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State Dinner Toast--President Aylwin of Chile 5/13/92 [OA 7573]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>

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(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 7, 1992  
Draft Two  
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST TO PRESIDENT  
AYLWIN OF CHILE  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

President Aylwin, I am pleased to welcome you and <sup>and</sup> Donna  
Leonor to the White House -- and to return the warm reception you  
gave me during my visit to your country. / I learned many things  
on that trip -- including a Chilean proverb. It goes: "The  
shrimp that falls asleep, it is taken by the current." I use it  
to scare Ranger. //

Among my memories of my <sup>visit</sup> ~~trip~~ was a lunch we shared at your  
home in Santiago -- where I still recall the pride and delight  
you took in your children and your grandchildren. / Mr.  
President, it has been said that "the greatest glory of a free-  
born people is to transmit that freedom to their children." Your  
country's bright future lies in the hands and hearts of a free-  
born people, determined to see their children born free --  
passing liberty from mother to daughter, and father to son. //

Today, I was reminded how your father, an esteemed Supreme  
Court Justice, passed his love of law and liberty to his son:  
you, yourself a revered legal scholar. And I thought of, how  
over sixty years ago, our Louis Brandeis observed that "the final  
end of the State was to make men free to develop their  
faculties." He added that those who love freedom know "liberty

to be the secret of happiness / and courage to be the secret of liberty." //

Mr. President, Justice Brandeis could find no better example of courage in pursuit of liberty than the Chilean people and their leader. Today, Chileans are "free to develop their faculties" to the fullest -- having <sup>at long last</sup> inherited the political and economic rights their parents worked to achieve. They've also assumed liberty's responsibilities: the knowledge that freedom taken for granted can become freedom taken away. / Chile continues the hard work of freedom: defending democracy in Haiti and Venezuela -- promoting peace in Central America and the Middle East. //

My friend President Alywin and I first met nearly two years ago at the White House. Today, I have again had the chance to observe his insight and eloquence. ((The President, of course, is fluent in both English and French. I'm jealous. Some say English is my only foreign language.)) //

<sup>Need to keep this on 2 pgs.</sup>  
~~Talking to him today,~~ I know that Chile will continue to export its material goods. I know also it will export its dreams: the courage, hope, and imagination of free markets and free peoples. Chile teaches others that political differences never excuse indifference to the law -- and that social needs are better met by the invisible hand of the free market than by the iron fist of bureaucracy.

Thirty years ago, President Eisenhower <sup>arrived at 5:00 P.M.</sup> spoke to your people, saying: "We in the Western Hemisphere are still young nations,"

3

still growing, still experimenting." / I believe that's still true today -- because democracy is as young as our children -- as all the children of the world. // ✓

Mr. President, I am honored to lift my glass to you, to Chile, and to the bonds of friendship between our two peoples.

# # # #

Robert Morley NSC  
X4592

(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 8, 1992  
Draft Two  
CHILE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR CHILEAN  
PRESIDENT AYLWIN  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

Friends of Chile and the United States, ladies and gentlemen. / President Aylwin, I am honored to welcome you to the White House -- an opportunity not only to exchange views, but to return hospitality. //

draft {

I remember visiting Santiago with my daughter Doro in December of 1990. I will never forget how warmly you, Dona Leonor, your family, and the Chilean people received us. // [Anecdote to come].

draft {

Mr. President, you once described Chile's success in this way: "the reflection of a mature country that knows what it wants and is able to achieve it by means of the democratic process." / That maturity has been hard-won: Americans shared your pain during Chile's dark years -- when democracy was a fading dream and peace, a faded hope. / But it has been won. Today, your government serves its people -- and serves as a model to others.

TR visit  
speech  
11/24/13

draft {

The same may be said of your leadership: since taking office, you have revived Chilean democracy. / In 19<sup>13</sup> Theodore Roosevelt visited Chile and spoke of a "democratic experiment on a far vaster scale than has ever been attempted anywhere else in the world." / Next month, your people will salute that experiment through Chile's first local elections in twenty years.

~~the world." / Next month, your people will salute that experiment through Chile's first local elections in twenty years.~~

Democracy has also spurred your economy -- where Chile has married free people with free markets: ~~a union of economic growth~~ *and in the last decade, your*

*draft*

*economy has grown*  
~~-- growth~~ faster than any other economy in Latin America. / A

successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT will enhance that trend. / Already, your trade barriers are falling -- your

*draft*

exports rising -- largely because as a member of the Cairnes Group, you are leading the way against agricultural subsidies and protectionism. //

I applaud these achievements. So did the Inter-American Development Bank -- turning first to Chile to implement its investment policy ~~program~~ *support*. And under our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, Chile was first to have ~~official debt~~ *a portion of its* to the United States forgiven -- because we want democracy to succeed.

*draft*

// Not only do our peoples share what your government called the "community of ideas, of feelings and needs" -- we share this land. We share more than the New World -- we share a responsibility to keep our world new. //

*ltr. from Ch. govt. 3/11/1990*

So, last February, under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, we signed an agreement helping Chile create an environmental project fund with money which would have otherwise serviced debt -- though we'll continue to address ~~economic~~ *bilateral* concerns under our 1990 trade and investment framework agreement.

*draft*

// Our challenge now is to build on those beginnings -- and show why Bernardo O'Higgins, ~~the father of free Chilean independence,~~ *Chile's great champion of freedom*

*GB 12/6/90*

GB speech  
12/6/93

<sup>3</sup>  
are giving

wrote that "the Americas ~~[give]~~ great hopes to philosophers and patriots alike." //

Today, Chile gives hope to an entire hemisphere. / With market-oriented reforms, you've led by example. In international relations, you're leading through integrity: Other nations count on Chilean leadership in the Organization of American States / in the United Nations / and in the community of nations. Your people ~~did the hard work of freedom~~ <sup>are working for peace</sup> in Kuwait, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia. You joined your neighbors to defend democracy -- first at last year's OAS General Assembly, then most recently in Haiti and Venezuela. //

draft

There's a poem I heard when I was in Chile. It's called Machado's "Caminante." / There's one line I remember: "Traveler, there is no road, you make a road in traveling." //

WC

Mr. President, I believe Chile is that traveler. Traveling the road of history -- a history made one step at a time. Chile offers an eloquent rebuke to those enemies of democracy -- on the extremes of left or right -- who try to mislead and confuse the people. Chile shows how liberty can not only shape a nation of great promise -- but ensure its people a legacy of promises kept.

