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(GILDER)

5/30/88 - 11 AM

MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, USSR

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1988

THANK YOU,
RECTOR (LAH-GOON-OFF).
THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH.

IT'S A GREAT
PLEASURE TO BE HERE AT
MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY.
AND I WANT TO THANK YOU
ALL FOR TURNING OUT.
I KNOW YOU MUST BE VERY
BUSY THIS WEEK, STUDYING
AND TAKING YOUR FINAL
EXAMINATIONS -- SO LET ME
JUST SAY: (JHEH-LIE-YOU
VAHM ooh-SPEK-HA).

NANCY COULDN'T MAKE
IT TODAY BECAUSE SHE IS
VISITING LENINGRAD --

UNTIL SHE TELLS ME OVER

THE PHONE IS A VERY
BEAUTIFUL CITY --
BUT SHE, TOO, SAYS HELLO
AND WISHES YOU GOOD LUCK.

LET ME SAY, IT'S
ALSO A GREAT PLEASURE
TO ONCE AGAIN HAVE THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK
DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE OF
THE SOVIET UNION.

BEFORE I LEFT WASHINGTON,
I RECEIVED MANY HEARTFELT
LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS
ASKING ME TO CARRY
HERE A SIMPLE MESSAGE.

A SIMPLE MESSAGE,
PERHAPS, BUT ALSO SOME
OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
BUSINESS OF THIS
SUMMIT -- IT IS A MESSAGE
OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL
AND HOPE FOR A GROWING
FRIENDSHIP AND CLOSENESS

BEFORE OUR TWO PEOPLES

② AS YOU KNOW, I'VE
COME TO MOSCOW TO MEET
WITH ONE OF YOUR MOST
DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES.
IN THIS, OUR FOURTH
SUMMIT, GENERAL SECRETARY
GORBACHEV AND I HAVE
SPENT MANY HOURS
TOGETHER, AND I FEEL THAT
WE ARE GETTING TO KNOW
EACH OTHER WELL.

OUR DISCUSSIONS,
OF COURSE, HAVE BEEN
FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON
MANY OF THE IMPORTANT
ISSUES OF THE DAY --
ISSUES I WANT TO TOUCH ON
WITH YOU IN A FEW
MOMENTS. BUT FIRST
I WANT TO TAKE A LITTLE
TIME TO TALK TO YOU MUCH
AS I WOULD TO ANY GROUP
OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN

I WANT TO TALK,
NOT JUST OF THE REALITIES
OF TODAY, BUT OF
THE POSSIBILITIES OF
TOMORROW.

STANDING HERE BEFORE
A MURAL OF YOUR
REVOLUTION, I WANT TO
TALK ABOUT A VERY
DIFFERENT REVOLUTION THAT
IS TAKING PLACE RIGHT
NOW, QUIETLY SWEEPING THE
GLOBE, WITHOUT BLOODSHED
OR CONFLICT. ITS EFFECTS
ARE PEACEFUL, BUT THEY
WILL FUNDAMENTALLY ALTER
OUR WORLD, SHATTER OLD
ASSUMPTIONS, AND RESHAPE
OUR LIVES.

IT'S EASY TO
UNDERESTIMATE, BECAUSE
IT'S NOT ACCOMPANIED BY
BANNERS OR FANFARE.

IT'S BEEN CALLED THE

TECHNOLOGICAL,
OR INFORMATION,
REVOLUTION, AND AS ITS
EMBLEM, ONE MIGHT TAKE
THE TINY SILICON CHIP.
NO BIGGER THAN A
FINGERPRINT, ONE OF THESE
CHIPS HAS MORE COMPUTING
POWER THAN A ROOMFUL OF
OLD-STYLE COMPUTERS.

③ AS PART OF AN
EXCHANGE PROGRAM, WE NOW
HAVE AN EXHIBITION
TOURING YOUR COUNTRY THAT
SHOWS HOW INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY IS
TRANSFORMING OUR LIVES:
REPLACING MANUAL LABOR
WITH ROBOTS, FORECASTING
WEATHER FOR FARMERS, OR
MAPPING THE GENETIC CODE
OF D.N.A. FOR MEDICAL
RESEARCHERS. THESE

NEEDS COMPUTERS TODAY AND

THE DESIGN OF EVERYTHING
FROM HOUSES TO CARS TO
SPACECRAFT -- THEY EVEN
DESIGN BETTER AND FASTER
COMPUTERS. THEY CAN
TRANSLATE ENGLISH INTO
RUSSIAN OR ENABLE THE
BLIND TO READ -- OR HELP
MICHAEL JACKSON PRODUCE
ON ONE SYNTHESIZER THE
SOUNDS OF A WHOLE
ORCHESTRA. LINKED BY A
NETWORK OF SATELLITES AND
FIBER-OPTIC CABLES,
ONE INDIVIDUAL WITH A
DESKTOP COMPUTER AND
A TELEPHONE COMMANDS
RESOURCES UNAVAILABLE TO
THE LARGEST GOVERNMENTS
JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.

LIKE A CHRYSALIS,
WE ARE EMERGING FROM THE
ECONOMY OF THE INDUSTRIAL

REVOLUTION AN ECONOMY

7

CONFINED TO AND LIMITED
BY THE EARTH'S PHYSICAL
RESOURCES -- INTO, AS ONE
ECONOMIST TITLED HIS
BOOK, THE ECONOMY IN
MIND, IN WHICH THERE ARE
NO BOUNDS ON HUMAN
IMAGINATION AND THE
FREEDOM TO CREATE IS THE
MOST PRECIOUS NATURAL
RESOURCE.

④ THINK OF THAT LITTLE
COMPUTER CHIP. ITS VALUE
ISN'T IN THE SAND FROM
WHICH IT IS MADE,
BUT IN THE MICROSCOPIC
ARCHITECTURE DESIGNED
INTO IT BY INGENIOUS
HUMAN MINDS. OR TAKE THE
EXAMPLE OF THE SATELLITE
RELAYING THIS BROADCAST
AROUND THE WORLD, WHICH
REPLACES THOUSANDS OF

THE EARTH AND MOLDED INTO
WIRE.

IN THE NEW ECONOMY,
HUMAN INVENTION
INCREASINGLY MAKES
PHYSICAL RESOURCES
OBSOLETE. WE ARE
BREAKING THROUGH THE
MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF
EXISTENCE TO A WORLD
WHERE MAN CREATES HIS OWN
DESTINY. EVEN AS WE
EXPLORE THE MOST ADVANCED
REACHES OF SCIENCE,
WE ARE RETURNING TO THE
AGE-OLD WISDOM OF OUR
CULTURE, A WISDOM
CONTAINED IN THE BOOK OF
GENESIS IN THE BIBLE:
IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE
SPIRIT, AND IT WAS FROM
THIS SPIRIT THAT THE
MATERIAL ABUNDANCE OF

CREATION FLOURED FORTH

BUT PROGRESS IS NOT
FORE-ORDAINED. THE KEY
IS FREEDOM -- FREEDOM OF
THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF
INFORMATION, FREEDOM
OF COMMUNICATION.
THE RENOWNED SCIENTIST,
SCHOLAR, AND FOUNDING
FATHER OF THIS
UNIVERSITY, MIKHAIL
(LOW-MO-NO-SUFF),
KNEW THAT. "IT IS COMMON
KNOWLEDGE," HE SAID,
"THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF
SCIENCE ARE CONSIDERABLE
AND RAPID, PARTICULARLY
ONCE THE YOKE OF SLAVERY
IS CAST OFF AND REPLACED
BY THE FREEDOM OF
PHILOSOPHY."

⑤ YOU KNOW, ONE OF THE
FIRST CONTACTS BETWEEN
YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE

RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN
EXPLORERS. THE AMERICANS
WERE MEMBERS OF COOK'S
LAST VOYAGE ON AN
EXPEDITION SEARCHING FOR
AN ARCTIC PASSAGE;
ON THE ISLAND OF
UNALASKA, THEY CAME UPON
THE RUSSIANS, WHO TOOK
THEM IN AND TOGETHER,
WITH THE NATIVE
INHABITANTS, HELD A
PRAYER SERVICE ON THE
ICE.

THE EXPLORERS OF THE
MODERN ERA ARE THE
ENTREPRENEURS, MEN WITH
VISION, WITH THE COURAGE
TO TAKE RISKS AND FAITH
ENOUGH TO BRAVE THE
UNKNOWN. THESE
ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR
SMALL ENTERPRISES ARE
RESPONSIBLE FOR ALMOST

ALL THE ECONOMIC GROWTH
IN THE UNITED STATES.
THEY ARE THE PRIME MOVERS
OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL
REVOLUTION. IN FACT,
ONE OF THE LARGEST
PERSONAL COMPUTER FIRMS
IN THE UNITED STATES WAS
STARTED BY TWO COLLEGE
STUDENTS, NO OLDER THAN
YOU, IN THE GARAGE BEHIND
THEIR HOME.

