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BOB SIMON

McNally/Simon
Oct. 10, 1990
Draft One (E:VETS)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEETING OF VETERANS LEADERS
ROOM 450, O.E.O.B.
THURS., OCT. 11, 1990, 11:40 A.M.

Thank you. It's good to see Secretary Ed Derwinski, Ambassador ~~Tom Pickering~~, and General Colin Powell -- three pillars of national leadership -- representing three pillars of national unity: America's veterans, America's diplomats, and America's fighting men and women.

And I'm especially glad to see Bob Turner, Joe Andry, and Jim Kimery here again. And I want to recognize Orval Hooten, national commander of the Veterans of World War I. Born in October, 1895 -- **Happy birthday, Orval!** We're pleased to welcome all of you to the White House, and to tell you how much we appreciate your efforts, your organizations, and your support.

During the past 10 weeks, the events in the Persian Gulf have reminded us of the importance of a strong America. The world is still a dangerous place, and America must be ready.

In World War II, the world paid dearly for appeasing an aggressor who could have been stopped. We're not going to make that mistake again.

Exactly 50 years ago today, America awoke to headlines of another massive air raid on London. The Battle of Britain was in full rage. True, the democracies were battered. But their resolve was never more clear. They stood up to tyranny. And two days later, on October 12, Operation Sea Lion -- the invasion of England -- was cancelled.

Leigh Ann
Metzger
Joe
Samora
OPL

Encyclopedia of
Military
History
p. 1065

a day

Burletts

p. 744

And you know the famous Churchill quote: "Never, in the field of human conflict, was so much owed by so many to so few."

Since World War II, Allied strength and resolve have been tested many times. But when we look back on that history of valor and sacrifice, it's clear that the strength of our arms and the strength of our will is up to the challenge in the Gulf.

Molly
Williamson
647-2392

And we're not alone. Thanks to the efforts of Ambassador Pickering and others, the U.N. Security Council has now passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for solving the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I've said: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. The regime is up against not only the law of nations -- but also the law of mathematics. The numbers are against them.

Today, it's not Iraq versus Kuwait -- but Iraq against the world. (And you know what they say: When it's you against the world -- bet on the world.)

By waging a war of aggression, plundering a peaceful neighbor, holding innocents hostage, and gassing its own people, Iraq has violated every standard of international behavior. We're not talking about international etiquette -- we're talking about international law. And outlaw nations and outlaw leaders must know: The stakes are high, the cause is just -- and today more than ever -- the authority is real.

Here at home, your efforts to improve the lot of veterans has been an important component in the success of America's all-volunteer forces. Colin Powell recently returned from a visit

NYT

9-14-90

with our troops in the Gulf. And your support is evident in the pride and high morale found today in the young American heroes serving overseas.

It reminds me of another hero. It was this very week, in 1918, that Tennessee's Sgt. York captured 132 enemy prisoners and 32 machine guns -- single-handedly. When asked how he did it, he answered simply: "I surrounded 'em." \\\ Now that's about what I'd expect from an American soldier. And that kind of spirit is going to carry us to victory in whatever challenges we face. \\\

Tonight, as evening falls across America, there'll be candles in our windows and prayers in our hearts. The Empire State Building will be awash in lights -- lights red, white and blue -- lights to honor the men and women in uniform now standing watch in the Persian Gulf.

Like your presence here today -- like your good works every day -- these gestures show that the folks at home haven't forgotten the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, our airmen and marines, tonight many miles from home.

And so I'm here to thank you for the important work you do in defending our Nation's freedom, in keeping our nation strong. Thank you for coming to the White House. And God bless the United States.

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Am.
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p. 7

the combined Rome-Berlin Axis powers. Her vital Atlantic sea lanes were menaced by German submarines, her Mediterranean lifeline by Italy's fleet and army, with Soviet Russia an Axis silent partner on the sidelines. Furthermore, there was danger that Hitler would seize the French fleet, which would provide the Axis with a clear preponderance of sea power. The Royal Navy and Royal Air Force were intact though battered, but there were insufficient destroyers in the former to carry out antisubmarine, convoy, and patrolling activities. The British Army at home was in sad state. Although the majority of the BEF personnel had been brought back from Dunkirk, they had left all their arms and other matériel behind them in France, and the remaining army troops in Great Britain (29 divisions, with little armor or artillery) were not yet combat-ready. To most neutrals it appeared that Britain must bow to the inevitable and make peace. Hitler thought so, too, opening the door to a negotiated peace, which Churchill contemptuously slammed shut as Britain girded herself.

1940, June 23. De Gaulle and the Free French. A new element emerged from the debris of fallen France. Brigadier General de Gaulle, exponent of armored warfare, had been called from his division command (June 5) to become Undersecretary of State for National Defense in the short-lived cabinet of Paul Reynaud and had urged continued resistance. When Pétain capitulated, de Gaulle fled to England, calling on all true Frenchmen to rally and fight for freedom. The call was answered by French officers and soldiers from the world over—by dribbles at first, then in mounting numbers. De Gaulle at once utilized the best of these men to organize outlying French territories. Captain **Jacques de Hautecloche**—who protected his family by changing his name to **Jean Leclerc**—was flown to French Equatorial Africa. General **Georges Catroux** went to Cairo as Free French commander in the Middle East. Colonel **Edgard de Larminat**

organized the French Congo. In England, Admiral **Emile Muselier** began organization of a Free French Navy. Although supported to great extent by the British government, this Free French movement was as yet regarded with some misgivings by both Britain and the United States, whose leaders underestimated the dynamic driving force of de Gaulle.

1940, June 24. Arms from the U.S. In response to Churchill's urgent purchase request (June 3), a large shipment of small arms, machine guns, light artillery, and ammunition arrived in England.

1940, July 3-4. Seizure of French Warships. A British squadron appeared off Oran, Algeria, and demanded that the French squadron there choose (a) to join England and fight Germany, (b) to turn in at an English port for internment, or (c) to sink itself in Oran Harbor. On French refusal, Vice Admiral Sir **James F. Somerville** opened fire. In a short action, 3 French battleships were sunk, a fourth escaped, and 5 destroyers fled to Toulon. British damage was light. That same day the French squadron at Alexandria—1 battleship, 4 cruisers, and 3 destroyers—disarmed itself on orders of Admiral Sir **Andrew B. C. Cunningham**, commanding the British Eastern Mediterranean Fleet. In other English ports were 2 more submarines which, on British summons, joined "Free French" forces and served with the Royal Navy throughout the rest of the war. These coups accounted for a large proportion of the French Navy. Some ships remained at the naval base of Toulon, at Algiers, Casablanca, and Dakar. The conflict at Oran, however, embittered many Frenchmen. Pétain's French Vichy government severed diplomatic relations with Britain (July 5).

1940, September 27. Rome-Berlin-Tokyo "Axis." A 3-power pact was concluded at Berlin, each partner pledging the others total aid for 10 years. The treaty did not, however, require Japan to go to war against Britain or her allies.

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN

Operation "Sea Lion." Hitler, against the recommendations of his army and navy chiefs, but with the Luftwaffe's enthusiastic support, had decided to invade England (June 5). Control of the sea was essential. Having no adequate surface

force to oppose British naval strength, the Luftwaffe's task was first to defeat the RAF and then to neutralize the Royal Navy. French, Low Country, and Norwegian airfields were developed to maximum capability. As prelude, harassing air raids were made daily against British coastal towns and shipping during July. Meanwhile, German armies were regrouping for embarkation, and the Navy was scouring Germany and the occupied countries for landing craft.

1940, August 8-18. First Phase. Goering mustered 2,800 planes, with capability of putting up 900 fighters and 1,300 bombers in 3 fleets—Marshal **Albert Kesselring's** Air Fleet Two, flying from northern France; Marshal **Hugo Sperrle's** Three, from Belgian and Dutch bases; and General **Hans-Jürgen Stumpff's** Five (mainly bombers), based in Norway. Against this force, British Air Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding's Fighter Command mustered but 650 operational fighters in 52 squadrons. German strategy was to coax the British into combat, by strafing seaports and fighter bases, and then shoot them out of the sky. However, aided by Britain's newly developed radar, Dowding was able to concentrate superior force at vital spots and the Luftwaffe's massive daily day and night attacks—1,485 sorties the first day (August 8), rising to 1,786 sorties (August 15)—were roughly handled in combats ranging in a 500-mile arc from southwest to northeast England. In continuous fighting during the rest of the period, Fighter Command still dominated the air over Britain.

1940, August 24-September 5. Second Phase. German attacks were shifted to concentrate against main inland RAF bases. Large groups of bombers, each protected by 100 fighters, crashed through by sheer weight of numbers, inflicting great damage on airfields and communication and control centers. The German high command came close to cracking Fighter Command. More than 450 British fighters were destroyed; 103 pilots were killed and 128 wounded.

1940, August 24-29. Berlin Bombed. In retaliation for a bombing of London, the RAF Bomber Command staged a night raid on Berlin. For 3 hours, 81 British planes hovered unharmed over the fog-shrouded city. Damage was small, but the psychological effect immense. The raid was repeated (August 28 and 29), despite Berlin's 2 rings of anti-aircraft batteries;

numerous Berliners were killed or injured. Düsseldorf, Essen, and other German cities were also attacked. Hitler and Goering, in blind rage, after undergoing a week of British reprisals, again shifted their strategy. At the moment that British air defense had reached its lowest ebb, and with victory almost in German reach, the Luftwaffe was ordered to drop its assault against British airfields and control centers.

1940, September 7-30. Third Phase. London became the target for tremendous and incessant aerial bombardment. Fighter Command, its task simplified by the German singleness of objective, was thus able to concentrate its dwindling force. The bombing of London reached its crescendo (September 15) when more than 1,000 bombers and some 700 fighters swept all day over the city in wave after wave. By nightfall, 56 assaulting planes had been downed at the expense of only 26 British aircraft. British civilian casualties were heavy during this phase—from 300 to 600 lives lost and from 1,000 to 3,000 persons injured per day in the unrelenting assaults, while a considerable portion of the city was wrecked. But English spirit refused to falter, and the Luftwaffe's losses were so great that daylight bombing had to be dropped. The aerial tide had turned.

1940, September 14-15. British Counter-blow. Bomber Command, in conjunction with light naval craft, destroyed nearly 200 barges in French and Low Country ports—one-tenth of the total gathered for the proposed invasion. Hitler suspended Operation Sea Lion—scheduled for September 27. Slowly the German aerial assaults tapered off. The last daylight raid occurred September 30.

1940, October 1-30. Final Phase. Sporadic German hit-and-run raids continued, doing relatively little damage. London was lashed by another intensive air raid (October 10). Hitler now canceled Operation

*fact all
British
resign
held.
2 days
later, Hitler
cancelled
or this
day 50
years ago,
America
was to
never be
another
mid-air
attack*

Sea Lion (October 12). The Battle of Britain had been won by the RAF, of whom Churchill said: "Never, in the field of human conflict, was so much owed by so many to so few." Over-all losses were 1,733 German planes shot down, to 915 British.

