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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: 13577-014

Folder Title:
Babi Yar Monument. 8/2/91[OA 6030]

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 JUL 29 12:31
July 29, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

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

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: The Monument at Babi Yar

Pursuant to Phillip Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no objection to the draft presidential remarks, subject to the comment indicated on page 3 of the attached text.

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

91 JUL 25 PM 6:54

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar - - a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked in the cold, soldiers quickly folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuhrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, ~~party members~~ and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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."

genocide is
an effort to
exterminate
a racial or
ethnic
group;
communists
don't
qualify as
such a
group

Today we stand at Babi Yar, and marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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."

No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/30/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KIEV LUNCHEON TOAST

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

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.

(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 -- but our people are by no means strangers. In Baltimore, in Cleveland and Buffalo, and all across America, many 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

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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Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)**

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked in the cold, soldiers quickly folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuhrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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 marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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

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No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/26/91

91 JUL 29 A 8:31
ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

10:00 a.m. Monday 07/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
(07/25 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<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 <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 07/29, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

91 JUL 26 PM 6:54

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked in the cold, soldiers quickly folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuhrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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 marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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

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None of me will forget."

No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/30/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TONY SNOW 77

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. 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.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/30/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KIEV ARRIVAL STATEMENT

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: TONY SNOW⁵
FROM: MARY KATE GRANT
SUBJECT: KIEV ARRIVAL STATEMENT

I. SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

91 JUL 26 PM 5:43

McGroarty/Dooley
July 26, 1991
5:45 pm
[MOSCOW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.
JULY 30, 1991
3:00 P.M.

[Introductory acknowledgements.]

It is a privilege to meet with you at this critical moment in the history of your nation -- at this time of great hope for all the world. //

For four long decades, our two nations stood locked in conflict, as the Cold War cast its shadow across an armed and uneasy peace. This Summit marks a new beginning: the prospect that we can put an end to a long era as adversaries, write a new chapter in the history of our two nations -- forge a new partnership and a sturdy peace. //

We have reason to hope. One by one, the cruel realities of the Cold War flicker and fade -- and a new world of opportunities calls us forward. In Europe -- for four long decades the fault-line of East-West conflict -- the nations of the East, like their neighbors in the West, find a common home in democracy. Far beyond the confines of this continent -- from Afghanistan to the horn of Africa, from Angola to Central America -- regional conflicts no longer threaten to become flashpoints for superpower confrontation. Worldwide, the risk of global war stands lower now than at any point in the post-war era. //

The challenge we face at this summit -- the challenge you face as present and future leaders of this great nation -- lies in this: together, our two nations must overcome a half-century of mistrust to seize this moment and build a lasting peace. //

Already, we've made progress. The easing of tensions between our nations has created new opportunities for **arms control**. Last fall, in Paris, we agreed on deep reductions in **conventional forces** stationed in Europe. Tomorrow, in the Kremlin, President Gorbachev and I will sign the historic **START Treaty** that will cut our strategic arsenals by a full one-third.

//

Lower tensions have also made it possible for our two nations to **normalize economic relations**. / In May, the Supreme Soviet removed the key impediment to increased trade: Soviet restrictions on free emigration. The new Soviet emigration law stands as a major step forward -- a **victory for all who value human rights**. // As a consequence of this progress, I am pleased to announce that when I return to Washington, I will submit to Congress the **U.S.-Soviet Trade Agreement** we signed one year ago. In addition, I will urge the Congress to **remove restrictions that impede trade** -- and grant the Soviet Union **Most Favored Nation status**. //

Beyond two-way trade, the U.S. is working to open doors to Soviet entry into the global economy. // For more than forty years, the Soviet Union stood apart from the world market -- stood aside as free market forces sparked an **era of unprecedented**

prosperity across the West. / The results of this self-imposed isolation from the world economy proved disastrous. At this month's London Summit, President Gorbachev spoke of the Soviet Union's interest in becoming fully integrated into the world economy. //