⑥ SOME PEOPLE, EVEN IN
MY OWN COUNTRY, LOOK AT
THE RIOT OF EXPERIMENT
THAT IS THE FREE MARKET
AND SEE ONLY WASTE.
WHAT OF ALL THE
ENTREPRENEURS THAT FAIL?
WELL, MANY DO,
PARTICULARLY THE
SUCCESSFUL ONES.
OFTEN, SEVERAL TIMES.

SECRET OF THEIR SUCCESS,
THEY WILL TELL YOU,
IT'S ALL THAT THEY
LEARNED IN THEIR
STRUGGLES ALONG THE
WAY -- YES, IT'S WHAT
THEY LEARNED FROM
FAILING. LIKE AN ATHLETE
IN COMPETITION, OR A
SCHOLAR IN PURSUIT OF THE
TRUTH, EXPERIENCE IS THE
GREATEST TEACHER.

THAT IS WHY IT'S SO
HARD FOR GOVERNMENT
PLANNERS, NO MATTER HOW
SOPHISTICATED, TO EVER
SUBSTITUTE FOR MILLIONS
OF INDIVIDUALS WORKING
NIGHT AND DAY TO MAKE
THEIR DREAMS COME TRUE.
THE FACT IS,
BUREAUCRACIES ARE A
PROBLEM AROUND THE WORLD.

THERE'S AN OLD STORY

ABOUT A TOWN --

IT COULD BE ANYWHERE --

WITH A BUREAUCRAT WHO IS

KNOWN TO BE A GOOD FOR

NOTHING, BUT HE SOMEHOW

HAS ALWAYS HUNG ON TO

POWER. SO ONE DAY,

IN A TOWN MEETING, AN OLD

WOMAN GETS UP AND SAYS TO

HIM, "THERE IS A FOLK

LEGEND WHERE I COME FROM

THAT WHEN A BABY IS BORN,

AN ANGEL COMES DOWN FROM

HEAVEN AND KISSES IT ON

ONE PART OF ITS BODY.

IF THE ANGEL KISSES HIM

ON HIS HAND, HE BECOMES

A HANDYMAN; IF HE KISSES

HIM ON HIS FOREHEAD,

HE BECOMES BRIGHT AND

CLEVER. AND I'VE BEEN

TRYING TO FIGURE OUT

WHERE THE ANGEL KISSED

YOU THAT YOU SHOULD GET

THERE FOR SO LONG AND
DO NOTHING."

⑦ WE ARE SEEING THE
POWER OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM
SPREADING AROUND THE
WORLD -- PLACES SUCH AS
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
SINGAPORE, AND TAIWAN
HAVE VAULTED INTO THE
TECHNOLOGICAL ERA, BARELY
PAUSING IN THE INDUSTRIAL
AGE ALONG THE WAY.

LOW-TAX AGRICULTURAL
POLICIES IN THE
SUB-CONTINENT MEAN THAT
IN SOME YEARS INDIA IS
NOW A NET EXPORTER OF
FOOD. PERHAPS MOST
EXCITING ARE THE WINDS OF
CHANGE BLOWING OVER THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA, WHERE ONE-QUARTER
OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION
IS NOW GETTING ITS FIRST

TASTE OF ECONOMIC
FREEDOM.

AT THE SAME TIME,
THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY
HAS BECOME ONE OF THE
MOST POWERFUL POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS OF OUR AGE.
IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE
1970's, ONLY A THIRD OF
THE POPULATION LIVED
UNDER DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNMENT -- TODAY OVER
90 PERCENT DOES.
IN THE PHILIPPINES AND
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
FREE, CONTESTED,
DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ARE
THE ORDER OF THE DAY.
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,
FREE MARKETS ARE THE
MODEL FOR GROWTH;
DEMOCRACY IS THE STANDARD
BY WHICH GOVERNMENTS ARE

⑧ WE AMERICANS MAKE NO
SECRET OF OUR BELIEF IN
FREEDOM. IN FACT, IT IS
SOMETHING OF A NATIONAL
PASTIME. EVERY 4 YEARS
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
CHOOSE A NEW PRESIDENT,
AND 1988 IS ONE OF THOSE
YEARS. AT ONE POINT
THERE WERE 13 MAJOR
CANDIDATES RUNNING IN THE
TWO MAJOR PARTIES, NOT TO
MENTION ALL THE OTHERS,
INCLUDING THE SOCIALIST
AND LIBERTARIAN
CANDIDATES -- ALL TRYING
TO GET MY JOB.

ABOUT 1,000 LOCAL
TELEVISION STATIONS,
8,500 RADIO STATIONS,
AND 1,700 DAILY
NEWSPAPERS, EACH ONE AN
INDEPENDENT, PRIVATE
ENTERPRISE FIERCELY

INDEPENDENT OF THE
GOVERNMENT, REPORT ON
THE CANDIDATES,
GRILL THEM IN INTERVIEWS,
AND BRING THEM TOGETHER
FOR DEBATES. IN THE END,
THE PEOPLE VOTE --
THEY DECIDE WHO WILL
BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

BUT FREEDOM DOESN'T
BEGIN OR END WITH
ELECTIONS. GO TO ANY
AMERICAN TOWN, TO TAKE
JUST AN EXAMPLE, AND YOU
WILL SEE DOZENS OF
CHURCHES, REPRESENTING
MANY DIFFERENT BELIEFS --
IN MANY PLACES SYNAGOGUES
AND MOSQUES -- AND YOU
WILL SEE FAMILIES OF
EVERY CONCEIVABLE
NATIONALITY, WORSHIPPING
TOGETHER.

SCHOOLROOM, AND THERE YOU
WILL SEE CHILDREN BEING
TAUGHT THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE, THAT THEY
ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR
CREATOR WITH CERTAIN
UNALIENABLE RIGHTS --
AMONG THEM LIFE, LIBERTY,
AND THE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS -- THAT NO
GOVERNMENT CAN JUSTLY
DENY; THE GUARANTEES IN
THEIR CONSTITUTION FOR
FREEDOM OF SPEECH,
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY,
AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

GO INTO ANY
COURTROOM, AND THERE WILL
PRESIDE AN INDEPENDENT
JUDGE, BEHOLDEN TO NO
GOVERNMENT POWER; THERE,
EVERY DEFENDANT HAS THE
RIGHT TO A TRIAL BY

USUALLY 12 MEN AND
WOMEN -- COMMON CITIZENS,
THEY ARE THE ONES,
THE ONLY ONES, WHO WEIGH
THE EVIDENCE AND DECIDE
ON GUILT OR INNOCENCE.
IN THAT COURT, THE
ACCUSED IS INNOCENT UNTIL
PROVEN GUILTY, AND THE
WORD OF A POLICEMAN,
OR ANY OFFICIAL, HAS NO
GREATER LEGAL STANDING
THAN THE WORD OF THE
ACCUSED.

⑩ GO TO ANY UNIVERSITY
CAMPUS, THERE YOU'LL FIND
AN OPEN, SOMETIMES HEATED
DISCUSSION OF THE
PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN
SOCIETY AND WHAT CAN BE
DONE TO CORRECT THEM.
TURN ON THE TELEVISION,
AND YOU'LL SEE THE

LEGISLATURE CONDUCTING

THE BUSINESS OF
GOVERNMENT RIGHT THERE
BEFORE THE CAMERA,
DEBATING AND VOTING ON
THE LEGISLATION THAT WILL
BECOME THE LAW OF THE
LAND. MARCH IN ANY
DEMONSTRATION, AND THERE
ARE MANY OF THEM --
THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT OF
ASSEMBLY IS GUARANTEED IN
THE CONSTITUTION AND
PROTECTED BY THE POLICE.

GO INTO ANY UNION
HALL, WHERE THE MEMBERS
KNOW THEIR RIGHT TO
STRIKE IS PROTECTED BY
LAW. AS A MATTER OF
FACT, ONE OF THE MANY
JOBS I HAD BEFORE THIS
ONE WAS BEING PRESIDENT
OF A UNION, THE SCREEN
ACTORS GUILD. I LED MY

AND I'M PROUD TO SAY,
WE WON.

