUGUST 1, 1991**

Barbara and I are delighted to visit Kiev, the city of golden domes -- we saw so many beautiful hilltop churches from the window of Air Force One as we landed.

Ukraine is the motherland of many thousands of Americans. In fact, back home in Washington, D.C., stands a statue of the Ukrainian poet and painter, Taras Shevchenko. Once, reflecting on the democratic experiment in America, he wrote: "When will we have a Washington with a new and righteous law? One day we shall have him."

I am here to tell you that the United States stands committed to a new world order based on what Shevchenko called a "new and righteous law" -- the rule of law, and the guarantee of real economic freedom; political freedom; religious freedom. Yes, the world is changing profoundly. But with change comes opportunity, and hope for the future.

The American people applaud the changes that are creating a Soviet Union blessed with free markets and free people. We are anxious to offer help and hope where needed -- to build ties of understanding and common interest. In that spirit we recently opened a Consulate General in this city.

I come here having concluded two days of very productive work in Moscow. President Gorbachev and I signed an historic treaty that will, for the first time, reduce nuclear forces

between our countries. But we also talked of peace and prosperity -- in hopes that our nations can increase trade and share ideas and experiences with one another.

Now, we look forward to meeting with Chairman Kravchuk and Ukrainian officials. We want to expand the scope of our relationship with the people of this republic -- build stronger and fuller economic ties; extend the range and quality of cultural, social, academic and professional exchanges.

We want to build the strongest possible relationship with all the peoples of the Soviet Union. We want to retain the strongest possible official relationship with the ~~Gorbachev~~ ^{entire} Soviet government, but we also appreciate the importance of more of more extensive ties with Ukraine and other republics.

people of the

The American people care about the ^{people of the} Soviet Union [and its republics.] In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, American citizens and private relief organizations responded with deep concern and generosity. American physicians are helping Ukrainian officials study the long-term health effects of the accident. And through a presidential initiative on medical assistance, we have shipped badly-needed pharmaceutical supplies to help Chernobyl victims.

You are a strong people. Your rich and glorious past spans centuries of upheaval and change. [You first brought Christianity to this part of Europe, this crossroads of Europe and Asia.] Christianity took hold here over 1000 years ago, when Prince Vladimir of Kiev baptized his followers in the Dnieper River.

Now, for the first time since the Russian Revolution, the patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has returned to Kiev -
- and a spiritual renewal has begun. A new day, in some ways, has arrived already.

Again, it's a pleasure to be here. To Chairman Kravchuk -- thank you for your warm hospitality. To all the Ukrainian people -- **Slava Ukraini** [SLAH-va OO-kra-YEE-nee]! **Glory to Ukraine!**

#

DEPARTURE FOR KIEV \ HALL OF ST. GEORGE, THE KREMLIN
THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1991 \ 10:00 A.M.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, I LEAVE MOSCOW GRATEFUL FOR
YOUR KINDNESS, AND ENCOURAGED BY OUR PROGRESS AS WE
BUILD A NEW PARTNERSHIP.

WE'VE WORKED TO BUILD A NEW BASIS FOR MUTUAL
PROSPERITY -- AND NEW HOPE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY.
WE'VE DISCUSSED WAYS TO PROMOTE CLOSER ECONOMIC
COOPERATION, AND BRING THE SOVIET ECONOMY INTO THE
INTERNATIONAL MAINSTREAM.

- 2 -

WE'VE SOUGHT A FRAMEWORK FOR SHARED EFFORTS TOWARD
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND TOWARD RESOLUTION OF
OTHER LONG-STANDING CONFLICTS AROUND THE WORLD.

WE HAVE CONSIDERED WAYS TO CURB THE PROLIFERATION
OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND TO ENCOURAGE
ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP. AND WE'VE SIGNED AN
HISTORIC START TREATY THAT WILL HELP THE WORLD BREATHE
A LITTLE EASIER.