The Soviet Union should become a full partner. That's why the U.S. supports observer status in the GATT -- and, when it has completed the necessary reforms, full membership. That's why I proposed last December that the USSR should enter a "special association" with the IMF and the World Bank -- and why I pushed that proposal with my summit partners in London. These measures will make available to the Soviet Union assistance and expertise that can ease the difficult transition to a market economy. //

But the crowning proof that we are overcoming the old Cold War animosities remains our cooperation in the Persian Gulf. In the depths of the Cold War era, Iraq's aggression against its tiny neighbor might well have brought our two nations -- and even the entire world -- to the brink of conflict. If Saddam Hussein thought he could exploit our differences to his own advantage -- he was dead wrong. At every key point in the crisis, the U.S. and USSR worked together to send a strong and steady signal to Saddam that his aggression would not stand. //

Today, our cooperation in the Gulf holds out hope that we can work together towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. [[MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE UPDATE??]] //

In every aspect of our relations -- military, political, economic -- we see positive signs of a new partnership. / But for all the progress we've made, obstacles remain. Our ability to overcome them will be a key test of the strength of our new relationship. //

In many cases, we face conflicts and quarrels rooted in the world war fought fifty years ago, frozen in place by the long Cold War that followed: Disputes like the one that stands between the Soviets and Japan on the return of the Northern Territories. But surely, none looms larger today than the sad half-century of suffering in the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

For fifty years, the Baltic peoples refused to accept their fate or surrender their quest for freedom. For fifty years, their pleas fell on deaf ears. Today, hope in the Baltics rests with a new generation of Soviet leaders -- a generation that has fearlessly thrown open once-forbidden doors, and shined a bright light into some of the darkest corners of the Stalin era. Let this new generation be the one to free the Baltics. //

I call on both parties -- the central government and the Baltic leaders -- to resume negotiations in good faith. No one can ignore the complexities involved in negotiating a new relationship -- or the yearnings of a people to be free. Above all, we seek a clear and unqualified commitment to peaceful change. We must not see the positive progress we have made these

past two years threatened and thrown in doubt by further violence in the Baltics. //

A second obstacle lies close to home for the U.S. -- ninety miles off the Florida coast, in Cuba. In Europe, the Cold War may be over, but the news hasn't yet reached the Caribbean. Despite the fact that Soviet aid keeps Castro afloat, Cuba's leader has nothing but contempt for glasnost and perestroika. // Castro stands isolated and alone -- a lone dictator out of step with the democratic tide sweeping his hemisphere. I call on the Soviet leadership to reconsider whether such costly support for the Castro regime serves their aims and interests. //

Finally, I call on the Soviet leadership to make further cuts in Soviet military spending. In spite of the strains on the Soviet economy, military spending continues to consume 15 to 17% of Soviet GDP. While the Soviet consumer confronts long lines and empty shelves, the Soviet military-industrial complex continues to crank out 1300 tanks a year, 4000 armored vehicles, and a new ICBM every three days. // Military spending of this magnitude weighs down the Soviet economy -- and threatens international security. Now that the Cold War is over, the time has come to put the Soviet economy on a peace-time footing. //

But the key challenge -- the single most important factor in forging a new partnership between our nations -- remains the outcome of the experiment now reshaping Soviet society. The future of U.S.-Soviet relations is tied to the future of Soviet reform. //

No visitor to this country can fail to see the signs of change. Three times in three years as Vice President, I came to Moscow. That third visit, I met with a new leader, Mikhail Gorbachev -- the man who put these monumental changes in motion.