COMMENT. *Four factors decided British victory in the air: first was an indomitable will to win; second was radar, which pinpointed enemy presence, routes, and strength; third was a well-organized, efficient ground-control system, which enabled concentration of superior force at the right time and place; and fourth was the Germans' own strategic blunder: dispersion of effort. By mid-September, Luftwaffe losses were so*

Battle of the Atlantic

Despite the convoy system, and the addition to the British merchant marine of a number of Scandinavian vessels (most of these ships had escaped when their countries were overrun), the toll of British shipping sunk by the roving submarines kept mounting. By August 15, 2.5 million tons of shipping had been destroyed. Britain just did not have sufficient light warships to provide adequate protection for her merchant ships from the sea wolves, nor could the shipyards produce sufficient replacements.

1940, September 3. Trading Bases for Destroyers. Churchill expected his urgent shipbuilding program would in a few months produce destroyers in quantity, but until February, 1941, the shortage would be tragic and perhaps fatal to Britain. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, alive to the worldwide threat imposed by Nazism, agreed to a momentous immediate exchange. For 50 old U.S. destroyers, Britain leased naval and air bases to the U.S. in its Western Hemisphere possessions—Newfoundland, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana.

1940, September 22–25. Attack on Dakar. A British-Free French amphibious expedition attempted to take Dakar, French West Africa, to prevent its possible use by Germany as a submarine base for South Atlantic operations. General de Gaulle commanded the Free French force. Due to bad weather and Allied mistakes, the invaders were repelled by the Vichy French defenders. Churchill, hoping to avoid further bitterness between the Vichy French and Britain, ordered the attack canceled.

great that decisive victory in the air became impossible, and without air victory there could be no invasion of England.

1940, November. The Blitz Begins. While the Luftwaffe had given up its effort to gain permanent air control, sporadic night raids continued through the rest of the year. Coventry was struck (November 14–15) by about 500 German bombers and practically demolished. London was again swept by a devastating raid, causing many explosions and fires (December 29). Before the "blitz" ended (May, 1941), more than 43,000 civilians—men, women, and children—had been killed and 51,000 others seriously injured.

ers. In late October the German pocket battleship *Admiral Scheer*, Captain **Theodor Krancke**, slipped through the blockade to pursue commerce destruction in the North Atlantic. She encountered (November 5) a 37-ship British convoy, escorted by the auxiliary cruiser *Jervis Bay*, with 4 6-in. guns, Captain **E. F. S. Fegen**. Fegen, radioing the alarm, ordered his convoy to scatter and deliberately attacked the *Scheer*. For more than an hour the unequal contest kept up until the *Jervis Bay* sank. However, 32 ships of the convoy got away. The German heavy cruiser *Hipper* also got out (November), but engine trouble later forced her into Brest for repairs. The presence of these 2 powerful vessels in the shipping lanes slowed down convoying and necessitated strengthening the escorts. The *Scheer* continued a destructive raid into the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, returning safely to Germany 4 months later.

Operations in the Mediterranean Area, 1940

1940, June. The Situation Control of the

FIRST WESTERN DESERT CAMPAIGN, SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER, 1940

1940, September 13. Graziani's Invasion of Egypt. Marshal **Rodolfo Graziani** (succeeding Balbo, killed in an air crash in June) entered Egypt with 5 divisions, moving on a narrow front along the coast. British covering forces fell back before him. Reaching Sidi Barrani (September 16), the Italians settled down in a series of fortified camps extending over a 50-mile area, while Wavell's forces—now 2 divisions strong—remained at Mersa Matruh, 75 miles east. Both sides received reinforcements. General Sir **Henry M. ("Jumbo") Wilson**, tactical commander in Egypt, made plans for attack, but operations were delayed when Wavell was ordered to occupy Crete and send part of his air force to Greece to assist in countering an Italian invasion there (see p. 1068).

1940, December 9. Wavell's Offensive. After a night approach march, Wavell's Western Desert Force, 31,000 men, 120 guns, and 275 tanks, commanded by Major General **Richard N. O'Connor**, ripped through a gap in the Italian chain of defenses. O'Connor's relatively small force—1 armored and 1 infantry division, 2 additional infantry brigades, and a battalion of the new British "I" tanks—hemstitched its way westward between the desert and the coast, gobbling in turn each Italian fortified area. Air and naval elements assisted. By mid-December, the Italians had been thrown completely out of Egypt, leaving 38,000 prisoners and great quantities of matériel in British hands. As the year ended, the Desert Force, after a pause of 2 weeks, was assaulting the perimeter of Bardia where Graziani's disorganized forces lay.

COMMENT. *This daring assault against a force 4 times its size was well planned and superbly executed. O'Connor's ground forces were ably supported by the RAF under Wing Commander R. Collishaw and by the long-range naval gunfire of Cunningham's warships along the coast. In principle the operation resembled Allenby's breakthrough in Palestine in 1917 (see p. 974), in which Wavell had played a part. It must be noted,*

Through it ran the empire's "life line": the short sea route to India and Australia—New Zealand. Egypt, where both the British Mediterranean Fleet and Middle East Command were based to protect the Suez Canal, was Britain's principal base securing this life line. Mussolini planned to seize the Suez Canal by a pincer movement: from Libya on the west and from Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland on the southeast. At the same time he prepared for invasion of Greece through Albania to secure the northern shore of the Mediterranean opposite Egypt. Recognizing the danger, even though Hitler was threatening to invade Britain, Churchill boldly and wisely rushed Britain's sole remaining armored division to Egypt.

Available British forces were General Sir **Archibald Wavell's** Middle East Command, with 36,000 troops in Egypt (mostly administrative, plus the understrength armored division), 9,000 in the Sudan, 5,500 in Kenya, 1,475 in British Somaliland, 27,500 in Palestine, 2,500 in Aden, and 800 in Cyprus. His air-force contingent was very small. Admiral Sir Andrew B. C. Cunningham's Mediterranean Fleet consisted of 1 carrier, 3 battleships, 3 heavy and 5 light cruisers, and a number of destroyers. Against these forces were pitted the full strength of the Italian Navy (see table, p. 1052), the land-based Air Force, and much of the Italian Army. Italy itself lay geographically threatening Wavell's westward line of communications, while light Italian naval forces based on Ethiopian and Italian Somaliland coast ports threatened his eastern communications through the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Mussolini's ground forces in East Africa—Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland—numbered about 110,000, commanded by **Amadeo Umberto, Duke of Aosta**, while in Libya Marshal **Italo Balbo** had 200,000 men and a sizable air force.

1940, June 11. First Attack on Malta. Immediately upon declaring war, Mussolini launched 2 waves of bombers against the island of Malta—the first of many thousands of such raids.

1940, June–September. Italian Preparations. There were minor border clashes and Italian air raids as the Italians prepared

Park, Florida, which from 1942 were known as the Yerkes Laboratories, and it was there that he acquired a worldwide reputation as one of the leading authorities on the great apes, especially on the chimpanzee. He published many influential books and papers; among the books were *The Dancing Mouse; a Study in Animal Behavior*, 1907; *Introduction to Psychology*, 1911; *The Mental Life of Monkeys and Apes*, 1916; *Almost Human*, 1925; *The Great Apes: A Study of Anthropoid Life*, 1929, written with his wife, Ada W. Yerkes; and *Chimpanzees: A Laboratory Colony*, 1943. He also served as a consultant to army intelligence during World War II. The recipient of many awards and honors for his work with great apes, he died in New Haven, Connecticut, on February 3, 1956.

Yoelson, Asa, see **Jolson, Al**

York, Alvin Cullum (1887-1964), soldier. Born in Pall Mall, Fentress County, Tennessee, on December 13, 1887, York had little formal education, dropping out of school in the third grade to work in a blacksmith shop. In 1911 he underwent a religious conversion at a revival meeting and when the United States entered World War I he declared himself a conscientious objector. His petition for exemption from the draft was denied, however, and he was inducted into the army and served overseas in the 82nd Infantry Division. While taking part in the battle of the Argonne Forest on October 8, 1918, York demonstrated outstanding heroism by leading an attack on a German machine-gun nest. He and his men killed 25 of the enemy, and, acting almost alone, he captured 132 prisoners and 35 machine guns. When asked how he had done this all by himself, he replied: "I surrounded 'em." The act made him the major popular hero of the war. On November 1, 1918, shortly before the armistice, he was promoted to sergeant and later was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and the French Croix de Guerre. Altogether he received some 50 other decorations and became one of the most celebrated heroes of the war. After the war, however, he refused to capitalize on his fame; he returned to Tennessee to live on a farm granted him by the state. In 1928 he published his autobiography and in 1940 allowed the movie *Sergeant York*, starring Gary Cooper, to be made. Cooper won an Academy Award in 1941 for his performance. York himself lived very modestly, giving away the bulk of the proceeds from his book and the movie to a foundation organized to support an industrial school and a Bible school in Tennessee. He died in Nashville, Tennessee, on December 2, 1964.

Young, Brigham (1801-1877), religious leader. Born in Whitingham, Vermont, on June 1, 1801, Young was raised in western New York State and received only a few months of formal schooling in the towns where his poverty-stricken family drifted. He grew up to be a farmer, carpenter, painter, and glazier, and in 1829 he settled in

Mendon, Monroe County, New York. Joseph Smith's *Book of Mormon* was published the following year in a nearby town, and Young was baptized into Smith's new Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the "Mormon Church") on April 14, 1832. After several successful missionary tours for the church in the fall of 1833, he "gathered" with the Saints in Kirtland, Ohio, and joined in the march of Zion's Camp to Jackson County, Missouri, a fruitless effort to help dispossessed Mormons regain their lands. For his faith and works, he was named one of the Twelve Apostles when Smith organized this body in 1835. The failure of the Mormon bank along with the constant hostility of non-Mormons made it necessary for Young, like Smith and other Mormon leaders, to flee first, in 1838, to northwestern Missouri and by the following year, out of the state entirely. By that time two older apostles had died or left the church and Young became senior member of the quorum. A chief figure in the successful founding of Nauvoo, Illinois, he then went to England, where he preached for a year and established a mission that was to contribute many British converts to the church in the United States during the next half-century. Returning home in 1841, he lived quietly among the Saints in Nauvoo until the assassination of Smith in June 1844. At the time of the assassination he was absent in the East, but he quickly returned to Nauvoo. Young succeeded in his bid to head the church and early in 1846 the pressure of unfriendly neighbors forced him to lead the majority of the Saints out of Illinois. They spent the summer at the Missouri River and in 1847 he conducted a pioneer company to the West, where the site of Salt Lake City was chosen as a settling place for the Saints. He led the emigration of the whole church to Utah in 1848, and Salt Lake City became the base of a colonizing endeavor in which the Saints sought out irrigable land and settled every feasible locality, including areas in what are now the four surrounding states as well as in California. As the supreme authority in the cooperative Mormon theocracy, Young supervised the most minute details of the settlements, and the agricultural communities enjoyed phenomenal growth and prosperity and converts continued to arrive. When Congress changed the Mormons' provisional state of Deseret to the Territory of Utah in 1850, he continued as governor. He was appointed to a second term in 1854, but grinding friction between the Mormons and the federal judiciary over the Mormon practice of polygamy and their economic power finally led President James Buchanan to replace Young as governor in 1857. An army force under Gen. Albert S. Johnston was sent in 1857 to establish the primacy of federal rule in Utah, and Young passively resisted the incoming troops until the spring of 1858. His statesmanship avoided a real break with the United States, however. Although he never again held political office, he effectively ruled the people of Utah as president of the Mormon church. As a result of his foresight and firm command, Mormons held nearly all the

choice and irrigal Lake and much l. they early establis service operations Having accepted t he took 27 wives- as ceremonial rati of whom survived on his death in Sal

