

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

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

OA/ID Number: 13757
Folder ID Number: 13757-012

Folder Title:
U.S. Air Force Academy 5/29/91 [OA 8323][1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	21	4	3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*more
personal
staff*

May 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: MARK LANGE *ML*

SUBJECT: AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, May 29, at 11:25 a.m., you will address the U.S. Air Force Academy's Class of 1991 in Falcon Stadium in Colorado Springs. The audience will be 20,000 or more.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (16 minutes, on teleprompter) discuss your defense program in the context of "lessons learned" from the Gulf war. There is specific criticism of the House action cutting funds for the B-2 and G-PALS, in addition to a veto threat for "any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs."

* * * We've just received word of a possible Middle East arms control insert to come from NSC. We reminded the NSC that your preference -- per our May 23 meeting with Gen. Scowcroft -- was not to treat a Middle East arms initiative as an insert.

A NOTE ON HUMOR: The "altitude" joke at the beginning is a standard line that any cadet must repeat on demand. Regarding the joke at the bottom of page 7, cadets must fill out a form rating every meal in the dining hall. Everyone fills it out the same way, answering questions 1-6 with "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." This litany is so well known to every cadet that it is sometimes used as a code to recognize fellow graduates.

shorter
1/2

(Lange/Simon)
May 24, 1991
4:30 P.M.
DRAFT FIVE
[USAF.FTS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:25 A.M.

[[Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team. \\

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the

cause of freedom -- to lead. *There is a new sense of pride and patriotism in our land. It is good for our nation's soul.*
Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned --

The bellway

but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous -- to defend our interests and our principles. *In short to do what's just and right.*

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. *When a carrier on the way home after months in the Gulf was diverted to Bangladesh a crewman was asked "Are you disappointed?"* We do not dictate the courses nations *to* follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example *reshapes the world.* We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can. *Be right Not all we're saving lives We're doing what we ought to do*

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in *Colorado* Aspen on the day Iraq invaded Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me that day -- she said, "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined

forces to liberate a tiny land. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

Make no mistake: our changing world will continue to pose enormous and often unforeseen challenges. Look to the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. Look to the economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of communism and corruption. Ancient rivalries have revived in the Balkans, in the Soviet Union. Many well-armed nations of the Developing World stare at one another in defiance and suspicion.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

We've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It has deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, the military component of the Warsaw pact has withered away, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on smaller, more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions.

We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Our military must evolve and change with this changing world. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; away from fixed garrisons and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those forces. \ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates the most important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\\

The Gulf war taught us that we must retain superiority and credibility in the skies. We must deploy systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must. \\\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for

a stealth bomber, the B-2. From the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

~~Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."~~

Such was our approach as we completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, and strategic stability, G-PALS greatly advances the Strategic Defense Initiative. It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the

*B-52's being twice
replaced as old as
graduates*

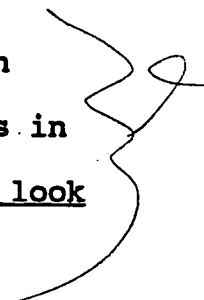
smaller-scale strikes of international renegades. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf -- and the Patriot was spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.


Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America and its friends from renegade or accidental ballistic missile attacks. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and to kill its most promising technologies. ^{I call on} We hope the Senate ~~to~~ will restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ [[You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\]]

Although we will have to cut troop levels by 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to

respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

So I say to the Congress: Don't waste taxpayer money on unneeded and unwanted hardware. Don't prevent needed changes in the Guard and Reserve. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future. \\


No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs -- any bill without G-PALS and the B-2. \\


Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \\
 Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- and no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. ~~[Let me be the first.]~~
 God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

Air Force Academy Info:

~~719-472-2990~~
719-472-2990

~~2517 2990~~

Col. Wallace

~~1986 AF~~

1984

(Lange/Simon)
May 28, 1991
6:10 P.M.
DRAFT SIX
[USAF.2TS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:25 A.M.

[[Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team. \\

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead. There is a new sense of pride and patriotism in our land. It is good for our nation's soul.

The beltway cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous to defend our interests and our principles -- in short, to do what's just and right.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. When a carrier on the way home after months in the Gulf was diverted to Bangladesh, a crewman was asked, "Aren't you disappointed?" He replied, "Not at all. We're saving lives. We're doing what we ought to do."