BUT FREEDOM IS MORE
EVEN THAN THIS: FREEDOM
IS THE RIGHT TO QUESTION,
AND CHANGE, THE
ESTABLISHED WAY OF DOING
THINGS. IT IS THE
CONTINUING REVOLUTION OF
THE MARKETPLACE.
IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING
THAT ALLOWS US TO
RECOGNIZE SHORTCOMINGS
AND SEEK SOLUTIONS.
IT IS THE RIGHT TO PUT
FORTH AN IDEA, SCOFFED AT
BY THE EXPERTS, AND WATCH
IT CATCH FIRE AMONG THE
PEOPLE. IT IS THE RIGHT
TO FOLLOW YOUR DREAM,
OR STICK TO YOUR
CONSCIENCE, EVEN IF YOU
ARE THE ONLY ONE IN A SEA

⑪ FREEDOM IS THE
RECOGNITION THAT NO
SINGLE PERSON, NO SINGLE
AUTHORITY OR GOVERNMENT
HAS A MONOPOLY ON THE
TRUTH, BUT THAT EVERY
INDIVIDUAL LIFE IS
INFINITELY PRECIOUS,
THAT EVERY ONE OF US WAS
PUT ON THIS WORLD FOR A
REASON AND HAS SOMETHING
TO OFFER.

AMERICA IS A NATION
MADE UP OF HUNDREDS OF
NATIONALITIES. OUR TIES
TO YOU ARE MORE THAN ONES
OF GOOD FEELING; THEY ARE
TIES OF KINSHIP.
IN AMERICA, YOU WILL FIND
RUSSIANS, ARMENIANS,
UKRAINIANS, PEOPLES FROM
EASTERN EUROPE AND
CENTRAL ASIA. THEY COME

VAST CONTINENT,
FROM EVERY CONTINENT,
TO LIVE IN HARMONY,
SEEKING A PLACE WHERE
EACH CULTURAL HERITAGE IS
RESPECTED, EACH IS VALUED
FOR ITS DIVERSE STRENGTHS
AND BEAUTIES AND THE
RICHNESS IT BRINGS TO OUR
LIVES.

RECENTLY, A FEW
INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES
HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO
VISIT RELATIVES IN THE
WEST. WE CAN ONLY HOPE
THAT IT WON'T BE LONG
BEFORE ALL ARE ALLOWED
TO DO SO, AND
UKRAINIAN-AMERICANS,
BALTIC-AMERICANS,
ARMENIAN-AMERICANS,
CAN FREELY VISIT THEIR
HOMELANDS, JUST AS THIS

HIS.

(12) FREEDOM, IT HAS BEEN
SAID, MAKES PEOPLE
SELFISH AND
MATERIALISTIC, BUT
AMERICANS ARE ONE OF THE
MOST RELIGIOUS PEOPLES ON
EARTH. BECAUSE THEY
KNOW THAT LIBERTY,
JUST AS LIFE ITSELF,
IS NOT EARNED, BUT A GIFT
FROM GOD, THEY SEEK TO
SHARE THAT GIFT WITH THE
WORLD. "...REASON AND
EXPERIENCE," SAID GEORGE
WASHINGTON, IN HIS
FAREWELL ADDRESS,
"BOTH FORBID US TO EXPECT
THAT NATIONAL MORALITY
CAN PREVAIL IN EXCLUSION
OF RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE.
AND IT IS SUBSTANTIALLY
TRUE THAT VIRTUE OR

SPRING OF POPULAR
GOVERNMENT."

DEMOCRACY IS LESS
A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT
THAN IT IS A SYSTEM TO
KEEP GOVERNMENT LIMITED,
UNINTRUSIVE: A SYSTEM OF
CONSTRAINTS ON POWER TO
KEEP POLITICS AND
GOVERNMENT SECONDARY TO
THE IMPORTANT THINGS
IN LIFE, THE TRUE SOURCES
OF VALUE FOUND ONLY IN
FAMILY AND FAITH.

(13) BUT I HOPE YOU KNOW,
I GO ON ABOUT THESE
THINGS, NOT SIMPLY TO
EXTOL THE VIRTUES OF
MY OWN COUNTRY,
BUT TO SPEAK TO THE
TRUE GREATNESS
OF THE HEART AND SOUL OF
YOUR LAND.

NEEDS TO TELL THE LAND OF

⟨DAHS-TOE-YEHV-SKI⟩

ABOUT THE QUEST FOR

TRUTH, THE HOME OF

KANDINSKY AND

⟨SCREE-AH-BIN⟩ ABOUT

IMAGINATION, THE RICH AND

NOBLE CULTURE OF THE

UZBEK MAN OF LETTERS,

⟨ALLEY-SHEAR⟩

⟨NAH-VOY-EE⟩,

ABOUT BEAUTY AND HEART.

THE GREAT CULTURE OF YOUR

DIVERSE LAND SPEAKS WITH

A GLOWING PASSION TO ALL

HUMANITY.

LET ME CITE ONE OF
THE MOST ELOQUENT
CONTEMPORARY PASSAGES ON
HUMAN FREEDOM; IT COMES,
NOT FROM THE LITERATURE
OF AMERICA, BUT FROM THIS
COUNTRY, FROM ONE OF THE

20TH CENTURY, BORIS
PASTERNAK, IN THE NOVEL,
DR. ZHIVAGO:

"I THINK THAT IF THE
BEAST WHO SLEEPS IN MAN
COULD BE HELD DOWN BY
THREATS -- ANY KIND OF
THREAT, WHETHER OF JAIL
OR OF RETRIBUTION AFTER
DEATH -- THEN THE HIGHEST
EMBLEM OF HUMANITY WOULD
BE THE LION TAMER IN THE
CIRCUS WITH HIS WHIP,
NOT THE PROPHET WHO
SACRIFICED HIMSELF.
BUT THIS IS JUST THE
POINT -- WHAT HAS FOR
CENTURIES RAISED MAN
ABOVE THE BEAST IS NOT
THE CUDGEL BUT AN INWARD
MUSIC: THE IRRESISTIBLE
POWER OF UNARMED
TRUTH...."

POWER OF UNARMED TRUTH --
TODAY THE WORLD LOOKS
EXPECTANTLY TO SIGNS OF
CHANGE, STEPS TOWARD
GREATER FREEDOM IN THE
SOVIET UNION. WE WATCH
AND WE HOPE AS WE SEE
POSITIVE CHANGES TAKING
PLACE. THERE ARE SOME,
I KNOW, IN YOUR SOCIETY
WHO FEAR THAT CHANGE WILL
BRING ONLY DISRUPTION AND
DISCONTINUITY -- WHO FEAR
TO EMBRACE THE HOPE OF
THE FUTURE.

SOMETIMES, IT TAKES
FAITH. IT'S LIKE THAT
SCENE IN THE COWBOY MOVIE
"BUTCH CASSIDY AND THE
SUNDANCE KID," WHICH SOME
HERE IN MOSCOW RECENTLY
HAD A CHANCE TO SEE.
THE POSSE IS CLOSING IN

ON THE BIG OUTLAW BUTCH

AND SUNDANCE, WHO FIND
THEMSELVES TRAPPED ON THE
EDGE OF A CLIFF, WITH A
SHEER DROP OF HUNDREDS OF
FEET TO THE RAGING RAPIDS
BELOW. BUTCH TURNS TO
SUNDANCE AND SAYS THEIR
ONLY HOPE IS TO JUMP INTO
THE RIVER BELOW,
BUT SUNDANCE REFUSES.
HE SAYS HE'D RATHER FIGHT
IT OUT WITH THE POSSE,
EVEN THOUGH THEY'RE
HOPELESSLY OUTNUMBERED.
BUTCH SAYS THAT'S SUICIDE
AND URGES HIM TO JUMP,
BUT SUNDANCE STILL
REFUSES. FINALLY,
SUNDANCE ADMITS,
"I CAN'T SWIM." BUTCH
BREAKS UP LAUGHING AND
SAYS, "YOU CRAZY FOOL,
THE FALL WILL PROBABLY

BOTH BUTCH AND SUNDANCE
MADE IT.

(15) BUT CHANGE SHOULD
NOT MEAN REJECTION OF THE
PAST. LIKE A TREE
GROWING STRONG THROUGH
THE SEASONS, ROOTED
IN THE EARTH AND DRAWING
LIFE FROM THE SUN, SO,
TOO, POSITIVE CHANGE MUST
BE ROOTED IN TRADITIONAL
VALUES -- IN THE LAND AND
CULTURE, IN FAMILY AND
COMMUNITY -- AND IT MUST
TAKE ITS LIFE FROM THE
ETERNAL THINGS, FROM THE
SOURCE OF ALL LIFE,
WHICH IS FAITH.
SUCH CHANGE WILL LEAD
TO NEW UNDERSTANDINGS,
NEW OPPORTUNITIES,
TO A BROADER FUTURE IN
WHICH THE TRADITION

FINDS ITS FULL FLOWERING.