Traveling together, Mr. President, we will keep our promises, and make ours a road to a better tomorrow. / We are honored to welcome you to Washington, as our guest, one of this hemisphere's great leaders.

# # # #

(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 8, 1992  
Draft Two  
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST TO PRESIDENT  
AYLWIN OF CHILE  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

*CC* { President Aylwin, I am pleased to welcome you and Dona Leonor to the White House -- and to return the warm reception you gave me during my visit to your country. / I learned many things on that trip -- including a Chilean proverb. It goes: "The shrimp that falls asleep, it is taken ~~by~~ <sup>away</sup> the current." I use it to scare my dog Ranger. //

*draft* { Among my memories of my visit was a lunch we shared at your home in Santiago -- where I still recall the pride and delight you took in your children and your grandchildren. / Mr. President, it has been said that "the greatest glory of a free-born people is to transmit that freedom to their children." Your country's bright future lies in the hands and hearts of a free-born people, determined to see their children born free -- passing liberty from mother to daughter, and father to son. //

*Carly Stovens*  
*draft* { Today, I was reminded how your father, an esteemed Supreme Court Justice, passed his love of law and liberty to his son: you, yourself a revered legal scholar. And I thought of, how more than sixty years ago, our Louis Brandeis observed that "the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties." He added that those who love freedom know "liberty

*draft* { to be the secret of happiness / and courage to be the secret of liberty." //

Justice Brandeis could find no better example of courage in pursuit of liberty than the Chilean people and their leader. Today, Chileans are "free to develop their faculties" to the fullest -- having at long last inherited the political and economic rights their parents worked to achieve. They've also assumed liberty's responsibilities: the knowledge that freedom taken for granted can become freedom taken away. / Chile continues the hard work of freedom: defending democracy in Haiti and Venezuela -- promoting peace in Central America and the Middle East. //

*draft* { Mr. President, I know that Chile will continue to export its material goods. I know also it will export its dreams: the courage, hope, and imagination of free markets and free peoples. Chile teaches others that political differences never excuse indifference to the law -- and that social needs are better met by the invisible hand of the free market than by the iron fist of bureaucracy.

*Jen's notes* { Thirty years ago, President Eisenhower spoke to your people, saying: "We in the Western Hemisphere are still young nations, still growing, still experimenting." / I believe that's still true today -- because democracy is as young as our children -- as all the children of the world. //

Mr. President, I am honored to lift my glass to you, to Chile, and to the bonds of friendship between our two peoples.



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## FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Tel: (202) 707-5397

Fax: (202) 707-2005

To: Curt Smith, The White House  
FAX: 456-6218

Date: 5/6/92

From: Everette Larson, Head, Ref. Sect., Hispanic Div

Message: Quotes for Pres. Patricio Aylwin of Chile

The next two pages in this transmission contain quotes from: (1) Antonio Machado, a noted poet from Spain; (2) Bernardo O'Higgins, who freed Chile from Spain in 1818 and then went on with General José de San Martín to also liberate Peru; and (3) four quotes from the following works: Jorge Dahm, Refranes y dichos de Chile y los Chilenos (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Delfin, 1973) and from Agustín Cannobbio G., Refranes Chilenos (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta, Litografía i encuadernación Barcelona, 1901).

In a Proclamation to the people of Peru in 1820:

"The day of liberty has arrived for the Americas! From the Mississippi River to Cape Horn, an area comprising almost half the world, we now proclaim the independence of the New World! Mexico fights; Caracas triumphs; ....Chile and Buenos Aires finally enjoy the fruits of victory..." Alejandro Witker (ed.) O'Higgins; la herencia del Libertador (1978), p. 125.

In a letter to a philosopher who aided the cause of Chilean independence, Camilo Henriquez, dated 1824:

"It is evident that the republics of the New World are at vanguard of freedom in the whole world .... the Americas are giving great hopes to philosophers and patriots alike..." Ibid., p. 134.

In another letter, O'Higgins said: "Aristocracy is naturally abhorrent to me... and adored equality is my idol." Quoted in, Stephen Clissold, Bernardo O'Higgins and the independence of Chile (1968), p. 150.

#### Dahn

- ✓ 1) Le puso las peras a cuatro  
[Talk straight]

#### Cannobio

- ✓ 2) El que deja de andar, atrás se queda  
[Trans.: He who stops walking, remains behind]  
[Interpretation: It is mentioned to induce people to work hard to achieve something in life] p.25
- 3) Camaron que se duerme, se lo lleva la corriente ↙  
[Trans.: The shrimp that falls asleep, it is taken away by the current]  
[Interpretation: In the same line as the previous one]
- ✓ 4) La claridad preserva la amistad  
[Trans.: Openness (or straightforwardness) preserves friendship]

QUOTES

Machado, Antonio "Caminante"

22. "Traveler your footsteps are/the road"

Caminante, son tus huellas  
el camino, y nada más;  
caminante, no hay camino,  
se hace camino al andar.  
Al andar se hace camino,  
y al volver la vista atrás  
se ve la senda que nunca  
se ha de volver a pisar.  
Caminante, no hay camino,  
sino estelas en la mar.

Eng:

Traveler, your footsteps are  
the road and nothing more.  
Traveler, there is no road,  
you make a road in traveling.  
Traveling you make a road  
and upon your gazing back  
appears the path which  
ne'er again is to be trod.  
Traveler, there is no road.  
Nought but a wake upon the sea.

