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**STATEMENT OF
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

DICK CHENEY

**BEFORE THE
SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE**

**IN CONNECTION WITH
THE FY 1992-93 BUDGET FOR
THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE**

FEBRUARY 21, 1991

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STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DICK CHENEY
IN CONNECTION WITH THE FY 1992-93 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET
SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
FEBRUARY 21, 1991

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, thank you for this opportunity to discuss the Administration's fiscal year (FY) 1992-93 defense budget request.

As we meet here today, the Defense Department is engaged in two formidable tasks. First, the men and women of our armed forces, under the mandate of the United Nations, are engaged in war in the sands of Arabia to liberate Kuwait. Their dedication and professionalism are making us proud.

Yet even as we fight a significant war far from our shores, the Department, in the second task, is restructuring and reducing American military forces to adapt to changes in the strategic environment and to meet the challenge and opportunities of the post-Cold War era. Today is an important step in that process, and I welcome the opportunity to testify before you on these crucial matters.

Underpinning each of these formidable tasks is a new strategy for America's defense. This strategy was first set forth publicly in a speech by President Bush last August 2--the very day Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. This is ironic, because the strategy President Bush presented directs attention away from a global war beginning in Europe -- the contingency that had necessarily preoccupied America's planners for four decades. The new strategy focuses our efforts instead on regional contingencies and on sustaining the forward military presence in peacetime necessary to deter the outbreak of regional wars.

This new strategy also emphasizes that technological breakthroughs will change military art, even as our Stealth fighters today carry a disproportionate role in the air war. It calls for ballistic missile defense, much as American Patriot units are now engaged almost nightly. It directs resources for increased mobility, as we conduct one of the largest and most rapid deployments in our history. And it recognizes potential new roles for us, for our allies and for the Soviets, even as an unprecedented international effort has been forged.

But it is also a strategy that recognizes the importance of continuing historic roles for America's defense, as our Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines prepare for one of the largest land assaults of modern times. It cites the continued importance of the quality of our armed forces and the critical need to maintain and modernize our strategic capabilities. And it warns of the continued need for caution in an uncertain world, the

need to be ready to rebuild, even as we plan to reduce dramatically over the next several years.

Today I would like to discuss this new strategy, the elements that underlie it, and its implications for our defense budget. For an effective strategy for America's defense requires first a sound understanding of the challenges and opportunities ahead of us, a clear sense of our interests and goals, and an honest appreciation of our strengths and characteristics as a nation. On these sound bases the President has built America's defense strategy for the 1990s, a strategy fully reflected in the force structures and programs contained in the defense budget recently submitted to the Congress.

THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The remarkable changes of 1989 in Europe and the Soviet Union brought to the fore the need to reexamine the strategy of containment that had guided us from early post-World War II days. But there are other changes afoot, as well, partly as a consequence of the end of the Cold War, and partly from other historical trends. These have interlocking effects on our purposes as a nation and on the resources we will devote to our defense. Let me discuss briefly problems and opportunities presented in four categories:

- Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
- Changes in future regional threats.
- Changes in relations with our allies.
- Changes in the nature of future warfare.

Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

The past two years have seen extraordinary, historic changes in the strategic environment. The revolutionary change in the nations of Eastern Europe has been more wide-ranging and sweeping than anything we have seen in the last forty years. Noncommunists now lead each of the former non-Soviet Warsaw Pact states. Germany has been unified in NATO. The Soviet Union has agreed to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Germany and is unilaterally reducing its general purpose forces at home. The Warsaw Pact is set to be dissolved April 1. In short, the West has achieved a great strategic success.

The Soviets have played a responsible and helpful role in many of these developments. Communism collapsed in Eastern Europe and is under siege elsewhere because it failed to nurture the spirit and innovation of its individual citizens. Democracy and free market economies have proven more durable, more successful and more responsive to the aspirations of the majority of mankind. But the Soviets helped change along and in the past two years took some steps toward reform at home as well. Significantly, the Soviets have also joined with the overwhelming majority of the international community in

supporting 12 UN Security Council resolutions condemning Iraq's wanton aggression in the Persian Gulf. In this sense it is now common to say, at last, "the Cold war is over."

Last fall, during trips to Poland and the Soviet Union, I witnessed some of these advances first hand. In Moscow, I addressed a joint meeting of the Defense and State Security and International Affairs committees of the Supreme Soviet, and this experience in particular left me with a sense of the great changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

But the moves towards democracy and demilitarization of the Soviet Union that we all welcomed now appear to be in doubt. Recent, worrisome events raise questions about the prospects for needed economic and political reform and the Soviet Union's future course.

The economic situation in the Soviet Union today is as bleak as it has been since the end of World War II. In October 1990, just about the time I visited the Soviet Union, the central government rejected the Shatalin plan, the only economic program that had any real prospect to reform the Soviet economy. The Soviet government has taken other steps that make any significant improvement in the Soviet economy less likely, including reasserting the priority of state orders in the economy, authorizing the KGB to search business enterprises for economic data, and otherwise countering the movement toward free markets and prices. These actions are certain to trouble western businessmen contemplating investment in the Soviet Union. In short, the Soviet central government has for now abandoned economic reform and in turn has been abandoned by the most prominent economic reformers, many of whom are now working with the government of the Russian Republic.

As a result of the center's policies, the Soviet economy is collapsing. There only remains the question of how rapidly the shrinkage is occurring. Estimates for 1990 range from an official Soviet estimate of some 2 percent reduction in Soviet economic activity to at least a 10 percent reduction in the 12 months ending in February 1991. Many experts anticipate that 1991 will see a further contraction of the Soviet economy.

Mr. Gorbachev's success in the eyes of many hinged upon his ability to deliver economic reform, to move the Soviet Union into the modern era so that it could compete with the West. Success depended first and foremost upon his ability to dismantle the old structures that clearly did not work, and put new structures in their place. In my view, to date, he has clearly not yet achieved that transformation. Given this failure, we have to anticipate that there will continue to be economic decline and increased prospects for significant unrest. If the government pursues additional anti-reform steps, Moscow will find itself locked in a vicious cycle. It is hard to

discern, at this point, a strategy at the center for dealing with these problems or regenerating a process of reform.

Political reform in the Soviet Union is also under attack. Leading liberal political figures have left the government, most notably former Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, whose resignation speech warned of an impending dictatorship. Shortly thereafter, Gorbachev resorted to and sanctioned a crackdown on the freely elected governments in the Baltic states. There has been a reversal of progress in human rights and a broad campaign attacking press freedoms. Political conflict is worsening. Rather than moving toward greater openness to resolve the underlying problems, Gorbachev appears ready to rely on the security services and the military and their use of force to maintain order inside the Soviet Union. He has issued a decree establishing joint Interior Ministry-Army patrols. There is now a widespread consensus among Soviet observers that the central government is increasingly influenced by the military and the security services, as well as the Communist party bureaucracy.

In the absence of ongoing reform there is no prospect for a permanent transformation in U.S.-Soviet relations. Experience shows that ultimately U.S.-Soviet relations are driven by how the Soviet Union governs itself. Except at the margins, long-term improvement depends on the democratization and demilitarization of Soviet society. The failure of reform would not necessarily mean a return to the worst days of the cold war, but it would prevent movement to thoroughgoing, across the board cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Reform need not fail. Our President has said many times that we want the process of reform in the Soviet Union to succeed. We still hope that it will be successful, and the central government, we believe, may still be able to take steps to return to the path of reform.

But what do these conflicting trends mean for our long-term defense requirements? Five implications must be weighed.

First, the Warsaw Pact is dead as a military organization. I do not see any possibility of resurrecting it. Even though the Soviet military will remain, by a wide margin, the largest armed force on the continent, the threat of a short-warning, global war starting in Europe is now less likely than at any time in the last 45 years. The USSR will, very likely, continue withdrawing forces from Eastern Europe. The withdrawals from Hungary and Czechoslovakia are well on their way to completion; and, despite some recent difficulties, we anticipate that withdrawal from Germany and Poland will be completed some time thereafter.

Second, the Soviet ability to project conventional power beyond its borders will continue to decline, whether that decline is part of a broad strategy of improving relations with

the West or is simply an unintended effect of the continued economic collapse of the Soviet Union. For the moment there does not appear to be a constituency for a revanchist policy toward Europe or a forward policy in the Third World. More generally, as many Soviets have noted, the Soviet Union has a sick economy, and it is getting sicker. The military is not able to insulate itself completely from this broader social illness, and as a consequence some of its capabilities inevitably will be degraded. Thus, I think overall the Soviets are going to find it increasingly difficult to project power beyond their borders, and that obviously reduces the threat we have been faced with for the past 40 years.

Third, there is enormous uncertainty about developments inside the Soviet Union, and this should be reflected in our planning. Absent a return to the course of reform, I believe the Soviet decline will continue. Growing unrest and violence in the Soviet Union would threaten its neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe since some of the turmoil may well spill over the borders of the Soviet Union. This unrest will be particularly troubling to the Soviet Union's neighbors since, as former Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said not long ago:

[N]o one can calculate the consequences of a social explosion capable of igniting not only befogged minds but also the giant stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons and nuclear power stations and the zones already weakened by environmental and natural disasters and regions shaken by interethnic strife.

As the situation deteriorates in the Soviet Union, anticommunist democrats and ethnic nationalists could well take to the streets in protest or flee. Large flows of refugees to Europe are possible. This will only heighten the concerns of Eastern European nations, as they seek solutions to their longer-term security needs.

