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Congressman Richard Cheney Swearing-In Ceremony 3/21/89 [OA 6347]

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**SWEARING-IN OF SECRETARY RICHARD CHENEY
THE PENTAGON
MARCH 21, 1989**

**I'M PLEASED TODAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE OATH OF OFFICE TO OUR NEW SECRETARY
OF DEFENSE, ~~CONGRESSMAN~~ DICK CHENEY.**

**THIS IS A PROUD DAY FOR DICK'S FAMILY, HIS WIFE LYNNE
-- WHO HEADS A VITAL EFFORT OF ANOTHER SORT, SAFEGUARDING
OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE AT THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE
HUMANITIES -- AND THEIR DAUGHTERS, ELIZABETH AND MARY.**

2

**AND I ALSO WANT TO WELCOME DICK'S MOM AND DAD, AND THE
OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS WHO CAME EAST FROM WYOMING TO JOIN
DICK ON THIS IMPORTANT DAY.**

**LET ME OUTLINE SOME OF THE CRITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES
SECRETARY CHENEY IS TAKING ON IN HIS NEW ASSIGNMENT:
DEFENSE STRATEGY AND MANAGEMENT, PROCUREMENT REFORM, THE
DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS OF OUR ARMED FORCES, AND THE
LONG-RANGE PLANNING THAT WILL KEEP US FREE AND SECURE INTO
THE NEXT CENTURY.**

IN A BUILDING WHERE IT CAN BE A CHALLENGE GETTING FROM THE A TO THE E RING WITHOUT GETTING LOST, THE CHALLENGES YOU'LL FACE, DICK, ARE TRULY ENORMOUS.

BUT SO ARE THE SKILLS AND TALENTS YOU BRING TO THE JOB.

DICK CHENEY KNOWS HIS WAY AROUND WASHINGTON, HE KNOWS HOW THINGS WORK ON CAPITOL HILL AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND HE'LL DRAW ON THAT WEALTH OF EXPERIENCE TO MAKE THINGS WORK HERE AT THE PENTAGON.

DICK AND I WORKED TOGETHER IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES, WHEN HE WAS WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF AND I WAS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE -- TEAMWORK THAT PAID OFF THEN, AND WILL AGAIN.

AND, DICK, YOU'LL HAVE HELP -- FROM THE BEST ARMED FORCES IN THE WORLD, AND A CIVILIAN STAFF EQUALLY DEDICATED TO OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. I KNOW THEY'RE READY TO WORK FOR YOU AND WITH YOU.

I'M CONVINCED THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE TODAY IS DEFINED BY OPPORTUNITY -- A CHANCE TO ADVANCE AMERICAN INTERESTS AND IDEALS, AND TO STRENGTHEN THE FORCES OF FREEDOM NOW GAINING A FOOT-HOLD IN MANY PLACES AROUND THE WORLD.

DICK SHARES MY BELIEF THAT THE CHIEF NATIONAL SECURITY LESSON OF THIS DECADE IS SIMPLY THIS: STRENGTH SECURES PEACE.

THAT FACT REMAINS TRUE -- EVEN IN THE PRESENT TIME OF TRANSITION IN WORLD AFFAIRS. CONSIDER THE KEY ISSUE OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION: I TAKE A VERY POSITIVE VIEW OF THE CHANGES THERE, BUT THERE ARE STILL MORE QUESTIONS THAN ANSWERS ABOUT THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME OF THOSE CHANGES.

UNTIL THESE QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED, WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR SUCCESSFUL POLICY OF FLEXIBILITY, COMBINED WITH STRENGTH AND FIRM RESOLVE.

WE MUST BE READY TO SEIZE FAVORABLE OPPORTUNITIES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS -- BUT WE MUST ALSO REMAIN READY AND ABLE IN ANY EVENT TO SECURE OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

AND LET ME SAY CLEARLY: NOW IS NOT THE TIME FOR AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES TO MAKE UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS, OR TO RELAX OUR DEFENSE EFFORTS.

EVERYONE HERE KNOWS THAT WE'RE FACING TOUGH CHOICES ON DEFENSE PROGRAMS. WE MUST MOVE AHEAD WITH PLANS TO MODERNIZE OUR STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO TURN THE NATION'S TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES TO OUR STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE, IN SDI AND OTHER PROGRAMS. BUT OUR NEED TO DEAL WITH THE DEFICIT MEANS WE'RE WORKING WITH LIMITED RESOURCES. DICK, YOUR TASK IS TO SORT OUT OUR PRIORITIES -- WHICH PROGRAMS SHOULD CONTINUE, AND WHICH WE CAN'T AFFORD IN THE CURRENT FISCAL CLIMATE. I'M CONVINCED THESE DIFFICULT CHOICES CAN BE MADE -- IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.

CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE CONGRESS IS ESSENTIAL -- AND DICK CHENEY'S HIGH STANDING ON CAPITOL HILL WILL BE A PLUS.

PROCUREMENT REFORM IS A CASE IN POINT. OUR AIM SHOULD BE A MORE STABLE AND STREAMLINED ACQUISITION SYSTEM -- BUT PROCUREMENT REFORM CAN'T BE CONFINED TO THE PENTAGON ALONE.

WE WILL WORK WITH THE CONGRESS -- OUR PARTNERS IN THE PROCESS -- TO MOVE FORWARD WITH THE PACKARD COMMISSION REFORMS, TO ADOPT A TWO-YEAR BUDGET CYCLE, AND TO EXPAND MULTI-YEAR ^{PROCUREMENT} ~~FUNDING~~ FOR MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS.

AND STABILITY BEGINS WITH A COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN A STEADY, MODERATE AND AFFORDABLE INCREASE IN DEFENSE SPENDING -- AN INCREASE WE MUST HAVE, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN AND CONTINUE TO MODERNIZE OUR FORCES. FOLLOWING THE FREEZE FOR 1990, THAT MEANS 1% REAL GROWTH IN 1991 AND '92, RISING TO 2% IN 1993.

11

FOR TOO LONG, DEFENSE SPENDING HAS RIDDEN A ROLLER-COASTER -- UNPREDICTABLE UPS AND DOWNS, A RECIPE FOR WASTE AND INEFFICIENCIES. STABLE SPENDING MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO PLAN FOR THE LONG-TERM -- AND THAT'S THE BASIS OF A MORE EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE DEFENSE POSTURE.

AND THAT LONG-TERM VIEW IS THE ONE WE MUST TAKE, WITH THE 21ST CENTURY ONLY 11 YEARS AWAY.

12

I AM CONVINCED THAT IN THE YEARS AHEAD THE UNITED STATES CAN TAKE THE LEAD IN BUILDING A MORE PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT -- IN LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY, WHERE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WILL FLOURISH.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT DICK CHENEY WILL PLAY A PIVOTAL PART IN KEEPING AMERICA STRONG AND SECURE, FREE AND AT PEACE.

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draft before staffing

(McGroarty/Blessey)

March 16, 1989

4:30 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD CHENEY
THE PENTAGON
MARCH 21, 1989

I'm pleased today to participate in this swearing-in ceremony of my Secretary of Defense, Congressman Dick Cheney.

This is a proud day for Dick's family, his wife Lynne -- who heads a vital national security effort of another sort, safeguarding our cultural heritage at the National Endowment for the Humanities -- and their daughters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Dick, now that you've made up your mind and there's no turning back, let me run through some of the critical responsibilities you are taking on in this new assignment. Defense strategy and management, the day-to-day functioning of our Armed Forces, and the long-range planning that will keep us free and secure into the next century -- all of these issues come to your desk. In a building where it can be a challenge getting from the A to the E Ring without getting lost, the challenges you'll face are truly enormous.

But so are the skills and talents you bring to the job.

Dick Cheney knows his way around Washington, he knows how things work on Capitol Hill and in the White House -- and he'll draw on that wealth of experience to make things work here at the Pentagon.

LSD P. 023
3/15/89
Broder

Peter Rodman
3/10

Who's Who p. 604

And, Dick, you'll have help -- from an Armed Forces second to none in terms of quality and commitment, and a civilian staff equally dedicated to our national defense. I know they've all waited for this day, and I know they're ready to work for you and with you.

I'm convinced the international scene today is defined by opportunity -- a chance to advance American interests and ideals, and to strengthen the forces of freedom now gaining a foot-hold in many places around the world.

Dick shares my belief that the chief national security lesson of this decade is simply this: strength secures peace.

That fact remains true -- even in the present time of transition in world affairs. Consider the key issue of change in the Soviet Union: There are still more questions than answers about the ultimate outcome of the changes taking place there.

What that demands of us is a flexible and forceful approach. We must be ready to seize favorable opportunities to improve relations with the Soviets -- but we must also remain ready and able in any event to secure our national interests.

And let me say clearly: now is not the time for America and its allies to make unilateral reductions, or to relax our defense efforts.

Everyone here knows that we're facing tough choices on defense programs. We must move ahead with plans to modernize our strategic and conventional forces. We must continue to turn the nation's technological capabilities to our strategic advantage, in SDI and other programs. But our need to deal with the deficit

Building
p. 159

FW speech
8/22/88 p. 2
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Peter Redman
3110

p. 160

FW speech
8/22/88 p. 3

Building p. 137

too strong
Peter Redman

What about 90 day study?

Building p.138

means we're working with limited resources. Dick, your task is to sort out which programs must go forward, and which we can't afford in the current fiscal climate. I'm convinced these difficult choices can be made -- in a way that preserves our defense capabilities.

Close cooperation with the Congress is essential -- and Dick Cheney's high standing on Capitol Hill will be a plus.

VFW Speech 8/20/88 p.16

Procurement reform is a case in point. Our aim should be a more stable and streamlined acquisition system -- but procurement reform can't be confined to the Pentagon alone. We will work with the Congress -- our partners in the process -- to move forward with the Packard Commission reforms, to adopt a two-year budget cycle, and to expand multi-year funding for major weapons systems.

Peter Rodman 3110 Building p.137

And stability begins with a commitment to maintain a steady, moderate and affordable increase in defense spending -- an increase we must have, in order to modernize and maintain our

Peter Rodman 3110

forces. Following the freeze for 1990, that means 1% real growth in 1991 and '92, rising to 2% in 1993. For too long, defense spending has ridden a roller-coaster -- unpredictable ups and downs, a recipe for waste and inefficiencies. Stable spending makes it possible to plan for the long-term -- and that's the basis of a more efficient and effective defense posture.