Hutman, Norma Louise. Machado: A dialogue with time, nature as an  
expression of temporality (Albuquerque, UNM Press, 1969)  
PQ6623.A3Z6 1969.

## CHILNOT

--"renew and strengthen the ties that between our two nations that trace back to the first days of Chilean independence: To your first Congress, convened on the 4th of July, 1811.

--From the day Diego de Almagro first set foot on what is now Chilean soil, your life-blood and link to the world has been trade...today, the farmer in San Fernando labors not just to feed his family or even his village -- but to deliver products to the dinner tables of Japan, Europe and the U.S.

--When Theodore Roosevelt visited Chile almost 80 years ago, he told your people: "We republics of the Western Hemisphere are working out the democratic experiment on a far vaster scale than has ever been attempted anywhere else in the world."

--On March 11, 1811, the government of Chile sent a note to the American president initiating diplomatic relations with the United States. The note cited "the community of ideas, of feelings and needs"

--Chilean sayings:

"The house is small, but the heart is bigger."

"If you're not going to drink the water, let it flow."

"The Devil knows more because he is old, not because he is clever."

--In 1960, when Dwight Eisenhower addressed a Joint Session of your National Congress, he described the bond between our countries as "a shared philosophy -- faith in God, respect for the spiritual dignity of man, and the conviction that government must be the servant of the people."

--Thirty years ago, Dwight Eisenhower told your people, "We in the Western Hemisphere are still young nations, still growing, still experimenting."

*end*

State Dinner

Toast in Honor of President Aylwin

President Aylwin, it is a privilege and a pleasure to welcome you and Dona Leonor to the White House this evening.

Over sixty years ago, my countryman Louis Brandeis, like you, a legal scholar, and like your father an esteemed Supreme Court Justice, observed that "the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties." He adds that those who love freedom know "liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty."

Mr. President, Justice Brandeis could find no better example of courage in pursuit of liberty than the Chilean people under your determined leadership.

I rank among the fondest memories of my trip to South America, our lunch in your home in Santiago. I particularly remember the pride and delight you took in your children and grandchildren.

Mr. President, it has been said that "the greatest glory of a free-born people is to transmit that freedom to their children." Your country's bright future is due in large measure to the sacrifices made by you and many of your countrymen so that freedom might be passed from mother to daughter, from father to son.

Today, Chileans are "free to develop their faculties" to the fullest, they enjoy the fruits of political and economic liberty, and the reconciliation of a nation proceeds. You understand that freedom cannot be taken for granted, and have assumed a leadership role in defending democracy in Haiti and Venezuela, and promoting peace in Central America and the Middle East. Chileans, and all the people of this hemisphere, have benefited from your labors.

President Aylwin, your country gives proof to all the world that courage, hope, and imagination thrive best in a free society; that political differences are not an excuse for extra-legal interference in the constitutional process; and that social needs are best met through free markets that allow economic initiative to flourish.

Democracy is neither easy nor tidy, but no other system of government yet devised can match it, and the people of this hemisphere demand and deserve no less.

Mr. President, I am honored to lift my glass to you, to Chile, and to the bonds of friendship between our two peoples.

From State  
Phil McLean

Rm  
122

White House Arrival Ceremony  
in Honor of President Aylwin of Chile

Welcome to the White House, Mr. President. When Doro and I visited Santiago in December 1990, you, Dona Leonor, your family, and the Chilean people received us warmly. Barbara and I welcome this opportunity to return your hospitality.

It is a special pleasure to welcome you as President of a democratic Chile. The world has long admired Chile's proud democratic tradition; a beacon to the Americas, an example of what so many nations aspire to be. We shared your anguish during the dark years that your people were denied their right to govern themselves. Today, we share your joy as you and your nation have reclaimed those cherished democratic traditions and resumed your position of leadership in the community of democratic nations.

*At the helm*

~~Mr. President, you represent Latin America's new leadership, bright with promise, which is consolidating democracy, opening markets, and reaching out to establish new and positive relationships with the world. We want to be constructive partners and friends in this endeavor.~~

Since taking office, you have led the way in revitalizing Chilean democratic institutions and next month your people will vote in Chile's first local elections in two decades. Your economic policies show equal faith in the wisdom of a free people making their own choices in a fair and competitive marketplace.

In the last decade your economy has grown faster than any other in Latin America and today Chile is one of the world's most successful countries in attracting foreign investment, a sure sign of the international confidence your government inspires. Because Chile dropped its trade barriers, your own industries have become more competitive and your exports have grown dramatically. As a member of the Cairnes Group you are a leader in the fight against agricultural subsidies and protectionism. The United States proudly works with Chile and other Group members to open world trade in agricultural goods.

Recognizing Chile's achievements, the Inter-American Development Bank turned first to Chile to implement its investment policy support program. Chile also earned the distinction of being the first country to have a portion of its official debt to the United States forgiven under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

Last February, the United States and Chile signed an environmental framework agreement that will enable you to create an environmental project fund with money you would have paid to the United States to service debt. We continue to address bilateral economic concerns under the terms of our 1990 trade and investment framework agreement.

*- world bank*

Your economy is a model for the region and the world, and we believe the progress you have made serves as a demonstration of what can be achieved through market-oriented economic reforms.

President, you have shown what a committed leader may accomplish when guided by the popular will. Chile's place in the world community is clear: Other nations count on Chilean leadership in the Organization of American States, the United Nations and other international bodies. Chileans are working for peace in Kuwait, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia. You have joined your neighbors across this hemisphere in vigorous defense of democracy, first at the OAS General Assembly a year ago, and more recently, and more directly, in Haiti and Venezuela.

Earlier this year, Mr. President, a delegation from the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations visited Santiago, and you told them that "Chile's success is the reflection of a mature country that knows what it wants and is able to achieve it by means of the democratic process."

I wholeheartedly agree.

