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

OA/ID Number: 13577
Folder ID Number: 13577-008

Folder Title:
Reciprocal Dinner Toast 7/31/91 [OA 6030] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOW ~~TS~~
FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE
SUBJECT: KIEV LUNCHEON TOAST

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, August 1, at 2:30 p.m., you will make a brief luncheon toast at Mariinsky Palace. Remarks are 4 minutes, on cards. You will follow Chairman Kravchuk to the toast lectern.

1. ~~Out of context and to history~~
2. ~~Not realized by referring to Vladimir's "prayer"~~
3. ~~Hilarion's call~~

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
 July 30, 1991 11 a.m.
 KLUNCH.TS Draft Three

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KIEV LUNCHEON
 August 1, 1991**

Good afternoon, and thank you. I'm grateful to Chairman Kravchuk and people of Ukraine for welcoming me so warmly through your "Golden Gate."

We have come to this historic city to meet with republic leaders like Chairman Kravchuk, and we remember Hilarion's call to the people of Kiev: "Behold your city, radiant with majesty... adorned with holy icons and fragrant with thyme.... Beholding all this, rejoice and be of good cheer."

Kiev dazzles with the beauty known to Prince Vladimir 1000 years ago. In a way, he brought not only Christianity but his own perestroika -- transforming this city from a place of war into a beacon of peace and faith.

I've come to Kiev to learn more about the tremendous challenges you face -- to strengthen the ties that link the people of America and the people of Ukraine -- and to signal our strong support for free markets and free government.

~~This visit is the first by an American President to Ukraine~~ ^{is only the second} ~~The people of America & the people of Ukraine~~

~~but~~ our people are by no means strangers. In Baltimore, in Cleveland and Buffalo, and all across America, many ^{hundreds of} thousands of Ukrainian-Americans preserve your proud heritage and history.

The end of the long era of Cold War opens opportunities to forge a new relationship. Through increased trade, expanded exchanges -- through American medical assistance efforts aimed at

I.B. - Nixon in 1972

Check cities of Ukrainian population

of Ukraine

helping you cope with the after-effects of Chernobyl -- the United States and Ukraine can build a future based on shared aspirations and common interests. //

Our visit marks a beginning. We do not come to tell you how to pursue your future. We will not preach or prescribe solutions. We come to offer our expertise, our hopes. We will do our best to build sturdier ties of culture, ideas, and trade with the Soviet Union and all of its Republics.

America stands ready to support the forces of reform in Ukraine -- especially those of economic reform. But in the end, Ukraine will shape its own future. Only you can transform an economy based on the concept of command and control into one based on the laws of supply and demand.

Only you can guarantee the sovereign rights of the individual -- political, religious, and economic.

You will bear responsibility for making your land more prosperous and free -- according to your traditions and culture, your hopes and dreams.

My Ukrainian friends -- our futures hold great promise. In the words of your poet Sosiura [suh-SIEW-ruh]: "Amid the brotherhood of nations, like a dew-filled garden, the Ukraine shines above the centuries. Love her with all your heart and with all your deeds."

May God bless both our lands.

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OFFICE OF
PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE
COVER PAGE

TO: Beth Hinchliffe

FROM: McGroarty

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 7-6
(including cover page)

DATE: 7/31

TIME: 2:30 pm

MESSAGE:

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSMISSION PLEASE CALL.

TELEPHONE NUMBER: Moscow Signal

July 31, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: ALL AMERICAN CITIES

Beth: Please see my line edits on your draft (attached).

Several additional questions: Bracketted passages on middle and bottom of page 1 seem to suggest this award goes to "troubled" cities that make a turnaround. Is that true? If not, best to eliminate generic "rebirth" references for the sake of those model cities -- Dayton, Ohio?!? -- that don't need to be born again. Why not just cut sentence following "...1949." and go right to Wm. Jennings Bryan quote? (It won't hurt to shorten text to 3 pages.)

Of course, it's fine to go on to talk about overcoming crises, etc. in the case of specific cities such as Gadsden, etc.

Hello to all -- and special thanks to research for bombarding us with more faxes than any other office. Obviously, we are the most important.

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(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
July 29, 1991
CITIES Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ALL-AMERICAN CITIES AWARDS
Rose Garden
August 6, 1991

Often I'm asked -- why are you so optimistic about the future of this country? Well, next time the question comes up, I'll just point ^{to any one of} ~~out~~ the 10 cities we're honoring today.