Building p.138

Peter Rodman 3110

I am convinced that in the years ahead America has the opportunity not only to safeguard our national security interests, but to take the lead in building a more peaceful world -- a world where freedom and democracy continue their advance.

continue to modernize

Peter Rodman's

I am confident that Dick Cheney will prove a positive force in keeping America strong and secure, free and at peace.

Dick, congratulations, and good luck.

OVERVIEW

The restoration of our Nation's military strength in the past decade has been one of the major factors in securing international peace and opening broad prospects for constructive relations with our adversaries. The responsibility to safeguard security and freedom is therefore not only the most important obligation shared by the President and Congress; it is perhaps the most important responsibility of the United States in the world.

Recent history demonstrates dramatically that when America is weakened, the world is a more dangerous place. When America is stronger, the world is safer. Thus, the benefit of restoring and maintaining our strength comes not only in improved readiness, modernization, and morale in our Armed Forces, but in the prospects for peace and freedom.

"We have to continue with our policy of peace through strength if we want an enduring improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations.

"To the world, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: we will stay strong to protect the peace."

George Bush

PRINCIPLES

- Our strategic forces must continue to be modernized, including ground, sea and air-based systems. This is essential for maintaining deterrence and making productive arms control negotiations possible.
- Arms control agreements must be judged not merely by the numbers of specific weapons they may reduce, but by how well they ensure a safer, more stable structure of security and peace lasting into the 21st century.
- The equipment available to our conventional forces, which defend our interests over a broad range of potential conflicts, must continue to be upgraded. We will also maintain the combat readiness of these forces by providing sufficient training and military exercises.
- Technological leadership must be maintained by supporting research necessary to the development of future systems. This includes the active pursuit of the Strategic Defense Initiative.
- We must build on the success of the recent past in recruiting and retaining high-quality military personnel.
- All opportunities must be pursued to make defense programs more efficient, to avoid waste and realize maximum capabilities from our investment in defense.

"I firmly believe that the vital first step to broadening our national consensus on defense is to wring the last drop of waste and mismanagement out of the way we buy our weapons. And that's what we intend to do."

George Bush

POLICIES

In the current context, the President is prepared to agree to a one-year freeze on the real growth of the defense budget, but only on condition that:

- The savings must be allocated to his priority initiatives for reducing the scourge of drugs and increasing our long-term economic growth.
- The defense spending level must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement that meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets without a tax increase and incorporates reforms in the budget process.

Under a freeze on real growth, there would be an increase of \$9.1 billion in budget authority over the 1989 level and an increase of \$1.4 billion in outlays. For the out-years, the President proposes real increases of 1 percent, 1 percent and 2 percent.

The President would like to embrace, even for the short term, the defense budget projections which are in the Reagan budget. Unfortunately, the current economic situation requires defense budget savings. The defense projections for the out-years must be based on perceptions of risk and the national security challenges facing America. They must also be reconciled with the demands of our economy and the state of international relationships. The President's basic task is to assure the national security of the United States. Therefore should conditions change, the President will obviously seek whatever adjustments are necessary to protect our security.

PROPOSED CHANGE				
(In billions of dollars)				
	1989	1990	Dollar Change	Percent Change
Budget Authority	290.2	299.3	+9.1	+3.1
Outlays	289.8	291.2	+1.4	+0.5

To produce the needed savings to meet this freeze in the defense budget:

- The President has instructed the National Security Council to review our national security policies and defense strategies with a view to ensuring compatibility among our commitments, strategies, capabilities, and resources. The National Security Council will recommend to the President within 90 days options for United States policy.
- The President charges the Secretary of Defense to improve the defense procurement process. The Secretary will develop a plan to implement the spirit as well as the letter of the Packard Commission report and the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The Secretary is charged to make the hard choices to reduce management overhead by eliminating unnecessary layers of bureaucracy, improving the quality of defense personnel at all layers, and eliminating or deferring lower-priority programs. Finally, the Secretary is charged to develop a plan for more efficient acquisition practices, such as streamlining some 40,000 defense regulations and laws, and using more commercial-style competition, off-the-shelf systems and subsystems, and services available in the private sector.
- It is necessary to recognize that many of these problems—such as the miasma of laws and procedures—stem from Congressional micromanagement. These reforms cannot be accomplished unless Congress does its share by streamlining its procedures of oversight

and budgeting, including more efficient practices such as two-year budgeting and multi-year procurement.

The Secretary of Defense will report to the President in not more than 90 days with recommendations to improve defense management, including steps that must be taken by Congress to improve management practices and procurement procedures. Within 60 days, the Secretary will provide specific program recommendations to meet 1990-91 budget targets without impairing national security.

FUNDING SUMMARY

(In billions of dollars)

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Budget Authority	290.2	299.3	311.0	322.0	335.9
Outlays	289.8	291.2	298.8	306.8	317.4

OVERVIEW

As the last decade of the 20th century approaches, the world is in transition as rarely before in history. It is poised between the post-World War II era and a new era whose outlines can begin to be discerned—and shaped. It is a world that affects American lives and livelihoods as never before. It is a world of rare opportunities—and some serious challenges.

"We know what works: freedom works. We know what's right: freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for men on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

George Bush

The free nations—the United States and its democratic allies and friends—can take pride as witnesses of trends in the world that represent the vindication of our values and our way of life:

- There is a close and prosperous partnership among us.
- A tide of freedom is flowing, with democracy flourishing in more and more countries around the globe and the cause of freedom and human rights proving itself the most powerful political force on the planet.
- There is a new appreciation of our philosophy of economic freedom, in developing and developed countries alike, and even in the Communist world. It is more broadly understood that free markets and private initiative are the engine of prosperity, technological advance and social progress.
- America's adversaries face a profound systemic crisis, with their economic and political theories discredited.
- There is an easing of tension between East and West, firmly grounded in concrete progress on a broad agenda of issues, from arms reduction to cooperative exchanges to human rights to resolving regional conflicts.

The free nations are also confronted by many challenges, but these are challenges to wise policy, not to the essence of the free system:

- There is the challenge to maintain unity even as a new era of more constructive relations with our adversaries begins. It is, after all, our strength and solidarity that brought the United States and its allies to this hopeful point.
- There are a host of economic challenges: correcting trade imbalances; maintaining free and fair trade, and preventing trading blocs or barriers; addressing debt problems that threaten emerging democracies and others. The free nations must look to the health and growth of a world economy in which all nations will feel a stake, resolving disputes and maintaining a robust and open world trading system.
- Technological advance brings with it unprecedented blessings. Yet it also brings the danger of proliferation of nuclear, chemical/biological, and ballistic missile weaponry. The world community must work practically and cooperatively to control and counter these dangers. The scourge of terrorism must also be combatted.
- There remain regions of conflict that call for intensified efforts for just and peaceful solutions: the Middle East, Indochina, Southern Africa, Central America, and elsewhere.

The first priority is relations with allies and friends. The neighboring countries in this hemisphere have a special claim on United States friendship and concern in building a vital partnership. The other industrial democracies, particularly in the Atlantic Community but also in East Asia and the Pacific, are allies sharing profound moral as well as strategic interests. And a new partnership with this nation's allies is needed to respond to the new global challenges.

Vice President Quayle's first trip was to Latin America. The Prime Minister of Japan just paid a successful visit to Washington. The President has asked Secretary of State Baker to consult with European allies in the coming week. The President looks forward to an early meeting with NATO leaders.

The changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are among the historic events of this era. The United States acknowledges that change, and hopes to see further change in that positive direction. This nation is ready to work with the Soviet Union in many areas, building on the significant progress that has been made. The agenda for the future includes regional conflicts, arms reduction, human rights, and bilateral exchanges as well as a host of new transnational challenges: the global environment, terrorism, narcotics, the proliferating technology of modern weaponry.

The United States welcomes the Soviet Union's expressions of its "new thinking," of its new approach to the world, and looks forward to concrete cooperation to give effect to those expressions. The United States is realistic, knowing that a significant clash of interests and philosophy still remains. But U.S. policy will probe in all parts of the expanded agenda with the Soviets and seize the positive opportunities as they become visible.

PRINCIPLES

- In a world of fundamental change, and of many flourishing democracies, one key principle remains valid: the American role of leadership remains as central and vital as ever. This nation is blessed with partners who share its values and efforts, but the United States also bears inescapable responsibilities as the most powerful democracy and the backbone of nuclear deterrence.
- To sustain the U.S. role of leadership in the world there must be a spirit of bipartisanship and cooperation at home. Where the President and Congress have worked together in the past, foreign policies have succeeded brilliantly. Where the two branches have been at odds, they have thwarted each other and the Nation's policies have suffered grievously.
- In an interdependent world, as America's stake in a healthy global economy grows, prosperity and progress depend more and more on the bedrock principle of freedom—a fair and open trading system that nurtures global expansion; freedom for entrepreneurship that is the most powerful engine of economic development and growth. The laws of economics do not discriminate; this is the formula for success for both advanced and developing nations.

POLICIES

The President has instructed the National Security Council to review the range of foreign policy and national security challenges facing the Nation. The National Security Council will recommend to the President within 90 days options for United States policy, designed to help shape events in furtherance of United States goals and ideals.

These policy reviews are underway.

The President and Secretary of State are pledged to consult and collaborate with Congress, as appropriate, as they design and implement policies for a new era.

President's
copy

(McGroarty/Blessey)
March 18, 1989
11:05 am

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD CHENEY
THE PENTAGON
MARCH 21, 1989

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This is a proud day for Dick's family, his wife Lynne -- who heads a vital effort of another sort, safeguarding our cultural heritage at the National Endowment for the Humanities -- and their daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. And I also want to welcome Dick's Mom and Dad, and the other family members who came east from Wyoming to join Dick on this important day.

Dick, let me outline some of the critical responsibilities you are taking on in this new assignment. Defense strategy and management, procurement reform, the day-to-day operations of our Armed Forces, and the long-range planning that will keep us free and secure into the next century -- all of these issues come to your desk. In a building where it can be a challenge getting from the A to the E Ring without getting lost, the challenges you'll face are truly enormous.