We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Colorado on the day Iraq invaded

Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined forces to liberate a small country. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Since then, we've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It will have the largest land force in Europe for the foreseeable future. With perhaps five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions. We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by

the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Nowhere are the dangers of weapons proliferation more urgent than in the Middle East. After consulting with governments inside the region and elsewhere, about how to slow and then reverse the buildup of unnecessary and destabilizing weapons, I am today proposing a Middle East arms control initiative.

It features supplier guidelines on conventional arms exports; barriers to exports that contribute to weapons of mass destruction; a freeze now and a later ban on surface-to-surface missiles in the region; and a ban on production of nuclear-weapons material. Halting the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons in the Middle East -- while supporting the legitimate need of every state to defend itself -- will require the cooperation of many states, in the region and around the world. It won't be easy -- but the path to peace never is.

As the world changes, our military must evolve and change with it. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come. We need a more agile, flexible military force, that we can put where they are needed, when they are needed. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those

forces. \\ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package to the Congress that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\

The Gulf war taught us that we must retain combat superiority in the skies.

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of Stealth. Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

The F-117 proved itself by doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It

flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings. The next step in that revolution is the Stealth bomber, the B-2. Not only for its contribution to nuclear deterrence, but also from the standpoint of conventional cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict. And it replaces B-52 aircraft approaching twice the age of you graduates.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 -- redirecting those funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

That's one reason we've refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the missile attacks of international renegades. While the Patriot

worked well in the Gulf, we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. We can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America, its forces, and its friends. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from G-PALS and to kill its most promising technologies. I call on the Senate to restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the most fundamental, is **the value of people**. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ [[You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\]]

Although we will cut troop levels 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they are totally integrated, taking full advantage of the kinds of joint

operations so powerfully demonstrated in the Gulf. We must ensure that they have weapons that emerge from military necessity -- not pork barrel politics. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unneeded programs and bases.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't support and sustain my defense program.

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \ Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no other combat force you encounter will have your skills, your technology or support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no lack of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted.

God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

(Lange/Simon)
May 23, 1991
6:45 P.M.
DRAFT THREE
[USAF.FLY]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:25 A.M.

[[Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at the White House this morning. Barbara made me straighten things up. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team.]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe and with wars in East Asia. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\ And we will preserve that strength and continue to exercise that leadership because of the talents and dedication of young Americans like you. \\ } e?

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or not genuine -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for

sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" --you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great when our interests and our principles are at stake. \\

And even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know that America will not use force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of freedom. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help the Kurds and the people of Bangladesh in their valiant struggle to survive.

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the mantle of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Standing with me in Aspen the day of the invasion was Margaret Thatcher. She offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she told me that day -- she said, "Don't go wobbly."

Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, came together to liberate a tiny land. ^Q that coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation ^Q will hold^s the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. Look to the economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of mismanagement. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the tensions that exist between many of the well-armed nations of the Developing World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Much has changed. Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. And we are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

Yet even as we move from confrontation to cooperation with a changing Soviet Union, we cannot afford to ignore the military potential still available to our former adversaries. We must remember that the Soviets will still retain massive military

power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

And ~~as~~ as the picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must start to focus primarily on smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions.

We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century, nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles -- and many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play -- how will we develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead, and to build the consensus needed for a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must evolve and change. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; away from mobile fixed garrisons and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must not, for example, let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy

these forces. The demands of defense in a new age will stretch our imaginations and challenge our creativity every bit as much as did the demands of an earlier era.

Defense in a new age means we must arm ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But within these constraints, we've put forward a defense program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It is tailored very carefully to carry out our most urgent national security needs during these years of reduced spending. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow - - but looks to the kind of defense we need for the future.

Unfortunately, some in Congress seem determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like

the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\ [[I was also tempted to ask Brent how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\ \\]] We must retain superiority and credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must. \\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: **the value of surprise, and stealth**. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- but stealth gives it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes were the most effective, ^{and} yet humane, in the history of warfare. Our smart bombs and stealth technologies helped us target hostile forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It allowed us to avoid the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor without undue loss of life among Iraqi civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a ~~single~~ scratch.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. CHECK
 [From the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer.] It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.