Fourth, and a key point, the Soviets not only retain significant strategic capability but are modernizing it virtually across the board. It is expected that Soviet nuclear forces will be fully modernized by the mid-1990s, including Typhoon/Delta IV submarines, SS-24 and SS-25 missiles and follow-ons to each, and a new highly accurate version of the SS-18 missile. They will also modernize their air-breathing forces with the ALCM-carrying Bear-E, Blackjack and Backfire bombers, among other improvements. In all, we see five or six new Soviet long-range ballistic missiles under development. The USSR also continues to modernize its strategic defenses. While we seek to capitalize on the significant reductions in conventional capabilities, we must recognize the continued importance of maintaining robust strategic offensive and defensive capabilities.

Fifth, the prospects for arms control are in doubt. We have serious, unresolved differences with Moscow over the agreement to reduce Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE). There is still, at this time, no resolution on START, although at various times there has been reason to believe we were close to finishing a START agreement. These setbacks in arms control demonstrate the spillover effects of Soviet domestic unrest and the resurgent role of the military. Nevertheless, we remain hopeful that we may yet conclude meaningful arms control agreements with the Soviets.

Changes in Future Regional Threats

The cooling of the superpower rivalry has implications for the regional conflicts we confront as well. The containment strategy dictated that part of our regional interests derived directly from Moscow's expansionist strategy, and our own efforts to counter that expansionism. U.S.-Soviet rivalry did not create U.S. regional interests but gave them a special context and urgency. A new era holds the prospect for treating regional issues independent of the East-West context.

A true demise to the Cold War therefore promises many positive effects on regional conflicts, including greater superpower cooperation, with the most dramatic example to date being the Soviet support in the United Nations against Iraq. The cooling of superpower rivalry decreases the chances that a regional conflict will escalate into global war--a worrisome concern throughout the Cold War. This shift drains many regional insurgencies of their most common source of military and economic support, and undercuts adherents to Communist ideological fervor. On the other hand, there is a risk that the end of the bipolar world could unleash local, destructive forces that were previously kept in check. For example, there is some thought that Saddam Hussein saw the end of the Cold War as an opportunity to pursue his own expansionism.

Whatever the positive consequences of Soviet "new thinking" on foreign affairs, we face the sobering truth that local sources of instability and oppression will continue to foster conflicts small and large virtually across the globe. The Gulf conflict has illustrated once again that these regional crises and conflicts are likely to arise, or to escalate, unpredictably and on very short notice. This will require that we be able to respond if necessary, very rapidly, often very far from home, and against hostile forces that are increasingly well-armed with conventional and unconventional capabilities.

No one can predict with certainty the precise course of the war with Iraq. Nonetheless, we are confident that we will ultimately prevail. In the near future, one way or another, Iraqi forces will leave Kuwait. Similarly, the region's post-crisis political and military relationships remain uncertain, but we are confident of a more favorable post-crisis future.

there. Several points will guide our approach. First, the security structure that was in place on August 2 failed; we need a new structure which can maintain the peace. Second, our friends in the gulf will have to take the lead; they are most directly affected by conflict there. Third, we have major interests in that part of the world; we must remain engaged to protect those interests, consistent with the wishes of our local friends. Fourth, we are prepared to increase our presence compared to the pre-crisis period. We will want to have the capability to return forces quickly to the region should that ever be required. We will want to do much more prepositioning of heavy equipment in the region than was the case before, while seeking to minimize any long-term, large U.S. presence.

But while we are confident of success in the Gulf, this war presages very much the type of conflict we are most likely to confront again in this new era--major regional contingencies against foes well-armed with advanced conventional and unconventional weaponry. In addition to Southwest Asia, we have important interests in Europe, Asia, the Pacific and Central and Latin America. In each of these regions there are opportunities and potential future threats to our interests. We must configure our policies and our forces to effectively deter, or quickly defeat, such future regional threats.

Iraq's forces are considerable, but not entirely unique: there are other regional powers with modern armored forces, sophisticated attack aircraft and integrated air defenses, anti-ship cruise missiles, and even modern diesel submarines. The problem will be exacerbated by post-Cold War phenomena: transfers of Cold War surplus armaments, increasing economic pressures on international arms dealers, and growing indigenous technical capabilities in the Third World. Opponents in regional conflicts are unlikely to possess the across-the-board technical sophistication of the USSR. It will not be uncommon, however, for U.S. forces to face sophisticated systems containing high technology in regional confrontations.

Iraq also illustrates the growing problem of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. For the first time in more than 70 years, we face the possibility of the use of chemical and biological weapons against us in a conflict. The use of such capabilities would require a devastating response. We must respond resolutely not only because of current combat requirements, but also to deter future use. Only a few years hence, had it continued on its same path, Iraq could well have credibly threatened a nuclear weapons capability as well. By the year 2000, it is estimated that at least 15 developing nations will have the ability to build ballistic missiles--eight of which either have or are near to acquiring nuclear capabilities. Thirty countries will have chemical weapons, and ten will be able to deploy biological weapons as well.

One implication for future regional conflicts emerging from Hussein's aggression is the need for tighter arms transfer and proliferation controls. Those responsible for violations of such control should be held strictly accountable. We cannot allow the end of cold-war-level hostilities to open further the door to transfer of unconventional or ballistic systems.

A second implication for future regional conflicts that clearly emerges from the current crisis is the military and political importance of enhancing defenses to counter missile proliferation. Patriot missiles have demonstrated the technical efficacy and strategic importance of missile defenses. This underscores the future importance of developing and deploying a system for Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS) to defend against limited missile attacks--whatever their source. As President Bush said last week, "Thank God that when the Scuds came--the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia, and the brave forces of our coalition had more to protect their lives than some abstract theory of deterrence."

A third implication is the importance of being able to focus intelligence efforts more on specific regional threats in the post-Cold war world. This is not simply a matter of redirecting our intelligence specialists from the study of the Soviet Union to concentration on other areas. We will need, if anything, to continue our close attention to the Soviet Union and the increasingly diverse activity we must understand as we also track developments in other regions.

Separate and apart from the broad regional conflicts discussed above, there is another set of demanding threats. They are low intensity conflicts, including insurgencies, terrorism, and drug trafficking. Some of these challenges require uniquely tailored military capabilities. Countering such challenges deserves our attention and support.

Changes in Relations with Our Allies

The third area of change is our relations with key allies. Europe is experiencing fundamental changes. In security terms, the challenge from the Warsaw Pact has disintegrated, and the military capability of the Soviet forces that remain in Eastern Europe is diminishing. The countries of Eastern Europe are seeking to reweave themselves back into the larger political and economic fabric of Europe. A unified Germany stands at the center of the continent. Economic change is also underway: the United States supports European efforts to create a single unified market by 1992. As the continent works through the political, economic and security challenges of this new era, and discovers a new identity, there will be pressures and temptations to question fundamental elements of our trans-Atlantic commitments. These ties must not weaken: the U.S. shares with its allies in Western Europe a common history and

heritage--a shared commitment to freedom and individual rights. The continued strength of NATO remains critical.

As our concerns shift from the containment of the Soviet Union to possible instability in Europe, a substantial American presence and continued cohesion within the Western alliance remain vital to furthering our interests. A U.S. presence will provide reassurance and stability as the new democracies of Eastern Europe mesh themselves into a larger and evolving Europe. The Soviet Union will retain the largest army in Europe by far even after its forces are pulled back within its borders and projected conventional force reductions are completed. While its mission may be changed in this new era, the North Atlantic Alliance remains indispensable to peace and stability in Europe. To keep the Alliance strong and viable in a new environment, we must recognize that there are important tasks beyond the changed--but still important--task to balance and deter Soviet military power. In this regard, it is important to note that both our new friends in Eastern Europe and the leaders of the Soviet Union have made it clear to me in my visits that they consider a continued U.S. presence in Europe and a strong NATO to be essential to overall European stability.

We expect to share more equitably with our increasingly strong allies and partners the worldwide responsibilities that go with leadership. Operation Desert Shield/Storm is a good model for dealing with future crises.

Changes in the Nature of Future Warfare

For some time the Soviets have been writing about a military technological revolution that lies just ahead. They liken it to the 1920s and 1930s, when revolutionary breakthroughs--such as the blitzkrieg, aircraft carriers, and amphibious operations--changed the shape and nature of warfare. We have already seen the early signs of this revolution in the recent breakthroughs in Stealth, information, and other key technologies. This revolution will present enormous challenges, not just technologically, but in the development of doctrine and operational concepts. Whatever we do, the Soviets and others will be pursuing this revolution diligently. Revolutionary military capabilities are a reality with which our future strategy must deal.

The military technological revolution will have political, as well as military import, both in our competition with the Soviets and more broadly in the military arena. The recent changes in the Soviet Union reflect in no small degree the Soviet perception of this military technological revolution. In large part the Soviet leadership accepted the changes Gorbachev sought because they perceived they could not keep pace in this technological revolution. By the same token, the technological revolution could be used as justification to devote more resources to Soviet defense spending, further inhibiting

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economic prospects. The technological edge we have shown in Desert Storm and the promise of breakthroughs tomorrow will have an even greater effect on the calculations of regional powers. Staying ahead in this technical revolution will help shape the future security environment in ways favorable to us and will help give us capabilities that we are comfortable employing for deterrence or defense against tomorrow's regional aggressors.