I'll tell the stories of small cities like Gothenburg, Nebraska, population 3,000 -- and of big cities like Baltimore, Maryland, population 3/4 million. Then I'll say -- hear these stories and you'll hear America's heartbeat. You'll hear that it's strong and healthy. Go to these cities and you'll meet real Americans. Then you'll share my unshakable belief in the future of this great land we share -- because there is no finer resource in this world than the American people.

Mayor Michael Harmless of Greencastle, Indiana says it best: "Our people made the difference." (These rebirth of these cities ^{memo} is due to people who replaced pessimism and apathy with optimism and involvement.)

Today we're saluting ^{of 9} the 1991 All-American Cities ^{that} which join a roster of honor of over 400 others chosen since 1949. (They're not necessarily the most crime-free communities in the nation, nor the most economically stable, nor even the most attractive. They are communities where people have shown the courage to admit their problems -- and have shown the determination to address them.) They are communities which have recognized the truth of what William Jennings Bryant said nearly 100 years ago: "Destiny

^{See memo}

is not a matter of chance -- it is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for -- it is a thing to be achieved."

These communities have lessons to teach us all. They do not ~~wait for government to take the initiative.~~ rely just on the government. They recognize that government can't be held ~~responsible for solving~~ ^{solve} all problems -- and they realize ~~they are empowered to~~ ^{communities can} claim and shape their own destinies.

These communities tell us stories of partnership. Across this country, citizens, government, business and volunteer groups are cooperating to confront community issues -- together.

These communities recognize our responsibilities of citizenship -- as Teddy Roosevelt admonished Americans to "be actors, not merely critics." The central theme of all these stories is the unlimited power and potential of volunteerism.

And these communities show us the proudest, most basic strength of the American character -- neighbor helping neighbor. That's been the heart of our nation for 200 years.

In the face of crises, many of these cities sought to hold themselves together by re-introducing a sense of community as family. Some focused on the youth, like Gadsden, Alabama's motivational Quest for Excellence; or Baltimore's mentoring program called RAISE. To fight violence and crime, Austin, ^{TEXAS} TX inaugurated Youth At Risk; and Winchester-Frederick County, ^{VIRGINIA} VA set up a teen center to ~~promote activities in~~ ^{Foster} a drug-free environment. ~~Albany New York took aim against the drug epidemic.~~ ^{Seeing drugs as a threat to Albany NY's existence,}

Community groups, businesses and social service agencies came up with "The Albany Plan" -- an innovative, comprehensive program

for prevention, education, enforcement and treatment.

Some communities launched an urban renaissance. ^{In New Jersey,} Newark, ~~NJ~~ residents ^{of Newark} devised plans for economic growth focusing on downtown revitalization and grassroots neighborhood restoration. Citizens in Greensboro, ^{North Carolina} ~~NC~~ created a public-private partnership called VISIONS to reinvigorate its downtown and plan for its future.

A few communities ^{fought battles for} addressed their very survival. Greencastle Indiana lost 40% of its jobs when a major national corporation ^{moved out,} left. Faced with this devastation, the residents introduced ^a creative economic development ^{initiative to} ~~methods~~ which attracted new industries -- and maintained the city's spirit and morale. Similarly, with Gothenburg, Nebraska's future at stake after the agricultural depression, volunteers began the Gothenburg Improvement Company. Inspired by the slogan "Vision is the art of seeing things invisible" -- they have recruited new jobs for residents, and are making their vision a reality.

Three-time winner Dayton, Ohio took a broad view, addressing the critical issues of protecting water, battling drugs and providing affordable housing. Citizens, the private sector and city government ^{joined forces} mobilized -- showing how diverse segments of a large city can come together to make a difference.

That's the legacy of all these towns -- they show that the key to success lies in everyone's joining forces. As Mayor Rick Blase of Gothenburg says: "Any problem you face is unsurmountable if faced alone." But together -- Americans can do anything.

There's a centuries-old inscription on a church in Sussex,

England which summarizes what these communities have done: "A vision without a task is but a dream. A task without a vision is drudgery. [But] a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

Congratulations to all of you for giving us hope -- and for showing us the way. *Congratulations -- and God Bless the United States of America.* ~~God bless all your cities, and this great land we share.~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TONY SNOW TS

SUBJECT: REMARKS AT BABI YAR

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, August 1, at 5:15 p.m., you will visit the Holocaust Memorial at Babi Yar, and make brief remarks (6 minutes, on cards). You depart the Soviet Union immediately after this ceremony.

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft Two
July 30, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(5:15 p.m.)