THAT IS THE FUTURE
BECKONING TO YOUR
GENERATION. AT THE SAME
TIME, WE SHOULD REMEMBER
THAT REFORM THAT IS NOT
INSTITUTIONALIZED WILL
ALWAYS BE INSECURE.
SUCH FREEDOM WILL ALWAYS
BE LOOKING OVER ITS
SHOULDER. A BIRD ON
A TETHER, NO MATTER HOW
LONG THE ROPE, CAN ALWAYS
BE PULLED BACK. THAT IS
WHY, IN MY CONVERSATION
WITH GENERAL SECRETARY
GORBACHEV, I HAVE SPOKEN
OF HOW IMPORTANT IT IS
TO INSTITUTIONALIZE
CHANGE -- TO PUT
GUARANTEES ON REFORM.
AND WE HAVE BEEN TALKING
TOGETHER ABOUT ONE SAD

REMEMBER OF A REVERED

WORLD, THE BERLIN WALL.
IT IS TIME TO REMOVE THE
BARRIERS THAT KEEP PEOPLE
APART.

(16) I AM PROPOSING AN
INCREASED EXCHANGE
PROGRAM OF HIGH SCHOOL
STUDENTS BETWEEN OUR
COUNTRIES. GENERAL
SECRETARY GORBACHEV
MENTIONED ON SUNDAY A
WONDERFUL PHRASE YOU HAVE
IN RUSSIAN FOR THIS:
"BETTER TO SEE SOMETHING
ONCE THAN TO HEAR ABOUT
IT A HUNDRED TIMES."

MR. GORBACHEV AND
I FIRST BEGAN WORKING
ON THIS IN 1985;
IN OUR DISCUSSION TODAY,
WE AGREED ON WORKING UP
TO SEVERAL THOUSAND
EXCHANGES A YEAR,

FROM EACH COUNTRY

IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

BUT NOT EVERYONE CAN
TRAVEL ACROSS THE
CONTINENTS AND OCEANS.
WORDS TRAVEL LIGHTER:
THAT IS WHY WE WOULD LIKE
TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO
THIS COUNTRY MORE OF OUR
11,000 MAGAZINES AND
PERIODICALS; AND OUR
TELEVISION AND RADIO
SHOWS, THAT CAN BE BEAMED
OFF A SATELLITE IN
SECONDS. NOTHING WOULD
PLEASE US MORE THAN FOR
THE SOVIET PEOPLE TO GET
TO KNOW US BETTER AND TO
UNDERSTAND OUR WAY OF
LIFE.

JUST A FEW YEARS
AGO, FEW WOULD HAVE
IMAGINED THE PROGRESS OUR
TWO NATIONS HAVE MADE

TOGETHER

(17) THE I.N.F. TREATY --
WHICH GENERAL SECRETARY
GORBACHEV AND I SIGNED
LAST DECEMBER IN
WASHINGTON AND WHOSE
INSTRUMENTS OF
RATIFICATION WE WILL
EXCHANGE TOMORROW --
THE FIRST TRUE NUCLEAR
ARMS REDUCTION TREATY IN
HISTORY, CALLING FOR THE
ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE
CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET
NUCLEAR MISSILES.

AND JUST 16 DAYS
AGO, WE SAW THE BEGINNING
OF YOUR WITHDRAWAL FROM
AFGHANISTAN, WHICH GIVES
US HOPE THAT SOON THE
FIGHTING MAY END AND THE
HEALING MAY BEGIN,
AND THAT THAT SUFFERING
COUNTRY MAY FIND

SELF DETERMINATION

UNITY, AND PEACE AT LONG
LAST.

IT IS MY FERVENT
HOPE THAT OUR
CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION
ON THESE ISSUES WILL BE
CARRIED ON TO ADDRESS THE
CONTINUING DESTRUCTION OF
CONFLICTS IN MANY REGIONS
OF THE GLOBE AND THAT THE
SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS
THAT LED TO THE GENEVA
ACCORDS ON AFGHANISTAN
WILL HELP LEAD TO
SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA, ETHIOPIA,
CAMBODIA, THE PERSIAN
GULF, MIDDLE EAST, AND
CENTRAL AMERICA.

(18) I HAVE OFTEN SAID,
NATIONS DO NOT DISTRUST
EACH OTHER BECAUSE THEY
ARE ARMED, THEY ARE ARMED
BECAUSE THEY DISTRUST

EACH OTHER. IF THIS
GLOBE IS TO LIVE IN PEACE
AND PROSPER, IF IT IS
TO EMBRACE ALL THE
POSSIBILITIES OF THE
TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION,
THEN NATIONS MUST
RENOUNCE, ONCE AND FOR
ALL, THE RIGHT TO AN
EXPANSIONIST FOREIGN
POLICY. PEACE BETWEEN
NATIONS MUST BE AN
ENDURING GOAL --
NOT A TACTICAL STAGE
IN A CONTINUING CONFLICT.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD
THAT THERE IS A POPULAR
SONG IN THIS COUNTRY --
PERHAPS YOU KNOW IT? --
WHOSE EVOCATIVE REFRAIN
ASKS THE QUESTION,
"DO THE RUSSIANS WANT
A WAR?" IN ANSWER IT

THAT SILENCE LINGERING
IN THE AIR/
ABOVE THE BIRCH AND
POPLAR THERE/
BENEATH THOSE TREES THE
SOLDIERS LIE..../
GO ASK MY MOTHER,
ASK MY WIFE/
THEN YOU WILL HAVE TO
ASK NO MORE.../
DO THE RUSSIANS WANT
A WAR?"

⑪ BUT WHAT OF YOUR
ONE-TIME ALLIES?
WHAT OF THOSE WHO
EMBRACED YOU ON THE
(ELB)? WHAT IF WE
WERE TO ASK THE WATERY
GRAVES OF THE PACIFIC,
OR THE EUROPEAN
BATTLEFIELDS WHERE
AMERICA'S FALLEN WERE
BURIED FAR FROM HOME.

WHAT IF WE WERE TO ASK

THEIR MOTHERS, SISTERS,
AND SONS: DO AMERICANS
WANT WAR? ASK US, TOO,
AND YOU WILL FIND THE
SAME ANSWER, THE SAME
LONGING IN EVERY HEART.
PEOPLE DO NOT MAKE WARS,
GOVERNMENTS DO —
NO MOTHER WOULD EVER
WILLINGLY SACRIFICE HER
SONS FOR TERRITORIAL
GAIN, FOR ECONOMIC
ADVANTAGE, FOR IDEOLOGY.
A PEOPLE FREE TO CHOOSE
WILL ALWAYS CHOOSE PEACE.

AMERICANS SEEK
ALWAYS TO MAKE FRIENDS OF
OLD ANTAGONISTS: AFTER A
COLONIAL REVOLUTION WITH
BRITAIN, WE HAVE CEMENTED
FOR ALL AGES THE TIES OF
KINSHIP BETWEEN OUR
NATIONS; AFTER A TERRIBLE
CIVIL WAR BETWEEN NORTH

AND SOUTH, WE HEALED OUR
WOUNDS AND FOUND TRUE
UNITY AS A NATION.
WE FOUGHT TWO WORLD WARS
IN MY LIFETIME AGAINST
GERMANY, AND ONE WITH
JAPAN, BUT NOW THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF
GERMANY AND JAPAN ARE TWO
OF OUR CLOSEST ALLIES
AND FRIENDS.

(20) SOME PEOPLE POINT TO
THE TRADE DISPUTES
BETWEEN US AS A SIGN OF
STRAIN, BUT THEY ARE THE
FRICTIONS OF ALL
FAMILIES, AND THE FAMILY
OF FREE NATIONS IS A BIG
AND VITAL AND SOMETIMES
BOISTEROUS ONE.
I CAN TELL YOU THAT
NOTHING WOULD PLEASE MY
HEART MORE THAN,

IN MY LIFETIME TO SEE

AMERICAN AND SOVIET
DIPLOMATS GRAPPLING WITH
THE PROBLEM OF TRADE
DISPUTES BETWEEN AMERICA
AND A GROWING, EXUBERANT,
EXPORTING SOVIET UNION
THAT HAD OPENED UP TO
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND
GROWTH.

AND AS IMPORTANT AS
THESE OFFICIAL
PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE
EXCHANGES ARE, NOTHING
WOULD PLEASE ME MORE THAN
FOR THEM TO BECOME
UNNECESSARY, TO SEE
TRAVEL BETWEEN EAST AND
WEST BECOME SO ROUTINE
THAT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS
IN THE SOVIET UNION COULD
TAKE A MONTH OFF IN THE
SUMMER AND, JUST LIKE
STUDENTS IN THE WEST DO
NOW, PUT BACKS ON THEIR

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BACKS AND TRAVEL FROM
COUNTRY TO COUNTRY
IN EUROPE WITH BARELY
A PASSPORT CHECK
IN BETWEEN. NOTHING
WOULD PLEASE ME MORE THAN
TO SEE THE DAY THAT A
CONCERT PROMOTER IN, SAY,
ENGLAND COULD CALL UP A
SOVIET ROCK GROUP --
WITHOUT GOING THROUGH ANY
GOVERNMENT AGENCY -- AND
HAVE THEM PLAYING IN
LIVERPOOL THE NEXT NIGHT.

