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November 20, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: ELIZABETH CLARK

RE: AS-DELIVERED TEXTS OF YOUR SPEECHES

Attached is an updated list of your speeches that includes five additional as-delivered texts. I have also submitted a list to Nancy in case you wish to order more copies from Publications.

## SPEECHES BY TONY SNOW

3/17/91 SUMTER TROOP WELCOME  
**#5181**

3/21/91 PRESS STATEMENT - CABINET ROOM  
**#5230**

4/09/91 AMERICAN BUSINESS CONFERENCE  
**#5328**

4/11/91 CHIEF EXECUTIVES ORGANIZATION  
(not transcribed)

4/11/91 EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DEPARTURE  
**#5343**

5/04/91 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
**#5543**

5/12/91 HAMPTON UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT  
**#5588**

5/24/91 DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE EXPORTS LUNCH  
**#5706**

6/03/91 NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS ADD.  
**#5754**

6/11/91 PBS TELECONFERENCE  
**#5812**

6/17/91 FUNDRAISER FOR SENATOR BOB KASTEN  
**#5862**

6/21/91 RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
**#5900**

6/27/91 ENTERPRISE FOR THE AMERICAS  
**#5942**

7/09/91 AMERICAN DEFENSE PREP. ASSOCIATION  
**#6015**

7/18/91 GREEK PARLIAMENT  
**#6083**

7/19/91 GREEK-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
**#6097**

7/20/91 STATE DINNER TOAST/ANKARA, TURKEY  
**#6105**

8/01/91 MONUMENT AT BABI YAR  
**#6247**

8/01/91 UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT  
**#6245**

9/11/91 STAN SCOTT TRIBUTE  
**#6472**

9/18/91 GRAND CANYON  
**#6543**

9/23/91 UNITED NATIONS  
**#6578**

10/01/91 CHICAGO BULLS  
**#6662**

10/01/91 OLYMPIC DINNER  
**#6663**

10/10/91 BILL OF RIGHTS OP-ED  
(not transcribed)

10/17/91 ASSOCIATED PRESS MANAGING EDITORS TELECONFERENCE  
**#6801**

10/24/91 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
**#6851**

11/12/91 ASIA SOCIETY ANNUAL DINNER  
(waiting for text number assignment)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 27, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT CEREMONY FOR THE 1ST ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE AMERICAS INITIATIVE

The Rose Garden

4:05 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. Welcome, distinguished members of Congress and both Houses. Let me salute our Secretary of the Treasury and another Cabinet member, Ambassador Carla Hills. Minister Foxley of Chile, Minister DeFranco of Nicaragua, Minister Alfaro of Panama. I could not be more pleased to have you all join me up here today. And look at this audience, sweating out there. (Laughter.) Change that -- perspiring out there.

Bob Mosbacher is here, our Secretary of Commerce; and Ed Madigan, General Scowcroft, Bill Reilly, Mike Boskin, Larry Eagleburger -- and I'm going to get in trouble -- Mr. Robson and many, many more. Fred Zeder and John Macomber of the Ex-Im, Ron Roskens of AID. You have our top people here and it's very symbolic and important that they be here. I think that this shows vividly our commitment to building a better and more prosperous hemisphere.

We're also pleased to have with us Mr. Enrique Iglesias of the Inter-American Development Bank. It seems like he just left. He was just here the other day, and we welcome him back. The Ambassadors from Latin America and some of the Caribbean countries, from the OAS, the Secretary General here, we salute you, sir; and many members of the diplomatic corps. To everyone, I would say my warmest greetings to you on this historic day. Feel free to take your coats off. If it weren't for these cameras, I'd take mine off. (Laughter.)

I'm just delighted, again, that you're all here. And we've come here today to celebrate the first anniversary of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. As you know, this initiative wasn't a unilateral thing, it grew out of talks between many of us here today.

I heard many of your concerns about building a prosperous hemisphere, of throwing off the deadening weight of debt and economic stagnation, and building strong ties of idealism and self-interest.

With the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, we vowed to encourage free trade, stimulate investment and reduce the debt burden that overwhelms so many of our neighbors and our colleagues.

We've made great progress. In just one year we've signed eight bilateral framework agreements for trade and investment: with Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Peru and Venezuela. Make that 10 agreements; because today Carla Hills will sign bilateral framework agreements with Minister DeFranco of Nicaragua and Minister Alfaro of Panama. We also are negotiating with Guatemala and the 13-nation, English-speaking Caribbean community.

Last week, right here, Ambassador Hills also joined representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay in signing what we call The Rose Garden Agreement, the first regional framework accord under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. Carla has

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been very busy, and I'm glad to see her bringing a lot of these things to fruition. I congratulate her and Dave Mulford and so many others who have worked tirelessly on these projects.

Ambassador Hills and her counterparts will pull down tariff and nontariff barriers, protect patents and intellectual property, strengthen investment environments and make it possible for firms to repatriate their profits. In short, we will build a solid foundation for economic cooperation and prosperity.

We've also begun making our hemisphere more hospitable to investment. The Inter-American Development Bank has approved its first investment sector loan. It's \$150 million to Chile. Minister Foxley and President Iglesias completed arrangements for this loan today, I am told.