ENDURING U.S. SECURITY OBJECTIVES

*Technology =
"conventional deterrence
to regional
aggressors."*

In the first exhilaration of the dramatic changes of 1989, some began to question the nature of enduring U.S. interests. Let me review briefly some broad American purposes that persist--even in this changed world I have described.

Security. Security is the first requirement upon which all our individual and national aspirations depend. We must accept that even after historic Cold war successes we live in a dangerous world. The Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal is the most dramatic example of our vulnerability because the USSR continues to possess, and indeed has a modernized capability, to destroy this country with little warning. This is not to imply that we believe a bolt from the blue attack is likely, but to note our vulnerability. We must also ensure the safety of our commerce and of our people at home and abroad as they pursue the normal conduct of their daily affairs. Thus our security requires maintaining capabilities for deterrence and defense across the broad spectrum, from low intensity threats and noncombatant evacuation efforts to strategic nuclear threats.

*If we
can beat
them easily
then
they will
be deterred
from
attacking.*

Democracy and Prosperity. Second, we seek to promote a world environment in which societies with values similar to our own--political and economic freedom, human rights, and democratic institutions--can flourish. We engage in such efforts because they benefit our friends abroad, but also because we know our own security and prosperity are well-served when we are surrounded by friends and allies who share our fundamental values and aims. We know we cannot long remain secure in isolation.

The President, in his State of the Union address, spoke of these "universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law." For 200 years we have served such ends through our example. But it is also necessary from time to time to help others in providing for their own security, to join in security alliances, and to promote regional military and political stability through economic and social development and the pursuit of just resolutions of persistent regional conflicts. And, at times, where our interests merit the sacrifice, it will be necessary to use force to deter aggressors or defend freedom. In the Persian Gulf today, in Panama last year, and in our longstanding commitments in Asia, the Pacific and Europe we have demonstrated our readiness to bear the burdens our interests demand.

Leadership. The President clearly outlined his view of America's role in the world in the State of the Union address: "Today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable....Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has had both the moral standing and the means to back it up. We are the only nation on this earth that could assemble the forces of peace." Our experience in the Persian Gulf demonstrates once again the continued importance of American leadership. In my recent discussions with world leaders, I have been struck by how unique a role America plays in furthering the President's vision of a world "where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause," and "aggression will meet collective resistance."

THE NEW DEFENSE STRATEGY

To meet our aims in the changing and increasingly interdependent world around us, we must be ready to show moral and political leadership; to reassure others of our commitment to protect our interests; and, if necessary, to respond to threats resolutely with forces for deterrence or defense. These aims and a close appreciation of the changes and continuities in today's world give rise to the main emphases of our new defense strategy.

Let me summarize briefly the key elements of the new defense strategy outlined by the President last August. First, we need to maintain a system of alliances worldwide. Second, to give substance and meaning to those commitments, we want to maintain US forward deployed forces, although at lower levels than in the past. Third, we must retain the forces and mobility to respond to crises and to reinforce those forward units. Fourth, we need a robust navy to control the world's oceans. Fifth, as we reduce forces deliberately--based on continuing reevaluations of the strategic environment, we must retain the national capacity to reconstitute forces, should this be needed. Sixth, we need to preserve a strong strategic offensive and defensive capability.

The most important change reflected in this new strategy is that we no longer are focused on the threat of a Soviet-led, European-wide conflict leading to global war. Our strategy continues to recognize the massive conventional capabilities the Soviets will retain for the foreseeable future. Yet, we judge that the striking political and military changes in the USSR and Eastern Europe noted earlier would alter the character of the remaining Soviet threat from the capability to wage global war to a threat to a single region in Europe or elsewhere. To size and shape the forces we will need in the future, the new strategy therefore shifts its focus to regional threats and the related requirements for forward presence and crisis response. We believe we will have sufficient warning of the redevelopment

of a Soviet threat of global war, so that we could reconstitute forces over time if needed.

Our program of reductions and our budget have thus been based on certain assumptions about the future strategic environment. If trends prove less favorable along the way than we first projected, we may not be able to reduce forces as fast or as far as we have planned. Remarkably, the reshaping and reducing of our forces now underway is occurring against the backdrop of a major war in the Persian Gulf and worrisome trends in the Soviet Union. I know of no historical precedent for our country making changes of this magnitude under such conditions. This in itself is cause for due caution.

Strategic Deterrence

I have earlier noted that the Soviets continue to modernize their strategic nuclear arsenal at a pace that seems out of step with their positive actions in other spheres. Given all that is at stake, this is an area in which we can ill-afford to accept much risk. America must continue to maintain a diverse mix of survivable and highly capable offensive nuclear forces, as well as supporting command and control assets. At the same time as we modernize, we have planned to scale back our strategic forces in accordance with our expectations of a START agreement covering such forces. Negotiations with the Soviets are continuing intensively but have not yet yielded success in negotiation. We hope to be able to complete a treaty in the near future, as we assumed when we formulated our currently planned reductions.

Future Secretaries of Defense are going to have to be able to deploy defenses against ballistic missiles--whether against the kind of theater threat we face today against SCUDs, or the far more sophisticated threats we anticipate in the future. We will pursue a defensive system for global protection against limited ballistic missile strikes--whatever their source.

Forward Presence

Our new strategy emphasizes the importance of U.S. presence abroad, albeit at reduced levels. This is one of the key roles on which we will size our forces. The success of our historic strategy of forward presence should be carefully recognized. We should be slow to make destabilizing changes. Recent attention has focussed on our plans to reduce our levels of forward deployed forces, especially in Europe under CFE, but also in Asia under last year's strategy initiative.

Despite its historic success, the great importance of maintaining a forward military presence may not be widely appreciated. Our presence sends an unmistakable signal to allies and adversaries alike of our commitment to be engaged in a region. It supports our aim of continuing to play a

leadership role in international events. In this era of shifting regional power balances, our forward military presence supports our aim of maintaining the stability that lets other nations flourish, by preventing the emergence of dangerous power vacuums or imbalances and by staving off regional arms races. Forward forces also provide an initial capability to respond rapidly to regional crises or contingencies.

Presence can take many forms. The stationing of forces in selected forward bases is perhaps the most tangible demonstration of U.S. commitment in key areas. Periodic deployments, rotations, exercises, and visits provide a flexible operational presence, and may loom larger than before as a way of maintaining our future forward presence. Not least, we must maintain the infrastructure and logistics arrangements that are so essential to being able to sustain a forward presence.

While we will reduce our forward presence, there are risks in reducing too far or too fast. These risks regarding reduced forward presence are sometimes likened to thin ice: you don't know for sure how much is too little, until you've fallen through--and then the consequences can be dire and long-lasting. To keep this risk acceptable, reductions in presence to levels near the minimum acceptable should be gradual and part of a carefully developed and agreed long-term plan. Our phased plan for reductions in Asia, including the agreement with our allies on a 10 percent reduction in our forces there by FY 1992, exemplify this commitment to keeping our forward presence as trim as possible. Let me reemphasize, however, that we cannot withdraw from the world. Our forward military presence will remain a key factor in our overall national defense strategy and in the strategies at our allies as well.

Crisis Response

The need to respond to regional crises is one of the key elements of our new strategy and plays a significant role in how we size our active and reserve forces. We have already noted--and we see today--how important regional threats can be to our interests. Under conditions pertaining during our policy of containment, safety demanded that we assume that a major regional conflict involving superpower interests might not stay limited to that region, but could well escalate to a global conflict. This made any single-regional conflict a "lesser-included case" or a potential precursor to a global war scenario. In contrast, we now focus on a disparate array of possible regional conflicts that we believe are more likely to remain localized.

The regional contingencies we might face are many and varied, including differences in terrain, climate, distance from the U.S., nature of threat forces, potential for outside involvement, and level of infrastructure and host nation support. One trait most of them share, however, is that they

will arise on very short notice, and therefore require a highly responsive military capability. As we have learned again most clearly in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, a regional crisis can also mean mounting a very large military operation. Furthermore, the proliferating unconventional threats of ballistic missiles and chemical, biological or even nuclear weapons, plus the potentially confounding threat of terrorism, raise the risks our forces face if deployed to respond to such crises, and raise the stakes involved in forestalling or containing them.

Finally, we must recognize that when the U.S. is engaged (perhaps in concert with others) in responding to a substantial regional crisis, potential aggressors in other areas may be tempted to capitalize on our preoccupation. The requirements of both deterrence and defense dictate that we not reduce forces to a level that would leave ourselves overly vulnerable to this threat.

Force Reconstitution

The dramatic changes of 1989 and 1990 in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union allow us to plan on dramatic increases in the time available to meet any renewed threat of a massive, theater-wide attack on Europe that could lead to global war. Such long warning of a renewed global threat enables us to reduce our forces in being to levels sufficient to meet the regional threats which are now our focus. This allows us to reduce our forces now, so long as we are prepared to build, as the President has said, "wholly new forces" should the need to counter a global threat reemerge.

Timely reconstitution requires that we take care to preserve the longest-lead elements of our security. This includes particularly our alliance structures, forward deployments and access, and the technological and doctrinal edge that comes from vigorous innovation and development. This also includes particular weapons systems or capabilities that take a long time to rebuild, such as large weapons platforms that require long production or recommission times, and highly skilled personnel, like unit commanders and specialized technicians. We can benefit from our defense investments over the last decade by retaining some equipment of disestablished units in laid-up status, and tapping the pool of trained personnel exiting units but still accessible in reserve manpower categories. We also will retain some units in very low-strength, cadre-type status. But our emphasis has been on removing from the force those units needed for a resurgent global threat that could be reconstituted in the expected time available. Moreover, our reconstitution concept is not necessarily simply to recreate the same forces that we "deconstituted." Rather, we would consider what new forces were most needed for a specific reemerging threat.