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Dick Cheney knows his way around Washington, he knows how things work on Capitol Hill and in the White House, and he'll

draw on that wealth of experience to make things work here at the Pentagon. Dick and I worked together in the Ford Administration on national security issues, when he was White House Chief of Staff and I was Director of Central Intelligence -- teamwork that paid off then, and will again.

And, Dick, you'll have help -- from the best Armed Forces in the world, and a civilian staff equally dedicated to our national defense. I know they've all waited for this day, and I know they're ready to work for you and with you.

I'm convinced the international scene today is defined by opportunity -- a chance to advance American interests and ideals, and to strengthen the forces of freedom now gaining a foot-hold in many places around the world.

Dick shares my belief that the chief national security lesson of this decade is simply this: strength secures peace.

That fact remains true -- even in the present time of transition in world affairs. Consider the key issue of change in the Soviet Union: There are still more questions than answers about the ultimate outcome of the changes taking place there.

Until these questions are answered, we should continue our successful policy of flexibility, combined with strength and firm resolve. We must be ready to seize favorable opportunities to improve relations with the Soviets -- but we must also remain ready and able in any event to secure our national interests.

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Everyone here knows that we're facing tough choices on defense programs. We must move ahead with plans to modernize our strategic and conventional forces. We must continue to turn the nation's technological capabilities to our strategic advantage, in SDI and other programs. But our need to deal with the deficit means we're working with limited resources. Dick, your task is to sort out our priorities -- which programs should continue, and which we can't afford in the current fiscal climate. I'm convinced these difficult choices can be made -- in a way that preserves our defense capabilities.

Close cooperation with the Congress is essential -- and Dick Cheney's high standing on Capitol Hill will be a plus.

Procurement reform is a case in point. Our aim should be a more stable and streamlined acquisition system -- but procurement reform can't be confined to the Pentagon alone. We will work with the Congress -- our partners in the process -- to move forward with the Packard Commission reforms, to adopt a two-year budget cycle, and to expand multi-year funding for major weapons systems.

And stability begins with a commitment to maintain a steady, moderate and affordable increase in defense spending -- an increase we must have, in order to maintain and continue to modernize our forces. Following the freeze for 1990, that means 1% real growth in 1991 and '92, rising to 2% in 1993. For too long, defense spending has ridden a roller-coaster -- unpredictable ups and downs, a recipe for waste and inefficiencies. Stable spending makes it possible to plan for

the long-term -- and that's the basis of a more efficient and effective defense posture.

And that long-term view is the one we must take, with the 21st Century only 11 years away.

I am convinced that in the years ahead the United States can take the lead in building a more peaceful international environment -- in laying the foundations for a new American Century, where freedom and democracy will flourish.

I am confident that Dick Cheney will play a pivotal part in keeping America strong and secure, free and at peace.

Dick, congratulations -- you have my complete confidence.

President's
copy
before

(McGroarty/Blessey)
March 17, 1989
8:05 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD CHENEY
THE PENTAGON
MARCH 21, 1989

I'm pleased today to participate in the administration of the oath of office to my Secretary of Defense, Congressman Dick Cheney.

This is a proud day for Dick's family, his wife Lynne -- who heads a vital ~~national security~~ effort of another sort, safeguarding our cultural heritage at the National Endowment for the Humanities -- and their daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. And I also want to welcome Dick's Mom and Dad, and the other family members who came east from Wyoming to join Dick on this important day.

Dick, let me outline some of the critical responsibilities you are taking on in this new assignment. Defense strategy and management, procurement reform, the day-to-day operations of our Armed Forces, and the long-range planning that will keep us free and secure into the next century -- all of these issues come to your desk. In a building where it can be a challenge getting from the A to the E Ring without getting lost, the challenges you'll face are truly enormous.

But so are the skills and talents you bring to the job.

Dick Cheney knows his way around Washington, he knows how things work on Capitol Hill and in the White House, and he'll

draw on that wealth of experience to make things work here at the Pentagon. Dick and I worked together in the Ford Administration on national security issues, when he was White House Chief of Staff and I was Director of Central Intelligence -- teamwork that paid off then, and will again.

And, Dick, you'll have help -- from the best Armed Forces in the world, and a civilian staff equally dedicated to our national defense. I know they've all waited for this day, and I know they're ready to work for you and with you.

I'm convinced the international scene today is defined by opportunity -- a chance to advance American interests and ideals, and to strengthen the forces of freedom now gaining a foot-hold in many places around the world.

Dick shares my belief that the chief national security lesson of this decade is simply this: strength secures peace.

That fact remains true -- even in the present time of transition in world affairs. Consider the key issue of change in the Soviet Union: There are still more questions than answers about the ultimate outcome of the changes taking place there.

Until these questions are answered, we should continue our successful policy of flexibility, combined with strength and firm resolve. We must be ready to seize favorable opportunities to improve relations with the Soviets -- but we must also remain ready and able in any event to secure our national interests.

And let me say clearly: now is not the time for America and its allies to make unilateral reductions, or to relax our defense efforts.

Everyone here knows that we're facing tough choices on defense programs. We must move ahead with plans to modernize our strategic and conventional forces. We must continue to turn the nation's technological capabilities to our strategic advantage, in SDI and other programs. But our need to deal with the deficit means we're working with limited resources. Dick, your task is to sort out our priorities -- which programs should continue, and which we can't afford in the current fiscal climate. I'm convinced these difficult choices can be made -- in a way that preserves our defense capabilities.

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BURTON^A STEVENSON

''

Editor *The Home Book of Verse, The Home
Book of Quotations, The Home Book
of Shakespeare Quotations*

Though old the thought and oft exprest,
'Tis his at last who says it best.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *For an Autograph.*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK

her husband, Also in a woman, chastitie, In wyne a good smel, In cloth good colour.

JOHN FLORIO, *Firste Fruites*, fo. 35 (1578)

1 Character and intellect: the two poles of our capacity. One without the other is but half-way to happiness. (Genio y ingenio: los dos ejes del lucimiento de prendas. El uno sin el otro, felicidad á medias.)

BALTASAR GRACIAN, *Oráculo Manual*. Maxim 2. (1647)

2 He was not a sweet-tempered man. (οὐ γὰρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ.)

HOMER, *Iliad*. Bk. xx, l. 467. (c. 850 B. C.) Referring to Achilles.

God never made a more crabbed elfe.

JOHN HEYWOOD, *Proverbs*. Pt. i, ch. 11. (1546)

Crouching at home, and cruel when abroad.

DRYDEN, *Annus Mirabilis*. St. 1. (1666)

He was a scoundrel and a coward: a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half a crown to a beggarly Scotchman to draw the trigger after his death.

SAMUEL JOHNSON. BOSWELL, *Life*, 1754. Referring to Henry Saint-John, first Viscount Bolingbroke, whose works were edited by David Mallet after his death.

A very unclubbable man.

SAMUEL JOHNSON. BOSWELL, *Life*, 1764. Referring to Sir John Hawkins. Johnson must have been proud of the phrase, for he repeated it to Fanny Burney, who recorded it in her diary, 3 Aug., 1778, as "Sir John was a most unclubbable man." CONAN DOYLE, *The Greek Interpreter* (1893), speaks of the Diogenes Club as containing "the most unclubbable men in town."

A demd damp, moist, unpleasant body.

DICKENS, *Nicholas Nickleby*. Ch. 34. (1838)

The sociability of a rattlesnake and the bedside manner of a frozen turnip.

O. HENRY (W. S. PORTER), *The Handbook of Hymen*. (1907)

A labor-baiting, poker-playing, whiskey-drinking, evil old man.

JOHN L. LEWIS, *Statement to the Press*, Washington, 27 July, 1939, referring to Vice-President John N. Garner.

3 He was worse than provincial—he was parochial.

HENRY JAMES, of H. D. Thoreau. See BROOKS, *New England: Indian Summer*, p. 295.

4 Force of character and weakness of character are ill named; they are in truth nothing but good or bad physique. (La force et la faiblesse de l'esprit sont mal nommées: elles ne sont en effet que la bonne ou la mauvaise disposition des organes du corps.)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, *Maximes*. No. 44. (1665)

When our character deteriorates our taste also

deteriorates. (Quand notre mérite baisse, notre goût baisse aussi.)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, *Maximes*. No. 379.

5 A man whose character was great rather than good. (Vir ingenii magni magis quam boni.)

LIVY, *Fragments*. Frag. 54, Herz. (c. 9 B. C.)

Quoted by SENECA, *De Ira*, i, 20, who denies that there can be any such separation in character: it will be either good or else not great.

6 To each of us is allotted character, as garrison-commander. (ἐκάστῳ τὸν τρόπον συνέκισαν | φρουραρχόν.)

MENANDER, *The Arbitrants*, l. 881. (c. 300 B. C.)

7 Listen to a man's words and look at the pupil of his eye. How can a man conceal his character?

MENCIUS, *Discourses*. Bk. iv, pt. i, ch. 15, sec. 2. (c. 300 B. C.)

'Tis character persuades, not empty words. (τρόπος ἐστὶ ὁ πείθειν τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος.)

PLUTARCH, *Moralia: How to Study Poetry*, 33F. (c. A. D. 95) Quoting a fragment of unknown authorship. Repeated, 801C.

What art thou, that thou art; that God knoweth thee to be and thou canst be said to be no greater. (Quod es, hoc es: nec maior dici vales quam Deo teste sis.)

THOMAS À KEMPIS, *De Imitatione Christi*. Bk. ii, ch. 6, sec. 3. (c. 1420)

We pass for what we are. Character teaches above our wills.

R. W. EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Self-Reliance*. (1841)

Human character evermore publishes itself.

EMERSON, *Essays: Spiritual Laws*.

A man passes for what he is worth. What he is engraves itself on his face in letters of light

EMERSON, *Essays: Spiritual Laws*.

Use what language you will, you can never say anything but what you are.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Worship*. (1860)

Don't say things. What you are stands over you the while, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary.

EMERSON, *Social Aims*. (1875)

8 A man's own character shapes his fortune. (Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.)

CORNELIUS NEPOS, *De Viris Illustribus: Atticus*. (c. 50 B. C.) As quoted by ERASMUS, *Adagia*, ii, iv, 30. Referred to as a "true saying." In his comment, Erasmus cites a somewhat similar proverb, "To a good man fortune supplies good things in abundance" (Viro bono fortuna suppeditat bona).