- 3 -

BUT MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, AFTER DECADES OF DISTRUST AND SEPARATION THAT CRUELLY DIVIDED US, I BELIEVE WE HAVE CONFIRMED THAT MANY SHARED VALUES NOW UNITE US. COMPARED TO THE DARK DAYS OF THE COLD WAR, WE HAVE LESS IN THE WAY OF DIFFERENCES THAN EVER -- AND MORE REASON FOR HOPE.

MY OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION STEMS FROM THE STRENGTH OF ITS LEADERSHIP -- THAT OF PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, AND MANY OTHERS IN MOSCOW AND ACROSS THIS GREAT LAND.

- 4 -

BUT MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, I FIND FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION, BECAUSE I BELIEVE DEEPLY IN THE POWER OF ITS PEOPLE.

I'VE MET WITH BUSINESS PEOPLE, LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICS, AND REFORMERS AT ALL LEVELS. IN SPITE OF THE VAST ARRAY OF CHALLENGES BEFORE YOU, A DEEP UNDERCURRENT OF ENDURING OPTIMISM RUNS HERE. THE FORCES OF REFORM -- THE DRIVE TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION, POLITICAL PLURALISM AND MARKET ECONOMICS -- ALL OFFER REAL HOPE FOR LASTING STABILITY AND PROSPERITY.

- 5 -

IN MY COUNTRY, THOSE WHO STRUGGLED FOR THEIR OWN KIND OF REFORM TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO BEGAN OUR CONSTITUTION WITH THE WORDS, "WE THE PEOPLE" -- WORDS WE AMERICANS STILL ADMIRE.

AND WHILE THE SOVIET UNION WILL FORGE ITS OWN FUTURE IN ITS OWN WAY, THIS WE HOLD IN COMMON: WE SEEK TO UNLEASH THE ENERGY AND AMBITION OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE SERVICE OF A GREATER GOOD. WE BELIEVE THAT WHILE MEN AND WOMEN MAY, FOR A TIME, BE INTIMIDATED BY FORCE, MANKIND FINDS INSPIRATION IN FREEDOM.

- 6 -

SO IF, AS CHEKHOV ONCE WROTE, "MAN IS WHAT HE BELIEVES" -- LET US BELIEVE IN FREEDOM.

THANK YOU ALL FOR YOUR MANY KINDNESSES.

MAY GOD BLESS THE U.S.S.R.

#

- 7 -

WE'RE ALSO NEGOTIATING BILATERAL TAX AND INVESTMENT TREATIES -- I'D LIKE TO SEE THEM COMPLETED BY YEAR'S END -- TO CREATE A BETTER INVESTMENT CLIMATE BETWEEN US, TO EXPAND OUR ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. WE WANT TO DO EVERYTHING TO ENSURE THAT OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP EXPANDS AS QUICKLY AS YOUR REFORMS PERMIT.

FREEDOM BRINGS THE OPPORTUNITY TO SUCCEED, AND THE RISK OF FAILURE.

- 8 -

THE GOVERNMENT CAN ACT AS REFEREE, BUT IT CANNOT GUARANTEE SUCCESS. FREE MARKETS ARE BASED ON THE IMPULSIVE ENERGY OF MAN'S IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY. SURE, THERE ARE RISKS -- I KNOW FROM FIRST HAND EXPERIENCE. BUT THERE ARE ALSO REWARDS FOR SUCCESS. WHO WOULD HAVE PREDICTED THAT FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, A GROUP OF COLLEGE STUDENTS WORKING IN A GARAGE WOULD REDEFINE THE COMPUTER INDUSTRY IN AMERICA?

OR THAT A TRASH COLLECTOR FROM PHILADELPHIA THIRTY YEARS AGO WOULD TODAY BE THE HEAD OF A \$6 BILLION WASTE MANAGEMENT FIRM IN THE UNITED STATES? WHEN OPPORTUNITY IS AT WORK, YOU CAN BE A MECHANIC OR A MILLIONAIRE -- AND IN MY COUNTRY, SOME MECHANICS ARE MILLIONAIRES.