Young, Chic, see **Y**

Young, Clarence, s

Young, Cy (1867-1892), baseball player. Born in Gilmore, Tuscaraw 1867, Denton True for a Canton team land team of the October of that year stammina by pitchin double-header. He 1898, then successiv 1899-1900, the Bos Cleveland Indians (and the Boston Bra of the 1912 season. age of forty-five, to more, and went into in 906 games, a rec broken when the p became common; b games, 7377 inning likely never to be especially extraordi ever to win 500 ga and 3 no-hit games first "perfect" game 27 batters in 9 inn base—on May 5, 1 games in each of th enjoyed seasons with times won over 30 1892, his best seas National Baseball H in Newcomerstown, November 4, 1955. A Award was establish major leagues each pitcher in each majo

Young, Denton True,

Young, Murat Berna cartoonist. Born in Cl Young grew up there art schools in Chicago land before becoming paper Enterprise Assc he switched to the joined the King Feat. remained during the re to 1926 he drew a dail *Dora*. In 1930 he orig about a jazz-age fla

Confrontation in the Gulf: No. 1 General Tours the Desert

Troops' Message to Powell: When Can We Go Home?

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

IN SAUDI ARABIA, Sept. 13 — Wherever Gen. Colin L. Powell went today on his tour of American forces here, he was confronted with one question: When can we go home?

General Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, insisted that the spirits of the American forces here were high.

"The morale is high," General Powell said at a news conference at an air base here. "The troops are hot. They are doing a great job. There is not a high level of frustration."

"They are good for the long haul," he said, referring to the soldiers, marines, sailors and airmen in the Persian Gulf region.

'Better If I Was Home'

But the general appeared to encounter an enormous restiveness on his swing through Saudi Arabia.

When General Powell visited a hospital for the Air Force's 1st Tactical Fighter Wing, he shook hands with Sgt. Robert Tate and asked how he felt.

"I would be better if I was home," Sergeant Tate said.

'Dear Joe . . .' Mail by Fax

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — United States troops in the Persian Gulf will soon be able to get mail from home by fax.

Herb Linnen, a spokesman for A.T.&T. in Washington, said the company's program would begin on Sept. 21. He said drawings or one-page letters could be sent free from any of the company's 400 phone stores across the country. The sender will be required to know the recipient's identification number and A.P.O. address. The addresses of A.T.&T. phone centers may be obtained by calling 1-800-555-8111.

Fax mail will be sent to Army post office stations set up in the Middle East and then distributed through normal military mail channels to troops in the Saudi desert and those serving on ships patrolling the gulf.

MCI Communications officials said their fax program would be started as soon as logistical problems in Saudi Arabia were solved.

As General Powell left a hospital ward, another airman said, "Are you going to get me out of here, sir?"

Rotating Troops to U.S.

"I'd like to get everyone out of here fast," the general responded. "I'm trying."

When General Powell met in the desert with soldiers from the Army's 24th Mechanized Division, he again faced shouted questions about how long the deployment would last.

"I want to get you home as fast as possible but bear with me," General Powell said. "I can't give you an exact date."

Seeking to mollify the troops, General Powell told reporters at the end of his tour today that the United States would start rotating troops home "as soon as it is practical to do so."

Allowance Suspended

The troops' unease over the possibility of a long, open-ended deployment in Saudi Arabia was also accompanied by complaints from some servicemen about the loss of some benefits.

Some servicemen have said, for example, that they lost a special allowance provided to them for living off base when they were deployed here.

The allowance, called "basic allowance for subsistence," is given to serviceman when the Government does not feed them, and many of the troops have come to rely on it as a source of income.

Some servicemen and members of Congress have said that duty in Saudi Arabia is so arduous that the troops should be provided the allowance even though they are being fed Government rations.

Enthusiasm Is Urged

"Now the suggestion is, for Desert Shield, provide the food and also pay them for the food," General Powell said. "But I have soldiers, sailors, airmen, coastguardsmen and marines all over the world who get that allowance cut off when they go to the field. And I have to make sure we handle an item like that in an equitable fashion."

"We have got to be a little careful before we put all of these benefits out there," he said.

During his trip in the field, General Powell repeatedly exhorted the troops to enthusiastically carry out their mission.

Deployment Behind Schedule

"Don't have any second thoughts about the importance of your mission," General Powell told some airmen from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing.



Gen. Colin L. Powell, left, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is seen yesterday on his tour of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia. Pool photo.

"We will not be satisfied until Mr. Hussein takes his army out of Kuwait," General Powell said while visiting Army soldiers from the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division. General Powell also visited Marine units.

But General Powell declined to define the potential scope of the military's mission — specifically, whether it could go beyond the defense of Saudi territory to include offensive action against Iraq.

Asked when the United States would have the military capability to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait, General Powell said he could not address such hypothetical questions about possible military operations.

But the general acknowledged that

the deployment of forces was somewhat

Sea-Lift Ships

"Sure there are gl adding that some ves form as expected.

He said that one fa experienced mechani

"Ships we have ha serve fleet came up a rate than I would like said.

Some senior Amer said that as a result the deployment of was delayed from n October.

Then he departed visit to Navy forces.

S T E I N W A Y

Age to Powell: We Go Home?

EL R. GORDON
The New York Times

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Allowance Suspended
The troops' unease over the possibility of a long, open-ended deployment in Saudi Arabia was also accompanied by complaints from some servicemen about the loss of some benefits.

Some servicemen have said, for example, that they lost a special allowance provided to them for living off base when they were deployed here.

The allowance, called "basic allowance for subsistence," is given to servicemen when the Government does not feed them, and many of the troops have come to rely on it as a source of income.

Some servicemen and members of Congress have said that duty in Saudi Arabia is so arduous that the troops should be provided the allowance even though they are being fed Government rations.

Enthusiasm Is Urged

"Now the suggestion is, for Desert Shield, provide the food and also pay them for the food," General Powell said. "But I have soldiers, sailors, airmen, coastguardsmen and marines all over the world who get that allowance cut off when they go to the field. And I have to make sure we handle an item like that in an equitable fashion."

"We have got to be a little careful before we put all of these benefits out there," he said.

During his trip in the field, General Powell repeatedly exhorted the troops to enthusiastically carry out their mission.

Deployment Behind Schedule.

"Don't have any second thoughts about the importance of your mission," General Powell told some airmen from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing.



Gen. Colin L. Powell, left, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visiting a Marine unit yesterday on his tour of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia.

"We will not be satisfied until Mr. Hussein takes his army out of Kuwait," General Powell said while visiting Army soldiers from the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division. General Powell also visited Marine units.

But General Powell declined to define the potential scope of the military's mission — specifically, whether it could go beyond the defense of Saudi territory to include offensive action against Iraq.

Asked when the United States would have the military capability to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait, General Powell said he could not address such hypothetical questions about possible military operations.

But the general acknowledged that

the deployment of some American forces was somewhat behind schedule.

Sea-Lift Ship Fails

"Sure there are glitches," he said, adding that some vessels did not perform as expected.

He said that one fast sea-lift ship had experienced mechanical difficulties.

"Ships we have had in the ready reserve fleet came up at a slightly slower rate than I would like to have seen," he said.

Some senior American officials have said that as a result of such problems, the deployment of additional forces was delayed from mid-October to late October.

Then he departed into the night for a visit to Navy forces.

Jordan Port And Its

AQABA, Jordan, Sept. 10 — The streets seem virtually deserted. Hotels are empty, most of the structures lie still and more than 90 percent of the 11,000-strong port trailer fleet sits parked and idle.

Aqaba, Jordan's only port, is now most a ghost town today, a pending on whom you ask. Hussein's aggression against the port of American gunboat diplomacy.

"Aqaba is the lifeline for Jordan. Now we are almost at a standstill," says Bassam E. Kakish, a retired general who is chairman of the Aqaba Development Authority. "For God's sake, don't strangle here, tell your people to get your armies back. Go home, Jordan, we are alone!"

Aqaba, a somnolent little port for decades, doubled in size in the 1970s, wealthy on all the money from oil shipping mountains of goods, starting in 1981, after Iraq's invasion was blocked in the war with Iran.

Town Is Transformed

At the height of that boom, 100 ships sat in the harbor and the ripple effect through the town brought on by all that shipping transformed the town.

The port more than doubled in size. Stallions and work force people worked there, and business blossomed for owners, mechanics and those serving the fleets of trucks and goods to Iraq.

Aqaba's population boomed from 22,000 10 years ago to 45,000. The gulf crisis began. The ancient Arab village, a new town — dozens of clean white buildings that housed Egyptian workers and contractors.

But most of those it once had have now gone home; the hollow shell of its former leaders seethe with resentment.

Ahmed Haayari, chief of Aqaba Customs Authority, has eyebrows among six other men in the room this afternoon. He said: "This is the jihad. I hope I will be given the chance to kill Americans in the jihad. That would be a good thing."

Only 3 Ships

Three ships were in port when before, Mr. Kakish said, the average was 20. The blockade in the Red Sea when it became clear that the United States was not enforcing the United Nations embargo against Iraq, the shipments bound for the port were stopped.

MILITARY: Baghdad Renews Attack

Continued from A6

are the fault of the blockade and that shipments should enter the country like regular imports.

On Thursday, the Red Cross and its Islamic counterpart, the Red Crescent, reached an agreement to supply medicines to civilians.

Meanwhile, in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Colin L. Powell, visited with U.S. forces and said the American troops "are deterring

[Iraq] now, and with each passing day, our defensive capability gets better and better."

At a news conference, Powell responded to repeated questions about the U.S. deployment's ultimate size and purpose by saying the U.S. military has not been assigned an offensive mission.

"The only mission I have been assigned is to deter and defend," he declared. "The force is being structured for that purpose."

At virtually every stop on his

one-day tour, Powell was reminded that patience is growing short among U.S. military personnel eager to go home.