Yet earlier this month, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it can be stabilizing. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas." ✓

Such was our approach as we completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, ^{and} strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance for SDI ✓

-- protecting us and our allies from accidental launches, or the smaller-scale strikes of an international renegade. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf -- and the Patriot system was spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said before, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past. ~~Our concern must be the future.~~

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect America and its friends from ^{renegade or accidental} ballistic missile attacks. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and kill its most promising technologies. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote stability. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is **the value of people**. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer, ^{and an excellent one} ~~of excellence.~~ The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ And the incredible professionalism and dedication they displayed in the Gulf will affect the calculations of would-be aggressors for decades to come. \\

Our forces will be fewer in number -- 25 percent fewer, by mid-decade. But we must ensure that they remain fully prepared

to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity, -- not political convenience. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

So I say to the Congress: Don't micromanage. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we haven't requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Don't prevent needed changes in the Guard and Reserve. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future. Let military experts determine military needs! \\
✓
STEP

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\
✓
STEP

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end to the challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted.

God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

(Lange/Simon)
May 21, 1991
5:30 P.M.
DRAFT TWO
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:20 A.M.

[[Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer.]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we are -- and we will.

\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental
values.

Col. Mike
Wallace
USAF
PAO
719-
472-
2990

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to dismiss threats to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

8-2-90
speech
3-7-91

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I ^{✓✓} stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

see file
5-28-86
A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

Don Pilling NSC X6923
Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]

Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

aspem
8-2-90
The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must design new systems, provide different equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics. We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Cheney testimony to SASC 2-21-91 p.17
Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

Unfortunately, Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \ \ [[I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\ \]]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\ \

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Maxwell
AFB
4-13-91

Col/Wallace
Wallace
719-472-
2990

Reuters
2-28-91

Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes were the most effective and humane in the history of warfare. Our smart bombs and stealth technologies helped us target hostile forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor without ^{destroying} the Iraqi people. ✓

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. From ~~an~~ the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm. ✓

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

LT GEN
Charles
Horner
Testimony
to
House Def.
Approp. Subcomm.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

JFK
6-5-63

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the SCUD. As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for newer -- more menacing -- threats.

Cheney
testimony
p. 20

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \ \

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

Testimony
from
ASD for Forces
Mgmt. + Personnel
S-14-91

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\
 8-2-90

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked.]]
 Don Pilling NSC 6923

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\
 6923

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\

God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

OUTLINE FOR A SPEECH ON DEFENSE POLICY

from NSC
Hagden

A New World Order

- For over forty years we have seen the hopes for a safer, freer, more prosperous world frozen in the ice of ideological conflict and superpower confrontation.
- In the Gulf we caught a glimmer of the future, a new world order characterized by a growing consensus that force cannot be used to settle disputes and by a world willing to act when that consensus is broken.
- We saw the United Nations playing the role dreamed of by its founders, with the world's leading nations orchestrating and sanctioning collective resistance to aggression.
- We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. Indeed, the very process of change will cause turmoil. We see this today in the tragic state of the Kurds in Iraq, in the economies of Eastern Europe ravaged by years of mismanagement and misrule, in the powerful centrifugal forces at work in Yugoslavia, and indeed in the uncertainty, instability and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union itself.
- One thing is clear. Global success in this vast undertaking depends on the broad and sustained engagement of the United States. Now, as for much of this century, there is no substitute for American leadership. Our responsibility, even in a new era, is inescapable.
- We cannot and should not be the world's policeman. That is beyond our means. And even if it were within our power, the world would not welcome it.
- But we remain the country to whom others turn when in distress. We can't do it alone, but no one else can mobilize and lead as we can.
- A proper question, then, is the appropriate role of military power in such a future. For what purposes will we need military forces? What should be their size and how should they be shaped?
- Our answers must reflect the threats we face, the international realities we foresee, and the enduring elements of our military strength.

A Changing Threat

- Clearly the threats we face have changed. The ability -- indeed, the willingness -- of the Soviet Union to project conventional military power beyond its borders has been significantly reduced.

- The military arm of the Warsaw Pact no longer exists. Germany is united in NATO. All Soviet troops will soon be gone from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and withdrawals from Poland are continuing.
- But we still face the sobering truth that the Soviet Union has the physical ability to destroy the United States in a single cataclysmic attack.
- And elsewhere, there are new dangers. Saddam's barbarity dramatized the terrible menace of outlaw states armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions.
- Last year I announced a shift in our defense focus away from many of the threats of the Cold War toward a new agility for our armed forces, an ability to respond to unpredictable regional crises, even as we continue to deter nuclear attack.
- The events of the intervening months -- in the Gulf, in Europe, in the Soviet Union -- have validated this approach. But if the last year has taught us that our basic direction is sound, it has also shown that we still have work to do.
- We must not let the success of Desert Storm blind us to the reality that deterrence in the Gulf failed, that we required a full six months to deploy our forces, and that we and our friends were vulnerable to missile attack.
- The demands of security in a new age will stretch our imaginations and challenge our creativity every bit as much as did the demands of containment in an earlier era.