President Iglesias, I want to thank you, sir, and congratulate everyone at the IDB for this important step. And we should congratulate Chile for the impressive free-market reforms that it has undertaken. Through these loans, the IDB will help Latin America and the Caribbean countries compete for capital and embrace reforms that foster economic growth.

For years the world experimented with the fantasy that experts could manage economies. The utter failure of the communism system demonstrated that expert cadres can no more manage growth than they can manage the weather or anything else. Free markets reward people who have ideas, not just those who have connections. They allow poor people to become rich. They make possible unprecedented levels of social mobility. And, of course, they mean jobs. They teach people hard study, hard work and commitment to others -- those commitments produce real wealth.

I'm also pleased to report that our proposal for a \$1.5 billion Multilateral Investment Fund has gotten off to a great start. Japan has pledged \$100 million for each of the next five years. Canada, France, Portugal and Spain have expressed keen interest in supporting the fund, which will provide targeted support for countries that undertake the difficult reforms necessary to encourage investment and stimulate free enterprise.

Pillar three of our proposal, debt reduction, also has gotten off to a rousing start. Five nations already have negotiated far-reaching reductions in commercial debt through the provisions of the Brady Plan. Other nations will take advantage of the plan as their economic reforms take shape.

Congress has agreed to reward economic reform and trade liberalization by reducing a portion of a nation's debt -- the food assistance loans contracted under PL 480. Congress also supported our recommendation to use interests on remaining debt for grassroots environmental projects. And this ambitious, innovative plan already has produced results.

Today, the U.S. will sign an agreement with Chile, slashing Chile's PL 480 debt 40 percent, to \$23 million. This is the first example of bilateral debt reduction under EAI. We look forward to reaching an understanding soon on the environmental component of this agreement.

So now, just briefly, let me talk about what lies ahead. As you know, Congress recently voted not to terminate the fast-track trade procedures that enable us to deal in good faith with you -- and with Congress -- in trade negotiations. Our goal is to create a free trade zone that will cover all of North America. This trade zone -- 360 million consumers and markets that produce more than \$6 trillion in annual output -- will set the stage for something even more dramatic -- a whole hemispheric zone of free trade.

I was very proud and pleased the way so many countries south of Mexico and in the Caribbean supported the FTA, the fast-track authority, with Mexico. It's broad vision, because it

should sweep through -- this whole concept of free trade must sweep through our whole hemisphere.

The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative can link our nations with their diverse cultures, work forces, and creative forces. I know some have worried that the EAI might indicate a reduction in our commitment to the multilateral trading system. Not so: we remain fully committed and fully determined to make that system work.

Indeed, as part of the Uruguay Round, we have joined our Latin American and our Caribbean allies in trying to pull down protectionist barriers in Europe and in Asia. I want to stress the importance of reaching a successful conclusion to the round. It can establish a basis for worldwide free and fair trade. Without it, we're going to have great difficulty moving forward.

We live in an extraordinary place at an extraordinary time. When Cuba embraces democracy, ours will become the first truly democratic hemisphere in the world. That is a major goal, a major accomplishment by most countries already; Cuba being this holdout.

There's no accident of history here. From the Northern tip of Alaska to the southernmost point of Tierra del Fuego, we share common heritages. Our people can trace their roots to all the nations of the world. We share ties of culture, and of blood, and of common interest. And now, as democracy sweeps the world, we share the challenge of leadership through example.

We can lead the way to a world freed from suspicion and from mercantilist barriers, from socialist inefficiencies. We can show the world how prosperity preserves the social order -- and the land, air, and water as well. We can show the rest of the world that deregulation, respect for private property, low tax rates and low trade barriers can produce vast economic returns. We can show the rest of the world how to build upon each other's strengths, rather than preying upon weaknesses.

Today, I simply want to pledge to you, our friends, my full effort to make the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative a total reality. I urge Congress to pass promptly the legislation necessary to enact EAI. This includes debt reduction authority and authority for the United States to contribute its share to the Multilateral Investment Fund.

In 1876 -- I think I mentioned this the other day when President Collor was here -- the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro II visited the United States, and stopped in St. Louis, among other places. And he noted that local craftsmen were using only the sturdiest materials in building a customs house. The emperor was stunned. "But an iron building would last 400 years," he noted. "You do not mean to tell me that there will be any custom houses in 400 years."

We meet today to honor Dom Pedro's vision of a hemisphere shorn of customs houses and jammed with thriving markets. If we can build a hemisphere devoted to freedom, one that prefers enterprise to envy, we're going to create our own new world order.

We've worked miracles in one year; and so let us shape a revolution in the next. Because I honestly believe that, together, we can make our hemisphere's freedom first and best for all.

Thank you, and God bless you. And thank you all for coming down here on this very hot, but very significant occasion. Thank you. (Applause.)

One half of it done. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, have you thought about a successor to Thurgood Marshall?

Q Mr. President, what do you want in a Marshall successor, sir?

Q And how soon? How soon will we have a successor?

Q Have you got a successor, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Now, what was that one question? What was the one question?