Mr. President, you have spoken of the importance of revitalizing Latin America's political and economic pulse, and of preserving and strengthening democracy throughout the hemisphere. Chile's free and open society shows the region and the world that

democracy and free markets are the best and the only way to develop new sources of wealth, lift people from poverty, accord them the dignity that goes with a decent and improving quality of life, and give them the means to resolve their grievances fairly and peacefully.

Chile offers an eloquent rebuke to those enemies of democracy on the far left and right who have long offered false promises to the people of this hemisphere.

Chile is not only a nation of great promise, but a nation of promises kept.

Mr. President. We are honored to welcome to Washington, as our guest, one of our hemisphere's premier statesmen.

"He who stops walking remains behind"  
- example is an imitation  
a call to walk!!!

P. 131

- Address of Colonel Roosevelt at the Municipal Theatre, -

Santiago de Chile, November 24, 1913 ✓

\*\*\*\*\*

I have been greatly interested in the learned address of Mr. Vargas on the history of Chile. I have already been fairly familiar with that history; for when I was doing my part in preparing my own country for war, at the time I was assistant secretary of the Navy under President Mackinley, I studied with minute attention Chilean military and naval history. Among the many things that I have enjoyed here in Chile, one of the chief has been the chance of seeing the admirable work of the officers and enlisted men of the Chilean Army, and I look forward to getting at least a glimpse of the Chilean navy. I am acquainted with the really notable poem of Ercilla. I was already aware of the remarkable character of the Araucania Indian. I recognize to the full the high value of the new ethnological entity arising in Chile from the mixture of the two virile types, that of the Spanish conquistadores and <sup>of</sup> the valiant Indian by whom Chile was originally populated. The ruling class, I was also aware, included not only these men of pure descent from the early Spanish conquerors, but also many men descended from the biscayan and other newcomers of a very high type who came thither in the Eighteenth Century. I have also in outline the history which has been so interestingly sketched this evening.

I also wish to thank most sincerely the distinguished and eloquent orator and public man Senator Bulnes, who has just addressed you. I deeply appreciate his courteous references, not only to myself, but to the great Republic of which I am a citizen. And, moreover, I cordially agree with the entire tone and tenor of his address. Certain

✓ Souvenir of the visit of Col. Theodore Roosevelt to Chile. 1914.

of the allusions he has made, notably to the Monroe Doctrine, and of the question which he has so courteously put, and the wishes he<sup>has</sup> uttered, make it proper and desirable that I should myself speak on the points to which he alludes.

We republics of the Western Hemisphere are working out the democratic experiment on a far vaster scale than has ever been attempted anywhere else in the world. We are meeting many new problems; and, though we act with certain advantages in our favour we also suffer under certain disadvantages. Moreover, each of us, each republic, yours, mine, each among all the other American nations of importance, has made certain failures and attained certain successes that were peculiarly its own; and each has something to learn from as well as to teach every other. For example the nation to which I belong handled the whole question of slavery much worse than it was handled by any other free republic of the entire Western world. Again, it was my own nation, which, in solving the problem of slavery, was brought to the verge of destruction by four years of civil war, during which it became impotent to aid its sister republics of the New World, or to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, or in any shape or way to be of service to mankind or to secure respect for itself among the nations of the Earth. My friends, I hold that, normally, each nation can do best by concerning itself with its own faults and shortcomings, and not with the faults and shortcomings of others, and that each of our nations should find its chief work in advancing the cause of social and industrial betterment among its own people at home; and that it should endeavour always to deal with other nations in a spirit of justice, of courtesy, of consideration and forbearance.

But there are other duties, less important, and nevertheless of great importance. There must be international relations. I hold that these relations between nations should be handled on the same plan of the relations between individuals. The same principles should apply

in one case as in the other, although the methods of achieving the principles must differ because international law does not exist in the sense that municipal law or law within each nation exists; for there is in no law in any real sense unless there is both a judge to declare the law and a representative of the police power able and ready to put that declaration into execution.

I speak to a gallant people, a proud and patriotic people, with a great military record, with a fine Army and Navy. Therefore, I am certain of being understood when I say that an honorable private man will indignantly refuse to wrong others, or will also refuse himself tamely to submit to wrong by others. In similar fashion, an honorable nation, a free nation, fit to do its part in the world-wide struggle for civilization, for liberty, for order, and for the only peace worth having, the peace of righteousness, must both be able and ready to defend itself against wrong-doing, and also be proudly eager never to wrong others. This must be the attitude of my country toward all other countries both of the Old and of the New World. It should also be the attitude of every other country. All of us in our several nations should by word and deed strive to bring nearer the day when this shall be the world's attitude among all the nations of mankind.

In addition to our duties as members of the great family of civilized nations throughout the world, we of the Western Hemisphere have certain special interests of our own. A hundred years ago the only American nation that had achieved its independence was the United States of the North. Ninety years ago the other free nations had just begun their independent careers. As yet they were wholly unable to speak with authority abroad. At that time, and for many years afterwards, even the United States could not always make itself heard by old-world powers, and it was listened to at all only when it spoke with the utmost decision, while at that time no other American power

received any heed whatever. It was under these circumstances that the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. This doctrine was perfectly simple. It declared that the soil of the Western Hemisphere was no longer to be treated as a subject for territorial conquest or acquisitions by old-world powers. I wish you to remember just what the Monroe-Doctrine is. If any man tells you that it is dead, ask him if he really means that Old-World powers are to be permitted to acquire territory by conquest or colonization in the Western Hemisphere. Unless he so believes, he cannot assert that the doctrine is dead. So far from its being dead, I think it is a great deal more alive than ever before. I believe that there is a less chance than ever before of the American nations permitting any species of conquest or colonization on this Continent by Old-World powers. Moreover, I believe that the time has now come when the doctrine in reality has the guarantee not only of the United States, my own country, but of your country, Chile, and of every other American nation which has risen to a sufficient point of economic well-being, of stable and orderly government, of power to do justice to others and to exact justice from others; and therefore of potential armed strength to enable it thus to act as a guarantor of the doctrine.