IS THIS JUST A
DREAM? PERHAPS.
BUT IT IS A DREAM THAT IS
OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO
MAKE COME TRUE.

(21) YOUR GENERATION IS
LIVING IN ONE OF THE MOST
EXCITING, HOPEFUL TIMES
IN SOVIET HISTORY.

IT IS A TIME WHEN THE

FIRST BREATH OF FREEDOM
STIRS THE AIR AND THE
HEART BEATS TO THE
ACCELERATED RHYTHM OF
HOPE, WHEN THE
ACCUMULATED SPIRITUAL
ENERGIES OF A LONG
SILENCE YEARN TO BREAK
FREE.

I AM REMINDED OF THE
FAMOUS PASSAGE NEAR THE
END OF [GO-GUL'S]
DEAD SOULS. COMPARING
HIS NATION TO A SPEEDING
TROIKA, [GO-GUL] ASKS,
WHAT WILL BE ITS
DESTINATION. BUT HE
WRITES, "THERE WAS NO
ANSWER SAVE THE BELL
POURING FORTH MARVELLOUS
SOUND."

WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT
WILL BE THE CONCLUSION OF
THIS JOURNEY. BUT HE ARE

HOPEFUL THAT THE PROMISE
OF REFORM WILL BE
FULFILLED. IN THIS
MOSCOW SPRING, THIS MAY,
1988, WE MAY BE ALLOWED
THAT HOPE -- THAT
FREEDOM, LIKE THE FRESH
GREEN SAPLING PLANTED
OVER TOLSTOI'S GRAVE,
WILL BLOSSOM FORTH AT
LAST IN THE RICH FERTILE
SOIL OF YOUR PEOPLE AND
CULTURE. WE MAY BE
ALLOWED TO HOPE THAT THE
MARVELOUS SOUND OF A NEW
OPENNESS WILL KEEP
RINGING THROUGH, LEADING
TO A NEW WORLD OF
RECONCILIATION,
FRIENDSHIP, AND PEACE.

THANK YOU ALL VERY

MUCH AND (DAH
BLAH-GO-SLA-VEET
VAHS GAHS-PODE).
GOD BLESS YOU.

#

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY

MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
MOSCOW, USSR

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1988

THANK YOU, RECTOR (LAH-GOON-OFF). THANK YOU ALL
VERY MUCH.

IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE AT MOSCOW STATE
UNIVERSITY. AND I WANT TO THANK YOU ALL FOR TURNING
OUT. I KNOW YOU MUST BE VERY BUSY THIS WEEK, STUDYING
AND TAKING YOUR FINAL EXAMINATIONS -- SO LET ME JUST
SAY: (JHEH-LIE-YOU VAHM OOH-SPEK-HA).

NANCY COULDN'T MAKE IT TODAY BECAUSE SHE IS
VISITING LENINGRAD -- WHICH SHE TELLS ME OVER THE PHONE
IS A VERY BEAUTIFUL CITY -- BUT SHE, TOO, SAYS HELLO
AND WISHES YOU GOOD LUCK.

LET ME SAY, IT'S ALSO A GREAT PLEASURE TO ONCE
AGAIN HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION. BEFORE I LEFT WASHINGTON,
I RECEIVED MANY HEARTFELT LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS ASKING
ME TO CARRY HERE A SIMPLE MESSAGE. A SIMPLE MESSAGE,
PERHAPS, BUT ALSO SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BUSINESS
OF THIS SUMMIT -- IT IS A MESSAGE OF PEACE AND GOOD
WILL AND HOPE FOR A GROWING FRIENDSHIP AND CLOSENESS
BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES.

AS YOU KNOW, I'VE COME TO MOSCOW TO MEET WITH ONE OF YOUR MOST DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES. IN THIS, OUR FOURTH SUMMIT, GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND I HAVE SPENT MANY HOURS TOGETHER, AND I FEEL THAT WE ARE GETTING TO KNOW EACH OTHER WELL.

OUR DISCUSSIONS, OF COURSE, HAVE BEEN FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON MANY OF THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE DAY -- ISSUES I WANT TO TOUCH ON WITH YOU IN A FEW MOMENTS. BUT FIRST I WANT TO TAKE A LITTLE TIME TO TALK TO YOU MUCH AS I WOULD TO ANY GROUP OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. I WANT TO TALK, NOT JUST OF THE REALITIES OF TODAY, BUT OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF TOMORROW.

STANDING HERE BEFORE A MURAL OF YOUR REVOLUTION, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT A VERY DIFFERENT REVOLUTION THAT IS TAKING PLACE RIGHT NOW, QUIETLY SWEEPING THE GLOBE, WITHOUT BLOODSHED OR CONFLICT. ITS EFFECTS ARE PEACEFUL, BUT THEY WILL FUNDAMENTALLY ALTER OUR WORLD, SHATTER OLD ASSUMPTIONS, AND RESHAPE OUR LIVES.

IT'S EASY TO UNDERESTIMATE, BECAUSE IT'S NOT ACCOMPANIED BY BANNERS OR FANFARE. IT'S BEEN CALLED THE TECHNOLOGICAL, OR INFORMATION, REVOLUTION, AND AS ITS EMBLEM, ONE MIGHT TAKE THE TINY SILICON CHIP -- NO BIGGER THAN A FINGERPRINT, ONE OF THESE CHIPS HAS MORE COMPUTING POWER THAN A ROOMFUL OF OLD-STYLE COMPUTERS.

AS PART OF AN EXCHANGE PROGRAM, WE NOW HAVE AN EXHIBITION TOURING YOUR COUNTRY THAT SHOWS HOW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY IS TRANSFORMING OUR LIVES: REPLACING MANUAL LABOR WITH ROBOTS, FORECASTING WEATHER FOR FARMERS, OR MAPPING THE GENETIC CODE OF D.N.A. FOR MEDICAL RESEARCHERS. THESE MICRO-COMPUTERS TODAY AID THE DESIGN OF EVERYTHING FROM HOUSES TO CARS TO SPACECRAFT -- THEY EVEN DESIGN BETTER AND FASTER COMPUTERS. THEY CAN TRANSLATE ENGLISH INTO RUSSIAN OR ENABLE THE BLIND TO READ -- OR HELP MICHAEL JACKSON PRODUCE ON ONE SYNTHESIZER THE SOUNDS OF A WHOLE ORCHESTRA. LINKED BY A NETWORK OF SATELLITES AND FIBER-OPTIC CABLES, ONE INDIVIDUAL WITH A DESKTOP COMPUTER AND A TELEPHONE COMMANDS RESOURCES UNAVAILABLE TO THE LARGEST GOVERNMENTS JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.

LIKE A CHRYSALIS, WE ARE EMERGING FROM THE ECONOMY OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION -- AN ECONOMY CONFINED TO AND LIMITED BY THE EARTH'S PHYSICAL RESOURCES -- INTO, AS ONE ECONOMIST TITLED HIS BOOK, THE ECONOMY IN MIND, IN WHICH THERE ARE NO BOUNDS ON HUMAN IMAGINATION AND THE FREEDOM TO CREATE IS THE MOST PRECIOUS NATURAL RESOURCE.

THINK OF THAT LITTLE COMPUTER CHIP. ITS VALUE ISN'T IN THE SAND FROM WHICH IT IS MADE, BUT IN THE MICROSCOPIC ARCHITECTURE DESIGNED INTO IT BY INGENIOUS HUMAN MINDS. OR TAKE THE EXAMPLE OF THE SATELLITE RELAYING THIS BROADCAST AROUND THE WORLD, WHICH REPLACES THOUSANDS OF TONS OF COPPER MINED FROM THE EARTH AND MOLDED INTO WIRE.

IN THE NEW ECONOMY, HUMAN INVENTION INCREASINGLY MAKES PHYSICAL RESOURCES OBSOLETE. WE ARE BREAKING THROUGH THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE TO A WORLD WHERE MAN CREATES HIS OWN DESTINY. EVEN AS WE EXPLORE THE MOST ADVANCED REACHES OF SCIENCE, WE ARE RETURNING TO THE AGE-OLD WISDOM OF OUR CULTURE, A WISDOM CONTAINED IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS IN THE BIBLE: IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE SPIRIT, AND IT WAS FROM THIS SPIRIT THAT THE MATERIAL ABUNDANCE OF CREATION ISSUED FORTH.

BUT PROGRESS IS NOT FORE-ORDAINED. THE KEY IS FREEDOM -- FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION. THE RENOWNED SCIENTIST, SCHOLAR, AND FOUNDING FATHER OF THIS UNIVERSITY, MIKHAIL (LOW-MO-NO-SUFF), KNEW THAT. "IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE," HE SAID, "THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE ARE CONSIDERABLE AND RAPID, PARTICULARLY ONCE THE YOKE OF SLAVERY IS CAST OFF AND REPLACED BY THE FREEDOM OF PHILOSOPHY."