Q Thurgood Marshall, sir. What about a successor to Mr. Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it just happened, I mean. But we'll move promptly; we'll move very swiftly. I paid my respects to Justice Marshall in a statement that we put out. He served his country with great distinction. And, you know, it's very pleasant for Barbara and me -- I knew nothing about this, of course, but he and Mrs. Marshall were our guests up at Camp David a while back. And we had a very warm and relaxed and entertaining visit. I say entertaining from him -- he fired off a few jokes for us. And it was very pleasant.

So, in the personal relationship, we feel sad about this, but he's served his country well. And we're going to move --

Q Wasn't there some notice at all, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. This is really the -- literally, the first I heard when we went up to the Hill.

Q What about --

Q Will it be a minority?

Q Mr. Sununu has issued another apology. What do you have -- do you have anything to say about?

THE PRESIDENT: I've said all I really care to say about that.

Q What qualities will you look for in a replacement?

Q What about a replacement, sir? A successor?

THE PRESIDENT: Somebody that believes in the Constitution of the United States, as all nine of those judges do that are on the court now; and somebody with experience, obviously. And somebody that will be able to serve a while. So that's it.

All right. Thank you all.

Q Are you going to tell Sununu to apologize?

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

4:25 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Kiev, Ukraine, USSR)

For Immediate Release

August 1, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN ADDRESS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET  
OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Session Hall  
Supreme Soviet Building  
Kiev, Ukraine, USSR

3:55 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, thank all of you for that warm welcome. And may I take this opportunity to thank all people of Ukraine that gave us such a warm welcome, such a heartfelt greeting. Every American in that long motorcade -- and believe me, it was long -- was moved and touched by the warmth of the welcome of Ukraine. We'll never forget it.

Chairman Kravchuk, thank you, sir. And to the Deputies of the Soviet Supreme Soviet, may I salute you. Members of the clergy that are here, members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of American pharmaceutical and health care corporations who I understand are with us today, and distinguished guests all. Barbara and I are delighted to be here -- very, very happy. We have only one regret, and that is that I've got to get home on Thursday night -- I can still make it. And the reason is, our Congress goes out tomorrow, finishes their session they're in now, and I felt it was important to be there on that last day of the final session.

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

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

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

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

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

I come here to tell you: We support the struggle in this great country for democracy and economic reform. And I would like to

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talk to you today about how the United States views this complex and exciting period in your history -- how we intend to relate to the Soviet central government and the republican governments.

In Moscow, I outlined our approach: We will support those in the center and the republics who pursue freedom, democracy and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities, but on the basis of principles. We cannot tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between republics -- or between republics and the center. That is your business, that's not the business of the United States of America.

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

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

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

We will maintain the strongest possible relationship with the Soviet government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the USSR. And therefore, as a federation ourselves, we want good relations -- improved relations -- with the republics.

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

No terms have been abused more regularly, nor more cynically than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats; jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith in government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

I don't want to sound like I'm lecturing, but let's begin with the broad term, "freedom." When Americans talk of freedom, we refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion; without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens; without restricting others' freedoms.

We do not consider freedom a privilege, to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right, bestowed upon all men and women. Lord Acton once observed, "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

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

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

But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or

permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form chains, until they form shackles. Later today, I'll visit the monument at Babi Yar -- a somber reminder, a solemn reminder, of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.

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

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts -- and, yes, the votes -- of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed -- that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years, you had elections with ballots, but you did not enjoy democracy. And now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

The key to its success lies in understanding government's proper role -- and its limits. Democracy is not a technical process, driven by dry statistics. It is the very human enterprise of preserving freedom, so that we can do the important things -- the really important things: raise families, explore our own creativity, build good and fruitful lives.

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

And it certainly cannot function without the rule of law -- without fair and enforceable contracts, without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

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

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

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

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

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

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every single day. I set forth a presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. And this aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering. And it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl. You should know that America's heart -- the hearts of all -- went out to the people here at the time of Chernobyl.

We have sent teams to help you improve upon the safety of Ukrainian nuclear plants and coal mines. We've also increased the number of cultural exchanges with the republics -- including more extensive legal, academic and cultural exchanges between America and Ukraine.

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

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

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

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

The peoples of the USSR have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to what we call -- appropriately call a new world order.

You're the leaders. You are the participants in the political process. And I go home to an active political process. So if you saw me waving like mad from my limousine, it was in the thought that maybe some of those people along the line were people from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or Detroit where so many Ukrainian-Americans live, where so many Ukrainian-Americans are with me in the remarks I've made here today.

This has been a great experience for Barbara and me to be here. We salute you. We salute the changes that we see. I remember the French expression, *viva la difference*, and I see different churning around this chamber, and that is exactly the way it ought to be. One guy wants this and another one that. That's the way the process works when you're open and free -- competing with ideas to see who is going to emerge correct and who can do the most for the people in Ukraine.

And so for us this has been a wonderful trip, albeit far too short. And may I simply say, may God bless the people of Ukraine. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Athens, Greece)

For Immediate Release

July 19, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE GREEK-AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BREAKFAST

Intercontinental Hotel  
Athens, Greece

8:55 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And thank you for that warm welcome, and the welcome from various members of this association that I see all around the hall here. And let me salute Ambassador Sotirhos -- proud of his Greek heritage -- doing a fantastic job for the United States of America here in Athens and in this great country. And I'm proud of him, I'm proud of his wife, and I am delighted with the job he is doing for all of us. (Applause.)