In other words, keep these two facts distinctly in your minds:

1) the doctrine itself; 2) the question as to who the guarantor or guarantors of <sup>that</sup> the doctrine shall be. I am wholly unable to understand how any farsighted patriot of the two Americas could fail to recognize the vital importance of the doctrine to the liberty and well-being of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The only differences that can arise are as to the methods of its enforcement, and as to who shall be its guarantors. On these points there must of necessity be change as conditions change.

When the doctrine was promulgated the United States was the only power able to secure any respect whatever for it from the

Old-World nations. Without armed strength back of it, the Monroe Doctrine is not worth the paper on which it is written, or the breath of the orators who speak it. It was at the beginning rendered respectable only because back of it lay the Army and Navy of the United States. When in 1861 our Civil War broke out, and we became powerless to secure respect from other nations in international matters, while no South American nation had yet advanced to a degree that would enable it to take our place, the Monroe Doctrine vanished into thin air. Old-World nations at once began a course of conquest and aggressions on the American Continent, and a foreign Empire was established immediately South of the United States. When the Civil War ended and the United States once more became a power able to speak with self-respect in international affairs, that foreign empire at once crumbled to dust and ashes.

During all this early period, various causes to which the two eminent speakers who have preceded me have alluded, combined to keep the nations of Southern and Central America weak, and to retard their growth to influence and power. But within the last quarter of a century there has been a great change. Certain republics have achieved a position of assured and orderly liberty. These republics do justice to the other peoples. To them there has come a great material prosperity and moral growth such as to make them in character and in potential strength fit to handle their own Monroe Doctrine, or, to speak more accurately, fit to act as co-guarantors of the Doctrine. Your own Republic of Chile is one of these republics.

In short, the Doctrine is as emphatically a living doctrine to-day as it ever was. But, for many years after it was promulgated, it was of necessity a unilateral doctrine, because only one country had power to enforce it. Now other nations of the Western Hemisphere have come to a position where by international conduct and by strength ~~they~~

they are entitled to stand on a full equality with the United States in this as in all other matters. Therefore in this as in other matters relations between them and the United States are based on an exact equality of right and mutuality of respect. Among those nations is your own, Chile

As yet, unfortunately, there still remain other nations in the Western Hemisphere of which this assertion cannot truthfully be made. AS long as a nation is from any cause, but specially from chronic revolutions and anarchy reduced to a condition where she is impotent to perform her duties toward others, or exact the performance by others of their duties toward her, then it is a waste of words to pretend that what does not exist does exist. It is untruthful fully to assert that it is possible for the United States, or for any other great nation to treat an anarchic and wrongdoing country on that footing of real and full equality, of which I have above spoken as representing that plane of conduct which should characterize all the dealings between my nation and your own, and my nation and certain other South American republics. I hope and I am reasonably confident that the less advanced nations of the New World will in their turn gradually advance just as my nation and yours, as well as certain others, have already advanced. As soon as any such nation in the course of its advance reaches a position of self-respecting strength and orderly liberty and achieved power to do and to exact justice, then it should at once step out of the position of tutelage in any respect. Then, as regards it, likewise, the Monroe Doctrine should be treated as no longer a unilateral doctrine, but one in the upholding of which this nation herself shall take part as an equal among equals. I hope and I believe that ultimately the day will come when this will be true of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere. When that day comes, the Monroe Doctrine in the sense of being a unilateral doctrine, enforced only by the United States, will entirely disappear. It will remain as much as ever a doctrine to be believed in and enforced, but it will be enforced

by all the nations of the Western Hemisphere as co-guarantors on a footing of equality. However, when that day has come, I believe that every nation of the Old World will have accepted the doctrine as a matter of course.

The doctrine partly represents the self-interest of each nation, and partly the disinterested belief that it is essentially in the interest of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. When promulgated by the United States, and as since adopted and followed by the United States, it had, and has always since had, and ought always to have, both of those bases of justification. The United States in its own interest cannot afford to see a great Old World military power acquire territory on this continent. Moreover the United States from a disinterested friendship for the free peoples of this continent, must object to seeing any of their territory thus acquired. This after all is simply to feel as every other nation on this continent will feel. Chile could no more afford to tolerate conquest by some Old World military power on or near her Northern border than we could afford to tolerate such conquest on or near our Southern border.

At the present day, then so far as the United States is concerned, the doctrine must still be one of unilateral enforcement in regions where her interests are vital, and where unfortunately no other American nation has achieved a position of such stable and orderly power as to enable it to be a co-guarantor of the doctrine.

This applies to the lands both continental and insular which cover the approaches to the Panama Canal. The time had come when it was imperatively necessary that the canal should be built. The United States ought not to, and, in my judgment, will not permit any great Old-World power to establish itself along the line of approach to the Canal. This is not only vitally important to the United States, but it is also eminently to the interest of the other New-World nations. For example,

your own nation, Chile, will, I believe be benefitted at least as much as the United States itself by the building of the Canal--which, I may remark parenthetically, would not have been built at all if I had not acted precisely and exactly as I did act. We of the United States are solemnly pledged to administer that Canal in the equal interest of all the nations of mankind, and we are pledged to defend it by our army and our navy, by fortifications and by ships, along the canal, and along the lines of approach to the canal. Therefore, we are obliged to see that the Monroe Doctrine applies in full to the territory controlling the approach to the canal, and this both because of our vital interest in the matter, and especially because, as yet, no other power along the approach is able to act as a co-guarantor.

But in other parts of South America there are nations such as your own, such as Chile, which have now reached a position that entitles them to stand on a footing of exact equality in all international relations with the United States. I believe that I have the right to expect such treatment. I have done and always shall do all in my power to see that they receive such treatment. All our dealings with one another must be such as are compatible with the self-respect of each, with the respect due from equals to equals.