YOU KNOW, ONE OF THE FIRST CONTACTS BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE TOOK PLACE BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN EXPLORERS. THE AMERICANS WERE MEMBERS OF COOK'S LAST VOYAGE ON AN EXPEDITION SEARCHING FOR AN ARCTIC PASSAGE; ON THE ISLAND OF UNALASKA, THEY CAME UPON THE RUSSIANS, WHO TOOK THEM IN AND TOGETHER, WITH THE NATIVE INHABITANTS, HELD A PRAYER SERVICE ON THE ICE.

THE EXPLORERS OF THE MODERN ERA ARE THE ENTREPRENEURS, MEN WITH VISION, WITH THE COURAGE TO TAKE RISKS AND FAITH ENOUGH TO BRAVE THE UNKNOWN. THESE ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR SMALL ENTERPRISES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ALMOST ALL THE ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES. THEY ARE THE PRIME MOVERS OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION. IN FACT, ONE OF THE LARGEST PERSONAL COMPUTER FIRMS IN THE UNITED STATES WAS STARTED BY TWO COLLEGE STUDENTS, NO OLDER THAN YOU, IN THE GARAGE BEHIND THEIR HOME.

SOME PEOPLE, EVEN IN MY OWN COUNTRY, LOOK AT THE RIOT OF EXPERIMENT THAT IS THE FREE MARKET AND SEE ONLY WASTE. WHAT OF ALL THE ENTREPRENEURS THAT FAIL? WELL, MANY DO, PARTICULARLY THE SUCCESSFUL ONES. OFTEN SEVERAL TIMES. AND IF YOU ASK THEM THE SECRET OF THEIR SUCCESS, THEY WILL TELL YOU, IT'S ALL THAT THEY LEARNED IN THEIR STRUGGLES ALONG THE WAY -- YES, IT'S WHAT THEY LEARNED FROM FAILING. LIKE AN ATHLETE IN COMPETITION, OR A SCHOLAR IN PURSUIT OF THE TRUTH, EXPERIENCE IS THE GREATEST TEACHER.

THAT IS WHY IT'S SO HARD FOR GOVERNMENT PLANNERS, NO MATTER HOW SOPHISTICATED, TO EVER SUBSTITUTE FOR MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WORKING NIGHT AND DAY TO MAKE THEIR DREAMS COME TRUE. THE FACT IS, BUREAUCRACIES ARE A PROBLEM AROUND THE WORLD. THERE'S AN OLD STORY ABOUT A TOWN -- IT COULD BE ANYWHERE -- WITH A BUREAUCRAT WHO IS KNOWN TO BE A GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT HE SOMEHOW HAS ALWAYS HUNG ON TO POWER. SO ONE DAY, IN A TOWN MEETING, AN OLD WOMAN GETS UP AND SAYS TO HIM, "THERE IS A FOLK LEGEND WHERE I COME FROM THAT WHEN A BABY IS BORN, AN ANGEL COMES DOWN FROM HEAVEN AND KISSES IT ON ONE PART OF ITS BODY. IF THE ANGEL KISSES HIM ON HIS HAND, HE BECOMES A HANDYMAN, IF HE KISSES HIM ON HIS FOREHEAD, HE BECOMES BRIGHT AND CLEVER. AND I'VE BEEN TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WHERE THE ANGEL KISSED YOU THAT YOU SHOULD SIT THERE FOR SO LONG AND DO NOTHING."

WE ARE SEEING THE POWER OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM SPREADING AROUND THE WORLD -- PLACES SUCH AS THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, SINGAPORE, AND TAIWAN HAVE VAULTED INTO THE TECHNOLOGICAL ERA, BARELY PAUSING IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE ALONG THE WAY. LOW-TAX AGRICULTURAL POLICIES IN THE SUB-CONTINENT MEAN THAT IN SOME YEARS INDIA IS NOW A NET EXPORTER OF FOOD. PERHAPS MOST EXCITING ARE THE WINDS OF CHANGE BLOWING OVER THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, WHERE ONE-QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION IS NOW GETTING ITS FIRST TASTE OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF OUR AGE. IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE 1970'S, ONLY A THIRD OF THE POPULATION LIVED UNDER DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT -- TODAY OVER 90 PERCENT DOES. IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, FREE, CONTESTED, DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ARE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, FREE MARKETS ARE THE MODEL FOR GROWTH; DEMOCRACY IS THE STANDARD BY WHICH GOVERNMENTS ARE MEASURED.

WE AMERICANS MAKE NO SECRET OF OUR BELIEF IN FREEDOM. IN FACT, IT IS SOMETHING OF A NATIONAL PASTIME. EVERY 4 YEARS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CHOOSE A NEW PRESIDENT, AND 1988 IS ONE OF THOSE YEARS. AT ONE POINT THERE WERE 13 MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING IN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES, NOT TO MENTION ALL THE OTHERS, INCLUDING THE SOCIALIST AND LIBERTARIAN CANDIDATES -- ALL TRYING TO GET MY JOB.

ABOUT 1,000 LOCAL TELEVISION STATIONS, 8,500 RADIO STATIONS, AND 1,700 DAILY NEWSPAPERS, EACH ONE AN INDEPENDENT, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, FIERCELY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, REPORT ON THE CANDIDATES, GRILL THEM IN INTERVIEWS, AND BRING THEM TOGETHER FOR DEBATES. IN THE END, THE PEOPLE VOTE -- THEY DECIDE WHO WILL BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT.

BUT FREEDOM DOESN'T BEGIN OR END WITH ELECTIONS. GO TO ANY AMERICAN TOWN, TO TAKE JUST AN EXAMPLE, AND YOU WILL SEE DOZENS OF CHURCHES, REPRESENTING MANY DIFFERENT BELIEFS -- IN MANY PLACES SYNAGOGUES AND MOSQUES -- AND YOU WILL SEE FAMILIES OF EVERY CONCEIVABLE NATIONALITY, WORSHIPPING TOGETHER.

GO INTO ANY SCHOOLROOM, AND THERE YOU WILL SEE CHILDREN BEING TAUGHT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS -- AMONG THEM LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS -- THAT NO GOVERNMENT CAN JUSTLY DENY; THE GUARANTEES IN THEIR CONSTITUTION FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY, AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

GO INTO ANY COURTROOM, AND THERE WILL PRESIDE AN INDEPENDENT JUDGE, BEHOLDEN TO NO GOVERNMENT POWER; THERE, EVERY DEFENDANT HAS THE RIGHT TO A TRIAL BY A JURY OF HIS PEERS, USUALLY 12 MEN AND WOMEN -- COMMON CITIZENS, THEY ARE THE ONES, THE ONLY ONES, WHO WEIGH THE EVIDENCE AND DECIDE ON GUILT OR INNOCENCE. IN THAT COURT, THE ACCUSED IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY, AND THE WORD OF A POLICEMAN, OR ANY OFFICIAL, HAS NO GREATER LEGAL STANDING THAN THE WORD OF THE ACCUSED.

GO TO ANY UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, THERE YOU'LL FIND AN OPEN, SOMETIMES HEATED DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND WHAT CAN BE DONE TO CORRECT THEM. TURN ON THE TELEVISION, AND YOU'LL SEE THE LEGISLATURE CONDUCTING THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT RIGHT THERE BEFORE THE CAMERA, DEBATING AND VOTING ON THE LEGISLATION THAT WILL BECOME THE LAW OF THE LAND. MARCH IN ANY DEMONSTRATION, AND THERE ARE MANY OF THEM -- THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY IS GUARANTEED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND PROTECTED BY THE POLICE.

GO INTO ANY UNION HALL, WHERE THE MEMBERS KNOW THEIR RIGHT TO STRIKE IS PROTECTED BY LAW. AS A MATTER OF FACT, ONE OF THE MANY JOBS I HAD BEFORE THIS ONE WAS BEING PRESIDENT OF A UNION, THE SCREEN ACTORS GUILD. I LED MY UNION OUT ON STRIKE -- AND I'M PROUD TO SAY, WE WON.

BUT FREEDOM IS MORE EVEN THAN THIS: FREEDOM IS THE RIGHT TO QUESTION, AND CHANGE, THE ESTABLISHED WAY OF DOING THINGS. IT IS THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION OF THE MARKETPLACE. IT IS THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ALLOWS US TO RECOGNIZE SHORTCOMINGS AND SEEK SOLUTIONS. IT IS THE RIGHT TO PUT FORTH AN IDEA, SCOFFED AT BY THE EXPERTS, AND WATCH IT CATCH FIRE AMONG THE PEOPLE. IT IS THE RIGHT TO FOLLOW YOUR DREAM, OR STICK TO YOUR CONSCIENCE, EVEN IF YOU ARE THE ONLY ONE IN A SEA OF DOUBTERS.