We recognize that to take major reconstitution measures would require major political decisions, potentially on the basis of early strategic warning indications. We will therefore give increased attention to the intelligence and warning processes that would support such decision making, as well as measures that will provide an early response while minimizing undue escalatory pressures..

Following a strategy of reconstitution prudently accepts some risk during a time of reduced likelihood of global conflict, to permit adequate attention to other concerns. These include capabilities for the more likely regional threats we face now, plus the long-term technological and doctrinal innovation which may be decisive against future threats--including those in the further future which we cannot now even foresee.

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM

The 1990 budget summit agreement specified that incremental costs associated with Operation DESERT SHIELD are to be treated as emergency funding requirements, not subject to the defense caps in the agreement. The President's FY 1992-93 defense request and its projected long-term outlays do not reflect those costs, including DoD's eventual requirements as a result of DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. It is possible that some of the program decisions in the FY 1992-93 request will have to be adjusted in the aftermath of the Gulf crisis.

FY 1990 incremental costs associated with DESERT SHIELD and increased fuel prices were covered by shifts in previously appropriated DoD funds (\$800 million) and by a supplemental appropriation (\$2.1 billion). For FY 1991, the President is requesting a supplemental appropriation which, when added to contributions from our allies, could cover the DESERT SHIELD/STORM costs that we project for the foreseeable future. I urge timely passage of this supplemental request.

Pending passage of our supplemental request, U.S. forces engaged in and supporting combat operations in the Middle East must have the support they need, and our servicemembers must receive their pay and allowances. To that end, I have authorized the obligation of funds in excess of available appropriations, in accordance with section 3732 of the Revised Statutes, commonly called the Feed and Forage Act. The incurring of deficiencies has been authorized for clothing, subsistence, forage, fuel, quarters, transportation, and medical and hospital supplies. Additionally, pursuant to Section 2201 of Title 10 and in view of the President's determination of the necessity to continue on active duty more members of the armed forces than were provided for in DoD appropriations, I have authorized the incurring of deficiencies for the costs of such personnel.

IMPLEMENTING THE NEW STRATEGY

The Administration's FY 1992-93 budget request is the first installment of the Defense Department's comprehensive FY 1992-97 multiyear defense program. That program is the result of the Department's rigorous analysis of the capabilities needed to support the new U.S. defense strategy. The overall goal is to streamline and restructure America's armed forces, in order to provide those needed capabilities within projected fiscal constraints. In essence, U.S. forces are becoming smaller, but still fully capable of securing our nation and its global interests.

The FY 1992-93 DoD budget reflects priorities that flow directly from our new strategy. (Chart 1) Rapid response to global crises requires sustainment of the current high quality and superior capabilities of U.S. forces, especially as their total size is reduced. This in turn requires continued support for the high quality of U.S. military personnel, vigorous defense research and development, the fielding of advanced military systems as soon as necessary, and the preservation of critical elements of America's defense industrial and technology base. These priorities also enable DoD to reconstitute a larger military posture, if needed.

Other priorities include the ability to project military power rapidly to areas of U.S. strategic interest. The new strategy also requires that U.S. forces sustain their traditional high readiness. To ensure credible nuclear deterrence, DoD will maintain strong offensive nuclear forces. We will also pursue strategic and theater defenses to provide global protection against limited ballistic missile strikes--regardless of their source.

DoD budget proposals also reflect my commitment to continue to strengthen defense management and streamline the U.S. defense infrastructure, to extract the greatest security value from increasingly scarce resources. Special attention is going toward efficient acquisition. The goals include funding sustainable production rates for essential programs and terminating lower priority programs.

FY 1992-93 DEFENSE BUDGET REQUEST

Budget Topline and Trends

The FY 1992 DoD request is \$278.3 billion in budget authority and \$283.0 billion in outlays. Adjusting for inflation, this means a real decline in DoD budget authority of 1 percent below FY 1991, 12 percent below FY 1990, and 24 percent below FY 1985. In FY 1996, the cumulative real decline since FY 1985 will reach 34 percent. (Chart 2-3)

DoD budget authority levels for FY 1991 through FY 1995 are consistent with the discretionary caps for defense in last fall's budget summit agreement. These topline numbers represent a nominal freeze in DoD budget authority at about \$278 billion, starting in FY 1992. Total DoD budget authority for FY 1991 through FY 1995 will be \$131 billion less than estimated in the President's January 1990 request. After an 11.3 percent real decline in FY 1991, DoD budget authority will decline, in real terms, an average 3 percent per year through FY 1996. (Chart 4)

DoD outlays as a share of America's Gross National Product (GNP) are expected to fall to 3.6 percent in FY 1996, the lowest level since before World War II and well below the 4.7 percent reached during the defense decline of the 1970s. (Chart 5)

The Administration's FY 1992-93 budget request is the result of many months of intense scrutiny. We have come down to the budget summit's lower defense levels through a combination of cuts in force structure and major procurement programs, management initiatives, and numerous reductions made during a rigorous budget review this past fall. (Chart 6)

Force Structure

The FY 1992-93 request includes reductions in the U.S. force structure that continue a prudently phased plan for reaching the force targets established for the new strategy and threat projections. Our FY 1995 forces will approximate those targets and be well below FY 1990 levels. (Chart 7)

U.S. strategic forces are programmed to be scaled back in accordance with expectations regarding arms reductions agreements and to enable DoD to maintain credible strategic deterrence at the least cost. Retirement of the Minuteman II force will begin in FY 1992. Retirements of submarines with the aging Poseidon missile are to be accelerated. During the 1990s, the current mix of 34 Poseidon and Trident boats will be reduced to a force of 18 Trident submarines carrying Trident I (C-4) and Trident II (D-5) missiles. Strategic bombers will decrease from 268 in FY 1990 to 171 in FY 1993, as older B-52s are retired and FB-111s are transferred to tactical use.

U.S. conventional forces will be restructured so that they best support the new strategy. For crisis response, we must be able to deploy to regions of U.S. interest sufficient forces with the capabilities needed to counter a wide variety of contingencies. Thus the restructured force will include a high airlift and sealift capacity, substantial and highly effective maritime and amphibious forces, a full and sophisticated array of combat aircraft, both heavy and light Army divisions, and appropriate special operations forces.

Because serious contingencies can arise quickly, a timely U.S. response would require mostly active forces. Reserve forces would initially provide airlift, sealift, and some other vital support for deploying forces. When longer preparation allowed, reserve components could provide additional support, plus combat units that would be needed for larger or prolonged deployments.

In working out these roles for the new strategy, DoD will continue its Total Force Policy to ensure the optimal utilization of its active and reserve components. That Policy will be driven by this principle: The composition of our total force must be derived from the requirements of our new strategy. For example, forces for forward presence must be almost entirely active, as must be a sufficiently large stateside rotation base to replace those forward forces periodically.

In applying the new strategy to our total force structure, we project that overall U.S. reserve forces will decline by about the same percentage as active forces. That circumstance, however, should not mask the fact that our future force will not merely be a proportionally scaled-back version of today's force. We are planning to eliminate those forces--be they active or reserve--whose justification has been based on the previous threat of short-notice global war. We also have given priority to preserving a mix of forces that can best meet our strategy's requirements for forward presence and crisis response. Some types of reserve forces will be fully retained or even increased, while others will be cut considerably. For example, Army reserve (and active) components will be cut substantially; in contrast, the Air Force reserve will decline only slightly. The criteria for such restructuring have come from the new strategy.

To help provide for reconstitution in our new strategy, some reserve forces will be maintained in "cadre" status. Cadre units would have greatly reduced manpower and training; but they would have the equipment and other preparations needed to facilitate a smooth transition to full strength if required. Our plans currently include two cadre divisions in the Army (not counted in the 18 divisions programmed for FY 1995), plus creation of a new status for some Navy frigates.

Personnel Programs and Issues

In connection with the restructuring of America's armed forces, U.S. military manpower will decline considerably in the coming years. By the end of FY 1995, active military end strength will fall to 1,653,000, 24 percent below its post-Vietnam peak of 2,174,000 in FY 1987. In FY 1995, reserve personnel levels will drop to 906,000, 21 percent below FY 1987.

While manpower is projected to decline, there will be no diminution in DoD support for pay and other incentives aimed at preserving the high quality and morale of America's uniformed men and women. The budget requests pay raises of 4.2 percent for FY 1992 and 4.7 percent for FY 1993. These proposals are based on projected increases in the Employment Cost Index.

In FY 1993, DoD civilian strength will fall to 976,000, about 9 percent below FY 1990. In FY 1995, DoD civilian strength is projected to drop to 940,000, about 17 percent below its post-Vietnam peak of 1,133,000 in FY 1987. This decrease will be the result of both a smaller military force structure and DoD management improvements. (Chart 8)

Readiness

A strategy geared to crisis response demands that its component forces be ready to perform their missions on short notice. The FY 1992-93 request includes spending on training, maintenance, and other relevant accounts at levels sufficient to sustain the traditionally high readiness of U.S. forces. The request funds a training tempo approximately the same as in FY 1991. Active Army ground and air training operations will continue at 800 miles per year for combat vehicles and 14.5 flying hours per month for tactical aircrews. Navy steaming days remain at 50.5/29.0 days per quarter for the deployed/non-deployed fleets. Flying hours for active Air Force tactical aircrews will hold at about 19 hours per month.