And may I salute Mr. Petsiavas and Mr. Ioannou and Mr. Tsomokos and the members of the Greek and foreign diplomatic corps who are with us today. I see the Dean over here. But others are here, I am sure. And I just want to say again how pleased Barbara and I are to be here.

If we look a little bit that we've been outside, the answer is, we have. We had a fantastic visit up at the Parthenon, and there we had a chance to salute 2,500 years of democracy and commitment to individual rights. (Applause.)

And this is quite a scene, if you think about it. I notice that Mike very generously said I was a businessman, but when he said profit and loss, I thought he put a little too much emphasis on the last one. (Laughter.) But far be it from me to be critical. And he was right about the risk-taking and trying -- which I think has given me a little more understanding about what your lives are all about as you try to build the productivity of this country and the productivity of our great country.

So it is quite a scene. Here we have a number of citizens -- accomplished citizens from many countries -- gathered in the capital of Greece -- Athens -- in a hotel run by an American company. And that certainly symbolizes the kinds of ties that our nations enjoy, and ties that I want to talk to you about today. I am sorry I wasn't here for the breakfast. They told me that inside the eggs there was going to be broccoli. And I decided I would come in later -- (laughter) -- just for the very end of all of this.

But, you know, we brought with us from England two gentlemen that are known to many here. For those that don't know them, I just want to single them out. Sons of Greece, great friends of Greece, but people who have joined us here and who have done great things for the United States, and I'm talking about my dear friends Alex Spanos and Alec Kortelas. I'd like them to stand if they're here. (Applause.) There they are.

I single them out because really there are others -- many others right in this room like them. There are many others in the United States like them. But they show that opportunity can translate into prosperity. And in many ways their example ought to serve as a beacon for Greek businessmen in Greece. They show that a new world order applies old world genius to new world realities. So Alec and Alex, our businessmen. They remind me from time to time that time is money. So in the interest of keeping profits high, I promise to keep this morning's talk short. I know that will come as

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a great relief to all of you.

Let me just talk a little bit about improving economic relations between the United States and Greece, and to express my support -- strong support -- for the economic path that Prime Minister Mitsotakis has charted for this great country. The Prime Minister has taken a giant first step towards strengthening the Greek economy by outlining some goals that sound very familiar to this American President.

He wants to cut the red tape, privatize the economy, reduce the cost and size of the public sector, of the government sector, and get his economy on a growth path.

Prime Minister Mitsotakis deserves enormous credit for working to lift the veil that for too long kept Greece out of the international economic mainstream. He understands that free markets, not state-management, can help Greece invigorate its economy, reduce its deficit, pay off its external debt, and remain a member in good standing of the European Community.

We shouldn't underestimate, given the state of the world economy, the difficulty of the Prime Minister's task. We shouldn't underestimate its importance either. So let me just tell you what he and I talked about, what I told him.

First, we believe in the reform efforts. And I might ask you to take a rather global look at this point. It isn't simply Greece that is moving on this important path that I have outlined above. Take a look at what is happening in Eastern Europe. Take a look at the aspirations inside the Soviet Union towards privatization and market reform and convertibility and all of the things necessary to improve the lives of the people through trade. Far better to do it that way than through some aid program that screeches to a halt because it has no underpinnings.

So we are embarked here on a program that really makes a difference -- this reform program. I think his reforms will work. I think they can make a big difference in Greece. You see, we also believe strongly in the benefits of trade. I left that economic summit there in London more determined than ever to press for open markets, free and fair trade around the world, and open investment opportunities everywhere. This isn't to benefit solely the United States, and yes, we would benefit, but it is to benefit every single country that participates in achieving these goals.

You see, the litter of communism provides eloquent testimony to what happens when people forget about the virtues of free enterprise and avoid the tough discipline that competition provides. If we want to make the most of the talent of our people in America, in Greece, in Europe and all around the world, we must advance the cause of free and fair trade.

Our administration remains totally determined to reach a successful conclusion of the GATT -- of this Uruguay Round -- and I remain optimistic that we can do so.

As I look at the various economies around the world, I am absolutely convinced that Greece would benefit enormously from a successful conclusion of the GATT Round. The more Greece opens its markets to foreign investment and the more it works to develop its export industries, the more secure its future will be. And I am happy to say that our trade relationship with Greece is growing stronger every single day. The United States enjoys what I think is a special and strong relationship with Greece. And, again, I salute the Prime Minister for his key role in all of this.

That relationship should make a lot of people happy. Consider the bottom line. U.S. exports to Greece increased 10 percent last year, and Greek imports to the U.S. increased by \$30 million. But, you see, if you look at the big picture -- and you all understand this -- that was only a beginning. Our governments

recently have signed a bilateral customs agreement, a new civil aviation agreement, a joint declaration on tourism. And I believe that these initiatives will increase the number of commercial flights between the nations, speed the flow of goods through customs, and generate more tourist business.