PURSuing ONE'S DESTINY MEANS BUILDING A BETTER LIFE. RUSSIAN VALUES AND TRADITIONS ARE COMPATIBLE WITH FREE ENTERPRISE -- AND SHOULD BE PRESERVED. LOOK AT THE MEMBERS OF THE G-7 -- EACH AN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACY -- EACH WITH ITS OWN VALUES AND TRADITIONS.

THE CULTURE AND CLIMATE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN OTHER PLACES, BUT THE POWER OF THE IDEA IS UNIVERSAL. IT HAS BEEN APPLIED IN THOUSANDS OF WAYS BY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD. THOSE WHO SUCCEED HERE SHOULD NOT BE INSULTED AND LABELED AS "SPECULATORS" AND "EXPLOITERS" -- BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT. THEY ARE THE PEOPLE WHO WILL FILL THE SHELVES IN YOUR STORES.

- 11 -

WE UNDERSTAND NOW WHY SOCIALISM'S ATTEMPT TO CREATE THE "NEW SOVIET MAN" DIDN'T WORK -- BECAUSE HUMAN NATURE CANNOT BE DESTROYED AND CREATED ANEW. WE SEEK INSTEAD TO BUILD UPON THE STRENGTHS OF HUMAN NATURE, TO ALLOW MEN AND WOMEN TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINIES IN WHATEVER WAY WORKS BEST FOR THEM.

THIS NOTION OF FREE MARKETS AND FREE PEOPLE, OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL, THIS JOINT VENTURE BETWEEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERTY -- THIS IS THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM.

- 12 -

EVERYWHERE, WE HEAR THE VOICES OF MEN AND WOMEN YEARNING FOR FREEDOM ... FOR THE CHANCE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY ... FOR A STRONGER LINK BETWEEN EFFORT AND REWARD. SOME CALL IT THE AMERICAN DREAM -- BUT REALLY, IT IS A UNIVERSAL DREAM. AND IT IS A DREAM THAT THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE NOW STRIVING TO MAKE REAL FOR THEMSELVES.

EACH OF YOU CAN BRING THAT DREAM ALIVE.

THE CREATION OF SMALL- AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES MEANS MEETING PAYROLLS, HIRING GOOD MEN AND WOMEN, PRODUCING GOODS AND SERVICES THAT ARE MOST NEEDED BY CONSUMERS, AND IMPROVING TECHNOLOGIES AND METHODS TO STAY COMPETITIVE. FREE MARKET PRINCIPLES DON'T JUST MEAN THAT ONE OR TWO PEOPLE WILL GO OUT AND GET RICH QUICK. IT'S MUCH MORE THAN THAT. AS PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON SAID, "EVERY GREAT MAN OF BUSINESS HAS GOT SOMEWHERE A TOUCH OF THE IDEALIST IN HIM."

FOR YOU AND YOUR EMPLOYEES, IT MEANS THE DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT THAT COME WITH A JOB. IT MEANS MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN YOUR COMMUNITY. AND AS MORE AND MORE BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES EVOLVE -- IT MEANS BRINGING BACK HOPE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

YOUR TASK WILL BE DIFFICULT, BUT PERHAPS I CAN HELP WITH SOME ADVICE. THE STORY GOES THAT A YOUNG MAN BECAME THE MANAGER OF A COMPANY. HIS PREDECESSOR HANDED HIM THREE ENVELOPES, AND SAID THAT IF HE WAS EVER IN TROUBLE, TO OPEN THE ENVELOPES.

- 15 -

SO ONE DAY, WHEN THE BUSINESS WASN'T GOING SO WELL, THE MAN DECIDED IT WAS TIME TO OPEN ENVELOPE #1. THE MESSAGE INSIDE READ: "BLAME YOUR PREDECESSOR." SO HE DID, AND THINGS IMPROVED FOR A WHILE, BUT THEN GOT WORSE. HE DECIDED TO OPEN ENVELOPE #2. IT READ: "BLAME THE ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT." SO HE DID. BUT SALES CONTINUED TO GO DOWNHILL. FINALLY, WITH MUCH HESITATION, HE WENT FOR ENVELOPE #3. /// IT SAID: "PREPARE THREE ENVELOPES."