//

Consider the Soviet Union we see today. Gone are the days when a small cadre hidden behind the high Kremlin walls worked the levers of power. Gone is the rubber-stamp legislature -- the one-party monopoly, enforcing one point of view. //

In its place we see unmistakable signs of the new Soviet Union. Dissidents who once languished in internal exile now serve as Deputies in the People's Congress. Samizdat has given way to streetcorner critics. / **A new Soviet Revolution has begun:** a revolution marked by the emergence of **many voices** -- in government and outside, / in the proliferation of political parties, / **here in Moscow**, and across the vast reaches of this great land, **in every Republic.**

The forces of reaction and resistance still retain great power. But each day brings **new alliances** -- a **new manifesto** for change -- a **new call to action**. Some ask: amid this shifting scene, what is our policy toward all these groups, who and what do we support? My answer is clear and simple: **America stands with the forces of freedom and reform** -- wherever they are found.

My country stands ready to assist in this new Soviet revolution. In the economic sphere, the **transformation must come from within**. A shortage of foreign capital is not what caused

the collapse of the Soviet economy -- nor can your economic ills be cured by an infusion of cash. // Only through real reform can the Soviet Union abolish the counter-productive command economy -- only through real reform can the Soviet Union unleash the ingenuity, the energy and the entrepreneurial instincts of its people. //

America stands ready to help -- ready to provide expertise and advice that can advance real reform. To this end, I will ask Congress for \$20 million dollars to form a Technical Assistance Fund, to encourage economic reform at the federal level and in the republics. // We will also seek the support of our partners in the G-7 for the creation of an Enterprise Fund -- a pool of capital to fuel the dreams of emerging Soviet entrepreneurs. //

As market reform moves forward, our assistance can take new forms. Together with our friends in the European Community, the U.S. will explore the possibilities of creating a Stabilization Fund to ease the transition from a system based on command and control to one based on supply and demand. ///

But our new partnership must go far beyond the halls of government in Washington and Moscow. It must bring together the businessman from the American Midwest and his partner in the Ukraine. It must bridge the thousands of miles between small town America and Soviet cities. It means expanded exchanges of scientists and scholars, artists and engineers. And from the great cities of Moscow and Petersburg, from the plains of Central Asia and the villages of Siberia to the port of Vladivostok and

*John,
I know
that
this
has
new
language.*

all points in between -- it means students coming to study in American schools and live with American families. It means thousands more American students coming to the Soviet Union, to explore your past and experience first-hand the future you are working to create. //

In that same spirit, I am pleased to announce today that in [month], we will send a Peace Corps mission to the USSR -- volunteers specializing in agriculture and environment -- to live and work in this country, to contribute to the transformation taking place here. //

[[CONCL>>>> Let Moscow mark a new beginning for our two nations....]]

Once again, thank you for your warm welcome -- and may God bless the people of the Soviet Union.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 30, 1991

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

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

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

REMARKS:

THE ATTACHED HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 JUL 28 PM 12:58

July 27, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*

SUBJECT: RECIPROCAL DINNER TOAST AT SPASO HOUSE

On Wednesday, July 31st you will deliver the reciprocal dinner toast at Spaso House in Moscow. Your remarks are brief (four minutes, cards). Acknowledged are President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbaev, President Ter-Petrozian, and Mayor Popov. Your speech focuses on Soviet-American cooperation; American respect for and curiosity about the Soviets; and our hope for a peaceful and prosperous future relationship.

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.TOA Draft three
July 27, 1991

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

President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbaev [naw-zer-BYE-ev], President Ter-Petrozian; Mayor Popov, distinguished guests, welcome to Spaso House. I am delighted to have you to our American home in Moscow -- in the hope of repaying, in at least some small measure, the warmth and hospitality shown to us by the Soviet people since our arrival.

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

Our new relationship will be built not just by politicians and bureaucrats in Washington and Moscow, but in a more profound way by our peoples -- in Seattle and Sverdlovsk; Houston and Stavropol -- by Americans in California's Silicon Valley and Russians in your great universities and scientific institutes.

Americans look upon the Soviet Union with profound curiosity and hope; they want to work with all levels of Soviet society. We all seek greater understanding in a larger society -- among businessmen, students, artists, scientists -- people engaged in every imaginable profession and endeavor.