I couldn't help but stand there -- Barbara and I talked about this -- standing there just in the wish that many and all Americans could someday share the joys that we felt standing in the midst of that history just a few minutes ago. The Greek and the U.S. governments are cooperating effectively in this worldwide fight against terrorism, and this effort is obviously going to remain a priority for both countries. We're trying to expand trade and investment opportunities for American companies that want to do business in Greece. And we have worked to protect intellectual property rights, patents, copyrights, trademarks and the like for American firms doing business in Greece. We have worked with the government of Greece to ensure the swift and fair repatriation of profits. It has to happen. And we hope to improve the prospects for American firms interested in bidding on Greek government contracts.

This progress -- and I'm not saying there is not more that needs to be done. There is. But this progress demonstrates that the Greek government is ready to do business with American companies and that it welcomes American investment. And this is a refreshing change. And it explains why, for the first time in more than a decade, OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, can offer insurance and financing for private-sector investment projects. The investment climate here seems more hospitable than ever for Americans.

And now the United States need to take advantage of the welcome that the Prime Minister has given us. So, as I announced yesterday in my speech to the legislature, I have asked Commerce Secretary Bob Mosbacher, known to many in this room, to lead a presidential trade and investment mission to Greece this autumn. And that mission can persuade even more American businesses to take advantage of the opportunities that are already here and the opportunities that will be here in the future.

In the days and months ahead, our governments will continue working to improve economic relations and eliminate these obstacles to growth. But in the end, good business is common sense, and common sense ought to guide us as we work to build a more prosperous future.

I am happy to say that I think, as you look at this country and our country, things look good. In the United States, as everyone here knows, we've been facing substantial, tremendous economic problems. Our country has been in recession, albeit by historical standards statistically rather mild. But some of our people have been hurting because of this recession. Most of the indicators now are that the recession is over and that growth is beginning. And it is my own view that if that growth pattern continues, and I think it will, this will benefit businesses all around the world. The dynamism and the size of the American economy relates to economies of small countries and medium-sized countries all around the globe.

So we are more optimistic today about the economies at home. I must tell you, as President, I think it is tremendously important that we keep a vigil out. Last year, about this time, I lost about four quarts of blood fighting with Congress on a budget agreement. But I can tell you that the results of that budget agreement, controversial though it may have been, painful though it may have been, we now have caps -- real caps -- on government spending. It is fine for me to come to Greece and lecture the Greeks about how they ought to control the government sector. But we'd better do something about it ourselves in the United States. And so we have put caps -- real caps, that are holding, on our own spending. And I think that will result in the government sector getting more under control and freeing up the private sector, as our economy

recovers, to do the dynamic things that only private enterprise can take care of.

So I am going to fight for those caps. I am going to keep them on. And I don't care how much blood it takes in the future, I am not going to let the Congress take them and let us go back to reckless government spending that hurts the enterprise and hurts the American people. (Applause.)

And so, as one firm says, I am bullish on America. And I'm not advertising for one firm against some of the others I see around here. But I have reason to be. And let me just tell you something very personally. This is a fantastic and challenging time, a rewarding time to be President of the greatest and freest country on the face of the Earth. As you look around the world and you see what has happened in Eastern Europe, as you see the changes that are already beginning to take hold in the gigantic Soviet Union, as you see our own hemisphere -- the Western Hemisphere -- with all but one country moving down democracy's path. As you take a look at Asia and the dynamic trade relationships that we have with Asia and that they are continuing to grow, we remain, in spite of our affinity and affection for the people of Greece and Europe -- we are also a Pacific power. And you see those trade relationships strengthening. I can tell you, it is an enormously rewarding time -- in spite of the problems we face -- to be President of the United States.

I happen to believe that the action that we took collectively with allies -- and I will always be grateful to Greece for their participation -- the action we took against Saddam Hussein gave the United States a new respect and credibility around the world. And I am very grateful, obviously, to the men and women who served under our banner. But the other day I had a chance to reward the French general, the British general, with high honors, expressing our appreciation that this was not a United States unilateral move; it was a revitalized United Nations, and it brought together Greece and the United States and Turkey and many other countries who stood up against -- for a common purpose -- and that purpose is aggression, bullying, one neighbor against another, will not stand. It did not stand. And we've set a principle out there for the world. It will not stand in the future. And I am very grateful to everybody that participated. (Applause.)

And so that achievement of that common purpose of turning back aggression from a bullying and brutal dictator now leads us to what I call a possibility of a new world order. And let me just assure you -- this isn't on the subject of commerce, it's on the subject of political rivalries, it's on the subject of world peace -- that we will use every bit of this newfound political power or this worldwide credibility to do our best to bring peace to the historically troubled corners of the world.

As you see the changes that are taking place in your sphere, and then you couple those with the changes that are taking place in the political sphere, I think we all conclude that we have a historic opportunity. I must tell you, I felt very strongly about that when I sat down with Mikhail Gorbachev the other day in London. They are trying. They've got enormous economic problems. But we sat there and we finalized a strategic arms reduction treaty -- (applause) -- the first time that we have been able to significantly reduce the destabilization of the world through intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is a wonderful achievement -- not just for the American people, not just for the people in the Soviet Union, for I think it reflects on everybody in Greece -- the feeling that we can curtail the unprofitability that goes into these massive arms and then bring the power of private enterprise to bear, helping the people of the countries around the world. These are exciting times. These are not times to be pessimistic about the world in which we live.