"Mores," of course, can be translated in many ways, manners, morals, way of life, conduct. TAVERNER, in his *Translations from Erasmus*, fo. 37, renders it, "A man's own maners do shape hym his fortune," and adds that a man's fortune is due not to chance, but to his own "qualities, touches, conditions and proceedyngs."

1 Character is much easier kept than r
THOMAS PAINE, *The Crisis*. No. xv.

2 He was pepper, not a man. (Piper, no
PETRONIUS, *Satyricon*. Sec. 44. (c. A.
So over violent, or over civil,
That every man, with him, was God o
JOHN DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitoi*
l. 557. (1681)

The Porcupine, whom one must Hand
May be Respected, but is never Loved
ARTHUR GUITERMAN, *A Poet's Prover*

3 Not by age but by character is wi
tained. (Non aetate, verum ingenio,
sapientia.)

PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, l. 367. (c. 194

4 If parts allure thee, think how Baco
The wisest, brightest, meanest of ma
POPE, *Essay on Man*. Epis. iv, l. 281.

5 A good character is for remembran
PTAH-HOTEP, *Instruction*. No. 35. (c.

A good character is a man's protectio
UNKNOWN, *Petrograd Papyrus*, 111
31. (c. 2000 B. C.)

6 He was valiant in war and wise in
a thing most difficult to achieve. (Q
cillum in primis est, et proelio
erat et bonus consilio.)

SALLUST, *Bellum Jugurthinum*. Ch. 7. (

Of Jugurtha.

7 High-stomach'd are they both, and f
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire
SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*, i, 1, 18. (1
When he is best, he is a little worse th
and when he is worst, he is little bett
beast.

SHAKESPEARE, *The Merchant of Veni*
(1597)

A stony adversary, an inhuman wretch
Uncapable of pity.

SHAKESPEARE, *Merchant of Venice*, iv

8 And these few precepts in thy memo
See thou character [inscribe].

SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, i, 3, 59. (160

9 Ladies, your most obedient—(Aside
on me, here is the whole set! a chara
at every word. . . . I'm called awa
ticular business. But I leave my cha
hind me.

R. B. SHERIDAN, *The School for Scam*
sc. 2. (1777) See also under REPU

10 It is safest to be moderately base.
SYDNEY SMITH, *Letter to the Electo*

11 Trust nobility of character more thar
(καλοκάγαθίαν ὄρκον πιστοτέρην ἔχε.)

SOLON, *Maxim*. (c. 600 B. C.) See
LAERTIUS, i, 60.

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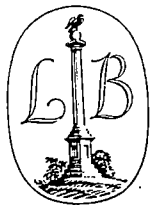
L. Familiar Quotations

*A collection of passages, phrases and
proverbs traced to their sources in
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



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1 He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks into the mind, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful may be called intelligent indeed.

Ib. 12:6

2 In carrying on your government, why should you use killing [the unprincipled for the good of the unprincipled] at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows across it.

Ib. 12:19

3 Good government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted.

Ib. 13:16, ii

4 The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue.

Ib. 13:27

5 The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar.

Ib. 14:3

6 The man who in the view of gain thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends—such a man may be reckoned a complete man.

Ib. 14:13, ii

7 He who speaks without modesty will find it difficult to make his words good.

Ib. 14:21

8 The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions.

Ib. 14:29

9 Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.

Ib. 14:36, iii

10 The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete.

Ib. 15:8

11 If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand.

Ib. 15:11

12 The superior man is distressed by his want of ability.

Ib. 15:18

13 What the superior man seeks is in himself. What the mean man seeks is in others.

Ib. 15:20

14 What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.¹

15:23

15 When a man's knowledge is sufficient to attain, and his virtue is not sufficient to en-

¹See *Matthew 7:12*, 38:14, and *Aristotle*, 87:3.

able him to hold, whatever he may have gained, he will lose again.

Ib. 15:32, i

16 The superior man cannot be known in little matters, but he may be entrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be entrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters.

Ib. 15:33

17 Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue.

Ib. 15:34

18 By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.

Ib. 17:2

19 To be able to practice five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue. . . . [They are] gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness.

Ib. 17:6

20 There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth . . . lust. When he is strong . . . quarrelsomeness. When he is old . . . covetousness.

Ib. 17:8

21 Without recognizing the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man.

Ib. 20:3, i

22 Without an acquaintance with the rules of propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established.

Ib. 20:3, ii

23 Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men.

Ib. 20:3, iii

Heraclitus

c. 540 – c. 480 B.C.

24 All is flux, nothing stays still.²

From *DIODEGENES LAERTIUS, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, bk. IX, sec. 8*, and *PLATO, Cratylus, 402A*

25 Nothing endures but change.³ *Ib.*

26 It is wise to listen, not to me but to the Word, and to confess that all things are one.

On the Universe, 4 fragment 1

27 Nature is wont to hide herself.

Ib. 10

28 Much learning does not teach understanding.⁵

Ib. 16

²See Tyndall, 580:3.

³See Racan, 265:3; Swift, 321:16; Shelley, 466:11; and Wilde, 676:4.

⁴Translated by W. H. S. JONES (Loeb Classical Library).

⁵See Lao-tzu, 65:10; Confucius, 68:10; Chaucer, 147:2; Selden, 263:18; Penn, 314:19; and Newman, 490:14.

1 This world . . . ever was, and is, and shall be, ever-living Fire, in measures being kindled and in measures going out.

Ib. 20

2 God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, surfeit and hunger.

Ib. 36

3 You could not step twice into the same rivers;¹ for other waters are ever flowing on to you.

Ib. 41

4 The opposite is beneficial; from things that differ comes the fairest attunement; all things are born through strife.

Ib. 46

5 Couples are wholes and not wholes, what agrees disagrees, the concordant is discordant. From all things one and from one all things.

Ib. 59

6 The road up and the road down is one and the same.

Ib. 69

7 Man, like a light in the night, is kindled and put out.

Ib. 77

8 When is death not within ourselves? . . . Living and dead are the same, and so are awake and asleep, young and old.²

Ib. 78

9 The people should fight for their law as for a wall.

Ib. 100

10 It is better to hide ignorance, but it is hard to do this when we relax over wine.

Ib. 108

11 A man's character is his fate.

Ib. 121

Themistocles

c. 528 — c. 462 B.C.

12 Tuning the lyre and handling the harp are no accomplishments of mine, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great.

From PLUTARCH, Lives, Themistocles, sec. 2

13 The wooden wall is your ships.³

Ib. 10

¹Usually quoted as: river.

²See Euripides, 77:21; Aristophanes, 82:21; Montaigne, 165:9; and Calderón de la Barca, 273:2.

³This was Themistocles' interpretation to the Athenians in 480 B.C. of the second oracle at Delphi: "Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children." The account appears in full in HERODOTUS, *Histories*, bk. VII, sec. 141-143.

14 Strike, but hear me.⁴

Ib. 11

15 [Of his son] The boy is the most powerful of all the Hellenes; for the Hellenes are commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by myself, myself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy.

Ib. 18

16 [Of two suitors for his daughter's hand] I choose the likely man in preference to the rich man; I want a man without money rather than money without a man.

From PLUTARCH, Lives, Themistocles, sec. 18

17 I have with me two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion.⁵

Ib. 21

18 The speech of man is like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too has to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it is rolled up it conceals and distorts them.

Ib. 29

19 He who commands the sea has command of everything.⁶

From CICERO, Ad Atticum, X, 8

20 [Upon being asked whether he would rather be Achilles or Homer] Which would you rather be—a victor in the Olympic games, or the announcer of the victor?

From PLUTARCH, Apothegms, Themistocles

Aeschylus

525-456 B.C.

21 I would far rather be ignorant than knowledgeable of evils.

The Suppliants, l. 453

22 "Reverence for parents" stands written among the three laws of most revered righteousness.⁷

Ib. l. 707

23 Myriad laughter of the ocean waves.

Prometheus Bound, l. 89

24 For somehow this is tyranny's disease, to trust no friends.

Ib. l. 224

25 Words are the physicians of a mind diseased.⁸

Ib. l. 378

26 Time as he grows old teaches all things.

Ib. l. 981

⁴Said in reply to Eurybiades, commander of the Spartan fleet, when he raised his staff as though to strike.

⁵Said to the Andrians, when demanding money from them, to which they replied that they already had two great gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

⁶See Bacon, 18:11; Waller, 276:3; Washington, 379:5; Mahan, 642:8; and Morison, 800:11.

⁷See *Exodus* 20:12, 10:7.

⁸See Milton, 288:24.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, August 22, 1988

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS 89TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1988

Thank you, Commander Stock.

President Katkus and members of the Ladies Auxiliary, fellow members of the VFW, it's a pleasure to be with you here in Chicago.

I suppose it's fitting that I should speak to you this morning in "the city with the big shoulders," because I have come to talk about American strength, American security, America's commitment to her veterans and fundamental, solid American values.

As you know, I have just come from another convention --- our Party's national convention in New Orleans. It was an exciting week -- full of hoopla to be sure, but also devoted to some very serious business.

I left that convention for this heartland of our country, the Midwest, energized and ready to go to every corner of America -- because there is one thing I must tell you about this election: I mean to run hard -- fight hard -- I mean to win.

The choice before you is serious business -- because my opponent and I have very different philosophies when it comes to leading this country.

Fifty years ago, appeasement tempted Nazi aggression -- and the world was plunged into war.

Since then, American Presidents -- Democratic and Republican alike -- have been united on one point.

Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "We have learned the old, old lesson that the probability of an attack is mightily decreased by the assurance of an ever ready defense."

John F. Kennedy said: "Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain-beyond-doubt that they will never be employed."

And the other night, on a podium in the New Orleans Superdome, I explained that the Administration in which I have proudly served had acted on the ancient knowledge that strength and clarity lead to peace -- weakness and ambivalence lead to war. Weakness tempts aggressors. Strength stops them. It is that simple.

Today, the world is changing fast. We stand on the edge not only of a new decade, but of a new century.

Let's take stock of our changing world as we enter this new era.

The spirit of democracy is sweeping the Pacific rim. New democracies assert themselves throughout Latin America. The Soviets are withdrawing from Afghanistan. The Vietnamese are withdrawing from Cambodia. Iran and Iraq are silencing the guns of war. And the Cubans may even be ready to withdraw from Angola.