"It's a natural question I would expect every GI to ask who is far from home, who is in an uncertain situation," Powell said. But he told reporters that "morale is high" among U.S. troops here.

"Don't sell them short. They are good for the long haul," Powell said.

Staff writer Melissa Healy, in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, contributed to this report.

CANADA

Continued from A10

saw no reason to hurry bers back. That angered even more. In 1987, after roney had recalled Pa discuss the arrival in of a shipload of Sikh as ers. Surely, Canada themselves, the possibi ada going to war was n of debate than the arri seemingly peaceable Sc

The ships crossed the good time, however, ar

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Week Ending Friday, March 10, 1989

Remarks at the Annual Washington
Conference of the Veterans of Foreign
Wars

March 6, 1989

Well, thank you very much, Larry. I remember when Larry Rivers first took over. I was Vice President—came in to greet me. I wasn't sure he knew what he was getting into. But he's holding up real well—[laughter]—and doing a first-class job, and you're lucky to have this dynamic young man as your leader.

You know, it's a pleasure to be here. I also want to express my best wishes to a real institution of the VFW; you know who I'm talking about—Cooper Holt. I can't believe it, I can't believe that he's stepping down this year, after more than a quarter of a century of distinguished service as executive director. But let me tell you something: Members of the VFW, others who stand for a strong defense, whoever they may be, Cooper has earned the gratitude of veterans everywhere for making the VFW his lifelong cause, but also the way he has conducted himself in Washington and elsewhere in this high office. He has my respect and my friendship, and I don't know what it's going to be like without him around here, I'll tell you.

I want to pay my respects to General Al Gray, member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a Commandant of the Marine Corps, outstanding soldier—outstanding marine, I should say. Sorry, Al. [Laughter] Really know how to hurt a guy, but—[laughter]—an outstanding leader. And also, to my former colleague and dear friend, the veteran's friend, Congressman Sonny Montgomery, over here.

Before I begin—and I want to talk to you about two or three major issues—but before I begin, let me just say a word about an issue that is of particular importance, I'd say, to the people in this room. You know John Tower as a fellow veteran, and you know him as a lifelong public servant. And

you also know him as a fighter. And he's fought for his country as a 17-year-old enlisted man in the United States Navy. And now he and I are fighting for what I think are some very important principles, principles that the American people understand, like fairness and truth, and principles like the prerogative of a President of the United States to assemble the most talented and qualified team to guide this nation forward. And I have asked the Senate to vote on this nomination with those principles in mind, asked the Senate to put aside partisanship. I've asked them to use their own experience with John Tower as an expert on defense issues; as a former colleague; and as a tough, hardnosed negotiator to guide them as they move towards a vote on this nomination. It is very interesting that not one single United States Senator has challenged John Tower's knowledge on defense matters or his experience to do this job—not one single Senator. And I stand by this man. I stand by him because he is uniquely qualified as the right man to take charge of the Pentagon.

Enough of that now. [Laughter] I wanted to get it off my chest. I'm getting sick and tired of some of the rumors and the innuendos that are used against this decent man. Back to the gentler and kinder message. [Laughter]

Look, it's always an honor to meet with fellow members of the VFW. The love of liberty is the birthright of all men, certainly all Americans, and that's why our nation owes a special debt of gratitude to its veterans, who freely and courageously took up the defense of freedom. I am especially pleased to welcome the Department of Veterans' Affairs to a place in the Cabinet, and it's a cause, I might add, that you were in the lead on. And it's a sign of America's commitment to her veterans, of the importance we place in repaying in some way the sacrifice that veterans have made in answering their country's call. And in my view, it is important that the first Secretary

is someone who is close to the President, who has the President's full confidence on a personal basis, and Ed Derwinski, my former colleague in Congress and my friend of longstanding, fits that description to a tee. He will be an outstanding Secretary.

Some facts: Today there are six times as many veterans alive as there were when the VA was created in 1930. Ed already has come to see me to discuss some of the challenges facing us in these programs. With the pressure the country is under—and let's make no mistake about it, the pressures are great—to solve our massive Federal deficit, we may not be able to do everything we'd like to do in the way of adding resources, but I can tell you that Ed is your strong advocate. And like me, he understands the needs, including the crying need for strong health care for the veterans. He already is an advocate for that.

I want to speak this morning about a matter of the utmost importance to the VFW—keeping America strong—today and then, just 11 years from now, into the 21st century. Opinion is nearly unanimous that today is a time of transition in world affairs. That means our powers of observation and analysis, our ability to sort out change and continuity, will be put to the test. And when it comes to predicting the future, Winston Churchill's rule is the best. It is: "I always avoid prophesying beforehand because it's much better policy to prophesy after the event has already taken place." You've got to think about that one for a while, and maybe I'm the guy to do that. Last year I told the American Legion about Pearl Harbor being on September 7th. [Laughter] Just think, if Franklin Roosevelt had listened to me, think what we could have spared the Nation. [Laughter]

You know, maybe you've read and maybe you haven't that we are in the midst of a series of systematic strategic reviews, and I've asked the members of my national security team to look hard at the international landscape and to look forward to assess the combination of security threats, technological change, and political and economic developments that will shape our security horizon well into the next century. And I am convinced that this important review, this important exercise, will have lasting benefits to our national security. In my address

to Congress last month, I set a 90-day deadline for this important work. And I won't rush the final results. The insights we will gain into the problems we will face in the decades ahead are worth waiting for. And the other day I went over to the Pentagon and met with certain members of the Joint Chiefs and those running that building, and I must tell you, I'm very pleased these reviews are going forward.

But today I want to speak about the foundations of an adequate national defense program, about the world we live in, and the challenges and opportunities we'll encounter, and about the approach I'll take on issues integral to our own national security.

First, the foundations. A month ago, I presented to the Congress a sound defense spending plan that makes sense, strategically and fiscally. As a sign that my administration is serious about the deficit, I called for a freeze in defense spending in 1990, adjusted only for inflation. And I'm well aware that our national strength rests ultimately on the health and vigor of the American economy. And we need a strong defense, and we need a strong economy. And I mean to preserve both. But our crucial military modernization plans and the diverse defense commitments that we must keep cannot be achieved without additional defense funding. And that's why the budget plan follows the freeze for 1990 with real increases—albeit they small—with real increases: 1 percent in 1991 and 1992, and a 2-percent increase for 1993. And my aim is to put defense spending on a modest, manageable growth path, one that we can afford and one that will allow us to modernize and maintain forces that are formidable, flexible, and ready. But in the defense debate, what we can and can't afford isn't just a matter of economics. It's a matter of vital national security. And I say, We can't afford to continue the downward trend in defense spending. 1989—now listen carefully to this—1989 will be the fourth straight year that budget authority for defense has declined in real terms. And we've worked hard to rebuild America's strength, and it's paid off. Today America is strong. Its voice is heard. Its forces are ready. And the values we stand for are more secure.

Secondly, we can't afford to mistake a more stable international environment as proof that we can spend less on national defense. The secret to our success can be summed up in a single word: Strength. And let's sustain the military strength that helped turn the world situation around.

And finally, we can afford adequate defenses. The defense budget that I'm calling for in 1990 represents 5.5 percent of our annual gross national product. And that's a far smaller share of our national wealth than the United States spent on defense at any point throughout the 1950's or the 1960's—periods of rapid and sustained economic growth though they were. The bottom line is not a question of cost or a question of resources: It's simply a question of will. And you have my word, as long as I am President: America will stand fast on the front line in defense of freedom.

Today around the world, a number of longstanding regional conflicts are closer now to resolution than ever before. The stirrings of freedom and the advance of democratic rule are evident and undeniable. In the economic sphere, the free market is increasingly seen as an engine of growth and development unmatched by any other system. And freedom is on the march. But there are still forces arrayed against it, regimes whose interests and systems are at odds with our own and with those of our allies. And then there's the—of spread chemical and biological weapons—along with the means to deliver them. It's likely to make the flashpoints that always exist more dangerous than ever before.

And the key issue of change within the Soviet Union—there are still far more questions than answers. There is no doubt that the changes taking place are significant and far-reaching, but it is equally true that the ultimate outcome of the events unfolding in the U.S.S.R. remains certain [uncertain].

My view is this: We should press for progress that contributes to a more stable relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, but we must combine our readiness to build better relations with a resolve to maintain defenses adequate to secure our interests. America and her allies must recognize that even in light of the military cuts proposed by President Gorbachev the Soviet Union remains the most

formidable military power facing the free world. We must be ready to cope with change and favorable opportunities and ready in any event to defend our interests and ideals. And what this means in terms of our national security should be clear: We need to maintain and modernize our forces, nuclear and conventional. For America and its allies, a survivable nuclear force will remain the ultimate deterrent of aggression.

We need to make a concerted effort to turn our technological strengths into a source of advantage to our national security. And that includes, in my view, vigorous pursuit of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

And we need to make an active effort in arms control, to strive for increased stability at lower levels of armaments. But I will strongly oppose legislative attempts to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe unilaterally. Imprudent unilateral reductions are not the path to peace and security and freedom.

And I've been listening to General Gray. We need to keep our forces ready and well-trained. The dedicated men and women who serve our country deserve no less.

We need to reform our procurement process to deliver a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar we spend. And the way to do that is to begin to follow through on the sensible reforms suggested in the Packard commission report and the findings of the defense management review now underway. I'll look carefully at those management review findings and then move to implement them.

And we need to maintain the alliance of like-minded nations in Europe and Asia that have helped us keep peace in the postwar era. As strong as we are—and we are strong—as strong as we are, the United States of America in this complex world cannot go it alone. Keep our alliances strong.

Before I close, I want to focus for a moment on a threat no less real than the adversaries you have battled. And I'm speaking about not a military threat; I'm speaking about the insidious threat to our society and our values: drug abuse. The notion that America is a nation at peace is only partly true as long as the violence and

destructive power of drugs assault our communities.

As I talk, our Attorney General [Richard L. Thornburgh] is holding a series of talks with three South American Presidents and their attorney generals or their ministers, seeking their full participation in this war and offering our full cooperation. My able drug czar, Bill Bennett [Director-designate of National Drug Control Policy]—some of you know him, able man—he will be confirmed as my hard-hitting point man to be at my side in the White House to keep the focus on winning this unconditional war; and I mean to mobilize all our resources, wage this war on all fronts. We're going to combat drug abuse with education, treatment, enforcement and, yes, interdiction and, yes, with our nation's Armed Services. When that prudently can be done and when that's what it takes, we are going to have to go all out. We need to break the deadly grip of drugs and prevent the drug scourge from taking hold.