Investment

In FY 1992-93, the fielding of advanced weapons and other systems will continue, although many programs have been adjusted in recognition of evolving requirements and to bring acquisition plans in line with reduced defense spending projections. For example, major adjustments have been made in the B-2 bomber, C-17 transport, SSN-21 attack submarine, and Milstar communications satellite programs.

My overall acquisition approach for the 1990s differs markedly from the past. This will be a decade of development, more than of production. Scaling back production helps us to (1) preserve our technological superiority through ambitious research and development, (2) procure high priority systems at more efficient rates, and (3) lay the foundation for sustaining U.S. military strength through the year 2000 and beyond.

The FY 1992-93 budget submission terminates a number of programs including TRIDENT submarine, P-7A anti-submarine patrol aircraft, F-14D aircraft remanufacture, Naval Advanced Tactical Fighter, A-12 stealth aircraft, Air Force Advance Tactical Aircraft, Peacekeeper missiles, Mark XV aircraft identification system, Boost Surveillance and Tracking System, and TACIT

RAINBOW cruise missile. (As a consequence of the decision to terminate the A-12 for default, funds are requested to pursue development of medium attack aircraft alternatives and seek a longer-range, more capable variant of the F/A-18 aircraft.) (Chart 9) These terminations come on top of those made in DoD's FY 1991 request, most notably: V-22 OSPREY, M-1 tank, new F-14D production, F-15E aircraft, Apache helicopter, and Army Helicopter Improvement Program. (Chart 10) Our request also includes rescissions of \$3.4 billion in FY 1991, reflecting proposed program terminations in FY 1992 and the elimination of other lower-priority expenditures.

Strategic Forces and SDI. Modernization of U.S. strategic systems is being scaled back or adjusted substantially. Funding for the Rail-garrison Peacekeeper is cut back significantly, but development of the small ICBM is continuing. No Trident submarines will be built beyond the 18th boat approved in the FY 1991 budget. ASAT funding has been substantially reduced. The backfit of 8 Trident submarines to carry D-5 missiles has been deferred beyond FY 1997. The Milstar satellite program has been substantially restructured to reduce costs, eliminate certain expensive survivability features, and support most effectively both tactical and strategic requirements. Consistent with my restructuring last year of the B-2 Stealth bomber program, the request calls for procurement of 4 aircraft in FY 1992 and 7 in FY 1993. (Chart 11)

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is being reoriented to provide global protection against limited ballistic missile strikes--whatever their source. This reorientation will make possible major savings, about 20 percent over the next 6 years compared to the earlier plan. In FY 1992, \$4.6 billion is requested for SDI and \$4.9 billion in FY 1993.

This refocused defensive concept, known as Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS), includes theater missile defenses to protect U.S. and allied troops deployed abroad. To centralize and accelerate development of such defenses, the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization has been charged with developing advanced defensive technologies to deploy much improved, transportable theater missile defenses within the next 5 years. Budget authority for the Tactical Missile Defense Initiative (TMDI) will \$218 million in FY 1991, \$603 million in FY 1992 and \$724 million in FY 1993.

Conventional Forces. The Army's major modernization effort, begun in the early 1980s, is nearly complete. However, important development continues on the Light Helicopter and armored vehicles. (Chart 12)

Procurement of the Navy's SSN-21 attack submarine has been scaled back to one per year. Other naval modernization priorities include Aegis destroyers, F/A-18 fighters, and several types of tactical missiles. Regarding sealift, DoD

expects to be able to meet its most important contingency requirements worldwide, especially because of the programmed increase of the Ready Reserve Force (RRF) from 96 to 142 cargo and tanker ships by FY 1994. DoD is also initiating a sealift program in FY 1993 to improve U.S. response time for those contingencies. Consistent with this effort, a program is being structured to utilize funds appropriated in FY 1991. (Chart 13)

Modernization of U.S. tactical air forces continues with procurement of F-16 fighters, C-130 transports, and AMRAAM missiles. The next generation air superiority fighter--the Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF)--continues in development. The C-17 program has been scaled back and extended. But the C-17 is needed more than ever to begin to replace aging C-141s, which have been used so heavily in the Gulf crisis. (Chart 14)

Research, Development, Test and Evaluation (RDT&E). Reflecting the emphasis on preserving the technological superiority of U.S. forces, FY 1993 RDT&E budget authority will, after inflation, be 10 percent above FY 1991 levels. DoD Technology Base funding--\$3.9 billion in FY 1992 and \$4.0 billion in FY 1993--will include emphasis on high performance computing and improved materials for electronics, gas turbine engines, and airframe components.

Base Closure. The streamlining of the military's base structure is continuing with the elimination or closure of 86 domestic bases and 139 overseas sites. In addition, 5 domestic bases will be partially closed and another 25 overseas sites will be drawn down. During 1991 a new commission will review my proposals for additional base closures and realignments and make recommendations for consideration by the President and the Congress. No new proposals are included in this FY 1992-93 request; but savings of \$150 million in FY 1992 and \$735 million in FY 1993 are included in its legislative contingency account, in anticipation of Congressional approval.

DEFENSE MANAGEMENT

DoD management continues to undergo fundamental change through implementation of my July 1989 Defense Management Report (DMR). Special emphasis is going toward streamlining and improving defense acquisition. DoD is eliminating unnecessary management layers, limiting unneeded reporting requirements, reducing burdensome regulations, and enhancing the education and quality of its acquisition professionals. (Chart 15)

Central to these management efforts is the goal of bringing down the Department's cost of doing business. This means reducing overhead, cutting excess infrastructure and redundancy, and consolidating and improving a number of common functions. An example is the creation of the Defense Finance and Accounting Service (DFAS). This proposal was announced along with other FY 1990 initiatives and was under debate last year. On January

15, 1991, the military departments' accounting centers were finally merged under the new organization. This will streamline and strengthen DoD's financial management, and better enable it to employ new technologies to cut costs even further.

Other management improvements involve supply operations, maintenance depots, and RDT&E. To enhance supply depot efficiency, DoD will consolidate the management of supply operations under the Defense Logistics Agency. This will save base and headquarters overhead costs, systems development costs, and inventory and transportation costs, plus significantly improve utilization of our existing supply capacity.

For DoD's maintenance depots, we are working toward fuller use of our depot capacity, greater competition among the services and with the private sector, reduced infrastructure, and improvements in DoD's maintenance productivity.

To increase efficiency and reduce the costs of RDT&E operations, there will be greater coordination within the Department on specific technology areas, consolidation of facilities, and enhanced competition for Science and Technology (S&T) tasks among laboratories. Management oversight also will be increased to improve the quality, productivity, and effectiveness of RDT&E operations.

As a result of its DMR-related management efforts, the Department anticipates reductions of over 30,000 civilian and 40,000 military positions by the end of FY 1997. DoD expects its management initiatives to save about \$72 billion from FY 1991 through FY 1997.

CONCLUSION

We are at the dawn of a new era. For much of the past 45 years our primary security concern has been the Soviet threat in Europe. We met that challenge successfully. The threat to Western Europe has diminished. But as the war in the Gulf demonstrates, meeting regional threats can be quite demanding even when we can marshal international cooperation.

To preserve our unique international role, to consolidate the changes in Europe, and to contain and defeat the many possible regional threats we may one day face, we must sustain America's military forces for the new world. We must remember that military strength of the kind we have relied on in the Persian Gulf cannot be built overnight. Continued investment in America's defense is a must, as we look forward with confidence to the years ahead.

DEFENSE BUDGET PRIORITIES

- **People**
- **Power Projection/Mobility**
- **Force Quality**
- **Readiness**
- **Strategic Offensive and Defensive Forces**
- **Technological Advantage**
- **Efficient Acquisition**
- **Streamlined Infrastructure**

NATIONAL DEFENSE TOPLINE

(Current \$ Billions)