And we have a new relationship with the Soviet Union. One that demands continued caution and realism; but one that has allowed us to sign a treaty which -- for the first time in history -- eliminates an entire class of nuclear weapons.

Peace is breaking out all over -- and it is no accident.

It happened because we as a country recognized and pursued the truth for which the VFW has stood since its inception. Peace through strength works. So let me say this morning: I will not allow this country to be made weak again.

As veterans, you know better than anyone else the terrible cost of war.

I, too, almost lost my life in one.

I hate war. I love peace. We have peace -- and I am not going to let anyone take it away from us.

I think it is fair to ask this morning whether my opponent understands this fundamental truth: that strength deters aggression. That the way to peace is through strength.

For many years, he supported the nuclear freeze. And what would that freeze have done?

- It would have locked in Soviet superiority in a range of strategic areas;

- It would have prevented us from deploying the Pershing Missiles in Europe. How else would we have convinced the Soviets that we were serious about having them remove their 1,000 SS-20 warheads at a time when we had none.

- Ultimately, for precisely that reason, the freeze would have failed to bring the Soviets back to the negotiating table to sign the INF Treaty.

In the microwave oven of the campaign, my opponent's position on the freeze has started to melt -- in belated recognition of the fact that our policies are working.

After this convenient switch of policies, my opponent would have you believe that he's closer to Ronald Reagan on defense policy than I am.

Jeane Kirkpatrick tells about the "blame America first" crowd. Governor Tom Kean tells about the crowd that sent America around the world in the 1970's with a "kick me" sign on its back.

Well, I do not need lessons from that crowd. I've never apologized for the United States of America -- never have, never will. And I don't believe in making unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union or anyone else.

Only a willingness to keep our arms up to date makes the Soviet Union respect America's deterrent. Only the constant modernization of our forces, complete with the testing of new systems, gives the Soviets the incentive to negotiate real arms control agreements.

I plan, to negotiate strategic arms reductions with the Soviets. And I plan to put priority on eliminating Soviet superiority in conventional forces. But I will not do what my opponent has suggested -- get rid of the MX, the Midgetman, the B-1 bomber and two carrier battle groups. I will not make such unilateral cuts in our defense.

I believe that we as a nation should be proud, that we must be realistic and strong, that we have a special responsibility in this world to lead, to remain engaged, and to defend and advance the cause of freedom around the world.

Pride. Realism. Strength. Engagement. These are the principles which have made us the strongest, freest nation on earth. And they are the pillars on which we should depend in the next century. And to these, I would add: honor for those who have served.

Our veterans have made a special sacrifice to this country -- and we should honor that sacrifice by meeting our duty to them.

I'll be a President who favors veterans -- after all, I'm one of you.

I know how we can start. For about 25 years, bills have been introduced in Congress to make the Veterans Administration a full Cabinet department. I support having the VA at my Cabinet table.

I will make sure that veterans preference in Federal hiring is not diluted -- if anything, it should be strengthened.

I will do everything I can to resolve the fates of our prisoners of war and soldiers missing in action. None of us can forget -- none of us can totally be at peace until all our POWs and MIAs are accounted for.

And I would pay attention to something else: America's veterans are getting older -- over six million are over age 65. In this Administration, we've opened 10 geriatric care centers in VA hospitals around the country. But we can do more. I would work to build a health care policy for older veterans that could serve as a model for all Americans.

Vietnam Veterans deserve our help as well -- they will not be forgotten. They'll get the services and treatment they need and deserve.

Keeping the faith with veterans is not just a matter of trust -- it's a pillar of a sound national security policy, and I'm going to do it.

What of the other pillars?

Let's start with pride. I've seen a lot in my life since I first stepped into a plane to defend my country. I've worked in China, at the U.N., met dozens of world leaders, and I ran the intelligence community of this country as Director of Central Intelligence. But nothing prepared me -- nothing -- for the shock that we felt in 1981 when we got a good look at our military.

Aircraft that couldn't fly because of lack of spare parts. Ships that couldn't sail for lack of crews and ammunition. A one and one half ocean Navy for a three ocean commitment. An Army unable to recruit the people it needed. More than half our divisions rated not ready. A military headed for high tech in its weapons and low tech in its skills.

It was pathetic!

We don't ever want to see that again. And if I'm elected President, we won't.

Look at what we have already done. Our military people had to know that our government was four-square behind them. Respect for the uniform. Respect and honor for the young men and women who defend our values. And ultimately, of course, that meant respect for the United States of America.

We've been working toward a 600-ship Navy with 15 aircraft carriers ready to go. We're giving soldiers the beans and the bullets to do the job. Trained pilots in capable planes. The Marines, proud and ready. The highest level of skills we've ever had in the military. The right people with the right stuff.

You know, George C. Marshall was once asked what America's fighting secret was. And his answer was simple: "The best damn kids in the world."

Well, every single member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has told me that we have never had finer young men and women in the services than we do today. I'm proud of them, and I'm happy to say that once again America is, too.

The second point I mentioned was realism. A word about the Soviet Union, in this regard. I've spent some time with Mr. Gorbachev. Andrei Gromyko was right. He's got a nice smile. He's also got teeth of iron. And one major reason why he favors agreements now -- is because we're strong.

The improvements made to our nuclear deterrent over the last eight years have helped turn the arms control process in a constructive direction. But we're not out of the woods yet. The Soviets are now deploying two new ICBM's, the SS-24 and SS-25. So even with perestroika, Soviet military modernization, including their own research into strategic defense, has not slackened. Soviet military spending continues to rise.

So what's the answer? Do the practical thing. Reduce offensive weapons through arms control in a way that stabilizes the balance. But keep the balance, keep deterrence working to prevent war by modernizing our weapons. And invest in the Strategic Defense Initiative.

In the event of a crisis, we certainly would want the best information possible. A President would need the most up to date communications system in the world -- so that he would have the ability to send and receive secret messages as rapidly as possible in the event of an attack.

Our nation has designed such a communications system -- which spans the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It's called the Ground Wave Emergency Network -- or GWEN for short. My friend James Schlesinger, a former Secretary of Defense, reported that of the 56 planned GWEN sites around the country, 52 have been completed. Only one Governor refused to

have a site anywhere in his state -- the Governor of Massachusetts. Only one!

Building America's strength costs money, and many people rightly ask if we can afford it. Perhaps a little historical comparison is in order here.

President Kennedy's name has been invoked for all sorts of things lately. But here's a figure that surprised me and I'm sure it will surprise you. In 1960, when Kennedy became President, 45 percent of the federal budget went for defense.

Well, guess what the figures are now, even after what I'm proud to call the Reagan-Bush defense build-up. Defense outlays account for 27% of the federal budget. That's right. The defense budget takes less -- far less -- of a percentage of our budget than it did in John Kennedy's times.

The trick now is to keep our defense budget on an even keel, not to run it down so low that suddenly we've got to invest not only for the future but also to make up for the failures of the past.

The real issue now is not huge increases in defense which we don't need or huge cuts which we can't afford. The issue is ensuring that we get the best bang for our buck.

A word in that regard about the Pentagon. There is no more need to tolerate waste in defense resources than there is to tolerate fraud. Like espionage, fraud and waste weaken us secretly.

It's time to ferret out all corruption at the Pentagon.

Congress can help, too, by cutting down on its micro-management, and -- as an example -- having the courage to close unneeded bases.

I've reviewed the report of the Commission headed by David Packard, and I endorse most of its findings.

Specifically, we should:

- Get Congress to change our complex procurement laws to combine all of them into one single government-wide procurement statute. The more complicated our system, the more spread out it is in different laws, the more wide open it is to fraud, abuse, and just plain old waste.

- Move to a multi-year budgeting process. If ever there was an argument for planning ahead; it is in national defense. America's security shouldn't have to get on the Congressional budget roller coaster every year. The ride should be smooth and steady. I will work with Congress to make this change.

Defense Procurement

- And we must cut the bureaucracy, and I don't mean cutting the guys who repair the ships and fix the planes. I mean eliminating unnecessary layers of senior and middle management that just make for more paperwork and not more security.

Finally, I mentioned engagement.

We do have a special mission in the world; we are the flagship of freedom.

Ever since we helped rebuild Europe and Japan after the war, we have had a partnership with our allies. Today, they are stronger -- and better able to help in meeting new challenges. They should do more, and they will do more, if I am elected.

We led the fight in combatting terrorism by striking against Qadhafi in Libya. Not everybody liked it but today we have stronger cooperation in meeting the terrorist threat. My opponent refused to support this action, but let me say this: if terrorists murder innocent Americans, and we have the evidence as we did in the case of Libya, I will strike again.

We showed leadership in protecting the flow of oil to the free world through the Persian Gulf. But now some, including my opponent, were quick to criticize our efforts but the parties are talking peace. And just imagine the cost to the economic growth of the free world if that oil supply had been shut down. The verdict is clear: with Iran-Iraq talking peace our policy was right in the Gulf, and our hand-wringing critics were wrong.

And thank God we didn't listen to my opponent who wanted us to finesse our responsibility to lead by turning the United Nations to put together some international fleet.

Yesterday was a sad anniversary. On that day in August of 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union agreed to a non-aggression pact that helped set the stage for the War in which many of you fought. In no time, they were greedily dividing up Poland. And not long after, they started fighting each other.

Stalin and Hitler. What a fitting reminder that the world is a dangerous place.

In this kind of a world, full of both danger and hope, full of new technologies and old desires, full of unlimited promise but potentially devastating crisis, the question I put before you is who should lead this great country -- this last best hope of man on earth.

Because what it all comes down to, when you strip away all the political rhetoric and all the campaigning, when you reduce

all the fancy names for new weapons and complex international situations to the cold hard truth of decisions -- is the man at the desk.

Who do you want at that desk? A man who has stood at the side of our President for the last eight years, who has been in battle, seen tragedy and victory, who has read the urgent cables, faced the tough choices, and seen the tears in the eye of a dead soldier's mother.

The man at the desk. I think America wants tough, tested, and experienced leadership in the man who sits at that desk as we begin the 1990s. My friends, I am that man.

Thank you very much.