Emerging International Realities

- The Gulf Crisis showed the value of collective action by the international community in dealing with aggression, collective action that lent not only combat power but international sanction to decisive military operations.
- At the operational level, the web of cooperative agreements built up with our NATO partners and with our friends and allies in the Middle East and elsewhere made the deployment and use of our own military forces far more effective.
- Such international cooperation and defense relationships will become even more important in the future. The way we design, field, deploy and train our military forces must reflect this.
- Cooperative arrangements -- including security assistance -- can cement alliance ties and help promote regional stability. *- too much summarizing*
- We will also work with others to limit the deadly arsenals that

are the both the cause and symptom of conflict.

- We are especially concerned by the most ominous challenge to global peace today -- the accelerating proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. We will spare no efforts to curb this deadly traffic.

Enduring elements of our military strength

- But even in the best of circumstances, such efforts can only complement -- not replace -- adequate military forces.

- The defense program we have sent to the Hill -- my program -- has been crafted to complement the capabilities of our allies, to meet the threats we are likely to face, and to balance the demands of a turbulent present with those of an uncertain future.

- We have preserved the elements absolutely essential to our future security -- quality people backed by quality equipment.

- The most important is **people**. Simply stated, we have the finest military this nation has ever possessed. The all-volunteer force works, period.

- In 42 days and 100 decisive hours the men and women of the armed forces of the United States put on an incredible display of professionalism and dedication that will affect the calculations of would-be aggressors for years to come.

- Our forces can and will be smaller, 25% smaller by mid-decade. But they will be ready, fully prepared, to respond quickly and decisively to crises. This will not be a hollow force, hamstrung by cuts in readiness to protect unneeded programs, unneeded bases or unneeded units.

- The men and women in our armed forces deserve the best America has to offer. We saw the payoff in the Gulf in each precious life saved. The decisions we make today -- the programs we push forward or set aside -- will dictate the kind of military forces we have well into the 21st century.

- We must preserve our edge in **technology**, not as a panacea, but as a reliable tool to save American and innocent lives.

- I don't have to remind this audience that the F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings over Baghdad. The B-2 is the next step in that revolution with the potential to render all of today's air defenses obsolete.

- Stealth works. We proved that in the Gulf. The only issue is cost. The B-2 is expensive, but we need it and we can afford it. Further cuts or delays will only increase the bill. The B-2, fully funded, is my top defense priority.

my top defense program

*Demographics
academic*

*women
fighting*

*Removes
prohibition
in law
shifts
decision
to
Pentagon*

- The Gulf war also proved some important lessons about missile defense. It showed that imperfect defenses are better than none, and even imperfect defenses can be stabilizing in the face of aggressors undeterred by overwhelming offensive power.

- We can and must do better than the Patriot for we will face threats far more sophisticated than the Model-T SCUD. The redirection of SDI to provide global protection against limited strikes has the potential to make future missiles of terror as obsolete as Iraq's SCUDS -- if we provide adequate funding.

- accidental
- unauthorized

- We must also guard the ability of American industry to develop and produce the world's best military equipment even in the face of reduced defense spending and fewer purchases.

- This will not be easy but we will find ways to continue to involve the creative resources of our national economy in innovative defense work.

Holding the Line

- Let me close by saying that effective military forces -- forces appropriate to the dangers and opportunities before us -- can be supported within the spending levels agreed to in last year's Budget Summit.

- We will stand by that agreement but Congress must do the same. The forces we are constructing are the minimum essential forces to preserve our security.

GMP?

- Lower levels of spending would be irresponsible, as would misspending scarce resources on unneeded programs or bases. There is no slack to protect this or that base or system.

- In the Gulf we benefitted from the legacy of investment, technology and planning that came in the decade before. We have a similar responsibility today. The decisions we make now will determine whether we are well or ill prepared for the dangers that are sure to confront us in the future.