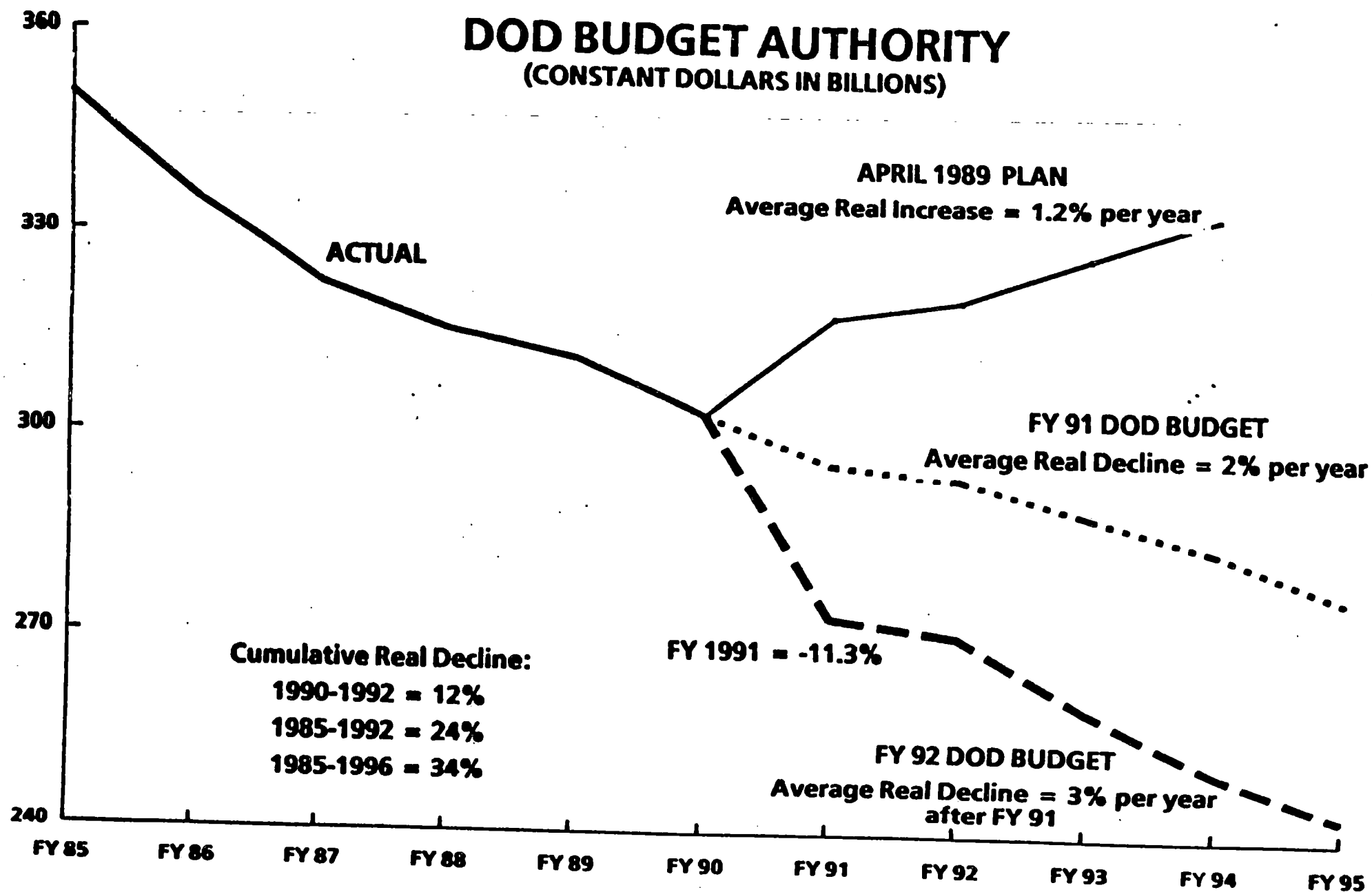
	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1996</u>
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BUDGET AUTHORITY

DoD 051	273.0	278.3	277.9	278.2	280.7	282.6
DoE & Other	12.6	12.5	13.0	13.7	14.4	15.1
TOTAL 050	285.6	290.8	290.9	291.9	295.1	297.8

OUTLAYS

DoD 051	287.5	283.0	279.1	273.3	274.6	278.5
DoE & Other	11.5	12.2	12.8	13.4	14.0	14.7
TOTAL 050	298.9	295.2	292.0	286.7	288.6	293.2

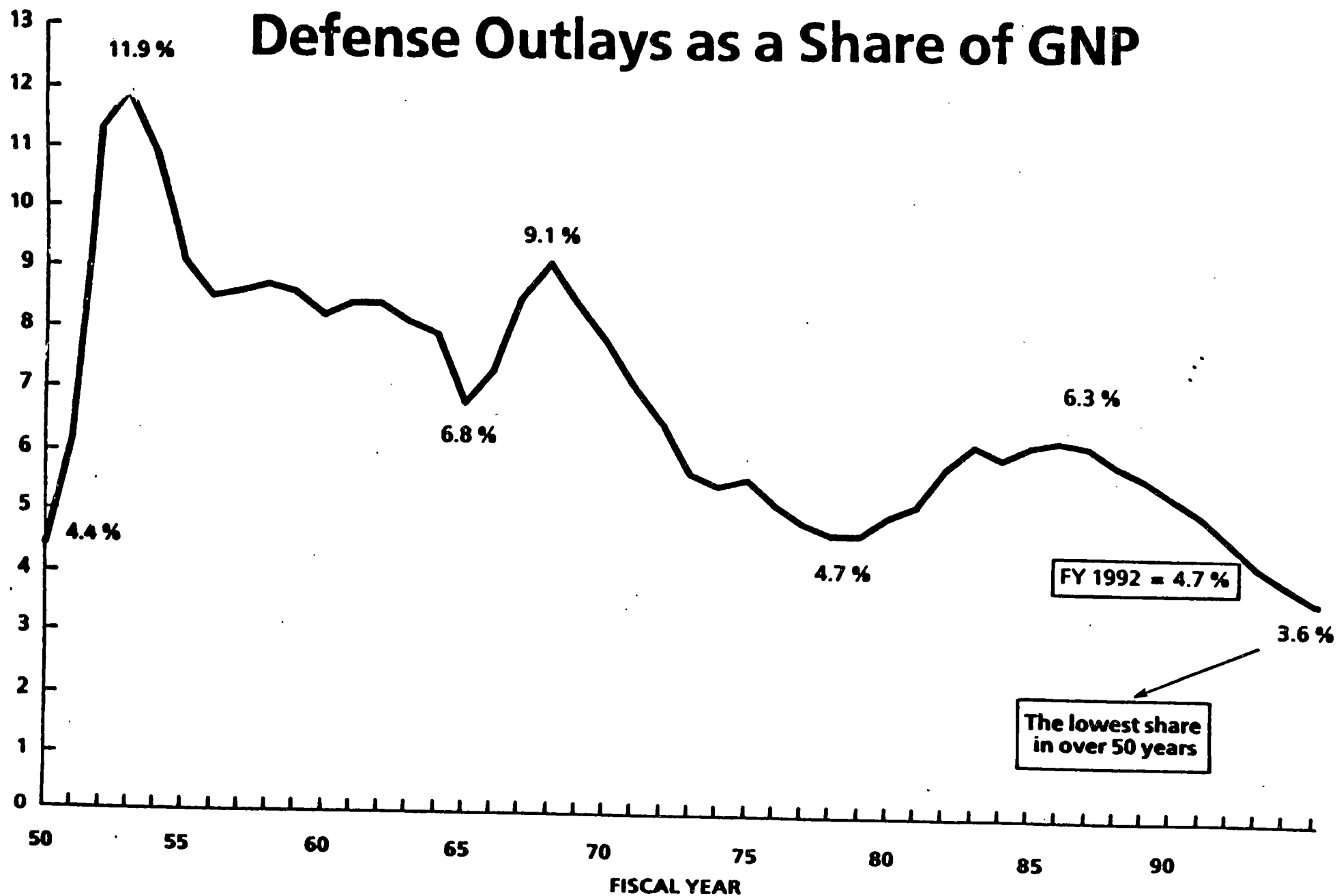


DoD BUDGET AUTHORITY

(\$ in Billions)

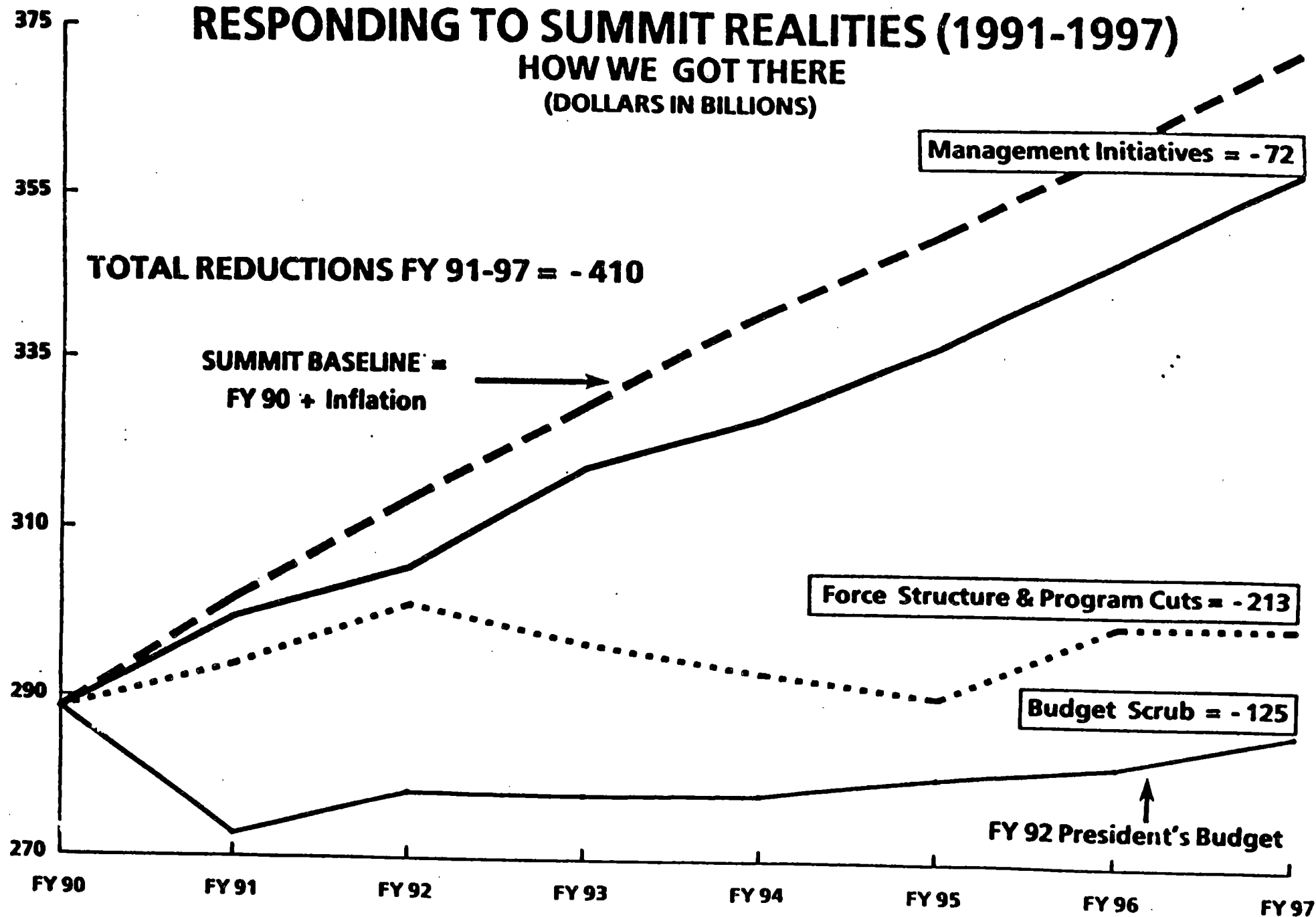
	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>Cumulative 1991-1995</u>
President's Budget January 1990	295.1	300.0	304.4	308.0	311.8	1,519.3
Real Program Decline	-2.6%	-2.0%	-2.0%	-2.0%	-2.0%	-10.6%
Dollar Reduction	-22.1	-21.7	-26.5	-29.8	-31.1	-131.2
President's Budget February 1991	273.0	278.3	277.9	278.2	280.7	1,388.1
Real Program Decline	-11.3%	-0.9%	-3.9%	-3.6%	-2.7%	-22.4%