Cheney Rides Good Will In First Day of Hearing

Strong Defense Urged; Doubt on Soviets Cited

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary-designate Dick Cheney sailed through his first day of Senate confirmation hearings yesterday on a tide of relief and bipartisan good will that contrasted sharply with the bitter battle over former senator John G. Tower, who was rejected for the post by the Senate last week.

As the Senate Armed Services Committee opened two days of hearings on Cheney's nomination, both Democrats and Republicans indicated that barring surprises, the popular 48-year-old Wyoming congressman and House minority whip will be confirmed by virtual acclamation.

While a vote has not been scheduled, Senate leaders have said they expect committee action by the end of the week, with a final Senate vote possible but not likely before the Senate leaves for a two-week recess on Friday.

At yesterday's hearing, Cheney received judgment on most critical defense issues that are now undergoing review by the Bush administration but cautioned against any reduction of U.S. defenses because of what he described as uncertainty over the future of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

While he has become convinced that Gorbachev is committed to a policy of reform in the Soviet Union, Cheney told the senators it would be a grave mistake for us at this point to reduce our military capability or lessen our defense posture.

problems that Gorbachev faces, he said, "I am frankly skeptical about the chances for his success" in achieving internal reforms. Western powers should guard against the possibility that Gorbachev will be replaced by "someone who does not share his commitment to reform or [his] nonthreatening posture toward the West."

Asked how the United States should respond to unilateral military force reductions that have been pledged by the Soviets, Cheney said it is important that "we not fall into the trap of having to respond to the offer of the week."

While Cheney acknowledged a need to gain more detailed familiarity with some key military issues, including the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and weapons procurement procedures, senators appeared unperturbed that he might spend his early days at the Pentagon in on-the-job training.

Tower, a former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, had far more experience with defense policy and practices than Cheney but was brought down by allegations that he abused alcohol, had indiscreet relations with women and profited as a defense consultant from his previous government service.

Tower's nomination was rejected by the Senate last Thursday on a largely party-line vote of 53 to 47. Earlier, the armed services panel had voted along party lines, 11 to 9, against Tower's confirmation.

Senators made no reference to Tower during their questioning but repeatedly alluded almost gratefully to Cheney's family, including wife Lynne and daughters Elizabeth and Mary, who sat behind him during the hearing. They also referred to



Cheney is flanked by Wyoming colleagues, GOP Sens. Malcolm Wallop, left, and Alan K. Simpson, at yesterday's hearing.

what Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) called Cheney's reputation for "moral character."

Toward the end of the hearing, ranking committee Republican John W. Warner (Va.) asked Cheney about the draft deferments he received as a student and young father during the 1960s.

As already disclosed, Cheney said he attended college and graduate school from 1963 to 1968 and received deferments during that period. "I would have been happy to serve if called," he added.

Senators did not question him further on the deferments, asking only if there was anything else in his private life that might disqualify him. He said there was nothing.

Asked about his history of heart attacks and coronary bypass surgery last summer, Cheney read a letter from his physician, Dr. Allan

M. Ross, director of cardiology at George Washington University Medical Center, who described Cheney as "presently fit to accept any position requiring the highest intellectual behavior and physical performance."

The committee is still awaiting a Federal Bureau of Investigation report on Cheney's background, which Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) said he and Warner will review as soon as it arrives.

On defense-related issues, Cheney said that, while he is a strong supporter of the SDI missile defense system, the funding level for the program remains an "open question."

Similarly, while advocating mobile missiles, he deferred any choice between the multiwarhead MX and single-warhead Midgetman, pending completion of current reviews.

While Congress and the administration must guard against budget cuts that endanger national security, including across-the-board reductions under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget law, he said, "The bottom line is that we can't have everything we want to buy unless we have a lot more money than we have today."

Asked about a revision of the War Powers Resolution that has been drafted by Nunn and others, Cheney said, "It sounds to me as though it would be a significant improvement."

The proposal eliminates the resolution's requirement that Congress authorize a military operation lasting longer than 90 days in exchange for strengthened procedures for White House consultation with Congress.

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Cheney Physically Fit for Job, Doctors Say

Heart Ailments Judged as Unlikely to Hamper Performance

By Susan Okie
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Dick Cheney's history of heart disease would be unlikely to affect his performance as secretary of defense, thanks chiefly to his successful quadruple coronary bypass operation last August, medical experts said yesterday.

Cheney, 48, has had three heart attacks—in 1978, 1984 and last June. Yesterday, during his confirmation hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Cheney released a letter from his doctor declaring him mentally and physically fit for the job.

"His recovery has been excellent and he has been advised to pursue unrestricted professional and recreational objectives," Dr. Allan M. Ross, director of cardiology at George Washington University Medical Center, said in the letter.

Cheney's former high cholesterol

has been brought under control with medications, the letter said. It did not list the drugs he is taking, but said none have side effects that would affect his judgment or behavior.

Heart specialists interviewed yesterday said that even though Cheney's first heart attack came in his late 30s, the apparent success of his bypass surgery—as evidenced by his ability to ski in Colorado last Christmas—greatly reduces the risk of his suffering a fatal heart attack during his tenure as defense secretary.

"His 10-year outlook is absolutely superb," said Dr. Thomas Ryan, chief of cardiology at Boston University Medical School.

During the bypass operation, Cheney's surgeon, Dr. Benjamin L. Aaron of George Washington University Medical School, attached grafts to four blood vessels supply-

ing the heart muscle in order to relieve obstructions that were reducing blood flow.

Aaron and Ross were not available for comment yesterday. But Ross said in the letter to committee chairman Sam Nunn that the operation was not done primarily to increase Cheney's life expectancy, but to allow him "to more safely engage in his rather vigorous lifestyle." Cheney enjoys skiing, tennis and backpacking, according to his press secretary, Pete Williams.

Most studies of the long-term effects of coronary bypass surgery have followed patients for less than 10 years. But experts said several such studies suggest that the operation reduces the risk of fatal heart attacks, especially in patients with narrowing of all three major vessels supplying the heart muscle.

The narrowing is caused by the accumulation of fat deposits in

blood vessel walls, a process that is not affected by the surgery. In many patients, such deposits eventually block the grafted vessels too, making a second operation necessary.

Without surgery, a patient with narrowing of the major arteries supplying the heart has between a 4 percent and 8 percent risk of dying from a heart attack each year, said Dr. Michael H. Crawford, codirector of cardiology at the University of Texas Health Science Center. He said studies indicate that surgery reduces the annual risk to between 1 percent and 2 percent.

One recent study suggests that using medications to lower cholesterol may improve the outlook further in patients with high cholesterol levels, he added. In that study, about one-third of patients who received such treatment showed improvement in previously narrowed areas of coronary arteries, he said.

Cheney had been a smoker for 20 years when he suffered his first heart attack in 1978, but he has said he gave up smoking after the attack and went on a strict dietary and medical regimen.

Winds Gusting to 120 mph Blast Parts of Plains States

Associated Press

Winds blowing up to 120 mph blasted the western Plains states and stirred up blinding dust storms yesterday, to the point where "the whole county is in the air, so to speak," according to a secretary at the Thomas County sheriff's office in Colby, Kan. She said all roads in and out of Colby were closed.

Gusts up to 120 mph near Loveland in eastern Colorado knocked down trees and utility poles, wiped out a section of bleachers at Bandimere Speedway and closed eastern Plains roads with blowing dirt.

A dozen ski lifts in Colorado's Summit County were shut down for a time by the wind. On Monday,

220 skiers had to be evacuated from a chairlift at Aspen Mountain resort when a gust knocked the lift cable off its track.

In Loveland, the wind shoved a truck across U.S. Rte. 287 and knocked it onto its side, and toppled utility poles near the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. Trees were knocked down in western Denver.

Winds gusted to 53 mph at Pueblo, Colo., 66 mph at Hill City, Kan., and 86 mph west of Albin, Wyo.

In western Kansas, visibility was reduced to about a city block in Garden City and Hill City. State authorities reported numerous traffic accidents, and many roads, including sections of Interstate 70, were closed.

Thursday's Washington Home Section looks into the new interest in tole and other painted tinware.

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David S. Broder

Good News Cheney

WP
3/15
A23

Here are three things to understand about Rep. Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.), which will explain why President Bush made such a superb choice in naming him as secretary of defense following the John Tower fiasco. Cheney is smart, he is tough and he is totally trustworthy.

Put those qualities together, and you have a man who will bring real strength and rare judgment to the administration. At 48, Cheney already has proven himself exceeding competent in both the executive and legislative branches of government, performing admirably as President Ford's White House chief of staff and then rising in very few years to the second-ranking leadership position of House Republicans.

His brain is as good as anyone's in town, and he is totally unafraid to voice his convictions in any company. From the time I first encountered him as a University of Wisconsin Ph.D. candidate working on the staff of an equally brainy young congressman, the late Bill Steiger, he has displayed qualities that command the respect of people much older than he is—and often of very different policy views.

Though he is a conservative by conviction and a staunch partisan Republican, he is admired by dozens of Democratic colleagues. He has a particularly close relationship with House Majority Leader Tom Foley (D-Wash.), a man of similar talent and temperament. Like Foley, Cheney plays down his own importance and conceals his shrewdness behind an engaging western humor.

Cheney and his wife, Lynne, the head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, are perhaps the most literate couple in town, individually turning out highly readable essays and, jointly, a fine book on leaders of the House. But Cheney's true calling is government, and in that field there are few better.

Although Cheney's career roots are in Congress, his viewpoint is almost always that of a president's man. No one fought harder during the post-Watergate period and in the Iran-contra affair against measures he thought would inhibit future presidents from exercising their full powers as commander in chief and negotiator in chief. An essay Cheney wrote for an American Enterprise Institute conference this week, on what he calls "congressional aggrandizement" in the national security area, criticizes "aggrandizers" as varied as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas) and doubtless will provoke questions at Cheney's confirmation hearings.

But Cheney is totally consistent in his view, favoring a strong president—even if it's a Democrat. He told reporters in a 1987 interview that he would far rather see the Democrats nominate Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), the Armed Services Committee chairman and architect of Tower's defeat, than "a governor with no foreign policy experience," like Massachusetts' Michael Dukakis. Nunn would have a far better chance of beating the Republican nominee, Cheney allowed. But that was more than offset, in his view, by the prospect that if Nunn won, the nation would get what he considered a highly qualified president.