And the VFW can help. Many of you have already started. Many of your posts are actively involved. You've got 2.3 million members, 750,000 auxiliary members, 10,000 chapters nationwide. The VFW is, and always will be, a respected member of communities across our country; and today I call on you to form a community of action. "For America, whatever it takes"—that's the motto of the VFW. And you've fought for your nation once, and your nation needs you again. And today I want to enlist you in the antidrug campaign. Meet with other leaders in your community—church, clergy, law enforcement officers—tell them the VFW volunteers are ready to help. And go to the schools and put the full weight of this magnificent organization behind the antidrug education effort that provides our kids with the reasons and willpower that they need to resist drugs. Speak to your State and local elected officials. Urge them to make the passage of strong antidrug legislation a priority.

I am reaching out to you, so I want to extend my help as well. Bill Bennett stands ready to meet with the VFW leadership to share ideas that can help you map a strategy. VFW has proven many times over its dedication to the health and well-being of our nation, proven it over and over and

over again. And the 50 young people that you've honored here today, with whom I had a chance to meet very briefly a minute ago, underscore the VFW's interest in our nation's youth and in our future. I know that we can count on the veterans of America all across this country to help us wage and win the war on drugs. Your country needs you once again.

Veterans share a special bond. We've seen the face of war. We know its terrible costs. Americans never willingly choose conflict. But we know, as well, that we must be ready and willing to respond when our interests and our ideals come under threat.

Let me be very clear. I prefer the diplomatic approach. Nations can and should explore every avenue toward working out their differences without resorting to force or military intimidation. But I'm also a realist. I know that there is no substitute for a nation's ability to defend its ideals and interests. And too often we hear that we face a stark choice in coping with conflict. We can pursue a diplomatic situation, or we can seek a resolution through military means. One, we're told, is incompatible with the other.

Well, this doesn't square with real-world experience. Diplomacy and military capability are complementary; they're not contradictory. Creative diplomacy can help us avert conflict. Negotiations stand the greatest chance of success when they proceed from a position of strength. The fundamental lesson of this decade is simply this: Strength secures the peace. America will continue to be a force for peace and stability in the world provided we stay strong.

Let me close with a word to these young people, who you appropriately are honoring here today. If I were in your shoes, I'd be an optimist. I'd be an optimist about world peace, changes in the Soviet Union. As I said earlier in this talk, nobody is talking about the Socialist model or the Communist model as to a way to solve their problems. But never forget that when a President of the United States goes to the negotiating table the way to enhance our values, the way to enhance the principles that everybody in this room holds dear, is to be dealing from a position of a strong America. We have the ideals. Keep America strong.

Remarks by General Colin L. Powell,
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,
at the 72d Annual National Convention
of the American Legion, Indianapolis,
Indiana, 30 August 1990

As Delivered

Thank you very much, Miles, for that very, very kind introduction. I want to apologize for being a few minutes late. Although I don't like to keep anybody waiting, at least you're not waiting out in the sun. But I do appreciate the fact that you've been patient and allowed me to linger a little in Washington to clear up a little business before coming here.

I can't tell you how pleased I am to be with you, my fellow veterans, today. It allows me to thank you and, through you, all Legionnaires for the marvellous support you are providing to our Armed Forces. Your support is a source of great strength to every last GI in the ranks and I want you to know how very grateful we all are to all of you. We will need that support even more in the future than we have in the past.

Several months ago, when I accepted your invitation to speak today, I thought I would be talking to you about the remarkable era of peace we were entering. Instead today my thoughts -- as your thoughts -- are on the young GIs, your successors, who are on

guard in the Middle East. Instead, I am once again reminded that in today's world hope lives with uncertainty, promise lives with danger, and the new lives with the old.

We have seen freedom break through the barbed wire and concrete walls of a divided Europe. And in the Persian Gulf we have seen tyranny break through the borders of a peaceful neighbor. We have seen the idea of democracy liberate the human spirit, and the scourge of aggression enslave it.

Saddam Hussein is the latest in a long line of leaders who rule by fear, who argue by the gun, and who live by conquest. Leaders who dismiss reason, the rule of law, and basic human values. And leaders who will be stopped. Why? Because --

- - they underestimate the resolve,
- - they underestimate the determination,
- - and they underestimate the strength of our great nation, America.

But America's strength is only part of the problem that Saddam Hussein faces. For in this struggle, we are not alone. Saddam can look north, he can look south, he can look east and west and the message he hears is the same: aggression such as yours will be stopped by the nations of the world united against tyranny.

Just look at the United Nations. For many years it didn't work. It was a joke. Now, in 1990, it is finally beginning to fulfill the promise of its founders. Five Security Council resolutions have condemned Iraq. Five resolutions have passed without a dissenting vote. Can this give Saddam Hussein any comfort from his aggression? None whatsoever.

Look at the response: From Canada in the north to Australia in the West -- a multinational naval force is gathering in the Persian Gulf to enforce the UN's actions.

Look at the nations of the Middle East. The Arab League has come to the defense of Saudi Arabia, and has taken up the cause of

an occupied yet defiant Kuwait. In the deserts of Saudi Arabia, Americans stand side by side with Saudis, Egyptians, Moroccans, Syrians, Brits, and many others. This is not a struggle between Moslem and Christian. It's a struggle between those who believe in the rule of law and those who still, in this new era, believe in the rule of the gun.

Today the Secretary-General of the United Nations begins a dialogue with Iraq. I hope -- we all hope, the world hopes -- that he convinces Saddam Hussein to accept the judgment of the world community. A judgment that is moral, a judgment that is fair, a judgment that is right.

I cannot predict what Saddam Hussein will do. But I can say this with assurance: America and the world are prepared. I can say to Saddam Hussein, do not dismiss us. Do not interpret our interest in peace as weakness. Do not think for one moment that we are cowed or coerced by your actions or your threats. We're made of much tougher stuff than that.

The facts of the matter are that Saddam Hussein must do what is right. He must return to his borders. He must let the legitimate government return to Kuwait. He must free the hostages. And finally, he must learn that in this new era he has to use the wealth of the Iraqi people for peace and not squander it on war.

Enduring Realities

But I come to you today not to speak only of Saddam Hussein and the crisis in the Persian Gulf. He will not prevail and the crisis will pass. I come to talk to you about America's strength. The strength that we draw from our Constitution, the strength that we draw from our way of life, the strength that we draw from our history of over two centuries. I want to talk to you about our values and our military might. Our purpose and our power. For we know that our strength lies not only in the arms we bear but in the values we cherish.

Our values have nurtured and sustained us through many bleak times -- times many of you remember. Times spent in Europe and in the Pacific and, now, in the deserts of Arabia.

And while our values have nurtured us, our power has protected us. Purpose and power. It's an unbeatable combination. One that fascism could not destroy. One that communism could not defeat. One that has always been ready to meet aggression.

My responsibility is to do all that I can, all that is in my power, to maintain America's military strength -- the power that defends our purpose and our principles. It is an enduring need even in these times of revolutionary change. It is a need that all of you here understand.

The challenges to our security will change. But the enduring need for a strong America will remain. This fact -- this need to keep ourselves strong -- guides all of my actions as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. My task is to help Secretary of

Defense Cheney and the President shape our armed forces of today -- and tomorrow -- to be responsive to the new era, and yet adequate to deal with the old era of the uncertain and the turbulent.

What are the enduring realities that require a strong America? Let me start with our relations with the Soviet Union, and the enduring reality of Soviet military power. Some experts think this may be a bit out of date. After all, the Soviets have embarked on a revolutionary program both home and abroad. One that holds the promise of burying forever the Cold War that dominated our relations for nearly half a century.

I have met over the last three and a half years five times with President Gorbachev. I read everything he writes. I watch carefully his speeches. And I believe, based on that experience, that he is absolutely sincere in reforming his nation's way of doing business. And I know that, in the process of change, I, along with many of you in this hall, have lost some of our old

tried and true buddies: the Iron Curtain is gone, the Warsaw Pact is going, the Berlin Wall is gone.

Nor are these positive changes confined only to our military-to-military relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet performance in the United Nations in the past couple of weeks has been commendable. Around the world the Soviets have been working hard to demonstrate that they want to be a contributing, constructive member of the world community.

If all this is so, then why do I as Chairman still think of enduring defense needs and the enduring reality of Soviet military power? It's simply because now and in the future the Soviet Union will remain a military superpower. President Gorbachev wants his country to improve economically, he wants to give his people a better standard of living, he wants to join the technology age of the 21st century. But he doesn't intend that his country give up its status as a military superpower. Nor should we expect him to.

A few months ago I was watching television on a Sunday afternoon and there suddenly on CSPAN was the gentleman we all had gotten to know over the past several years -- a Soviet by the name of Gennady Gerasimov, who used to be President Gorbachev's public spokesman. You saw him at the end of all the summit meetings when he explained in flawless English what went on.

On this occasion, Mr. Gerasimov was speaking to a group of American students at a college in New England, and he was going on at some length about the problems they were having in the Soviet Union, about how 70 years of experience with Communism had not worked, about how they needed to change. And how the future would be different but how difficult things were right now. And then as he concluded his remarks, he said: "But we haven't done everything badly. We have had some success." And I leaned forward to listen to what he would describe as success. And his answer was very simple. He said: "We are a

military superpower. We are a nuclear superpower."

I'll never forget that presentation. And I use it every day to remind myself that now and in the future -- regardless of what happens in the Soviet Union -- it will remain the only country that can destroy us and our way of life with nuclear weapons in thirty minutes. We must never lose sight of that simple fact. That is why we are continuing the fight for the B-2 bomber. That is why we must continue to modernize our land and sea-based nuclear systems, and we must continue to work for the promise of the Strategic Defense Initiative as the Vice President discussed with you yesterday. Our enduring military need is to make sure that America is never second best when it comes to strategic nuclear weapons and our survival as a nation.

Another enduring reality that remains constant in this world of revolutionary change, lies across the Atlantic Ocean -- in Europe, and in the Middle East. For 40 years we have remained committed across the

Atlantic Ocean in Europe. For 40 years our leadership, our determination, our military strength provided the shield behind which freedom and democracy flourished. We won and the Iron Curtain fell and the Soviets said "enough."

But we must remain engaged, leading, showing resolve, supporting our allies and friends. This is essential because our friends want us there, because our interests lie there, and because we want no one to mistake our hope for a peaceful world for weakness or lack of will. It is essential to remain engaged in Europe where our allies look to us for leadership. And, as the crisis in the Middle East demonstrates, it is essential to remain engaged across the Atlantic -- in the Persian Gulf, in the Middle East -- to protect our vital interests and those of our friends and allies.

So even as we draw down forces in Europe, we must maintain enough force there to continue to deter and to defend. We must remain able to reinforce rapidly across the Atlantic -- either to Europe or to the

Middle East, as we are doing now. And not with just light forces that can get there quickly, but with the heavy armored forces that you now see arriving in the Persian Gulf area.

And for our heavy forces to defend our interests, we must be able to deploy them in a timely manner as we are doing now. So now and in the future we need the very best strategic air and strategic sea lift that we can afford. We need maritime forces -- the very strongest possible Navy and marine forces. And the very best reserve forces to provide us with staying power and critical skills such as those being provided by the selective call-up of reserves for Desert Shield.