Defense Outlays as a Share of GNP



RESPONDING TO SUMMIT REALITIES (1991-1997)

HOW WE GOT THERE
(DOLLARS IN BILLIONS)



FORCE STRUCTURE

	<u>FY 1990</u>	<u>FY 1995</u>
Army Divisions	28 (18 active)	18 (12 active)
Aircraft Carriers	13	12
Carrier Air Wings	15 (13 active)	13 (11 active)
Battle Force Ships	545	451
Tactical Fighter Wings	36 (24 active)	26 (15 active)
Strategic Bombers	268	181

DoD MANPOWER

(End Strength In Thousands)

	<u>FY 87</u>	<u>FY 92</u>	<u>FY 93</u>	<u>FY 94</u>	<u>FY 95</u>	<u>FY 87-95 Change</u>
ACTIVE MILITARY						
ARMY	781	660	618	577	536	-245
NAVY	587	551	536	516	510	-77
MARINE CORPS	199	188	182	176	171	-28
AIR FORCE	607	487	458	445	437	-170
TOTAL ACTIVE	2,174	1,886	1,795	1,714	1,653	-521
SELECTED RESERVES	1,151	1,068	989	924	906	-245
CIVILIANS	1,133	1,003	976	958	940	-193

MAJOR PROGRAM TERMINATIONS

(FY 92-93 BUDGET)

	<u>Savings in Billions</u>	
	<u>FY 92</u>	<u>FY93-97</u>
● Bradley Fighting Vehicle	0.7	1.7
● TRIDENT Submarine	1.4	2.8
● LHD Amphibious Ship	-	2.1
● P-7A Anti-Submarine Warfare Aircraft	0.6	5.4
● F-14D Remanufacture	1.4	13.4
● Naval Advanced Tactical Fighter	0.1	2.0
● A-12 Aircraft	2.7	19.5
● Air Force Advanced Tactical Aircraft	-	0.8
● F-16 Aircraft (End of FY 93)	1.6	13.8
● PEACEKEEPER Missiles	0.7	2.2
● MARK XV Combat Identification System	0.1	0.2
● BSTS Warning System	0.4	5.5
● TACIT RAINBOW Program	0.2	2.3

MAJOR PROGRAMS TERMINATED LAST YEAR

- **V-22 OSPREY (Production)**
- **F-14D Aircraft**
- **Army Helicopter Improvement Program (AHIP)**
- **PHOENIX Missile**
- **M-88A2 Improved Recovery Vehicle**
- **F-15E Aircraft**
- **Apache Helicopter**
- **M-1 Tank**
- **Maverick Missile**

FY 1992/FY 1993 STRATEGIC FORCES
(Dollars in Millions)

<u>System</u>	<u>FY 1992</u>		<u>FY 1993</u>	
	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
B-2A Bomber	4	4,822	7	4,639
Strategic Defense Initiative	-	4,581	-	4,933
TRIDENT II Missile	28	1,271	31	1,380
PEACEKEEPER/Rail Garrison	-	458	-	106
Small ICBM	-	549	-	715
Advanced Cruise Missile	120	626	102	552

FY 1992/FY 1993 LAND FORCES
(Dollars in Millions)

<u>System</u>	<u>FY 1992</u>		<u>FY 1993</u>	
	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
UH-60 Helicopter	60	508	60	428
SINGARS	-	288	-	292
Light Helicopter	-	550	-	617
Apache Longbow	-	233	-	264
Medium Tactical Vehicles	1,815	170	3,288	293

FY 1992/FY 1993 NAVAL FORCES

(Dollars in Millions)

<u>System</u>	<u>FY 1992</u>		<u>FY 1993</u>	
	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
Aircraft Carrier Replacement	-	-	-	852
SSN-21 Submarine	1	2,382	1	2,464
DDG-51 Destroyer	5	4,335	4	3,480
LSD (CV)	1	245	1	251
MHC Coastal Minehunter	2	231	2	222
TAGOS Surtass Surveillance Ship	-	-	1	150
AOE Replenishment Ship	1	540	-	-

FY 1992/FY 1993 TACTICAL AIR FORCES

(Dollars in Millions)

<u>System</u>	<u>FY 1992</u>		<u>FY 1993</u>	
	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Dollars</u>
F/A-18	36	2,423	20	2,534
Advanced Tactical Fighter	-	1,637	-	2,325
F-16 D	48	1,419	24	923
C-17	6	2,831	12	4,212
EA-6B Remanufacture	-	110	3	556
AMRAAM	1,191	1,031	1,469	1,049
MILSTAR (Restructured)	-	1,404	-	1,536

DEFENSE MANAGEMENT REPORT INITIATIVES

- **Data Processing & Corporate Information Management**
- **Consolidate Finance and Accounting Services**
- **Coordinate Maintenance Depot Services**
- **Consolidate Supply Depots**
- **Reorganize Contract Management**
- **Improve Technical/Engineering Research & Development**
- **Consolidate Commissary Operations**

Bob Simon
7730

Mike Hayden x 4970

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

**PRESENTATION TO THE COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS**

SUBCOMMITTEE ON DEFENSE

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUBJECT: STEALTH AND DESERT STORM

**STATEMENT OF: LIEUTENANT GENERAL CHARLES A.
HORNER
Commander, U.S. Central Command Air
Forces
BRIGADER GENERAL BUSTER C.
GLOSSON
Director of Campaign Plans, U.S. Central
Command Air Forces**

**NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL RELEASED
BY THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

It's a real pleasure to be here today to share with you our thoughts on stealth. Your support of our military, and your understanding of the leverage that advanced technology brings to it, was critical to success in the Gulf. On behalf of all the aircrews that flew in harm's way—I thank you. Additionally, as you know, there were many thousands of support personnel who made those missions possible. Your support of their training and well being was vital to our success.

During Operation Desert Shield/Storm, I was General Schwarzkopf's Joint Force Air Component Commander—Brigadier General Buster C. Glosson was my Director of Campaign Plans. As such, we have a unique appreciation of the contribution of stealth to this war. The following is a summary of our views.

Desert Storm was our first large scale employment of stealth aircraft—the F-117—in combat. Their performance was eye-watering. We're still coming to grips with the implications, but I can honestly say that stealth has revolutionized warfare.

The F-117 allowed us to do things that we could have only dreamed about in past conflicts. Stealth enabled us to gain surprise each and every day of the war. For example, on the first day of the air campaign the F-117s delivered the first bombs of the war against a wide array of targets, paralyzing the Iraqi air defense network. The attacks on radar sites and command and control bunkers used to control Iraqi defenses allowed waves of conventional aircraft to strike with high effectiveness and very low losses.

But F-117s did much more than that. They allowed us to strike the "heart" of the enemy—downtown Baghdad—not only on Day 1, but night

after night. Stealth allowed us to maintain continuous pressure on vital target sets (see appendix 1) regardless of the defenses—anywhere in Iraq. F-117s were the only aircraft that attacked “downtown” Baghdad targets—by most accounts more heavily defended than any Eastern European targets at the height of the Cold War. They did it with impunity. Without the F-117 the fighter pilot losses and the civilian casualties would have been an order of magnitude higher.

I flew the F-105 in Vietnam. On those missions, a whole set of support assets would go with me to deal with the enemy's defenses. Some aircraft would jam enemy radars. Others would suppress enemy radars and surface-to-air missile sites. Air-to-air fighters would sweep in front to shoot down enemy interceptors. This whole gaggle would be supported by a fleet of tankers. In the attack on the Paul Doumer Bridge in 1972, for example, we had about four support aircraft for every attacking aircraft. The war in Iraq would have been more of the same without stealth. For example, in one attack against one airfield, 4 A-6 bombers and 4 Saudi Tornados were escorted by 4 F-4G Wild Weasels, 5 EA-6B radar jammers, and 21 F/A-18 fighters carrying radar-homing missiles—38 aircraft—only 8 dropping bombs. At the same time 21 F-117s were dropping bombs on 37 targets—21 aircraft—21 dropping bombs.