- 16 -

IN BUSINESS, THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. I CAN'T TELL YOU IN THREE ENVELOPES HOW TO TRANSFORM THIS ECONOMY FROM COMMAND AND CONTROL TO BUY AND SELL. YOU MUST FIND WHAT WORKS BEST FOR EACH OF YOU -- AND FOR YOUR CUSTOMERS. YOU MUST MAKE THE DREAMS OF YOUR OWN PEOPLE -- IN WHATEVER WAY YOU CAN -- COME ALIVE FOR THEM. YOU MUST DEFINE YOUR OWN BRAND OF DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM -- ONE THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH RUSSIAN CULTURE AND VALUES.

- 17 -

REMEMBER THE WORDS OF TOLSTOY: "THE STRONGEST OF ALL WARRIORS ARE THESE TWO -- TIME AND PATIENCE." BRINGING FREE MARKETS TO LIFE WILL TAKE TIME AND PATIENCE. BUT IT CAN BE DONE. BECAUSE EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM TODAY POSSESSES SOMETHING THAT CANNOT BE BOUGHT OR SOLD: YOU POSSESS THE POWER OF AN IDEA. I SALUTE YOU FOR YOUR VISION AND YOUR DRIVE. IT'S BEEN A PLEASURE TO MEET YOU. GOD BLESS YOU AND THANK YOU.

#

Snow/Simon
UKPARL.TS
DRAFT TWO
July 31, 1991

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR
SESSION HALL, SUPREME SOVIET BUILDING
KIEV
AUGUST 1, 1991
3:45 P.M.**

Thank you chairman Kravchuk [introductory acknowledgments].

This beautiful city brings to mind the words of the poet Alexander Dovzhenko: "The city of Kiev is an orchard. Kiev is a poet. Kiev is an epic. Kiev is history. Kiev is art."

Centuries ago, your forebears named this country Ukraine, or "frontier," because your steppes link Europe and Asia. But Ukrainians have become frontiersmen of another sort. Today you explore the frontiers and contours of liberty.

I have come here to talk with you and to learn. For those who love freedom, every experiment in building an open society offers new lessons and insights. You face an especially daunting task. For years, people in this nation felt powerless, overshadowed by a vast government apparatus; cramped by forces that attempted to control every aspect of their lives.

Today, people probe the promise of freedom. In cities and republics -- on farms, in businesses, around university campuses -- you debate the fundamental questions of liberty, stability and security. Americans have a deep commitment to these values. We follow your progress with a sense of fascination, excitement and hope.

This alone is historic. In the past, our nations engaged in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado. Now, the fireworks of superpower confrontation have given way to the quieter -- and far more hopeful -- arts of cooperation.

I come here to tell you: We support your struggle for democracy and economic reform. And I would like to talk with you today about how the United States views this complex and exciting period in your history -- how we intend to relate to the Soviet central government and the republican governments.

In Moscow I outlined our approach: We will support those in the center and the republics who pursue freedom, democracy and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities, but on the basis of principle.

We will not tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between republics -- or between republics and the center. That is your business, not ours.

Do not doubt our real commitment to reform. But do not think that we will presume to solve your problems for you. Theodore Roosevelt once wrote, "To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have someone else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that someone else for the good of both of us."

We will work for the good of both of us -- which means that we will not meddle in your internal affairs.

Some people have urged the United States to choose between supporting President Gorbachev and supporting independence-minded leaders throughout the USSR. I consider this a false choice. President Gorbachev has achieved astonishing things, and his policies of glasnost, perestroika and democratization point toward the goals of freedom, democracy and economic liberty.

We will maintain the strongest possible relations to the Soviet government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the USSR. We therefore want good relations -- improved relations -- with the Republics.

So let me build upon my comments in Moscow by describing in more detail what Americans mean when we talk about freedom, democracy and economic liberty.