Another enduring reality now and in the future lies to the West -- in the Pacific. For many of us the Pacific has meant Korea and Vietnam. Because for many of us, when we were not defending collective security in Europe we were fighting long and bloody wars in Asia.

Today, the Pacific is home to an economic dynamism that seems unbounded. Today the nations of the Pacific look to us for partnership, for security, for leadership. We are in the Pacific to stay.

And then, for my final enduring reality, let me turn to the unknown, the uncertain, the crisis that no one predicted would happen, the contingency that nobody had planned for. For operations like "Just Cause" in Panama we must have contingency forces. The ones that require the best-trained, most ready GIs we have -- forces that are light, mobile, ready to go at a moment's notice to defend our interests.

So I see our defense needs of the future rather clearly. I see them in four categories:

- - modern strategic nuclear forces -- to include SDI -- to deter and defend against a nuclear attack on this nation or our allies;

- - secondly, an Atlantic force forward-deployed in Europe, the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf, with reinforcing forces here in the United States to protect our interests across the Atlantic;
- - third, a Pacific Force, forward deployed and backed up by forces in the United States, to defend our interests and those of our friends and allies in Asia;
- - and finally, a fast-moving contingency force for the unknown, for the conflict the experts say will never come.

In the months ahead, Secretary Cheney and I will be fighting to structure this force in the right way. And the next three or four months will be very, very critical. The Congress will soon be back in session and will be forced to make a judgment about the President's budget that is up for their consideration. We need that Congressional decision to be the right one. We need that decision to be one that allows us to move prudently rather than precipitously toward a

smaller but even better force. What President Bush has asked for in his budget is what America needs for its protection.

If we get a decision out of Congress that won't allow for what we believe America needs, a decision that cuts too much too soon out of our Armed Forces, then we will be unable to structure the kind of proud, ready armed forces that our nation is most certainly going to need in the years ahead.

Remember, our Armed Forces are all-volunteer forces. All those volunteers are under contract. All are ready to do what is required to serve their country. These are the people who will continue to protect America and her interests around the world. These are the people who believe in America just as you do. These are the people who are willing to sacrifice and serve just as you did.

But if we cut too sharply, if we cut too deeply too soon, we'll lose those people. We'll break the contract that we have with each and every one of them. We'll destroy the finest military America has ever fielded

in time of peace. Some of the fine young volunteers you've seen in the desert on television every night we'd be forced to fire when they come home. We can't let that happen.

I want the Congress and the American people to be aware of these facts, be aware of our needs, be aware of the reality of today's security environment. And I want you to help me tell that story. I also want them to know that we in the military -- the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I -- understand that we will get smaller. We can get smaller for the new era we are facing. We will reduce our budget. We know that in the Pentagon and everywhere throughout the Department of Defense and in every Service, we must re-examine every program and every organization to insure its relevance to a changing world.

But it's a changing not a changed world. It's a world still full of instability, uncertainty and danger. It's a world where ready armed forces will continue to be essential.

Fifty years ago, when Congress -- prompted by the war in Europe -- began funding our defense buildup after decades of neglect, our army conducted the largest ever peace-time maneuvers in this country. The Louisiana maneuvers and some of you in this hall may have been there. When the maneuvers were completed, the Secretary of War called in General Marshall and others who had watched the maneuvers and asked them to take stock of where we were with respect to the nation's rearming and getting ready for the conflict that clearly was just ahead. They all agreed that the armed services of the United States had come a long way, but much, much more had to be done. Maybe in six months or a year America would stand ready to defend its interests. The date of that meeting was December 3, 1941. Six months suddenly became four days.

If there is one lesson we learned then and I hope we have not forgotten, it is that we must always -- always -- have capable and ready armed forces for friend and foe alike

to see. We owe that to the American people. We owe that to our friends. We owe that to our foes. We owe that to the cause of world peace.

America as Superpower

When I began my career 32 years ago, I learned the language of Communism, Cold War, Containment. Those words are now becoming history and good riddance to them. But what hasn't changed is our responsibility as the freedom leader of the world. Our responsibility as the Free World's superpower is unchanged.

We've heard it again and again. America cannot be the world's policeman. Yet, as I've learned time and again in the 11 months that I've been Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when there's trouble, when somebody needs a cop, guess who gets called to come restore peace? We do. In the words of the President, "We're in a new era -- one full of promise. But events....remind us that there is no substitute for American leadership. And American leadership

cannot be effective in the absence of America's strength."

You all know that the decision to send soldiers overseas is never an easy one for a President. Our industries have given us the best weapons. But the American people have given us this nation's most precious assets. Their sons and daughters. Their brothers and sisters. Their fathers and mothers. Our success, whether in deterring war or defeating aggression, rests ultimately on the shoulders of these brave men and women.

I've visited our deploying troops and I can't tell you how proud I am of them and how proud you should be of them. You've seen the images on television. I know those young GIs saying goodbye and heading off to the Persian Gulf go with your best wishes and blessings. No one knows more than you what is in their hearts and what is on their minds as they leave. No one knows more than you the sacrifice being made by the brave, proud families who will await their return

and whom we will take care of while their loved ones are overseas.

The young volunteers in Saudi Arabia and on the ships offshore are just like you were. They are patriotic. They care. They want to do the very best job possible. They know America needs them. They know America's friends need them. They know that American citizens in danger need them. They believe in America. They are the kind of Americans who have always been there when the need arose. These young men and women are your most worthy -- worthy -- successors.

Many years ago, when D-Day became etched in the memories of our nation, a young soldier wrote, "We landed on the beach as kids, and left a lot older in some ways...We were proud that we did our jobs as best we could..."

Today, we owe it to our troops overseas to do the best we can. To watch over them and their families. To support them with all our hearts and with all our souls. To make them as proud of us as we are of them. I know

that I can count on the American Legion and its three million Legionnaires to do just that.

Thank you all. God bless.

strategy that offers hope to those little kids we saw today.

Thank you very, very much.

If I would say to those non-Ambassadors in the room—and please do not assume that this is a discriminatory policy, but I am one who is very much indebted for the cooperation we're getting from abroad—if I could ask the Ambassadors from other nations just to come and maybe have a handshake here, I would then at least have the feeling that I have made you feel the special warmth that I feel toward you for coming and to your countries for being interested in cooperating on this strategy.

Note: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Remarks at the 71st Annual Convention of the American Legion in Baltimore, Maryland September 7, 1989

Justice Gierke—Sparky to me—as a fellow Legionnaire, let me first salute the first Vietnam veteran to be selected national commander. And all of you who represent our nation's largest and fastest-growing veterans organization, more than 3 million members strong—thank you for that warm welcome.

I am proud to have been accompanied here by a great friend of the veterans, Congressman Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi—[*applause*]—I see we have a few Mississippians back there—and, of course, to have been greeted by Maryland's outstanding Congresswoman, my great friend, Helen Bentley, a great friend of the veteran; and am pleased, because I hadn't been told they were going to be here, to see our outstanding Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Yost, who's doing a superb job, and General Rowley, a old friend of mine, a great leader, great friend of the veterans, and a great leader in the whole field of arms control and a strong defense. So, I feel among friends. And as always, it's a great privilege to join you and a deep personal

pleasure for me to renew old ties, greet new friends.

Today, surprisingly, is September 7th—[*laughter*]—and I—[*applause*]—can you believe it? And I'm determined not to repeat the mistake I made exactly 1 year ago when I referred to this as Pearl Harbor Day. [*Laughter*] I can still remember the gasp—it was on this side of the room. I don't know whether the seating has changed, but as long as I live, I'll remember the gasps from the audience. [*Laughter*]

Not surprisingly, anniversaries were on my mind then as I traveled here from Washington. Events like this 71st national convention of the American Legion or the 200th birthday of the Coast Guard or the very first anniversary of the Veterans Affairs Department, led by its able Secretary and our good friend, Ed Derwinski—a department intent on serving you as you have served your country. Well, as you can imagine, these birthdays in turn got me thinking about another anniversary, the 175th this year of the "Star-Spangled Banner," and how your convention lies so near its famous birthplace. Tuesday you did something that would have pleased Francis Scott Key and for which I thank you. For by supporting a constitutional amendment making it illegal to desecrate the American flag, you joined the crusade to protect that unique symbol of America's honor. Our flag is too sacred to be abused.

The flag, like our great country, America, represents many things. It represents self-expression and opportunity, democracy for all. Like America, too, Old Glory reflects the values, moral and intellectual, economic and military, that have made and keep us strong. And like America, the flag symbolizes the gallantry of veterans who love their country, giving themselves, often their lives, to its protection—storming the beaches of Okinawa or scaling the cliffs of Normandy, taking shell-torn hills named Hamburger and Arrowhead. Fellow veterans, for seven decades the American Legion, its men and women, have helped write the story of America and the story of our flag. And today in peacetime as in wartime, you write their story still. For the flag, like America, is more than sentiment. It lives on the rugged island called Iwo Jima. It lifts

the tiny hand of a little girl that I saw on a street corner in Gdansk, Poland, waving the Stars and Stripes. For both encapsulate freedom: the freedom to vote as we want, to pray when and where we choose, the freedom to go about our daily lives without tyranny or fear.

Fifty years ago this month, our allies went to war to protect this freedom, for as panzer tanks crossed the Polish frontier and bombers savaged Warsaw, liberty confronted the evil of fascism which even now defines hell on Earth. And in the end, that conflict took more than 50 million lives and underscored, as few things have, man's inhumanity to man. Our challenge today is to prove man's humanity to man by preserving liberty without war and thus secure what Franklin Roosevelt called the four freedoms: freedom of speech, of religion, freedom from want and fear.

Today I want to focus on one of these freedoms: freedom from fear—the fear of war abroad, the fear of drugs and crime at home. To win that freedom, to build a better and safer life, will require the bravery and sacrifice that Americans have shown before and must again. Already, we've done much, and now we must do more and achieve real peace, both domestic and foreign, the kind of peace which lasts. First, our mission at home: to free our country from the fear of drugs and crime. When we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our answer is and must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe. And that is why, 2 nights ago, I announced America's first comprehensive national strategy to win the war on drugs and crime which plague the United States.

First, our plan seeks to rid America of violent criminals with an attack on four fronts: new laws to punish them, new agents to arrest them, new prosecutors to convict them, and new prisons to hold them. Our crime proposals are based on these principles: Criminals in this nation must understand that if they commit a crime, they will be caught; and if caught, they will be prosecuted; and if convicted, they will do time. But, you see, by taking the hoods off the streets, we can and we will take back the streets. You know, in short, we propose to change the rules of the

game dramatically: mandatory time for firearms offenses; no deals when criminals use a gun; and for the most heinous crimes—you remember my promise—for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, no legal penalty is too tough. We want Congress to enact the steps needed to implement the death penalty for those who kill our law enforcement officers.