And so things do look good. The President of this great country and the Prime Minister have felt, as we're back to bilateral relations now, have helped forge what is a new beginning here -- a

new beginning to an old friendship. And so my challenge to you all is let's make things even better.

I want to thank you for inviting me this morning. I got a good shot of your strong coffee next door, which added to the warm welcome here, I might add. And now Barbara and I have the thrill of doing what I am sure everyone here has done -- go to Crete -- as for us will be a first time, though this visit to Athens was not the first for either of us, which has been fantastic.

But I think we will take away a lot of things with us when we leave after this very short visit to Greece. But we won't ever forget the warm reception. We won't forget this meeting, because as you look around the room and see the numbers, you keep in mind the world opportunity that private business brings.

And so thank you all. And may God bless Greece, but may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.  
(Applause.) Thank you all. It's a pleasure to be with you.  
(Applause.)

END

9:20 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Ankara, Turkey)

For Immediate Release

July 20, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT STATE DINNER

Presidential Palace Garden  
Ankara, Turkey

8:35 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President and Mrs. Ozal and ladies and gentlemen. Let me begin by thanking President Ozal for inviting us over here to see this wonderful country. We were standing outside of Ataturk's tomb this morning, and I couldn't help but think of the parallels between the founder of the modern Turkish Republic -- whose name means "Father of the Turks" -- and the man we Americans call the Father of our Country, George Washington.

Both were great generals; both were great leaders. And both used their words, their times and their opportunities to build great nations. Each knew that to win a war one must secure the peace. And each had a vision for his country's future that, through courage, labor and selfless determination, became the nation's destiny.

And then, as now, we believe in what Ataturk called "peace at home and peace abroad." We know that protecting peace sometimes means being willing to defend it. That's why we've worked together in NATO for close to 40 years. That's why we fought together in the Korean War. And that's why we stood together to reverse the occupation of Kuwait.

There were many people -- many men and women -- responsible for the success of the international coalition and the liberation of Kuwait. But I firmly believe that no one provided greater leadership or clarity of purpose than President Turgut Ozal. I know because we talked together by phone countless times. And he never flinched and he was always courageous and farsighted.

Let me add, sir, that our respect and gratitude certainly extends also to Turkey's military leaders -- the Turkish General Staff -- who displayed uncommon dedication to the coalition's objectives. It was a comfort for all of us in Washington to know that when the United Nations decided to take that step and impose sanctions against Iraq, Turkey would not hesitate to do what was right. I want you to know -- and on this one I speak confidently on behalf of the American people -- that Turkey's role in the Gulf crisis has not, and will not be, forgotten.

Let me also say that we know the cost of your courage. Your Turkey's incurred enormous damage -- especially in the southeast -- from its compliance with U.N. sanctions, its decision to deploy troops, and its generous relief assistance to hundreds of thousands of displaced people camped along its borders.

As we look ahead, let's use the last year as a model of cooperation. As allies, Mr. President, we must expand and deepen our relationship -- we must create a new strategic relationship.

It's been said that great tasks and important missions are accomplished only through cooperative efforts. And that's why I talked today with President Ozal and Prime Minister Yilmaz of strengthening the bonds that link our countries.

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Turkey's genius can advance not only prosperity at home but also peace abroad. So let us build a new future together. A future of peace in the Middle East; a future of peace on Cyprus; and peace between two great countries, Turkey and Greece, led by wise and responsible men. And let us work together to build a U.S.-Turkish relationship with the knowledge that our paths are common, our interests and values are intertwined, and our fate -- as free and democratic peoples -- will be always linked.

Mr. President, let our path be straight and true. Let us achieve the real peace that Ataturk and General Washington dreamt of. And let us enrich this generation -- and all generations to come.

And may I ask all the guests here to join me now in a toast to the health of the President and Mrs. Ozal, and to the great and strong relationship between the United States and Turkey. And thank you, sir, for your hospitality.

(A toast is offered.)

END

8:40 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 12, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE ASIA SOCIETY

Waldorf Astoria Hotel  
New York, New York

7:20 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And John Whitehead, thank you, sir. John has served this country with great distinction over the years, and it's great to join him and Nancy here this evening, the other distinguished leaders here with me, and all of you -- so many ambassadors from countries in Asia, charges, United Nations contingents, Washington D.C. contingents. And I'm just delighted to be here with all of you.

It's also a pleasure to see Asia Society President Robert Oxnam, and then Vice Chairman Peter Aaron. To you, and to the distinguished men and women in this audience, greetings -- and my thanks for this opportunity to speak with you on topics of great concern to us all. And I heard you were having broccoli so I asked to speak before the dinner. (Laughter.) I hope this doesn't really foul things up, but I feel strongly about that. (Laughter.) No, but seriously, we do have to go back, and I'm very pleased for this accommodation and I hope you'll all understand.

But as you know, I have just returned from Rome, that NATO meeting, and The Hague for an EC meeting. There, I worked with other Western leaders to help build a post-Cold-War world that's characterized by mutual security, democracy, individual liberty, free enterprise, and unfettered international trade. I want to talk tonight about those topics, with the accent on Asia.