Now, gentlemen, as you know, I believe that words are worse than useless except as they represent or are translated into actual deeds. I ask you to judge what I now say about the proper attitude of the United States in foreign relations, by what I actually did when I was president. My host, your fellow-citizen and distinguished public servant, Senator Walker Martinez, was Minister from Chile to Washington during my term. He can tell you, of his own knowledge from the inside, that I strove my best throughout those years to act in a spirit of the most cordial and genuine friendship and justice towards all our fellow republics of the New World. He can tell you this especially in reference to Chile. When

I said a thing, I meant it and acted on it. When in response to the unanimously expressed wish of the Pan-American Congress, I said that the time had come to build an isthmian canal, I meant it, and I saw to it that the words were translated into deeds. When, on the other hand, my country had promised that Cuba should be a free and independent republic, I saw that the promise was kept. The Cuban Minister here in this city can tell you all about our relations with Cuba. All I wished of Cuba, as of each one of our Central American neighbors, was that she should be stable and prosperous. All I did, was to try to help her to achieve such stability and prosperity as enabled me to see that every representative of the United States, civil or military, left her during my term of service, so that she could begin her career as a sovereign and independent republic.

Perhaps my conception of the Monroe Doctrine, and of proper international relations between the strong and the weak powers, is best illustrated by what occurred in San Domingo. Revolutionary disturbance had brought San Domingo to such utter anarchy that her government was impotent, and all her creditors unpaid. Finally, I learned that no less than three old-World powers intended to land troops and seize ports, so as to take control of the customhouses of San Domingo. If this had been done, San Domingo as a nation would have disappeared, and those Old-World powers would have been in practical possession of the island to-day. This I did not intend to permit; and I did not permit it. But I intended also to try to secure justice for their citizens, as San Domingo by herself could neither do justice to others nor protect even her own national life. I made an arrangement with San Domingo by which one American civil official, and only one, was sent in to supervise the entire work of the customs. I notified the foreign powers that they must not seize San Domingo's soil. I also notified the people themselves that in any revolution the customhouses were not to be interfered with. The receipts

were thus collected without interference. Forty five per cent was given to San Domingo to run her government, and fifty five per cent allotted to the creditors. As a result, San Domingo received more on the forty five per cent basis than ever she had received in the days when she collected all the revenues for herself. The improper claims of the creditors were rejected. Their just claims were complete<sup>ly</sup> satisfied. Old-World nations were kept off the island, and a measure of peace, prosperity and stability came to the island, such as she had never in her history previously enjoyed. So absolutely is she now mistress of her own affairs, that I am unable to tell you whether the single American official does or does not still do the work of superintending her customhouses. Remember that not a penny went to the United States, that we did not gain a penny from our action except the indirect advantage that followed from having San Domingo prosperous and stable, and preventing any territorial aggrandisement by Old-World powers in the New World.

I do not believe that the United States should meddle in its neighbors affairs, when such meddling could possibly be avoided. While I was president, I declined to interfere in any disputes between any nation of this continent or elsewhere, unless both the nations asked me to aid in settling their differences. We never acted towards any other nation save as our own self-respect demanded, and if the other nation showed respect for itself and for us, we showed it respect in return. These are the principles upon which I believe that the foreign policy of my country should be founded. Specifically, I desire the United States and Chile to treat each the other on a footing of absolute equality, and, of self-respect combined with respect for the rights of the other. The essentials of the Monroe Doctrine are vital to the welfare of all our people in the Western Hemisphere. Chile has achieved a position where she is entitled herself to stand as one of the guarantors of that doctrine.

I hail her advent to this position of assured international power and dignity, and I am glad to be the guest of her hardworking and valiant people to-night.

*Cmt / Mrs. Aarhus  
Please make  
these edits +  
STAFF FRIDAY A.M.*

(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 6, 1992  
Draft One  
CHILE

*MUCHAS GRACIAS DMch*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR CHILEAN  
PRESIDENT AYLWIN  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

Friends of Chile and the United States, ladies and gentlemen. / President Aylwin, I am honored to welcome you to the White House -- an opportunity not only to exchange views, but to return hospitality. //

I remember visiting Santiago with my daughter Doro in December of 1990. I will never forget how warmly you, Dona Leonor, your family, and the Chilean people received us. //

[Anecdote].

Mr. President, you once described Chile's success <sup>*in this way:*</sup> as "the reflection of a mature country that knows what it wants and is able to achieve it by means of the democratic process." / That maturity has been hard-won: Americans shared your pain during Chile's dark years -- when democracy was a fading dream and peace, a faded hope. / But it has been won. Today, your government serves its people -- and serves as a model to others.

The same may be said of your leadership: since taking office, you have revived Chilean democracy. / In 19\_\_, Theodore Roosevelt visited Chile and spoke of a "democratic experiment on a far vaster scale than has ever been attempted anywhere else in

*Exe*  
*A captured and by 98%*  
*A successful*  
*to the GATT will*  
*There have*

*??*  
*1st elections in 20 yrs*  
*not proof of TR's quote*  
*U.S. ...*

the world." / As proof, look to next month. Your people will vote in Chile's first local elections in twenty years.

Look, too, to the economy -- where you have married free people with free markets: a union of economic growth -- growth faster than any other economy in Latin America. / Today, your trade barriers are falling -- your exports rising -- largely because as a member of the Cairnes Group, you led the way against agricultural subsidies and protectionism. //

*(one leading)*  
*REFERENCE*  
*COMMON INTEREST W/*  
*GATT*

I salute these achievements. So did the Inter-American Development Bank -- turning first to Chile to implement its investment policy program. And under ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, Chile was also first to have official debt to the United States forgiven. // The reason is not only that our peoples share what your government called the "community of ideas, of feelings and needs" -- we share this land. We share more than the New World -- we share a responsibility to keep our world new. //

*Give*  
*a reason*  
*why we*  
*should*  
*scrap*  
*debt*

*under Ent for Amer Int.??*

So, last February, we signed an agreement helping Chile create an environmental project fund with money which would have otherwise serviced debt -- though we'll continue to address economic concerns under our 1990 trade and investment framework agreement. // Our challenge now is to build on those beginnings -- and show why Bernardo O'Higgins, the father of ~~your~~ <sup>free</sup> Chilean independence, wrote that "the Americas [give] great hopes to philosophers and patriots alike." //