Now, over the last few days, there's been a lot of talk about our strategy. Some, incredibly, say, Well, it's not enough. This from the very people who oppose the death penalty. It's that kind of thinking that's lost too many battles already. So, let's not let these critics lose the war. I ask you to support our crime plan and also the other parts of our national strategy. This strategy aims to stop drug use before it starts, through education and prevention, from grade school to graduate school, and third, through treatment, to help addicts who want to get clean, with special emphasis on expectant mothers.

And finally, we're going to work with other governments to help crack the international drug rings. Yesterday's extradition of a major drug dealer sends a strong signal of the courage and determination of President Barco and the Colombian Government to deal with the scourge which drugs are inflicting on all of us. And as veterans, you know how battles are often fought—house by house, block by block. Well, we'll win this battle the same way. But we're going to win it kid by kid, neighborhood by neighborhood.

For years now, drugs have written a sad chapter in the American story. And this morning I ask you to help write an ending all of us can be proud of. These cops out here on the street—they can't do it alone. The teachers—God bless our teachers—those teachers in our schools—they can't do it alone. The addict really trying to get clean can't do it alone, weary of abuse, can't do it alone. They all need your help. And I know they'll get it, just as you've helped handicapped kids, donated blood, helped always that National League of Families, and spurred good government through programs like Boys State and Girls State. Today, for instance, Post 65 in Rosemont, Minnesota, runs the program "Drug Talk."

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And in Russellville, Arkansas, I especially like Post number 20's giveaway of thousands of rulers, and their message says it all: "You really measure up when you say no to drugs."

You know as I do that we are in this together. So, let us fight on any front and every front: supply and demand, education and rehabilitation, interdiction and enforcement, in the cities and the towns. Walter Lippmann once wrote of a "nation at the mercy of violence." America must never surrender to the violence of drugs and crime. The future of our children depends on it.

This morning, I've talked about our mission to secure freedom from fear at home, but now let me shift. We also have another mission, a global mission: to free America from the fear of war. Wouldn't it be wonderful if our kids or grandkids could grow up in a world where they never had to give one single thought to the horror of a nuclear war.

Half a century ago, Ike and Nimitz and Jimmy Doolittle and millions of unsung heroes—many sitting right here today—fought to end a war. You fought at Guadalcanal and Monte Cassino, at Bastogne and Bataan. You fought to rid the world of totalitarianism and tyranny. Our challenge may be less dramatic, but just as vital: to secure freedom in a world at peace. Today ours remains a global stage, and America remains its leading player. And we must use our strength to maintain peace and freedom. For this we do know from World War II: The best way to protect that freedom and ensure real peace is for America to be militarily strong. Thankfully, today America is strong. And our strength has helped democracy's tide run in, even as tyranny's tide runs out. The new breeze of freedom, which I've spoken of before, is blowing in Poland, in Hungary, in countries East and West. And yet with even hopeful changes comes uncertainty. And with uncertainty comes the need for vigilance. This is no time to declare freedom's victory before the fact. And that is why we need a national defense that ensures a strong and secure America and why I'm pleased that the Senate largely agrees.

This week our defense authorization bill moves to House-Senate conference commit-

tee. And there's just one problem: The House version is totally unacceptable to the Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces. It is unacceptable. It continues unneeded programs costing nearly \$20 billion from 1990 to 1994, holding our defense budget hostage to projects that will strip money from programs crucial to strategic modernization. You see, this modernization is vital, vital because America must base its procurement decisions on the future capacity—the actual weapons—that any Soviet leader might have available.

Here there are hopeful signs, for Mr. Gorbachev is taking some steps to reduce that threat posed by the massive military machine that is the Soviet Armed Forces. We applaud those moves, and we hope there will be more, many more. But at the same time, we cannot cause the Soviet Union to reduce its forces by unilaterally disarming ourselves. Progress has been made precisely because we have been strong. So far, in terms of cutting strategic weapons systems, Soviet words have not been matched by Soviet deeds. Our own strategic modernization program must deal with deeds and encourage the Soviet Union to work with us in reducing the threat of nuclear war.

And that's why we've begun a vital program to modernize our strategic triad, and by that I mean submarines, missiles, and bombers. We have called for two Trident submarines to be funded in 1990 and 1991. And today I renew that call and reaffirm my commitment to the second part of our triad: strategic land-based missiles. Already the Soviet Union is deploying two mobile systems. We have none. We need to move forward with our mobile programs not only to modernize our forces into the 21st century but to gain leverage for arms control. You see, what we're talking about here is simple logic; or as Sam Rayburn said, "If a man has common sense, he has all the sense there is." Accordingly, our ICBM program calls for a new single-warhead small ICBM missile and our ICBM missile, Peacekeeper, multiwarhead ICBM. The small ICBM represents the future of our ICBM force: highly mobile single warhead, the very essence of stability and deterrence. But it won't be ready until 1997, so I've asked Congress for funds to make our existing Peacekeepers

mobile by utilizing our rail system in an emergency, providing survivability at low cost for this very effective and proven system. The third part of our deterrent triad—the B-2, or the Stealth bomber—employs absolutely revolutionary technology to make certain that it can penetrate defenses and assure the credibility of our deterrence.

And finally, there is the last part of our defense equation; that's the Strategic Defense Initiative. SDI will begin the movement from offensive to defensive deterrence and deter not merely existing threats, but also nations on the verge of possessing nuclear and chemical weapons. Now, if that's not common sense, then I don't like fishing and I don't like playing horseshoes. [Laughter]

Fellow veterans, real peace is not an accident, so let us modernize our strategic forces and thus encourage arms control. We need the Trident, the small ICBM. We need the Peacekeeper, B-2, and SDI. And I have proposed to the Congress an affordable budget to pay for them. It is a solid, well-thought-out, and essential program. The Congress should support it and not try to substitute pet projects in place of a closely integrated strategic program. For this, above all, we know: When it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last.

We can have an America free from war, free from drugs and crime—an America free from fear. What a wonderful legacy for this and generations of children to come. Some might call it only a dream. To them, I say, okay, America is the land of dreams—dreams that come true.

God bless you all. God bless the United States of America. And thank you for your hospitality. Thank you all very, very much. Remember Pearl Harbor. We'll see you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. at the Baltimore Convention Center. In his remarks, the President referred to Herman F. "Sparky" Gierke, national commander of the American Legion, and Ambassador Edward L. Rowny, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters.

**Remarks at the Ceremony
Commemorating the 175th Anniversary
of the "Star-Spangled Banner" in
Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1989**

What a lovely day. And thank you, Congresswoman Bentley, my friend, Helen Bentley, for, one, inviting me here, and for joining in the invitation for me to be here. I have a very high regard for Maryland's great Helen Bentley. I'm very pleased that you have Tom Clancy, the esteemed author, my friend, involved in this project. What a marvelous contribution he's made to our literary world and, I also would like to think, to the national security interests of the United States by his writings.

Superintendent Tyler, I'm pleased to be with you, sir, having heard of your tender loving care for this and other of our great monuments. I'm pleased that Congressman Montgomery, a great leader in the veterans movement, was with me at the Legion and here with us today—Mississippi's son.

I'm proud to share this platform with Mayor Schموke. And of course, I have a few differences with your Governor. [Laughter] We went to the ball game when the Rangers were in town, and I understand that the Orioles are playing the Rangers tonight. And I hope you'll excuse me if, for the first time, I visibly differ with Don on this one—I want my kid, who runs the Rangers, to keep his job. [Laughter] So, you'll have to forgive me, Governor, for this one evening. But as for Don Schaefer, we may be in opposite parties, but I am grateful to him for his leadership in this State, and I am grateful to him for his standing up with us as we formulate it and now are trying to advocate a national strategy to combat narcotics in this country. Your Governor is out front and I am very, very grateful to him.

And what a lovely day to visit one of America's most hallowed shrines. I'm grateful to all of you for the warmth of the reception. One hundred and seventy-five years ago, three events—the Battle of North Point, the Battle of Baltimore, and "The Star-Spangled Banner"—wrote one of the greatest chapters in the American experience. And even now, they teach us, and

Remarks by General Colin L. Powell,
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,
at the National Convention of the Veterans
of Foreign Wars, Baltimore, Maryland,
23 August 1990

As Delivered

Thank you very much, Commander in Chief Hogan, for that very fine introduction. Let me apologize for being a few minutes late. We tried to make it by helicopter, but the weather stopped us so we turned to an automobile. And we got here from Washington in about 35 minutes and we should shortly be joined by several Maryland State Troopers who were observing our transit.

It is a very great pleasure to be here with you this morning, among my fellow veterans. I am always pleased to talk to veterans, especially those of the VFW.

Since the end of the Spanish-American War, your great organization has fought relentlessly "to insure the national security through maximum military strength." For 91 years you've pressed that objective in every state in the Union, at every level of government, and in every board room across America.

As your commander in chief said earlier this year, you "are all members of a fraternity forged in wartime." When it comes to supporting America, there is no other fraternity like it. You are not merely in the vanguard of excellence, you are the vanguard of excellence.

You know, when you say you're going to talk to the VFW, people in Washington say you are preaching to the choir. Well, I like preaching to the choir. Every now and then the choir needs to hear the preacher preach. And I love to hear this choir sing out, as it has for 91 years, for a proud, free, strong America.

Three days ago, President Bush told you that by serving America's veterans you have enriched America. You have also strengthened America, and for that we are all very grateful.

For the past three weeks, world events have forcefully reminded us of the need for a strong America. Reminded us that we still live in a world of uncertainty, a world of instability and a world of continuing danger.

In the past three weeks, we haven't heard much about Perestroika or Glasnost or a reunified Germany or market economies in communist countries. Those stories are now much further back in the newspapers. They don't dominate the airwaves every evening.

Instead our attention has been riveted on the Middle East, on the Persian Gulf, on a place called Iraq and another place called Kuwait, and on a man named Saddam Hussein. Instead, U.S. troops, planes and ships, rather than coming home from the Cold War, are once again on the move. As many of you did in the 40's, 50's, 60's and 70's, American GIs are moving to the sound of trouble.

I've visited our deploying troops and I can't tell you how proud I am of them and how proud you should be of them. You've seen the images on television. I know those young GIs saying goodbye and heading off to the Persian Gulf go with your best wishes and blessings. No one knows more than you what is in their hearts and what is on their minds as they leave. No one knows more than you the sacrifice being made by the brave, proud

families who will await their return and whom we will take care of while their loved ones are overseas.

The young volunteers in Saudi Arabia and on the ships offshore are just like you were. They are patriotic. They care. They want to do the best job possible. They know America needs them. They know America's friends need them. They know that American citizens in danger need them. They believe in America. They are the kind of Americans who have always been there when the need arose. These young men and women are your worthy successors.