FREEDOM IS THE RECOGNITION THAT NO SINGLE PERSON, NO SINGLE AUTHORITY OR GOVERNMENT HAS A MONOPOLY ON THE TRUTH, BUT THAT EVERY INDIVIDUAL LIFE IS INFINITELY PRECIOUS, THAT EVERY ONE OF US WAS PUT ON THIS WORLD FOR A REASON AND HAS SOMETHING TO OFFER.

AMERICA IS A NATION MADE UP OF HUNDREDS OF NATIONALITIES. OUR TIES TO YOU ARE MORE THAN ONES OF GOOD FEELING; THEY ARE TIES OF KINSHIP. IN AMERICA, YOU WILL FIND RUSSIANS, ARMENIANS, UKRAINIANS, PEOPLES FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA. THEY COME FROM EVERY PART OF THIS VAST CONTINENT, FROM EVERY CONTINENT, TO LIVE IN HARMONY, SEEKING A PLACE WHERE EACH CULTURAL HERITAGE IS RESPECTED, EACH IS VALUED FOR ITS DIVERSE STRENGTHS AND BEAUTIES AND THE RICHNESS IT BRINGS TO OUR LIVES.

RECENTLY, A FEW INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO VISIT RELATIVES IN THE WEST. WE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT IT WON'T BE LONG BEFORE ALL ARE ALLOWED TO DO SO, AND UKRAINIAN-AMERICANS, BALTIC-AMERICANS, ARMENIAN-AMERICANS, CAN FREELY VISIT THEIR HOMELANDS, JUST AS THIS IRISH-AMERICAN VISITS HIS.

FREEDOM, IT HAS BEEN SAID, MAKES PEOPLE SELFISH AND MATERIALISTIC, BUT AMERICANS ARE ONE OF THE MOST RELIGIOUS PEOPLES ON EARTH. BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT LIBERTY, JUST AS LIFE ITSELF, IS NOT EARNED, BUT A GIFT FROM GOD, THEY SEEK TO SHARE THAT GIFT WITH THE WORLD. "...REASON AND EXPERIENCE," SAID GEORGE WASHINGTON, IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS, "BOTH FORBID US TO EXPECT THAT NATIONAL MORALITY CAN PREVAIL IN EXCLUSION OF RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE... AND IT IS SUBSTANTIALLY TRUE THAT VIRTUE OR MORALITY IS A NECESSARY SPRING OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT."

DEMOCRACY IS LESS A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT THAN IT IS A SYSTEM TO KEEP GOVERNMENT LIMITED, UNINTRUSIVE: A SYSTEM OF CONSTRAINTS ON POWER TO KEEP POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT SECONDARY TO THE IMPORTANT THINGS IN LIFE, THE TRUE SOURCES OF VALUE FOUND ONLY IN FAMILY AND FAITH.

BUT I HOPE YOU KNOW, I GO ON ABOUT THESE THINGS, NOT SIMPLY TO EXTOL THE VIRTUES OF MY OWN COUNTRY, BUT TO SPEAK TO THE TRUE GREATNESS OF THE HEART AND SOUL OF YOUR LAND.

WHO, AFTER ALL, NEEDS TO TELL THE LAND OF (DAHS-TOE-YEHV-SKI) ABOUT THE QUEST FOR TRUTH, THE HOME OF KANDINSKY AND (SCREE-AH-BIN) ABOUT IMAGINATION, THE RICH AND NOBLE CULTURE OF THE UZBEK MAN OF LETTERS, (ALLEY-SHEAR) (NAH-VOY-EE), ABOUT BEAUTY AND HEART. THE GREAT CULTURE OF YOUR DIVERSE LAND SPEAKS WITH A GLOWING PASSION TO ALL HUMANITY.

LET ME CITE ONE OF THE MOST ELOQUENT CONTEMPORARY PASSAGES ON HUMAN FREEDOM; IT COMES, NOT FROM THE LITERATURE OF AMERICA, BUT FROM THIS COUNTRY, FROM ONE OF THE GREATEST WRITERS OF THE 20TH CENTURY, BORIS PASTERNAK, IN THE NOVEL, DR. ZHIVAGO:

"I THINK THAT IF THE BEAST WHO SLEEPS IN MAN COULD BE HELD DOWN BY THREATS -- ANY KIND OF THREAT, WHETHER OF JAIL OR OF RETRIBUTION AFTER DEATH -- THEN THE HIGHEST EMBLEM OF HUMANITY WOULD BE THE LION TAMER IN THE CIRCUS WITH HIS WHIP, NOT THE PROPHET WHO SACRIFICED HIMSELF. BUT THIS IS JUST THE POINT -- WHAT HAS FOR CENTURIES RAISED MAN ABOVE THE BEAST IS NOT THE CUDGEL BUT AN INWARD MUSIC: THE IRRESISTIBLE POWER OF UNARMED TRUTH...."

THE IRRESISTIBLE POWER OF UNARMED TRUTH -- TODAY THE WORLD LOOKS EXPECTANTLY TO SIGNS OF CHANGE, STEPS TOWARD GREATER FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE WATCH AND WE HOPE AS WE SEE POSITIVE CHANGES TAKING PLACE. THERE ARE SOME, I KNOW, IN YOUR SOCIETY WHO FEAR THAT CHANGE WILL BRING ONLY DISRUPTION AND DISCONTINUITY -- WHO FEAR TO EMBRACE THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE.

SOMETIMES, IT TAKES FAITH. IT'S LIKE THAT SCENE IN THE COWBOY MOVIE "BUTCH CASSIDY AND THE SUNDANCE KID," WHICH SOME HERE IN MOSCOW RECENTLY HAD A CHANCE TO SEE. THE POSSE IS CLOSING IN ON THE TWO OUTLAWS, BUTCH AND SUNDANCE, WHO FIND THEMSELVES TRAPPED ON THE EDGE OF A CLIFF, WITH A SHEER DROP OF HUNDREDS OF FEET TO THE RAGING RAPIDS BELOW. BUTCH TURNS TO SUNDANCE AND SAYS THEIR ONLY HOPE IS TO JUMP INTO THE RIVER BELOW, BUT SUNDANCE REFUSES. HE SAYS HE'D RATHER FIGHT IT OUT WITH THE POSSE, EVEN THOUGH THEY'RE HOPELESSLY OUTNUMBERED. BUTCH SAYS THAT'S SUICIDE AND URGES HIM TO JUMP, BUT SUNDANCE STILL REFUSES. FINALLY, SUNDANCE ADMITS, "I CAN'T SWIM." BUTCH BREAKS UP LAUGHING AND SAYS, "YOU CRAZY FOOL, THE FALL WILL PROBABLY KILL YOU." BY THE WAY, BOTH BUTCH AND SUNDANCE MADE IT.

BUT CHANGE SHOULD NOT MEAN REJECTION OF THE PAST. LIKE A TREE GROWING STRONG THROUGH THE SEASONS, ROOTED IN THE EARTH AND DRAWING LIFE FROM THE SUN, SO, TOO, POSITIVE CHANGE MUST BE ROOTED IN TRADITIONAL VALUES -- IN THE LAND AND CULTURE, IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY -- AND IT MUST TAKE ITS LIFE FROM THE ETERNAL THINGS, FROM THE SOURCE OF ALL LIFE, WHICH IS FAITH. SUCH CHANGE WILL LEAD TO NEW UNDERSTANDINGS, NEW OPPORTUNITIES, TO A BROADER FUTURE IN WHICH THE TRADITION IS NOT SUPPLANTED, BUT FINDS ITS FULL FLOWERING.

THAT IS THE FUTURE BECKONING TO YOUR GENERATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD REMEMBER THAT REFORM THAT IS NOT INSTITUTIONALIZED WILL ALWAYS BE INSECURE. SUCH FREEDOM WILL ALWAYS BE LOOKING OVER ITS SHOULDER. A BIRD ON A TETHER, NO MATTER HOW LONG THE ROPE, CAN ALWAYS BE PULLED BACK. THAT IS WHY, IN MY CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, I HAVE SPOKEN OF HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO INSTITUTIONALIZE CHANGE -- TO PUT GUARANTEES ON REFORM. AND WE HAVE BEEN TALKING TOGETHER ABOUT ONE SAD REMINDER OF A DIVIDED WORLD, THE BERLIN WALL. IT IS TIME TO REMOVE THE BARRIERS THAT KEEP PEOPLE APART.