(Introductory acknowledgments.)

We come to Babi Yar to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness.

At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life assails us: the shadows of past evil; the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if whispering warnings and cautions; telling tales of victims and villains; cowards and heroes.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity, and that any nation that tries to repudiate history -- tries to ignore the actors and events that shaped it -- only repudiates itself.

For many years, the tragedy of Babi Yar went unacknowledged, *but no more,*
~~That has changed.~~ You soon will place a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- of anyone who dared question the Nazi madman's fantasies.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here we think about people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists;

athletes or artists; mothers, fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind.

The statue here testifies to an important truth. Just as bricks and stones shape great monuments, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trust of children, the blessings of life and learning -- these things give life meaning; they give society its character; they give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here, at Babi Yar, Nazis set out to destroy families and faiths -- set out to destroy the soul of a nation.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to undergo a ritual of humiliation and death. Victims stopped first to empty their pockets, and place their valuables in heaps on the ground. They moved forward to another place, where they had to remove their clothing, which Nazis folded in neat piles -- booty for the Fuehrer.

Then, the shivering Jews moved to the edge of the ravine, where marksmen murdered their prey, letting the bodies tumble into the long, deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers.

Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their way into the hearts of townspeople -- and the pages of history.

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit -- and many more people had committed suicide rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rite. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

Miraculously, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh [ye-LAY-nuh ye-FEEM-uv-nuh bor-oh-DYAHN-skee KNISH] leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding the child with her body. In the dead silent night, the two worked their way through the piled-up corpses and slipped past some would-be executioners.

Naked, scared, mother and daughter wriggled through ravines, stumbled over roots, waded through a gamut of waving branches. Eventually they found freedom -- and lived to tell of Babi Yar.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." And Mikhail Gorbachev has promoted truth in history -- "not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations."

Today we stand at Babi Yar, and wrestle with awful truth. We marvel at the incredible extremes of human behavior. We make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition.

We vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty, rather than to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this place. We will remember that evil flourishes when good men and women refuse to defend virtue.

Let me quote the poet Yevgenni Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place, and of its history. He wrote:

"On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees
Like judges loom and threaten...
All screams in silence; I take off my cap
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.
And I too have become a soundless cry
Over the thousands that lie buried here.
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.
None of me will forget."

None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil. The Nazis fell when people opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. But it also should inspire us to spare future generations from the suffering, the evil, the unspeakable fate that claimed nearly 100,000 souls here -- at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOWS
FROM: MARY KATE GRANT
SUBJECT: KIEV ARRIVAL STATEMENT

I. SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

opened a Consulate General in this ^{great} city -- ^{permanent} ~~an everlasting~~ ^{and American presence to ensure} ~~American~~ ^{friendship} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~Ukraine.~~ ^{Ukraine.}

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

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

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

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

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

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

and Catholic churches have

1.

Now, for the first time since the Russian Revolution, the patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has returned to Kiev ~~and~~ ^{with the freedom to practice religion,} and a spiritual renewal has begun. A new day, in some ways, has arrived already. ^{among all the religious groups in Ukraine — Catholics, Jews, Orthodox and others.}

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

#

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

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

Thank you chairman Kravchuk [introductory acknowledgments].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*what
is
it*
We ~~will~~ ^{CAN} not tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between republics -- or between republics and the center. That is your business, not ours.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you for inviting me here today.

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

God bless you.

#

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP

RECEIVED

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 5605

91 JUL 25 1954

ACTION OFFICER: HEWETT

DUE: 26 Jul / 9:00 am

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Brady | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo for Sittmann |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo <u>SCOWCROFT</u> | to <u>SNOW w/CC: BRADY</u> |

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 3912

Concur	FYI		Concur	FYI		Concur	FYI	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Barth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hewett	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pilling
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<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dyke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Menan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Welch
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Frasure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Merchant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whitley
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Needles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wilson
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gordon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	O'Leary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Working
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gompert	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Paal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Haass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pacelli	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hayden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pavitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

- INFORMATION Sittmann Hill Exec Sec Desk
 Scowcroft (advance) Gates (advance) Secretariat

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By NEP

Return to Secretariat
370 OEOB

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE: MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT A. SNOW

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

William F. Sittmann
Executive Director

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

91 JUL 25 PM 3:45

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

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

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

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

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

→ **Insert A**

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

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

Insert B

2

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

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

#

INSERT A

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

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

INSERT B

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

Bessmertnykh of republic leaders like the three with us tonight

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

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

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