"Lessons learned"

Joe DeButta - VP staff
Patriot - SDI

perk - travel
special interests

special ops. - don't need more \$

Patriot - SCUD
letters to Pres.

stealth technology
'missiles too!

(Lange/Simon)
May 21, 1991
3:15 P.M.
[USAF.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:20 A.M.

[[Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude
Col. Wallace is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

Col. Wallace 'It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer.]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of
a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict,
preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe.
More recently, many wondered whether America was still strong
enough to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow
Americans, we are -- and we will. \\

In the life of a great and decent nation like ours, there
are moments when the people break the shackles of self-doubt and
reaffirm fundamental values. You graduate at such a moment -- a
time when America's national will is re-defined and re-affirmed.

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for
sophistication. They know patriotism isn't prone to tarnish like

a brass button -- it's part of the real and lasting fabric of this nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-assured, kind, generous -- we are as committed as ever to fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We will." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only for liberation. Other nations will decide for themselves their role in the world, and in history -- you prove that in America's heart, there is no burden too heavy, no risk too great, when our interests and our principles are at stake. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership: not unilaterally, for we will not dictate another nation's course -- nor can we isolate ourselves, for the world counts on our steady hands and staying power. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

And no nation has been a more steadfast ally to America than Great Britain. They were with us in the Gulf as no one else was, should-to-shoulder and wing-to-wing. America rests easier with an ally like England -- our truest friends in freedom. \\

Around the world, the current pace of change only brings greater challenge. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds

in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in Yugoslavia -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union itself -- and the ever-present risk of aggression in the Third World.

We will never be able to predict where trouble will break out next -- but our experience in the Gulf offered a glimpse of the power of collective effort to assure world security.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play -- how to achieve the greatest flexibility and strength, to assure the kind of future we want for the world? The answer will affect the decisions now being made in the Congress -- and ultimately, the kind of military you will lead.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Bush speech

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists.

All Soviet troops will soon be gone from Czechoslovakia and

Hungary. Withdrawals from Poland continue. But the Soviets, *with 6 new strategic missiles + 2 strategic bombers in the past few years.*

retain massive military power. They have significant strategic capability -- *with 5 new strategic missiles in development* -- and since they're still producing ~~ballistic~~

*NSC
Don
Pilling*

~~missiles~~ *missiles* they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

And even as the political picture shifts away from polarization between two Superpowers, we face the greater military volatility of smaller regimes armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. By the end of this century, [24] Third

Cheney?

World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

Aspen That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from many of the threats of the Cold War, toward a new agility and flexibility for our armed forces. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

The demands of security in a new age mean we have to design and equip our military forces differently. We must field, deploy, and train them to meet changing strategic circumstances. This new age will challenge our creativity -- our planning, intelligence, and engagement in the world's cultures -- like never before.

The defense program we sent to the Congress recognizes that not only can we make dramatic spending cuts, thanks to historic and dramatic changes around the world; we must make those cuts to meet our own fiscal goals. But if we're going to spend less, we're going to have to spend smart.

Henry Our cuts run deep: in the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense program that is reasoned, reasonable, and the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

And yet the House has just passed a defense bill that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do.

McPeak
After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \ \ [[I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)]]

Col. Wallace
Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward the allied amphibious assault that never came.

Reuters 2/28/91
Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension: both more effective, and more humane. More than any other single factor, stealth saved lives. Night after night it allowed us to put continuous pressure on vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings over Baghdad -- doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. Exposing fewer lives, reducing total sorties, lowering demands on munitions, manpower, fuel, support, and overall cost.

LTC.
Horne

The B-2 carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. That means unexcelled capability per dollar -- getting to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\
\\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works.
In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS."

In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need the Congress to fully fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is **the value of people**. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence -- and our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

ASD m
Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. But they will be fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. This will not be a force hamstrung by cuts in readiness to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

Don Pilling NSC
[[To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked.]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed

reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

The question is whether we'll have the technology vital to our security in the next century -- equipment equal to the quality of graduates that emerge from this Academy -- or whether we'll waste money on unwise decisions and unwanted hardware.

No President could deny Congress its right to oversight -- but make no mistake: as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense. No Congressional district's interests outweigh our national security interests -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\

God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

(Lange/Simon)
May 21, 1991
1:30 P.M.
[USAF.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991
11:20 A.M.