But first, for audiences here and in Asia, I think it's important to discuss once again why I will not travel to the region this month, later this month. As President, I must serve the entire nation in the domestic and foreign arenas. Sometimes those obligations clash. When we planned our trip a couple of months ago, worked out the schedule, Congress had planned to adjourn early in this month. I believe it was November 2nd, possibly November 4th. Now the members say that they will wrap up by November 22, but who knows? We will reschedule the trip, but I will not leave while Congress is wrapping up a session. It can commit too much mischief in times like that. (Laughter.)

I saw Home Alone, that movie -- (laughter) -- and I just don't feel comfortable -- (laughter) -- leaving Congress home alone. But make no mistake, however, I will not turn my back on my responsibility to do the nation's business here and abroad. And in times of economic pain, I certainly will not give up an opportunity to work with our allies to create new markets, new jobs and new opportunities for American workers -- in agriculture, in manufacturing and in service industries.

And I certainly will not permit us to retreat into a kind of Fortress America, which will doom us to irrelevance and poverty. The notion that we can separate domestic and foreign policy rests upon a stubborn fantasy that we can live as an isolated island

MORE

surrounded by a changing and developing world. We tried isolationism, and we ended up fighting two bloody world wars.

We tried economic isolationism -- protectionism -- and we helped set off a worldwide depression. I remain deeply committed to building closer ties with the Asia-Pacific region. Although much of our nation's heritage comes from Europe, our future points equally, importantly, toward Asia.

Asia's transformed itself in the space of a generation into the most rapidly growing region on the face of the Earth. Asia-Pacific nations enjoyed staggering real economic growth in the decade of the '80s: The Australian economy grew 41 percent; Japan's nearly 52 percent; Malaysia almost 60 percent; Hong Kong -- there are many here from Hong Kong tonight -- 89 percent; Singapore, 93 percent; Taiwan, 116 percent and South Korea, 150 percent.

The Asia-Pacific region has become our largest and fastest growing trade partner. We conduct more than \$300 billion worth of two-way trade annually. Together, we generate nearly half -- listen to this one -- together we generate nearly half of the world's gross national product. American firms have invested more than \$61 billion in the region, and that figure will grow. Asians have invested more than \$95 billion in the United States. In everything from automobiles to microchips, from baseball to Australian rules football, we grow closer each day.

A few years ago, it was fashionable to refer to the 20th century as the American Century and the 21st as the Pacific Century, as if we were engaged in some long-term competition with our Asian allies. I don't see it that way. The United States will remain large and powerful, but in years to come, we will deepen our partnership with our Asian friends in building democracy and freedom.

We'd be here forever if I tried to tick off our interests and activities, country by country. So, forgive me, but instead, I will address three central issues in our relationships with the nations of the region: security, democracy, and trade.

In the area of security, Asia's variety has spawned a diverse pattern of political and strategic cooperation. Our custom-made agreements and relationships provide a strong foundation for future security.

Let me give you a few examples of how we seek to build the peace. The conflict in Indochina has preoccupied this nation for years. Finally, we've entered into a period of healing and constructive cooperation. We will work step by step to resolve the painful issues left by that war. The ASEAN nations, Japan, Australia and the U.N. Security Council's permanent members recently forged a Cambodian peace process that promises free elections in a nation previously rent by tyranny and genocide. Just yesterday, for the first time in 16 years, we sent an accredited diplomat to Cambodia, to participate in the peacemaking arrangements.

We envision normal relations with Vietnam as the logical conclusion to a step-by-step process that begins by resolving the problems in Cambodia and by addressing thoroughly, openly and conclusively the status of American POW-MIAs.

Today, I am announcing that we will upgrade our relations with Laos, and that we soon will place an ambassador in Vientiane.

The Republic of Korea has moved to build better ties with North Korea while boldly challenging the North to abandon its menacing nuclear weapons program, which is the greatest threat to regional peace.

We welcome recently organized efforts involving us and the Japanese and the Soviets, Chinese and Koreans to bring North Korea's nuclear program under international supervision. Meanwhile, we will maintain our military presence in the south as long as the people want and need us.

In laying the foundation for peace through our global partnership, we have worked closely with Japan in the area of foreign aid. We are the world's two foremost providers of such aid. We also cooperate on development assistance, more and more on environmental protection, trade, arms control, refugees and regional peace. We've urged the Soviet Union to take a progressive attitude toward the Northern Territories in its discussions with Japan.

The Japanese have joined us in trying to lead the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe toward free enterprise. They support more than 45,000 U.S. military forces in Japan with \$3 billion in annual host nation contributions. Japan contributed nearly \$13 billion to the multinational forces for the Gulf war, 10 billion of which went to the United States. This required new taxes -- a very tough thing for any politician to ask of working people -- but Japan deserves praise for choosing the right course.

To the south, Australia casts a presence far larger than its relatively small population would suggest. It takes justifiable pride in its long tradition of defending democracy, and its economic, political and cultural presence helps unite the Asia-Pacific region with the rest of the world.