Today, Chile gives hope to an entire hemisphere. / With market-oriented reforms, you've led by example. In international relations, you're leading through integrity: Other nations count on Chilean leadership in the Organization of American States / in the United Nations / and in the community of nations. Your people did the hard work of freedom in Kuwait, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia. You joined your neighbors to defend democracy -- first at last year's OAS General Assembly, then most recently in Haiti and Venezuela. //

*Why not try to get it to Doro?*  
 There's a poem I learned when I was in Chile. Doro especially likes it. It's called Machado's "Caminante." /

There's one line I remember: "Traveler, there is no road, you make a road in traveling." //

Mr. President, I believe Chile is that traveler. Traveling the road of history -- a history made one step at a time. Chile offers an eloquent rebuke to those enemies of democracy -- *on the far* left or right -- who try to mislead and confuse the people.

Chile shows how liberty can shape not only a nation of great promise -- *but a legacy?* *but a people of promises kept.* // *Cart → (Shape nation of promise / people of prom. kept?)*

Traveling together, Mr. President, we will keep our promises, and make *our* that road to a better tomorrow. / We are honored to welcome *you* to Washington, as our guest, one of this hemisphere's great leaders.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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DATE: MAY 6, 1992

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

CHRISTINA:

ATTACHED IS BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND PROGRAM FOR OUR ENTERTAINERS FOR THE CHILE STATE DINNER NEXT WEDNESDAY, MAY 13. (YO YO MA AND JEFFREY KAHANE)

PLEASE NOTE THEIR EMPHASIS THAT THEY RECEIVE EQUAL BILLING.

MAY WE HAVE A COPY OF YOUR REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT?

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May 5, 1992

Ms. Catherine Fenton  
Social Office  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Cathy:

RE: YO-YO MA and JEFFREY KAHANE

Enclosed please find the program for the performance on May 15, 1992. Also enclosed are biographies of Yo-Yo Ma and Jeffrey Kahane. Please note that Messrs. Ma and Kahane must receive equal billing in the program.

It is understood that you will provide a 9' Steinway concert grand piano in first class condition, properly tuned on the day of the performance. We also ask that you provide a music stand and a page turner. CALLITY OFFICE - JOHN or BOBBY

We would also appreciate knowing what time can be made available for rehearsal.

I will be in touch in the next few days about the artists travel plans. In the meantime, if you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Mary Pat Buerkle  
Manager, Program Department

CC: LF  
CF  
Judy, Bill  
(speechwriting /  
Sandra  
Haley)  
Chile Dinner

Entertainment

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Washington, DC 5/13/92

CC: LF, CF  
Friday Bill  
 Chile DINNER  
 PROGRAM

Y O - Y O M A\*  
 Cello

J E F F R E Y K A H A N E\*  
 Piano

Adagio, from the Toccata in C Major for Organ  
 (Transcribed by Alexander Siloti)

J. S. BACH  
 (1685-1750)

Three Preludes (1926)  
 (Arranged by Jascha Heifetz)

GEORGE GERSHWIN  
 (1898-1937)

Seven Spanish Folk Songs  
 El pino moruno  
 Seguidilla murciana  
 Asturiana  
 Jota  
 Nana  
 Cancion  
 Polo

MANUEL DE FALLA  
 (1876-1946)

---

\*Please note Messrs. Ma and Kahane MUST receive equal billing.

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## YO-YO MA

### Cellist

Yo-Yo Ma gave his first public recital at age 5 and by the time he was 19 was being compared with such masters as Rostropovich and Casals. One of the most sought-after cellists of our time, Mr. Ma has appeared with eminent conductors and orchestras in all the music capitals of the world.

In addition to his extensive work as a soloist, Mr. Ma is deeply committed to the vast chamber music literature. He regularly performs duo recitals with Jeffrey Kahane and with Emanuel Ax, the latter in a partnership that has produced many recordings, most recently, a pairing of the Rachmaninoff and Prokofiev Sonatas. Messrs. Ax and Ma also play in trio performances with Isaac Stern, with whom they gave a concert last May as part of Carnegie Hall's centennial celebration.

An exclusive Sony Classical recording artist, Yo-Yo Ma earned his sixth Grammy award in 1992 for his record of the Brahms Piano Quartets, Op. 25 & 26 with Ax, Stern and Jalna Laredo. His most recent release, "Hush," is a collaboration with vocalist and composer Bobby McFerrin, featuring both classical favorites and original compositions by McFerrin.

Born in Paris in 1955 of Chinese parents, Yo-Yo Ma began his cello studies with his father at age 4. He later studied with Janos Stoltz and, at The Juilliard School, with Leonard Rose. He is graduate of Harvard University, which awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1991.

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## JEFFREY KAHANE

Pianist

Jeffrey Kahane has been heralded for performances that are simultaneously charged with visceral excitement and imbued with a nobility of spirit and poetic insight. His inspired interpretations have made him a popular guest with orchestras such as the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Philadelphia Orchestra and London's Royal Philharmonic, among many others.

Mr. Kahane made his Carnegie Hall debut in 1983 in a special concert tribute to Arthur Rubinstein. He has since been heard as recitalist in New York's concert halls and in the leading music centers throughout the country. A much sought-after collaborator, Mr. Kahane performs regularly with Yo-Yo Ma, violinist Joseph Swensen and the Tokyo and Ridge string quartets. He is heard frequently at summer festivals including Caramoor, Ravinia, Mostly Mozart, the Hollywood Bowl and London's Proms.