The other day, I heard the Iraqi Foreign Minister say that our operations in Grenada and Panama were a vacation compared with what we might be confronting in the Middle East. Well, I want to tell you that Grenada and Panama were not vacations. You know better than anyone that war is never a vacation. Americans don't like war. We never have. We love peace. But we know that it is better to obtain peace by standing up to aggression early so you don't have to fight a war later. So we will defend our interests. Don't try to scare us or threaten us. It won't work, it never has -- and especially not threats from Mr. Hussein.

We will always come to the aid of our friends and our fellow citizens. We will not abandon them when they are hostages. And that's what a guest who isn't allowed to leave is -- a hostage.

No Iraqi leader should think for a moment that we don't have the will or the ability to accomplish what might be required of us. All any Iraqi

leader needs to do is look at the history of American valor and sacrifice in the 20th century. There lies all the proof he needs of American will. There lies all the proof he needs of the strength of our arms and our ability to do what is necessary.

Surely the people of Iraq must be asking themselves right about now why their leaders have squandered their wealth to invade their neighbors -- with nothing to show for it but world condemnation and the deaths of thousands of innocent people. Mr. Hussein, the solution to this crisis is simple. Leave Kuwait. Let the legitimate government return. Use your wealth for peace not war.

In my almost 11 months as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I have heard the too frequent sound of guns erupting against an overall background of unprecedented opportunities for peace.

In Panama I've seen the force of arms used to restore an elected, legitimate government. In Nicaragua I've seen the force of ballot boxes used to throw out an illegitimate government.

In the Philippines I've seen U.S. planes used to keep a freely-elected, democratic government safe. In Germany I've seen the walls of war come down to bring a nation back together.

In Liberia I've seen U.S. citizens evacuated to escape the perils of war. In Angola I've seen Cuban soldiers return home to be replaced by the promise of peace.

And in Europe, I've seen the Soviets change from the evil empire incarnate to an apparently willing partner in a free and whole Europe.

The challenge before us is how to balance this world of unprecedented opportunity and this world of continuing danger. How to take advantage of the opportunities for peace while guarding against the danger of instability.

The specific challenge for Secretary of Defense Cheney and me is to shape our future Armed Forces so that they guard against the danger. In meeting that challenge, we've focused on enduring realities and enduring needs.

First, we are aware of the enduring reality of our Atlantic interests. For 40 years we have remained committed across the Atlantic in Europe. For 40 years our leadership, our determination, our military strength provided the shield behind which freedom and democracy flourished. We won and the Iron Curtain fell and the Soviets said "enough." But we must still remain in Europe. Europeans will continue to need our presence and our leadership to insure the promise of permanent peace.

Europe is not the only area of interest to us across the Atlantic. North Africa and the Middle East and the Persian Gulf are also areas that we must keep very much on our mind. And if we needed any reminder of that, Saddam Hussein has given it to us.

So there are enduring needs across the Atlantic. The need to remain engaged, to lead, to show resolve, to support our allies and friends. Our friends want us there and we must remain because we want no one to mistake our hope for a peaceful world for weakness or lack of will.

So even as we draw down forces in Europe, we must retain our capability to deter and to defend there if that ever should become necessary again. We must retain our capability to reinforce rapidly our forces across the Atlantic in Europe and in the Middle East. And to reinforce with heavy forces -- the kind we are now deploying to the Persian Gulf.

Second, we must remain aware of the enduring reality of our Pacific interests. While America was defending collective security in Europe, we also had to fight two long and bloody wars in Asia. Today, the Pacific is home to an economic dynamism that seems unbounded. Today the nations of the Pacific look to us for partnership, for security, for leadership. Our presence in the region has allowed democracy to grow and flourish. And there is an enduring need for that presence. Therefore, we must not now disengage. The presence of American military power in the Pacific is an essential element for continued progress in the region.

Third, there is the enduring reality of uncertainty, instability and danger. The crisis that no one expects is coming and then suddenly it is there. This reality generates another enduring need. We must make sure that in the future we maintain contingency forces to deal with crisis -- forces such as the ones that executed Operation Just Cause in Panama under General

Stiner's superb leadership. Forces such as those we are now deploying to the Arabian Peninsula. Forces that by their speed and aggressiveness, and ability deter war. But also forces that can fight and win if deterrence fails.

Fourth, there is the enduring reality of Soviet nuclear power. A reality that we and the Free World have had to face for 40 years. The reality that no matter what happens in the Soviet Union, no matter how many walls fall down, or elections are held, or who the President may be -- the Soviet Union remains a military superpower. A nuclear military superpower with the ability, if not the intention, to destroy our way of life in 30 minutes. This is an enduring reality I never forget.

Today, our eyes are on the Middle East. There, we are witnessing the proof of another enduring reality. It is the reality that America is the only superpower left in all the dimensions of power -- political, economic, military, and the power of our values. And that reality creates another enduring need: -- the need for world leadership. We cannot shrink from it. America must remain the leader of the Free World.

In the nearly fifty years since World War II, American leadership and American strength have been tried and tested many, many times. But we have come through each time. What happened in the Freedom Revolution of 1989 was largely a product of our leadership and the Free World's resolve.

A new era of hope is dawning -- an era created out of your sacrifice and out of the values and strength of the Free World.

There are striking differences between this new era and the old one it is replacing. In the old era, NATO stood as the bulwark against Soviet invasion of Western Europe. In the new era, we are discussing the cooperation of our NATO allies in the ongoing crisis in the Middle East. Many of our NATO allies now are answering the Desert Shield call to arms.

In the past, Soviet leaders moved relentlessly to create and exploit crises in the name of ideology. Today, Soviet leaders work with us to help stem the crisis in the Middle East.

In the past, the Security Council of the United Nations would be in a hopeless stalemate over any crisis. This time, the vote of the Security Council was 13 to 0 for sanctions against Iraq, and 15 to 0 to condemn Iraq's restrictions on innocent civilians. The Arab Council, NATO and the Western European Union all joined together in saying "no" to further tyranny.

So we are moving into a new world. But in this new world there will still be a need for American leadership. President Bush reminded us only last week that, "We're in a new era -- one full of promise. But events of the past two weeks remind us that there is no substitute for American leadership. And American leadership," he went on to say, "cannot be effective in the absence of America's strength."

And we must put that strength where American interests dictate. We must have forces in Europe, in Japan, in Korea, and in the Persian Gulf. We

must have superior naval forces in waters that are crucial to our economic interests and the interests of our allies. We must have contingency forces here in the United States -- forces that are ready for any crisis.

And to deal with what I described as the enduring reality of Soviet strategic nuclear weapons, we must maintain capable, modern nuclear weapons of our own. So we need the B-2 bomber. We need to continue to modernize the sea- and land-based legs of our nuclear TRIAD. And we need to continue vigorous research into the Strategic Defense Initiative. These systems are very, very expensive. I know that. I know how expensive they are. But I also know it is a necessary investment in order to preserve our security. No Soviet leader, now or in the future, must ever be allowed to believe that he could blackmail America with superior nuclear weapons.

So I see our enduring future defense needs rather clearly: modern strategic nuclear forces that defend this nation and its allies; an Atlantic force to protect our interests to the East, a Pacific force to the West, reinforcing forces here in the United States, to include a contingency force for the unknown: -- for the crisis no one expected or predicted. And all of this supported by the best R&D program we can put together and by the soundest industrial base we can devise and sustain.

And we can build this armed force. We can put the whole package together and keep America safe. And in the process, we can save some money as well. We can do all of this and save money if we have

the time to do it. That's what concerns me most, that's what concerns Secretary Cheney the most -- having the time to structure the right military for America. Saddam Hussein will pass. Crises will come and go. But America's need for strong armed forces will not pass -- ever.

In the months ahead, Secretary Cheney and I will be fighting to structure this force in the right way. And the next three or four months will be very critical. The Congress will soon be back and will be forced to make a judgment about the FY 1991 President's budget that is up for their consideration. We need that Congressional decision to be the right one. We need that decision to be one that allows us to move prudently rather than precipitously toward a smaller but even better force. What President Bush has asked for in his budget is what America needs for its protection,

If we get a decision out of our Congress that won't allow for what we believe America needs, a decision that cuts too much too soon out of our Armed Forces, then we'll be unable to structure the kind of proud, ready armed forces that our nation will need in the years ahead. Remember, our Armed Forces are all-volunteer forces. All those volunteers are under contract. All are ready to do what is required to serve their country. These are the people who will continue to protect America and her interests around the world. These are people who believe in America just as you do. These are people who are willing to sacrifice and serve just as you did.

But if we cut too sharply and too deeply, we'll lose those people. We'll destroy the finest military America has ever fielded in time of peace. Some of the fine young volunteers you've seen in the desert on television every night we'll be forced to fire when they come home. We can't let that happen.

And we must not destroy the great team we've built of our Active and Reserve Components. Yesterday President Bush announced a selective call-up of the Reserves and he could do that without any hesitation about their quality because they are the very best. The Total Force policy we have is proving itself in the crisis in the Gulf. We're calling up only selected units, ones that can do special tasks that are key to sustaining our forces, or are crucial to selected areas of support. But we know that we could call up any of these great Americans and their response would be overwhelming. All of the Armed Forces of America are ready to go and to serve.

I want the Congress and the American people to be aware of these facts. And I want you to help me tell the story. I also want them to know that we in the military -- the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I -- understand we will get smaller. We can get smaller for the new era we are facing. We will reduce our budget. We know that we must re-examine every program and every organization in the Department of Defense to insure its relevance to a changing world.

But it's a changing not a changed world. It's a world full still of instability, uncertainty and danger. It's a world where ready armed forces will continue to be essential.

On the cover of your June/July *VFW Magazine* you featured a montage of symbols from the Korean War -- the X Corps patch, the Korean Service Medal, the Regimental flag of the 5th Marines, an F-86 Saber fighter jet, each symbol set by the artist against a background of jagged Korean mountains covered with snow.

Your resolution 346, featured in that magazine, declared June 25th as "Remembrance Day" -- the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War.

On that day, now over 40 years ago, our armed forces were hollow and unready for action. It took the courage and valor of men and women, many here today, to compensate for that failure to pay the peace time price of freedom. Behind those symbols on the cover of your magazine were the flesh and blood of American veterans.

Our aim should be to see that America never makes that mistake again. Our aim should be to see that America never again has to send its sons and daughters to war unready, poorly equipped and badly trained. We must never again compensate for lack of readiness with the lives of Americans.

[pause]

President Bush spoke to our Armed Forces at the Pentagon last week. "It is you," the President said, "the men and women of the Department of Defense, who turn...words into deeds that transform hope and promise into reality."

The President could easily have been speaking to each of you here today. Every one of you in your service helped turn words into deeds. Every one of you transformed hope and promise into reality. Now I ask you to help keep our Armed Forces strong so that America can continue to lead the way in transforming hope and promise into an *enduring* reality.

Thank you so very much for letting me share this day with you.