More and more, our people 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, the promise of freedom, and the consent of the governed.

Those of us who have had the privilege of visiting you this week look upon your society with a sense of respectful awe. You have wrought incredible transformations in just a few years. We are honored to host such a distinguished group of guests -- men and women who will lead the Soviet Union to a new era of democracy, a new hope of a better life for all.

God has blessed our two nations with abundant resources --- and infinite reserves of ingenuity, talent and dedication. Together, we can build peace -- and with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 30, 1991

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MOSCOW STATE DINNER TOAST JULY 30, 1991

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

REMARKS:

THE ATTACHED HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1991

91 JUL 28 PM 12:57

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
 TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE

SUBJECT: MOSCOW STATE DINNER TOAST

On Tuesday, July 30, you will be attending the State Dinner in Moscow. The enclosed remarks (4 minutes, cards) are for your toast at the dinner. They restate a number of Summit themes: the strengthening U.S.-Soviet relationship; the accomplishment of the START treaty; encouragement of the Soviet move towards democratization and market reforms; and the shared spirit of cooperation toward world peace.

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
July 28, 1991 1 p.m.
MTOAST.TS Draft Three

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MOSCOW STATE DINNER TOAST
July 30, 1991**

Thank you Mr. President, Mrs. Gorbachev, and all the Soviet people who have welcomed Barbara and me so warmly to this great city and this great country in this historic time. [joke] [[[try to redo the Schwarzenegger joke]]]

I want to pay a special tribute to our host and friend -- a man my country greatly admires. And a man I greatly admire. When he came to Washington last year I took him to our weekend home, Camp David. While there, we played horseshoes -- and on his very first toss, he made a ringer! I gave him that horseshoe as a symbol of good luck. But -- as with everything he's accomplished -- I think his success was due more to his unique mixture of determination, courage and skill.

Dramatic changes have reshaped our world since we first met six years ago, Mr. President. The relationship between our nations has moved from confrontation to friendship. Our growing ties remind me of an old proverb from your land: "There's no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship." Our nations' friendship, built on mutual respect and personal trust, has changed the world.

For almost a decade, our START negotiators sought to achieve real and stabilizing reductions in our strategic arsenals. Tomorrow, we will sign a START agreement -- a treaty that bolsters the promise of peace and advances the security of both

our nations -- the first agreement ever to reduce the number of strategic nuclear arms. START and CFE both testify to our new spirit of cooperation -- and to its potential for building world peace. [[Once we have signed START, we must reflect on where we go next, rather than plunge into new negotiations.]]

But arms control is only one element of our new relationship. We will spend much of our two days together discussing the issues that will shape our future -- democracy, free markets, prosperity, and peace.

A peaceful revolution has unfolded in the Soviet Union, and we wholeheartedly support your progress towards building a rule of law, democratic institutions, and a system of free enterprise.

In economics, we stand ready to help you complete liberal reforms -- through bilateral ties and improved trade relations. Today, we spoke of ways to follow up on President Gorbachev's successful visit to London. The United States will support your integration into the global economy -- something that will depend on your democratic and market reforms.

Internationally, our growing partnership as peacemakers and peacekeepers continues to deepen. In the past year we have worked together to deter aggression and to encourage nations to resolve their differences peacefully.

Now, our common efforts may help bring peace to the Middle East by getting factions there to conduct serious talks. This region, where dangerous confrontations once divided our nations, now may help us consolidate our partnership as peacemakers.

Our people will face tough challenges in the days ahead. It's an ancient custom in your land that when you prepare for a long journey you sit for a moment of quiet reflection. Perhaps that is what we need to do now, at least in the silence of our hearts: for individually and together, we face a long, exciting journey of change.

We can gain strength from the words of Anton Chekhov, who once wrote of our responsibility to our world: "Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he has been given."

Let us add to the relationship we have developed in recent years. Let us build a better future.