The Cheney nomination demonstrates, once again, that George Bush has quick recuperative powers and the ability to do well with his second efforts. Bush showed that earlier by winning the presidency on his second try and, in that second effort, recouping in New Hampshire what he had lost in the opening contest in Iowa.

Recovery skills are about as useful a trait as a president can possess. No way will the occupant of the Oval Office go through four years, or eight, without bumping into adversity. The ability to come back from such a blow, to shake off the aftereffects and think clearly about what needs to be done, is what distinguishes the political survivors from those who contribute, willfully, to their own political demise. Bush is a survivor.

In choosing Cheney, Bush has completed what may well be the most skilled, politically sophisticated trio of national security officials Washington has seen in decades. Along with Secretary of State James A. Baker III and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, Cheney forms a team of highly competent, compatible lieutenants, with the capacity to adjust policies to a changing world and defend those policies in the domestic political arena.

Scowcroft is the old pro of the trio, the retired general who served as deputy to Henry A. Kissinger and then established his own model of reticence, probity and professionalism in the national security adviser's post under President Ford.

Baker is the old smoothie in the bunch, the well-bred Texan who can deflect criticism as deftly as he can maneuver to reduce the opposition to impotent frustration. He is the consummate operative, perhaps the most impressive unelected official the capital has seen since Clark Clifford.

In terms of personal chemistry and past history, I cannot recall any match-up of men in these jobs that promises as much compatibility and teamwork as these three. Cheney and Scowcroft worked side by side in the Ford White House; Cheney and Baker were the twin strategists of Ford's courageous 1976 campaign, which turned a looming landslide defeat into a breathlessly close finish.

The country is lucky to have them working together again.

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SWEARING-IN OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD CHENEY
THE PENTAGON
MARCH 21, 1989

I'm pleased today to participate in this swearing-in ceremony of my Secretary of Defense, Congressman Dick Cheney.

This is a proud day for Dick's family, his wife Lynne -- who heads a vital national security effort of another sort, safeguarding our cultural heritage at the National Endowment for the Humanities -- and their daughters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Dick, now that you've made up your mind and there's no turning back, let me run through some of the critical responsibilities you are taking on in this new assignment. Defense strategy and management, the day-to-day functioning of our Armed Forces, and the long-range planning that will keep us free and secure into the next century -- all of these issues come to your desk. In a building where it can be a challenge getting from the A to the E Ring without getting lost, the challenges you'll face are truly enormous.

But so are the skills and talents you bring to the job.

Dick Cheney knows his way around Washington, he knows how things work on Capitol Hill and in the White House -- and he'll draw on that wealth of experience to make things work here at the Pentagon.

And, Dick, you'll have help -- from an Armed Forces second to none in terms of quality and commitment, and a civilian staff equally dedicated to our national defense. I know they've all waited for this day, and I know they're ready to work for you and with you.

I'm convinced the international scene today is defined by opportunity -- a chance to advance American interests and ideals, and to strengthen the forces of freedom now gaining a foot-hold in many places around the world.

Dick shares my belief that the chief national security lesson of this decade is simply this: strength secures peace.

That fact remains true -- even in the present time of transition in world affairs. Consider the key issue of change in the Soviet Union: There are still more questions than answers about the ultimate outcome of the changes taking place there.

What that demands of us is a flexible and forceful approach. We must be ready to seize favorable opportunities to improve relations with the Soviets -- but we must also remain ready and able in any event to secure our national interests.

And let me say clearly: now is not the time for America and its allies to make unilateral reductions, or to relax our defense efforts.

Everyone here knows that we're facing tough choices on defense programs. We must move ahead with plans to modernize our strategic and conventional forces. We must continue to turn the nation's technological capabilities to our strategic advantage, in SDI and other programs. But our need to deal with the deficit

means we're working with limited resources. Dick, your task is sort out which programs must go forward, and which we can't afford in the current fiscal climate. I'm convinced these difficult choices can be made -- in a way that preserves our defense capabilities.

Close cooperation with the Congress is essential -- and Dick Cheney's high standing on Capitol Hill will be a plus.

Procurement reform is a case in point. Our aim should be a more stable and streamlined acquisition system -- but procurement reform can't be confined to the Pentagon alone. We will work with the Congress -- our partners in the process -- to move forward with the Packard Commission reforms, to adopt a two-year budget cycle, and to expand multi-year funding for major weapons systems.

And stability begins with a commitment to maintain a steady, moderate and affordable increase in defense spending -- an increase we must have, in order to modernize and maintain our forces. Following the freeze for 1990, that means 1% real growth in 1991 and '92, rising to 2% in 1993. For too long, defense spending has ridden a roller-coaster -- unpredictable ups and downs, a recipe for waste and inefficiencies. Stable spending makes it possible to plan for the long-term -- and that's the basis of a more efficient and effective defense posture.

And that long-term view is the one we must take, with the 21st Century only 11 years away.

I am convinced that in the years ahead not only that America can safeguard its national security interests, but that we have

the opportunity to take the lead in building a more peaceful international environment -- in laying the foundations for a new American Century, where freedom and democracy will flourish.

I am confident that Dick Cheney will prove a positive force in keeping America strong and secure, free and at peace.

Dick, congratulations, and good luck.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 10, 1989

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

4:06 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, good afternoon. I am happy to be here this afternoon to present my nominee to be Secretary of Defense, Congressman Dick Cheney of Wyoming.

Dick is a widely-respected man of principle; served his country with distinction for many years. I've known him as a Chief of Staff, government manager -- all under President Ford, '75 and '76. I worked with him closely since he's been a part of the Republican leadership. In both the Executive Branch and in Congress, he's dealt with the problems of national defense, he struggled with the budget -- some things every president has to do -- and he's weighed the difficult national defense priorities that have come before the Congress. He's been a member of the Intelligence Committee for I think five years, and a leader in that area. I've heard his thinking on arms control, Central American policy, strategic defense posture, and on the difficult challenges that he knows he faces of reforming procurement process in the Pentagon. He's a thoughtful man, a quiet man, a strong man; approaches public policy with vigor, determination, and diligence.

And this afternoon, we discussed the defense needs of this nation and the heavy responsibilities that go with being Secretary of Defense. And Dick Cheney is a trusted friend and advisor, and I'm convinced that he's going to be a great leader of our nation's military forces.

And now I'd like to ask him to say a few words, and then he and I will be around to respond to a few questions.

So, Dick, welcome aboard and thank you for undertaking this very complicated and difficult assignment. You'll do great.

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: Well, thank you very much, Mr. President. Obviously, things have moved rather rapidly in the last 24 hours. I'm honored to be asked by the President to join his administration. I look forward very much to working with him and especially also with Brent Scowcroft, who's an old friend of many years' standing, and Jim Baker, who's an old friend of many years' standing, in the difficult assignment ahead.

And I think the next four years hold significant challenge in terms of U.S. defense policy and foreign policy, and I am glad to be a part of the team and eager to get to work in terms of helping the President address some of those very important issues.

Q Congressman, two questions. First, could you give us an update on your health, and also, what can you tell us about the depth of the expertise you feel you have on defense?

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: Well, first of all, with respect to my health, I have, in the past, been a heart patient. Many of you know I underwent bypass surgery in August of last year. I was, after that surgery, back at work in about three weeks. I skied at Christmastime at Vail, if anybody's curious. Skiing was very good at Vail at Christmastime. And I talked just this afternoon with my

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cardiologist who has followed my case for several years and -- to make certain he was aware of this, and so that he would be in a position to say, as he has, as he did tell me just today, that there's absolutely no medical reason why I cannot undertake this assignment. I have no restrictions at this point in terms of my own activities.

With respect to my background in the defense area, it's a set of issues that I've been interested in for a long time -- obviously had some exposure to them during the Ford years when I served as White House Chief of Staff and sat in on all the National Security Council meetings.

I've had an active interest in it in the Congress, and currently serve as the Senior Republican on the Budget Subcommittee of the Intelligence Committee, which authorizes all of our intelligence programs and the activities of many defense agencies, such as the National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, all of the tactical intelligence programs across all the services in the Pentagon. So obviously, there are areas that I need to know and I'll have to work hard on to master, but I feel that I do have a depth of understanding now in very specific areas that come within the general jurisdiction of the Defense Department and the national security in general.

Q You said that Senator Tower was the best qualified for this job. Where does Congressman Cheney stand in this priority --

THE PRESIDENT: I said that on December whatever it was, and now we're in March whatever it is, and as of today, Dick Cheney is the best and the proper choice.

Q Now, do you agree with the Vice President in his harsh indictment of the vote on Tower?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't read the harsh indictment. I expect he felt as strongly as many of the senators, having served in the Senate. But look, that's history. We're moving forward with a new nominee. I told the Senators yesterday when they called -- both Senator Mitchell and Senator Nunn -- I think Marlin had the release on that -- that I was going to work with the Congress. Dick Cheney and I have discussed that. He's confident he can work with the Congress -- both Senate and House. And so there's no point in my dwelling on what happened yesterday; I've got my own views about it. But we've got a big problem out here, and we need to work cooperatively in defense with the Senate and with the House. And we're going to do just that, as Dick Cheney has confirmed.

Q Mr. President, you said when you originally picked your Cabinet that you didn't want to pick anybody from the House or Senate because you didn't want to deplete the ranks of Republicans in Congress. Now you've picked Mr. Cheney. What happened to that rule?

THE PRESIDENT: This is the exception that proves that rule. (Laughter.)

Q For Mr. Cheney. You've said many times that you've enjoyed your work in Congress. Why would you give up a post on the leadership ladder in the House? Are you frustrated because you think that the Republicans are going to be in a minority position ad infinitum, or why have you suddenly decided now to go into the Executive Branch?

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: Well, first of all, John, I'm optimistic about the future of the Republican Party in Congress. I think we will become a majority within the next few years. Obviously, I've loved the House of Representatives. I've enjoyed it immensely. I thought that that's where I would spend the bulk of my political career. But when the President asks you to consider a proposition such as this one, you have to take it seriously. And when you look at the challenge that's involved, the importance that

he assigns to the problems that have to be addressed in this area, and the basic attraction of taking on a difficult task after I agonized over it -- and I did agonize; it was not an easy decision -- I decided that I would, in fact, accept the post as Secretary of Defense.