Mr. Kahane has recorded music of Schubert, Bach and Bernstein for RCA Victor, Nonesuch and Virgin Classics. A graduate of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music, he was a medal winner at the 1981 Van Cliburn Competition and has been honored with several other prestigious music prizes. He now lives in Rochester, New York, where he is a professor of piano at the Eastman School of Music.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN CEREMONY HONORING WINNERS  
OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION AWARDS

The Rose Garden

3:05 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated, and welcome. On perhaps the most beautiful day we've had here in the Rose Garden, I want to welcome all of you -- single out our Secretary of the Treasury, standing up here with me; Boyden Gray, my Counsel; and, of course, Pat Saiki, the SBA Administrator, who's back from a very good mission, well-executed mission to a very troubling scene in Los Angeles. Pat runs the SBA, and she was with me out there in L.A. as we surveyed what can be done to help the city; and she's moving out on that.

Let me also welcome our new Chief Counsel for Advocacy, Tom Kerester -- right over here. (Applause.) Welcome, sir. And also single out Shirley Peterson, the Commissioner at IRS. Shirley? (Applause.) And next to her is the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, John Robson. Welcome, sir. (Applause.)

It's hard on this Small Business Day not to think of the thousands of small businesspeople who suffered damage out there in Los Angeles. And my commitment to them is this: We are working to get whatever disaster assistance the federal government can provide into their hands in record time. And they have suffered enough. And I'm trying to make sure that frustration with red tape and bureaucratic stumbling doesn't add to their troubles. I know the SBA has been out there in the forefront of this effort working with our task force that we put together under the able leadership of David Kearns and Al DelliBovi.

As you know, today I called the congressional leaders of both parties to the White House. And I'm pleased with the early results of our efforts to forge a bipartisan basis and from which to support the opportunity agenda for America's inner cities. It's a promising start, and we will push ahead.

We're here today because it is Small Business Week. And we have with us from all 50 states and beyond the Small Business Persons of the Year. Welcome to the White House -- America's ultimate mom and pop operation. (Laughter.)

I computed this a while back, and I've spent 50 percent of my adult life in the private sector and 50 percent in government. And I started in small business out there in west Texas. And I thus know something of what you all go through in starting something from scratch, working with it night and day and then hoping that you succeed. Success goes to those who work hard, refuse to give up and learn from their mistakes.

Pat was telling me of the remarkable record of the winners that we have here with us today.

I also know what it's like to cope with regulation and paperwork from the government. And sometimes the bureaucracy makes things needlessly complicated. We're supposed to serve the taxpayers in the same way the business has to serve its customers.

MORE

So making things needlessly complex in government is not only wrong, it is bad for business. And so today, we're going to do something about that. To honor these outstanding businesspeople, we're going to do something outstanding for small businesses across the country.

Every businessman and woman sitting here can tell you how burdensome it is to comply with IRS's payroll tax rules. And if they can't tell you, it's because they're probably paying somebody else to cope with all the headaches for them.

But today the IRS is implementing faster, cheaper and simpler ways for businesses, large and small, to deal with the payroll tax system. This week, the IRS will issue a proposed rule to reduce the complicated deposit schedule.

Large companies will be able to make payroll tax deposits on a fixed day of the week. Moreover, as many as 75 percent of all businesses will make payments just once a month. Now, these simplifications will significantly reduce the cost, confusion and complexity of the payroll tax system.

We're also moving forward to eliminate all the duplicate W-2 forms and other payroll tax information that employers have been required to supply. We're working to set up a single wage reporting system so that separate forms don't have to be sent to the IRS and then the Department of Labor and Social Security, and state and local governments.

In June, an experimental program in Georgia, South Carolina and Florida will let employers make tax payments electronically, without even leaving their office. And no more paper coupons to file, or standing in line at the bank.

Small business learned long ago that computers could do more work in less time for less cost. And it's time we, therefore, bring the government out of the horse-and-buggy era, into the Information Age, and stop having business do the government's paperwork. (Applause.) I felt that would go over reasonably well here.

The IRS may not be -- with all respect, Commissioner -- the most popular agency in town. But, look, they're working hard now not to be the most infuriating agency in town. (Laughter.) And we have a new, able leader and some very able people dedicated to that end.

Last month, the IRS center in Ogden, Utah won our award, the President's Award for Quality, which goes to the government office that provides excellent public service in a cost-effective manner. It is this new kind of attitude in government service that must be brought to every federal bureaucracy -- putting people first, treating taxpayers as customers. (Applause.) Now, there's a man who knows what I'm talking about.

The Small Business winners here know, also, what I'm talking about. James Fleming -- where is he now? Right here, sir. James Fleming started his metal component business in his basement, and he turned it into a \$15-million international business. Jim's designed everything from medical equipment used in hip replacements to an assembly line for Jiffy Pop popcorn. And Richard Stewart -- Mr. Stewart, right here -- turned a part-time hobby selling natural spices into America's largest supplier of bulk herbs, spices, gourmet coffee and tea to the natural foods industry.

And then there's Amelia McCoy. Amelia? Right here, sitting here. Her business began, I'm told, as an act of love, making hair ribbons for her granddaughters. And now the hair bows that her company sells are handmade by 450 people in rural Oklahoma

who work at home and generate \$5 million in sales. And for that, Amelia is this year's Small Business Person of the Year.

Maybe you should stand up so everybody can see you.  
(Applause.)

Since I announced our new moratorium on new regulations in January, our administration has worked to reduce the burden government places on the businesses of this country. And we've also looked at existing regulations, like the ones I spoke of today, to see how we could help the economy by eliminating or by simplifying regulations that impede economic growth for no good reason. And I'm sure Amelia would rather be tying a red ribbon for her granddaughter than spending all day untying red tape. So maybe this will help out.  
(Laughter.)

Every business dollar that goes into complying with some government mandate is a dollar that won't be spent hiring new workers. Two-thirds or more of the new jobs in this country -- two-thirds -- are created by small business. And you are the heart and soul of what makes this economy work and what makes the American dream possible for your employees and for their families.

I will do my level best, working with the officials I've introduced here today and others, to keep government under control and out of your way so you can go out and do what you do best -- create jobs, create goods and services for the American people.

So thank you all for being here. Again, my congratulations to the winner. And may God bless our great country on this beautiful day. Thank you so much. (Applause.)

END

3:09 P.M. EDT