As we begin, I echo your traditional toast: "To the future of our countries!"

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 30, 1991

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BREAKFAST WITH SOVIET BUSINESSMEN

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

REMARKS:

THE ATTACHED HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 JUL 28 PM 12:59

July 28, 1991

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*

SUBJECT: BREAKFAST WITH MOSCOW BUSINESS LEADERS

SUMMARY

Attached for your review are draft remarks (10 minutes/speechcards) for the breakfast meeting with about a hundred Moscow businessmen on Wednesday, July 31 at 8:25 a.m.

You discuss their role in building a new, more democratic Soviet Union -- one of free markets and free people. Although they are risktakers and entrepreneurs, you assure them that they are not "speculators" and "exploiters."

Grant / Grossman
A:MOSCOW.BUS Draft three
July 28, 1991

**REMARKS: BREAKFAST WITH SOVIET BUSINESSMEN
MOSCOW
WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1991
8:25 A.M.**

[Acknowledgements]

Good morning. I've been looking forward to this meeting. I was a businessman myself once, in the oil drilling equipment business. The risks were high, but I enjoyed it. As entrepreneurs, businessmen, and risk-takers, you hold the key to the future prosperity of the Soviet Union. You possess the power to create a better life for yourselves and your countrymen. There is an old Russian proverb: "The one who leads makes a bridge for the others." **Businessmen such as yourselves are building that bridge ... to a new and prosperous Soviet Union.**

All around the world, we see that free society rests upon the twin pillars of political and economic liberty. For only when free markets and free people work together, can we build a better life for all people.

You understand that **opportunity** arises when people act freely, relying on their own talents. Call it what you want: ingenuity, resourcefulness, a "can-do" attitude. But it all comes down to this: **people must be free -- to work, to save, to own their own home, to take risks, to invest in each other, to control their own lives.** No conclave of government experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market.

that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Government does have a legitimate role -- enforcing contracts, protecting property rights, and providing the boundaries of acceptable business behavior. Government must establish rules for fair play -- a "level playing field" -- that builds trust and stability. Once established in the Soviet Union, the rule of law will further attract foreign know-how and investment -- because smart businessmen will only go where it's good for business.

[The United States stands ready to help. We're going beyond loans and subsidies: we're offering our best expertise. We agreed last year to Soviet observership in GATT, to help establish normal relations with the trading nations of the world. And to accelerate market reforms and your integration into the global economy, we've proposed a Special Associate Status for the Soviet Union in the IMF and the World Bank.

When I return to Washington, I'll be submitting the U.S.-Soviet Trade Agreement to Congress for approval, which will generate trade between our countries; I'll also ask that certain restrictions be lifted so that American businesses can better compete for export sales here. We're also negotiating bilateral tax and investment treaties -- I'd like to see them completed by year's end -- to create a better investment climate between us, to expand our economic partnership as much as possible. We want

to do everything to ensure that our economic relationship expands as quickly as your reforms permit.]

Freedom brings the opportunity to succeed, and the risk of failure. The government can act as referee, but it cannot guarantee success. Free markets are simply unpredictable. They are based on the impulsive energy of man's imagination and creativity. Sure, there are risks -- I know. I took risks when I set up my own drilling equipment firm in Texas. But there are also rewards for good ideas that actually work. Who would have predicted that fifteen years ago, a group of college students working in a garage would redefine the computer industry in America? Or that a garbageman from Philadelphia thirty years ago would today be the head of a \$6 billion waste management firm in the United States? When opportunity is at work, you can be a mechanic or a millionaire -- and in my country, some mechanics are millionaires.

Pursuing one's destiny means building a better life. Russian values and traditions are compatible with free enterprise -- and should be preserved. Look at the members of the G-7 -- each an industrialized democracy -- each with its own values and traditions. The culture and climate of American business may be different than other places, but the power of the idea is universal. It has been applied in thousands of ways by millions of people all over the world. Those who succeed here should not be insulted and labeled as "speculators" and "exploiters" --

because they are not. **They are the people who will fill the shelves in your stores.**

We understand now why socialism's attempt to create the "New Soviet Man" didn't work -- because human nature cannot be destroyed and created anew. We seek instead to build upon the **strengths** of human nature, to allow men and women to control their own destinies in whatever way works best for them.