No terms have been abused more regularly and cynically than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats; jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith in government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

Let's begin with the broad term, freedom. When Americans talk of freedom, they refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion; without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens; without restricting others' freedoms.

We do not consider freedom a privilege, to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right, bestowed upon all men and women. As Lord Acton observed, "The most

certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

Freedom requires tolerance -- a concept embedded in glasnost and in our First Amendment protections for the freedoms of speech, association and religion -- all religions.

Tolerance nourishes hope. Father Alexander Men wrote of glasnost, "Today, more than ever the words of Paul the Apostle, spoken 2,000 years ago, ring out: 'They counted us among the dead, but look -- we are alive.'" In Ukraine, in Russia, in Armenia and the Baltics -- the spirit of liberty thrives.

But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form shackles. Later today, I will visit the monument at Babi Yar -- a somber reminder of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.

Yet freedom is not the same as independence. Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred.

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts -- and votes -- of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed -- that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years you had elections with ballots,

but you did not enjoy democracy. Now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

The key to its success lies in understanding government's proper role -- and its limits. Effective government is less a matter of technical expertise than of honoring people's natural dreams and hopes. When you think of the most fundamental unit of government, don't think of committees or cadres. Think of spouses, children, parents. Think of what matters most to you.

In modern societies, freedom and democracy rely on economic liberty. A free economy is nothing more than a system of communication. It cannot function without property rights or a profit motive -- which give people an incentive to produce.

It cannot function without the rule of law -- without fair and enforceable contracts; without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

Free economies depend upon the freedom of expression -- the ability of people to exchange ideas, test out new theories. The Soviet Union weakened itself for years by restricting the flow of information, by outlawing such trivial devices as mimeograph machines. When you restricted free movement -- even tourist travel -- you prevented your own people from making the most of their talent. You cannot innovate if you cannot communicate.

Finally, a free economy demands engagement in the economic mainstream. As Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, trade enriches all who engage in it. Isolation and protectionism doom its practitioners to degradation and want.

I note this because today, some Soviet cities, regions, and even republics have engaged in ruinous trade wars. The republics of this nation have extensive bonds of trade, which no one can repeal with the stroke of a pen or passage of a law. The vast majority of trade conducted by Soviets -- imports and exports -- involves trade between republics.

The Nine plus One agreement holds forth the hope that republics will combine greater autonomy with greater voluntary interaction -- political, social, cultural, economic -- rather than pursuing the suicidal course of isolation.

American investors and businesses look forward to doing business in the Soviet Union -- including Ukraine. We have signed agreements this week that will encourage further interaction between the US and all levels of the Soviet Union. But ultimately, our trade relations will depend upon our ability to develop a common language of commerce -- currencies that communicate with one another; laws that protect innovators and entrepreneurs; bonds of understanding and trust.

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every day. I set forth a presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. This aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering; and it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl.

We have sent teams to help you improve upon the safety of Ukrainian nuclear plants and coal mines. We also have increased

the number of cultural exchanges with the republics -- including more extensive legal, academic and cultural exchanges between America and Ukraine.

We understand that you cannot reform your system overnight. America's first system of government -- the Continental Congress -- failed because the states were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights. In 200 years, we have learned that freedom, democracy and economic liberty are more than terms of inspiration. They are challenges.

Your great poet Taras Shevchenko noted, "Only in your own house can you have your truth, your strength and freedom." No society ever achieves perfect democracy, liberty or enterprise; but if it makes full use of its people's virtues and abilities, it can use these goals as guides to a better life.

Now, as Soviet citizens try to forge a new social compact, you have the obligation to restore power to citizens demoralized by decades of totalitarian rule. You must give them hope, inspiration, determination -- by showing your faith in their abilities. Societies that don't trust themselves or their people cannot provide freedom. They can guarantee only the bleak tyranny of suspicion, avarice and poverty.

An old Ukrainian proverb says, "When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from weakness."

The peoples of the USSR have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We

support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to a new world order.

Thank you for inviting me here today.

Slava Ukrainia [SLAH-vuh oo-cry-EEN-ee].

God bless you.

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