[[Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer.]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of
a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict,
preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe.
More recently, many wondered whether America was still strong
enough to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow
Americans, we are -- and we will. \\

In the life of a great and decent nation like ours, there
are moments when the people break the shackles of self-doubt and
reaffirm fundamental values. You graduate at such a moment -- a
time when America's national will is re-defined and re-affirmed.

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for
sophistication. They know patriotism isn't prone to tarnish like

a brass button -- it's part of the real and lasting fabric of this nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-assured, kind, generous -- we are as committed as ever to fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. When your country asked you to serve, you did. When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We will."

And even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only for liberation. Other nations will decide for themselves their role in the world, and in history -- you prove that in America's heart, there is no burden too heavy, no risk too great, when our interests and principles are at stake. God bless America's military. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership: not unilaterally, for we have never dictated another nation's course -- nor can we isolate ourselves, for the world counts on our steady hands and staying power. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

And no nation has been a more steadfast ally to America than Great Britain. They were with us in the Gulf as no one else was, should-to-shoulder and wing-to-wing. God bless Great Britain. \\

Around the world, the current pace of change only brings greater challenge. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of

misrule. The powerful forces now at work in Yugoslavia -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union itself -- and the ever-present risk of aggression in the Third World.

We will never be able to predict where trouble will break out next -- but our experience in the Gulf offered a glimpse of the power of collective effort, to assure world security. A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play, in the future we want for the world.

The answer will affect the decisions now being made in the Congress -- and ultimately, the kind of military you will lead.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists. All Soviet troops will soon be gone from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Withdrawals from Poland continue. But the Soviets retain massive military power. They have significant strategic capability -- and since they're still producing [x] ballistic missiles a [y], they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

And even as the political picture shifts away from polarization between two Superpowers, we face the greater military volatility of smaller regimes armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. By the end of this century, [24] Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense

focus: away from many of the threats of the Cold War, toward a new agility and flexibility for our armed forces. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

The demands of security in a new age mean we have to design and equip our military forces differently. We must field, deploy, and train them to meet changing strategic circumstances. This new age will challenge our creativity like never before.

The defense program we sent to the Congress recognizes that not only can we make dramatic spending cuts, thanks to historic and dramatic changes around the world; we must make those cuts to meet our own fiscal goals. But if we're going to spend less, we're going to have to spend smart.

Our cuts run deep: in the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense program that is reasoned, reasonable, and the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

And yet the House has just passed a defense bill that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's

Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\ [[I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)]]

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found, in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward the allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension: both more effective, and more humane. More than any other single factor, stealth saved lives. Night after night it allowed us to put continuous pressure on vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings over Baghdad -- doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. Exposing fewer lives, reducing total sorties, lowering demands on munitions, manpower, fuel, support, and overall cost.

The B-2 carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. That means unexcelled capability per dollar -- getting to the job faster, with more

tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\
\\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works.
In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- saving lives and promoting stability. Now it's up to the

Congress to explain why we'll fund missile defense on the battlefield, but we won't fund missile defense for America. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the **value of people**. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence -- and our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. But they will be fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. This will not be a force hamstrung by cuts in readiness to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked.]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

The question is whether we'll have the technology vital to our security in the next century -- equipment equal to the quality of graduates that emerge from this Academy -- or whether

we'll waste money on unwise decisions and unwanted hardware.

No President could deny Congress its right to oversight -- but make no mistake: as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense. No Congressional district's interests outweigh our national security interests -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy:

You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\

God bless you all -- and good luck.

#

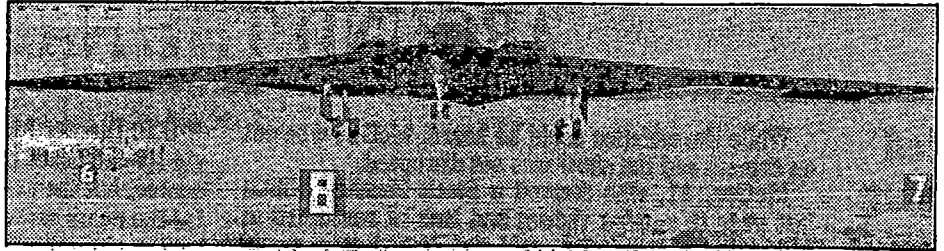
Norm Dicks

A Bomber We Need

The dramatic success of the F-117 stealth aircraft in the Persian Gulf War, particularly in the early days, demonstrated to the world (as well as to Saddam Hussein) the awesome and revolutionary capability of radar-evading aircraft. The F-117s swooped into Baghdad undetected by the Iraqi air defenses, dropped deadly precision-guided bombs onto communications bunkers, radar stations and anti-aircraft missiles, then returned unscathed to reload and to fly again.