This notion of free markets and free people, opportunity for all, this joint venture between political and economic liberty -- **this is the spirit of democratic capitalism.** Everywhere, we hear the voices of men and women yearning for freedom ... for the chance to control their own destiny ... for a stronger link between effort and reward. Some call it the American Dream -- but really, it is a universal dream. And it is a dream that the Soviet people are now striving to make real for themselves.

Each of you can bring that dream alive. The creation of small- and medium-sized businesses means meeting payrolls, hiring good men and women, producing goods and services that are most needed by consumers, and improving technologies and methods to stay competitive. Free market principles don't just mean that one or two people will go out and get rich quick. It's much more than that. As President Woodrow Wilson said, "Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him." For you and your employees, it means the **dignity and self-respect** that come with a job. It means making a difference in your

community. And as more and more business opportunities evolve -
- it means bringing back hope to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your task will be difficult, but perhaps I can help with some advice. The story goes that a young man became the manager of a company. His predecessor handed him three envelopes, and said that if he was ever in trouble, to open the envelopes. So one day, when the business wasn't going so well, the man decided it was time to open envelope #1. The message inside read: "Blame your predecessor." So he did, and things improved for a while, but then got worse. He decided to open envelope #2. It read: "Blame the accounting department." So he did. But sales continued to go downhill. Finally, with much hesitation, he went for envelope #3. /// It said: "Prepare three envelopes."

The point of the story is that there are no right or wrong answers. I can't tell you in three envelopes how to transform this economy from command and control to buy and sell. You must find what works best for each of you -- and for your customers. You must make the dreams of your own people -- in whatever way you can -- come alive for them. **You must define your own brand of democratic capitalism -- one that is consistent with Russian culture and values.**

Remember the words of Tolstoy: "The strongest of all warriors are these two -- Time and Patience." Bringing free markets to life will take time and patience. But it can be done. Because everyone in this room today possesses something that cannot be bought or sold: **you possess the power of an idea.** I

salute you for your vision and your drive. It's been a pleasure
to meet you. God bless you and thank you.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/26/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

10:00 a.m. Monday 07/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
(07/25 draft one)

	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"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 07/29, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: No comment.

Thanks,

Elizabeth Janting
Elizabeth Janting

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9 JUL 29 12:34
July 29, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: The Monument at Babi Yar

As requested, we have reviewed and concur with the attached draft Presidential remarks at the Monument at Babi Yar.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached memorandum to Tony Snow.

Attachment

c: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/26/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. Monday 07/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
(07/25 draft one)

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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"/>
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CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 07/29, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

91 JUL 26 PM 6:54

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked in the cold, soldiers quickly folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuhrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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 marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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."

No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/26/91

91 JUL 29 P2:30

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. Monday 07/2

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
(07/25 draft one)

	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"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 07/29, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

OK DS

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

91 JUL 26 PM 6:54

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked in the cold, soldiers quickly folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuhrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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 marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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."

No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/26/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 91 JUL 29 10:00 a.m. Monday 07/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
(07/25 draft one)

	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"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 07/29, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: No comment

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

91 JUL 26 PM 6:54

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today 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 only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; mothers and fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the fantasies of a Nazi madman.

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness 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.

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That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their

way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing certain, humiliating slaughter. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. In the dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up bodies. She slipped past her would-be executioners as they argued about dividing up victims' booty. 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.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter, at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of life at the dawning of what later would be called the holocaust.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "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 marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never 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 recall the evils that befall those who surrender their senses to blind passions and senseless ambitions.

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."

No, none of me will forget. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now urge us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

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