I AM PROPOSING AN INCREASED EXCHANGE PROGRAM OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV MENTIONED ON SUNDAY A WONDERFUL PHRASE YOU HAVE IN RUSSIAN FOR THIS: "BETTER TO SEE SOMETHING ONCE THAN TO HEAR ABOUT IT A HUNDRED TIMES."

MR. GORBACHEV AND I FIRST BEGAN WORKING ON THIS IN 1985; IN OUR DISCUSSION TODAY, WE AGREED ON WORKING UP TO SEVERAL THOUSAND EXCHANGES A YEAR, FROM EACH COUNTRY, IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

BUT NOT EVERYONE CAN TRAVEL ACROSS THE CONTINENTS AND OCEANS. WORDS TRAVEL LIGHTER: THAT IS WHY WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO THIS COUNTRY MORE OF OUR 11,000 MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALS; AND OUR TELEVISION AND RADIO SHOWS, THAT CAN BE BEAMED OFF A SATELLITE IN SECONDS. NOTHING WOULD PLEASE US MORE THAN FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE TO GET TO KNOW US BETTER AND TO UNDERSTAND OUR WAY OF LIFE.

JUST A FEW YEARS AGO, FEW WOULD HAVE IMAGINED THE PROGRESS OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE MADE TOGETHER:

THE I.N.F. TREATY -- WHICH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AND I SIGNED LAST DECEMBER IN WASHINGTON AND WHOSE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION WE WILL EXCHANGE TOMORROW -- THE FIRST TRUE NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION TREATY IN HISTORY, CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF AN ENTIRE CLASS OF U.S. AND SOVIET NUCLEAR MISSILES.

AND JUST 16 DAYS AGO, WE SAW THE BEGINNING OF YOUR WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN, WHICH GIVES US HOPE THAT SOON THE FIGHTING MAY END AND THE HEALING MAY BEGIN, AND THAT THAT SUFFERING COUNTRY MAY FIND SELF-DETERMINATION, UNITY, AND PEACE AT LONG LAST.

IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT OUR CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION ON THESE ISSUES WILL BE CARRIED ON TO ADDRESS THE CONTINUING DESTRUCTION OF CONFLICTS IN MANY REGIONS OF THE GLOBE AND THAT THE SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS THAT LED TO THE GENEVA ACCORDS ON AFGHANISTAN WILL HELP LEAD TO SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ETHIOPIA, CAMBODIA, THE PERSIAN GULF, MIDDLE EAST, AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

I HAVE OFTEN SAID, NATIONS DO NOT DISTRUST EACH OTHER BECAUSE THEY ARE ARMED, THEY ARE ARMED BECAUSE THEY DISTRUST EACH OTHER. IF THIS GLOBE IS TO LIVE IN PEACE AND PROSPER, IF IT IS TO EMBRACE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, THEN NATIONS MUST RENOUNCE, ONCE AND FOR ALL, THE RIGHT TO AN EXPANSIONIST FOREIGN POLICY. PEACE BETWEEN NATIONS MUST BE AN ENDURING GOAL -- NOT A TACTICAL STAGE IN A CONTINUING CONFLICT.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THERE IS A POPULAR SONG IN THIS COUNTRY -- PERHAPS YOU KNOW IT? -- WHOSE EVOCATIVE REFRAIN ASKS THE QUESTION, "DO THE RUSSIANS WANT A WAR?" IN ANSWER IT SAYS, "GO ASK... THAT SILENCE LINGERING IN THE AIR/ ABOVE THE BIRCH AND POPLAR THERE/ BENEATH THOSE TREES THE SOLDIERS LIE..../ GO ASK MY MOTHER, ASK MY WIFE/ THEN YOU WILL HAVE TO ASK NO MORE.../ DO THE RUSSIANS WANT A WAR?"

BUT WHAT OF YOUR ONE-TIME ALLIES? WHAT OF THOSE WHO EMBRACED YOU ON THE (ELB)? WHAT IF WE WERE TO ASK THE WATERY GRAVES OF THE PACIFIC, OR THE EUROPEAN BATTLEFIELDS WHERE AMERICA'S FALLEN WERE BURIED FAR FROM HOME. WHAT IF WE WERE TO ASK THEIR MOTHERS, SISTERS, AND SONS: DO AMERICANS WANT WAR? ASK US, TOO, AND YOU WILL FIND THE SAME ANSWER, THE SAME LONGING IN EVERY HEART. PEOPLE DO NOT MAKE WARS, GOVERNMENTS DO -- NO MOTHER WOULD EVER WILLINGLY SACRIFICE HER SONS FOR TERRITORIAL GAIN, FOR ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE, FOR IDEOLOGY. A PEOPLE FREE TO CHOOSE WILL ALWAYS CHOOSE PEACE.

AMERICANS SEEK ALWAYS TO MAKE FRIENDS OF OLD ANTAGONISTS: AFTER A COLONIAL REVOLUTION WITH BRITAIN WE HAVE CEMENTED FOR ALL AGES THE TIES OF KINSHIP BETWEEN OUR NATIONS; AFTER A TERRIBLE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, WE HEALED OUR WOUNDS AND FOUND TRUE UNITY AS A NATION. WE FOUGHT TWO WORLD WARS IN MY LIFETIME AGAINST GERMANY, AND ONE WITH JAPAN, BUT NOW THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND JAPAN ARE TWO OF OUR CLOSEST ALLIES AND FRIENDS.

SOME PEOPLE POINT TO THE TRADE DISPUTES BETWEEN US AS A SIGN OF STRAIN, BUT THEY ARE THE FRICTIONS OF ALL FAMILIES, AND THE FAMILY OF FREE NATIONS IS A BIG AND VITAL AND SOMETIMES BOISTEROUS ONE. I CAN TELL YOU THAT NOTHING WOULD PLEASE MY HEART MORE THAN, IN MY LIFETIME, TO SEE AMERICAN AND SOVIET DIPLOMATS GRAPPLING WITH THE PROBLEM OF TRADE DISPUTES BETWEEN AMERICA AND A GROWING, EXUBERANT, EXPORTING SOVIET UNION THAT HAD OPENED UP TO ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND GROWTH.

AND AS IMPORTANT AS THESE OFFICIAL PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGES ARE, NOTHING WOULD PLEASE ME MORE THAN FOR THEM TO BECOME UNNECESSARY, TO SEE TRAVEL BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BECOME SO ROUTINE THAT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION COULD TAKE A MONTH OFF IN THE SUMMER AND, JUST LIKE STUDENTS IN THE WEST DO NOW, PUT PACKS ON THEIR BACKS AND TRAVEL FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY IN EUROPE WITH BARELY A PASSPORT CHECK IN BETWEEN. NOTHING WOULD PLEASE ME MORE THAN TO SEE THE DAY THAT A CONCERT PROMOTER IN, SAY, ENGLAND COULD CALL UP A SOVIET ROCK GROUP -- WITHOUT GOING THROUGH ANY GOVERNMENT AGENCY -- AND HAVE THEM PLAYING IN LIVERPOOL THE NEXT NIGHT.

IS THIS JUST A DREAM? PERHAPS. BUT IT IS A DREAM THAT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE COME TRUE.

YOUR GENERATION IS LIVING IN ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING, HOPEFUL TIMES IN SOVIET HISTORY. IT IS A TIME WHEN THE FIRST BREATH OF FREEDOM STIRS THE AIR AND THE HEART BEATS TO THE ACCELERATED RHYTHM OF HOPE, WHEN THE ACCUMULATED SPIRITUAL ENERGIES OF A LONG SILENCE YEARN TO BREAK FREE.

I AM REMINDED OF THE FAMOUS PASSAGE NEAR THE END OF (GO-GUL'S) DEAD SOULS. COMPARING HIS NATION TO A SPEEDING TROIKA, (GO-GUL) ASKS WHAT WILL BE ITS DESTINATION. BUT HE WRITES, "THERE WAS NO ANSWER SAVE THE BELL POURING FORTH MARVELLOUS SOUND."

WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT WILL BE THE CONCLUSION OF THIS JOURNEY, BUT WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE PROMISE OF REFORM WILL BE FULFILLED. IN THIS MOSCOW SPRING, THIS MAY, 1988, WE MAY BE ALLOWED THAT HOPE -- THAT FREEDOM, LIKE THE FRESH GREEN SAPLING PLANTED OVER TOLSTOI'S GRAVE, WILL BLOSSOM FORTH AT LAST IN THE RICH FERTILE SOIL OF YOUR PEOPLE AND CULTURE. WE MAY BE ALLOWED TO HOPE THAT THE MARVELOUS SOUND OF A NEW OPENNESS WILL KEEP RINGING THROUGH, LEADING TO A NEW WORLD OF RECONCILIATION, FRIENDSHIP, AND PEACE.

THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH AND (DAH BLAH-GO-SLA-VEET VAHS GAHS-PODE). GOD BLESS YOU.