We can help ensure future peace in the region and defend our interests through a range of military arrangements. Bilateral alliances, access agreements and structures such as the five-power defense arrangement give us the flexibility we need.

While we must adjust our force structure to reflect post-Cold-War realities, we also must protect our interests and allies. In this light, we cannot afford to ignore the important sources of instability: in North Korea; in Burma, where socialist despotism holds sway, despite, I might say -- I might add, despite the heroic efforts of freedom fighters like Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi; in China and other states that resist the worldwide movement toward political pluralism -- and that contribute to the proliferation of dangerous weapons.

Let me mention just a few words regarding China. China is vitally important. It is our policy to remain engaged. We believe this is the way to effect positive change in the world's most populous nation. That's exactly what Secretary of State Jim Baker is doing there this week.

Fortunately, the key to future stability in the region lies not with arms, but with ballots. Democracy has swept across Asia -- with some notable exceptions, such as Burma, China, North Korea, and Vietnam. Yet we remain engaged in the region, and especially in China. If we retreat from the challenge of building democracy, we will have failed many who have worked hard, even died, for the cause.

The United States will support democracy wherever it can, understanding that nations adopt political freedom in their own ways, in manners consistent with their histories and cultures. After decades of uncertainty, the future really does seem full of hope, and even the intransigent few seem likely to join the rest of the world in building a commonwealth of freedom.

Then this brings us then to the third focal point, and a crucial ingredient in a stable, free society: and I'm talking, of

course, about economic prosperity. No nation can ignore the incredible vitality of this region -- or afford to. Yes, we disagree on some important trade issues, but we also recognize a more important fact: Our fates and values have become linked forever.

Contrary to the opinions of American protectionists, free trade requires efforts by all parties involved. Too often, trade disputes bring out the worst in people. Japan bashing -- you've heard that expression -- Japan bashing has become a minor sport in some places in the United States, and some in Japan have become equally scornful of the United States. Both our nations must reject those who would rather seek out scapegoats than tackle their own problems.

We made a good start: The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Group encourages growth and trade. The Uruguay Round of GATT talks remains the single most important vehicle for advancing the cause of free trade and fending off the scourge of protectionism. We call upon Japan and Korea to work with us in breaking down old barriers to trade, opening up markets in manufacturing, services and agriculture. Our Structural Impediments Initiative, those talks have helped lower barriers to trade and investment. But we need to give those talks new life -- give them them a kick -- and create a better climate in Japan for U.S. businesses.

The fact is that Japan, which nearly half a century ago became a focal point of American hatred, has become one of our closest and most treasured allies. I enjoyed a warm and constructive relationship working with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. And I look forward to spending time with my old friend, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa -- significantly, a man steeped in Western and Eastern culture and superbly equipped to build bridges of culture and trade between our two great nations.

Together, we can build an even more prosperous and spectacular future -- but only if we take up the tough, rewarding task of promoting worldwide economic liberty. We seek a vibrant international economic system that unites markets on every continent.

We in the United States also must strengthen our economy. We level an unacceptably high effective tax rate on capital gains. Germany -- no capital gains tax. The complicated Japanese tax averages about one percent. This puts our own business people, our own entrepreneurs and venture capitalists at a huge and shameful disadvantage compared to our Asian trading partner.

We run an enormous and growing budget deficit, which inflames political divisions within our own country. We must take powerful action to reduce that deficit while nourishing economic growth. To compete internationally we must modernize our banking industry and make our industrial base more competitive. We must work with our allies to build a stable and sound monetary regime.

Perhaps most important, we must build human capital. We have an obligation to prepare future generations for life in the 21st century. The integrated global economy will demand more of us than ever before, and our schools must meet the challenge.

Technological change can do much more than make our lives more comfortable. It can sweep away totalitarianism and forge the foundation for lasting liberty. We live in an age of liberation technology, and no technology does more for the cause of freedom than the means of mass communication. No wall is high enough and no government sufficiently despotic to shut off what some call a revolution of electrons. As we compete with our allies in this area, we must remember that information feeds intellect, and good information fosters freedom.

Let me close by summarizing our general approach to relations with Asia. Our administration sees six keys to promoting lasting peace in the Asia-Pacific region: progressive trade liberalization; security cooperation; a shared commitment to democracy and human rights; educational and scientific innovation; respect for the environment; and an appreciation of our distinct cultural heritages.

Americans have always looked to the horizons for their destiny, even from our earliest days. And we've grown great because we've welcomed people from every continent and every country, and we've tried to make use of their distinct talents when they come here, while constructing a common culture.

Today, we celebrate that diversity, and celebrate the prospect that in years to come, we will develop with our Asian friends even greater ties of trade and culture.

I look forward to traveling soon to Asia, to advance these important principles and to expand market opportunities for tens of thousands of American workers and businesses. As President, I will continue building ties with our allies because those ties mean peace at home and jobs for American men and women.

I want to thank the Asia Society for its vital contributions to the cause of peace, prosperity and understanding. I look forward to your help as I seek to build closer bonds of affection and interest with the peoples of the vast, marvelous, varied Asia-Pacific region.

Thank you all. And may God bless our Asian-Pacific friends and the United States of America. Thank you very very much. (Applause.)

END

7:43 P.M. EST