Q Mr. President, can you give us the timetable of how you reached the decision? When did you first start assembling a short list? How long was the short list? And you've taken so many people from the Ford administration, do you have any role for former President Ford? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: In inverse order, no. I talk to President Ford, get good advice from him. In terms of how long, I moved fast on this one. I was telling you the truth when I said I have not considered anybody else during the last days of the Senate debate. I wasn't about to shift gears or send a signal that wasn't true, that I was interested in anything other than the confirmation of John Tower. That's history; that's done. So when it became clear yesterday that the votes weren't there yesterday, I began to think and talk to my top advisors here, get opinions from them -- they reached out a little bit, and then I called Dick today and he came over and visited with me about 1:00 p.m., I think it was. And I said I want to make a decision fast on this, because I know him well and have known him over the years well. And so it -- that's about the way it evolved.

He wants a follow-up. (Laughter.)

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: If I may, John, I was first contacted late yesterday afternoon by General Scowcroft and Governor Sununu. We had a discussion at that point that initiated my consideration of it, and I just discussed it with the President today.

Q Mr. President, have you talked about this selection yet with Senator Nunn and Senator Mitchell? If so, can you describe their reaction a little bit? Did you get into kind of a commitment about the timing of confirmation hearings?

THE PRESIDENT: Jerry, what we did on that was divide up here just recently the names to talk to, and I believe General Scowcroft talked to Senator Mitchell and to Senator Nunn, and I would let them characterize their reaction to it. But -- and I've talked to the Speaker. The only one of the kind of hierarchy that we haven't reached is Bob Michel. And it's very important that he be notified, but I expect he will be by all of this. (Laughter.) But nevertheless, we divided it up, and the reaction from the people that we've contacted -- the understandable ones -- has been very, very positive.

Q Mr. President, about the hearing schedule --

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. I don't know. John, did you talk about timing?

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: I asked Senator Mitchell to evaluate how quickly it could be done, and we will talk again in the next day or two about what kind of schedule they can produce.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and we've started the clearances. The name check has been completed -- rapid-fire time -- and Dick has undergone two thorough, full field checks, and he's had -- has there been another one since those?

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: In '69 and '74.

GOVERNOR SUNUNU: Preliminary check today.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and the preliminary check today. So I think that will go very well.

Q Mr. President, can I ask more about the Quayle speech? He is out in Indianapolis this afternoon accusing Senate Democrats of using McCarthy-like tactics in the defeat of John Tower. With respect to your comments about putting the Tower nomination behind you, would you tell us if Mr. Quayle speaks for you?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't seen what he said, so I can't tell you whether he speaks for me. I speak for myself; he speaks for himself. But I explained why -- that he feels strongly about it. I feel strongly about it and I'm determined to move forward. And I think that this nomination will set that tone, and we'll see how we go from here.

Q Mr. President, one of the things that Senator Tower did in this period was work up a strategy which, apparently, you approved of, which was you would squeeze the defense budget down into the limits set by the Congress if the Congress would let you make some of the -- or all of the choices. Is this strategy going to be passed along to Dick Cheney, and do you plan to pursue a similar strategy?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm going to have to defer answering that because, though we talked about budget generally and making tough choices generally, we didn't go into that much detail yet. And I think he's entitled to giving me his views on it before we do.

Q Mr. President, have you asked the Congressman the obvious questions -- is there anything in his background that would be prohibitive or embarrassing or anything like that? How much detail have you gone into?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and I'm satisfied on that.

Q Mr. President --

Q Mr. President, can you --

THE PRESIDENT: Can't hear you, Sarah. Go ahead, please.

Q Sorry. You've got me so flustered I forgot my question. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'll come back. That's not fair.

Q Mr. President, if we could go back to Mr. Quayle just for a second, I'm not sure that the American public really understands the difference between speaking for himself and speaking for you, since he is your Vice President. And he is out in Indianapolis, has used the words, "McCarthy-type tactics," and yet you're here wanting to have things go smoothly for the Congressman. I'm just wondering how you can square your desire to have peace with Congress and what your Vice President is saying in Indianapolis.

THE PRESIDENT: Please don't ask me to comment on something I haven't read -- that's what I'd say to that one.

Q A question for Congressman Cheney about defense policy. Does he have a view on the Strategic Defense Initiative? Does he believe it's a -- America can erect a perfect defense or something more modest?

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: I have extensive views on defense policy, but I don't believe I'll share those today. It seems to me it's appropriate for me to discuss those matters before the Senate Committee during the confirmation process and not in this forum.

Q Star Wars? You support Star Wars? You always have, haven't you?

Q Sir, there's been an incredible amount of analysis about what happened in the Tower nomination, as you're aware, and I think we've all heard your views about the Senate. But what I'm

Do you know
how much the S+L's
HAVE LOST DURING
THE TIME WE'VE
SPENT TALKING TO
BREEDEN??

particularly interested in is whether you feel that your administration bears any responsibility whatsoever in the fact that Tower did not get confirmed?

THE PRESIDENT: I have read that we made mistakes. I don't -- I think -- and if so, I would be glad to say so, but I don't know exactly -- I can't think of a specific that we might have done differently in this circumstance. You have to remember -- one of the allegations was I took too long to send it up. But what we were trying to do was the same thing that overtook events once it got to the Hill -- gunning down groundless rumors. So I -- you know, that's what took the time to begin with. Every time we'd get ready to go up with a nomination, which I felt was a good one, there'd be some other allegation printed out there -- not by the Senate, but just floating out there. And we'd have to say what is this -- please send the investigators to Geneva to see if, indeed, the East Texas -- not East Texas -- (laughter) -- the East German spy was true, you know, and then we'd find it wasn't true. And we'd be ready and there'd be some other allegation.

And that's the way -- so maybe I made a mistake in not just going ahead. But what I wanted to do, and told our general counsel is, look, I think we have an obligation to have the FBI look at these.

I think that may -- and I would have to bear full responsibility for that -- maybe set a tone up there that then encouraged leaks, counterleaks, and investigation of rumor and innuendo. So I'd have to accept some responsibility for that, I think. And there may have been some other tactical things that went wrong. But please remember that when that nomination went up there, it was very well received generally and, indeed, Senator Nunn, I think, said on the floor that he was -- you know, had been fully prepared to vote for it.

So I don't know. But that -- in that area I think there might -- I may have made a mistake.

Q Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: She has a follow-up.

Q Some of the things that have been analyzed have centered on the fact that it takes any new White House staff some time to get his act together and that this crisis came at one of the worst times it could have come for you in terms of having the same kind of weak and inexperienced staff that any president would have at this stage of the game. And we've all read things about some of the senators weren't contacted and that you did not really go all out in terms of twisting arms and sort of appealed to fairness. Is there anything along this line that you think might have worked differently?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I would do it differently to do over again and I don't -- I certainly am not going to fault my staff. I think this was historic in the -- and I'm not -- I don't think the time is appropriate to start trying to assess blame. I mean, I think there will be a lot of aftermaths in what happened.

But we're going to go forward, and I, frankly, feel that I've given you a long list of things that make me feel the administration is moving forward appropriately. We're moving swiftly on this nomination, and I'm one who has a rather broad perspective of how things are in Washington and tomorrow it'll be some other problem, and we will -- I will work with the Congress. And I think I will continue to keep this feeling that I can work with the Congress. And I'll keep fighting. And if we lose one, we'll be back and fight again. And I fought hard for John Tower because I believed in him. And I told you I didn't think a lot of it was fair, but that's over, that's history. And now we are going to go forward. And I take Senator Mitchell and Senator Nunn at their word. They have given me their word and that means a lot with me, and they want to move

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forward together, too.

We've got time for just a couple of more and then I've got to go.

Q Mr. President, please back here.

Q Mr. President, to follow up on the strategic defense question, are you and Congressman Cheney of one mind on the matter of strategic defense, particularly deployment, or is there some distance between the two of you?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we're in general agreement. And I think as Dick gets over there and gets into the details, he's going to have to make up his -- after he's confirmed -- make up his mind on the -- after the budget review is complete -- as to exactly what can be done and how fast it can be done. There's no question of his support for SDI, nor mine. But in -- we aren't there yet, Tom, because we have to wait until the reviews that we talked about are finished before we, either of us, can definitively address levels of funding or where we might go on those things.

Q Mr. President, do you assume that this nomination will receive clear sailing in the Senate?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I do.

Q Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: I believe it will go very fast and I believe that it will have smooth sailing. Why? Because of Dick Cheney. Because of the merits. Not because of anything that happened in the past -- the merits. And we are going to try, incidentally -- getting back to Mr. Duffy's question -- I think it was or Jerry's -- to accelerate the clearance process and get that moving. We've got to do that. It is very important. Too much time has been wasted here. And I believe we can do it. We may have to take FBI resources off of a series of other investigations for other appointments, but it's this important to the country, and so we'll move very, very fast.

Q Mr. President --

Now, Marlin tells me that that was the last question, but out of respect for Sarah McClendon, who is persistent, but who -- I will make a new announcement of press policy, Sarah. The squeaking wheel will not always get the grease in life, and the loudest voice won't always get recognized, because it isn't fair to the others. And you all have been very cooperative with me on the policy on shouting over helicopter blades and I hope it's been good for you. And I will continue to try. But I cannot identify people -- I don't think it's fair to the others -- who stand up and yell while others sit and raise their hands. But I don't mean to be pedantic about this, or in some lecturing mode, but you and I have known each other a long time and so this is the last time that I can succumb to the tendency to go to the loudest or most frantic wave. I can't do it and it's not fair to calmer souls. But, Sarah, have you got a question. (Laughter.)

Q I want to know if --

THE PRESIDENT: We've known each other so long I can address her in this forthright manner. Yes?

Q And thank you very much. And I wanted to ask your new man what he feels --

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead. (Laughter.)

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: Never have I seen the press so well behaved as they are now. The President's got them --

Q Give us some of your thinking about the troops out there that you'll have to command now. Do you think you're going to have a problem with recruiting and pay and benefits to keep these people going, or do you think that you'll have to cut back on the forces?

CONGRESSMAN CHENEY: Sarah, those are very important questions, but they really are the kinds of things that I should not discuss until I have the opportunity to appear before the Committee and until I have the opportunity in many cases to discuss them at length with the President.

Thank you all very much.

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4:28 P.M. EST