More than any other single factor, the new stealth technology made the battle against the world's fourth largest standing army a brief encounter. It allowed us to achieve air superiority quickly and decisively, and to save the lives of thousands of American servicemen and women. With stealth technology, moreover, we were able to do more with less. Though the F-117s represented only 2 percent of our aircraft assets in the gulf, they flew against—and hit—nearly a third of the targets in the first two days, without losing one pilot and without substantial civilian casualties.

Herein lies the cost advantage that should be one of the primary lessons learned from the Persian Gulf conflict, and this is a lesson that should be applied to the modernization of our nation's aging fleet of bomber aircraft. During the debate this spring over funding for the new B-2 stealth bomber, cost will undoubtedly be one of the major factors. But the case for the stealth bomber is, in my judgment, strengthened by the "morning after" analysis of the Persian Gulf War. At a time when budget constraints require us to do more with less, the radar-evading design and electronic technology of the B-2 give us the ability to utilize fewer aircraft to accomplish the same mission. And in a shrinking arsenal, this is a system that can play a strategic as well as a significant conventional role.



In one Desert Storm operation, an armada of 75 aircraft with a price tag of \$6.5 billion (life cycle cost) was unable to destroy an Iraqi nuclear facility. The mission was ultimately accomplished by a force of eight F-117 stealth aircraft and two tankers, with a comparable cost of \$1.35 billion. Two B-2s could have performed this same mission, launched either from the United States or unrefueled from Saudi Arabia, for an investment of \$1.3 billion.

The B-2 bomber would combine the stealth capability that made the critical difference for us in Iraq with much greater range and far more payload. It can carry more than 10 times the payload of the F-117, at more than five times the unrefueled range. That's not a factor that can be easily dismissed. If the scenario had been different—if Saddam Hussein had crossed the Iraqi border in those early days of August and September before coalition forces could be assembled—we would have needed immediate force projection capability. And with the Iraqi air defense still intact, the only answer would have been an aircraft that can penetrate, strike and return with low casualty rates.

Only a long-range bomber like the B-2 could give us both those capacities. Gen. Charles Horner, who headed the air campaign in the gulf, told the House appropriations subcommittee on defense in April that he would have used the B-2 in Desert Storm not only because of its enormous capability but "because we would be putting fewer lives at risk." Saving pilots and aircraft is also a crucial factor that cannot be ignored during the debate over cost.

In a downsized U.S. military, the B-2 is exactly the type of system we must provide to our services in the future. With a force of B-2s, needing far less logistic support and forward protection, American pilots in the

21st century can help continue to deter aggression worldwide. And they can do so in an aircraft that brings them back home safely, just as the F-117s did from Baghdad.

If we buy 60 more B-2s, America gets two bombers for the price of one. We will have a bomber that can penetrate Soviet air defenses, thus serving as a vital part of our strategic triad. As such, it provides the synergistic protection for our submarine force and for our already vulnerable land-based ICBMs. And we also get a bomber that carries a load of smart conventional bombs with even more "stealthiness" and survivability than the F-117. We have spent more than \$38 billion thus far for 15 aircraft. If the rate of production is accelerated, we can purchase the remaining 60 aircraft for another \$28 billion.

As former secretary of defense Harold Brown stated in a recent letter, "We should consider only the remaining cost, because the sunk cost is indeed sunk . . . The remaining cost of the B-2 program will be less than the cost of the equivalent delivery capability by the next generation of tactical attack aircraft, which would require forward bases either on land or on carriers and substantial deployment time to reach attack distance."

To stop the B-2 program now would be a grave mistake for this program as well as for the security of our nation. America needs the capability of a stealth bomber, and America needs the balance that a second-strike, recallable, invisible, invulnerable, strategic and conventional bomber can give us. In fact, with the cost advantages of this dual-capable aircraft, America can't afford *not* to have the B-2 to address tomorrow's Saddam Hussein and to protect tomorrow's military personnel.

The writer is a Democratic representative from Washington.