Stealth allows operations without the full range of support assets required by non-stealthy aircraft. It gave us greater combat capability from a smaller force structure. Eight F-117s with eight pilots could achieve the same results as 75 non-stealth aircraft and over 100 aircrew (see appendix 2). For example, though F-117s represented only 2.5% of the assets, on Day 1 of the war they flew against over 30% of the targets. Over the course of the entire war, preliminary estimates illustrate that the F-117s, which flew only about 1% of the total ^{COMBAT} sorties, covered about 40% of the strategic air campaign's target base.

Viewed in terms of the total requirements to hit a target—stealth provides the best bargain. Initial acquisition cost is higher, but stealth systems expose fewer lives, reduce total sorties, and reduce requirements

for munitions, manpower, fuel, support infrastructure, and therefore total overall cost.

The reduction in support requirements provided by stealth also gave us tremendous flexibility. Let me give you a notional example based on my recent experience. If intelligence indicated a particular target that we needed to strike quickly—a target located in the teeth of Iraqi air defenses, and if only conventional aircraft were available, we would have some difficult choices. The defenses might be so tough that we would have to forego hitting the target until the defenses were beat down—this could take time and risk lives and material. Or if it was vital to hit the target, we would have to orchestrate a large attack package to get our attack aircraft in. This also takes time and requires a major adjustment to our original plans—additionally Wild Weasels, fighter escorts, jammers, and tankers must be rescheduled—and we would probably lose some airplanes. It's those kind of decisions that account for a lot of additional grey hairs. With the F-117, all we would have to do is change the target and let those fighter pilots do their job; as we did numerous times during the Gulf war.

The next generation of stealth is the B-2. The B-2's acquisition cost has been the subject of some controversy. But the B-2 can carry over 10 times the load of an F-117 at over 5 times the unrefueled range. Put another way, the B-2 combines the range and payload of the B-52 with the advantages of the stealth F-117 that proved so valuable in Desert Storm. Even the most conservative calculations reveal that the B-2 offers from 5-10 times more ton-miles of payload for every dollar invested. There are very few, if any, defense investments, that offer you 5-10 times more capability per dollar.

Would I have used a B-2 in Desert Storm? You bet I would—not only because of its enormous increase in conventional capability over any other attack system, but because we would be putting fewer lives at risk to accomplish the same mission. At appendix 3, are some examples of how the B-2 could have been used with great effectiveness in real Desert Storm situations. I urge you not to focus solely on aircraft unit cost—the bottom line is not dollars per aircraft, but overall capability per dollar (see

appendix 4). Would I risk a B-2 in combat? Well, I didn't have any trouble risking the most expensive fighter in our inventory—the F-117—on a daily basis. And I was able to do that because we had confidence in the survivability provided by stealth. The B-2 would be no exception.

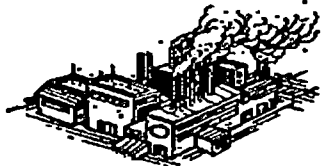
One final point regarding the B-2—and one often overlooked. We may not have 161 days to build up our forces in the next war. One of our principal concerns early on was what if Saddam crossed the line shortly after August 2 and rolled into Saudi Arabia? The B-2 would provide an important option to deliver a knockout punch immediately, without the force buildup that was necessary in this case (see Appendix 5). The view that the B-52s could have done this, is mistaken. It simply couldn't survive in a heavy threat environment. The B-2 could.

As a father, taxpayer, commander, and pilot I can assure you that stealth will give America the cutting edge capability it needs to ensure our security for the long term.

Spectrum of F-117 Targets



**Hardened
Aircraft
Shelters**



**Military Production
Factories (Tanks,
Ammo, Scuds, etc.)**



**Biological &
Chemical
Production & Storage**



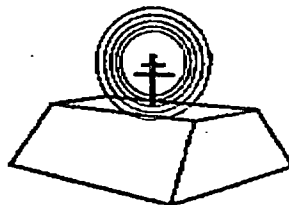
Bridges



**Surface-to-Air
Missile Sites**



**Nuclear R & D &
Production
Facilities**



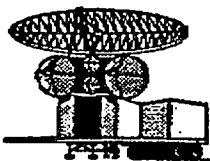
**Sector/Interceptor
Ops Centers**



Airfields



Aircraft in Open



Early Warning Radar



**Communication
Facilities**



Leadership Targets



Fire Trenches

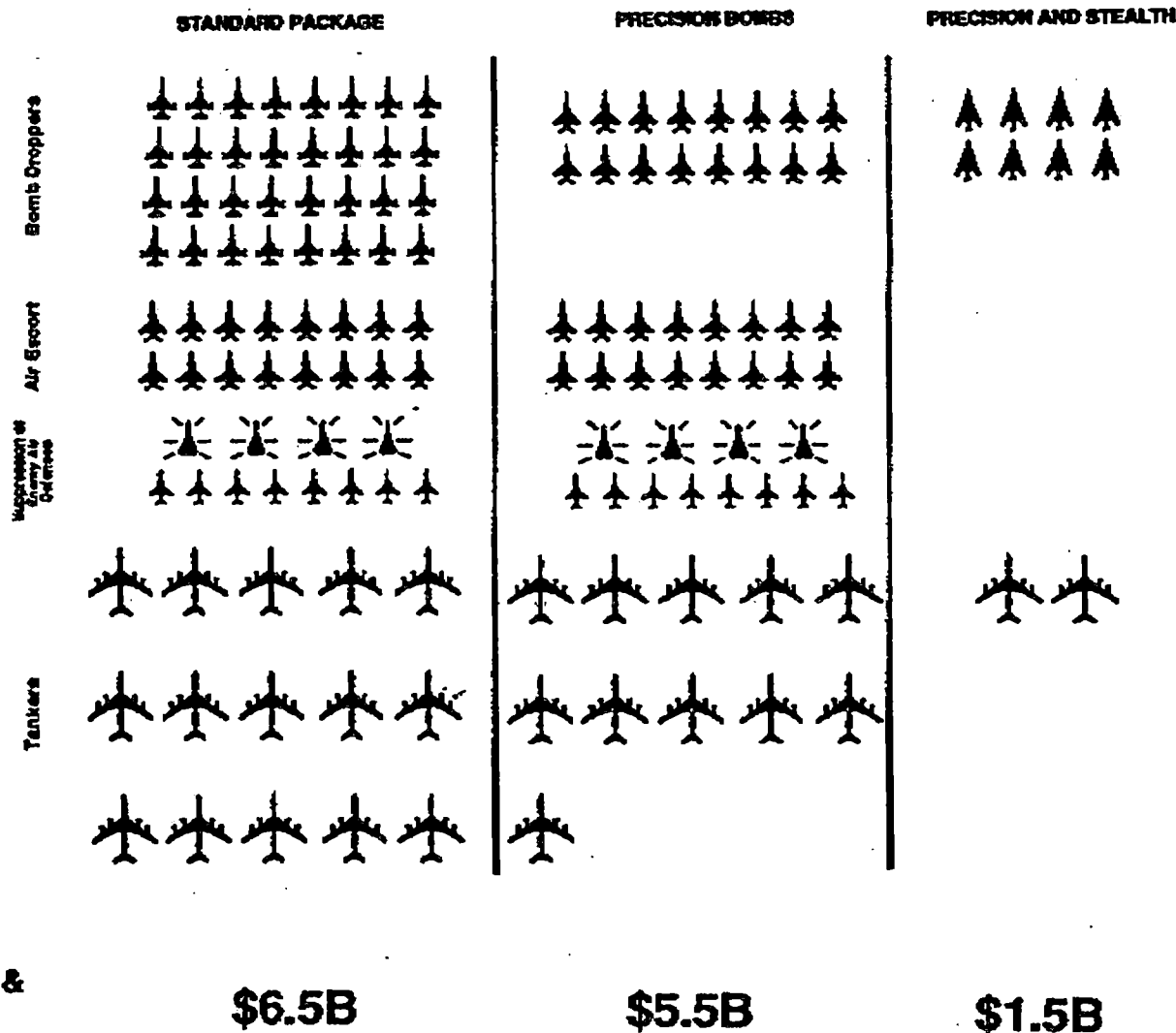
THE VALUE OF STEALTH

05/14/91

07:29

SECURITY OF THE AIR FORCE

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Viewed in context, stealth aircraft—like the F-117—are costly, but cost-effective

DESERT STORM: B-2 POTENTIAL

Need: Penetration of very hard, multiple targets in close proximity

Example: Chemical Munitions Bunkers

- 8 chemical munitions bunkers near Baghdad
 - Very hardened bunkers (demand precision, penetration, and multiple weapons) in high threat area (demands stealth)
 - Required 2000 lb high explosive bombs to soften bunker followed by penetrating 2000 lb bomb in exact same spot
 - Over 50 F-117 sorties flown against bunkers

Solution: 2 B-2s (each carrying 8 large penetrating weapons) could do same job

Need: Range, precision, and hard target penetration capability

Example: Kirkuk/Qayyarah/Mosul—Nuclear R&D sites, bunkers, and hardened aircraft shelters

- Tankers (and their associated EW/force protection support) required to fly well into Iraq to extend F-117 range
- Required air superiority to move tankers north

Solution: B-2 range, stealth, and PGM potential would allow attacks from Day 1, obviating need for tankers, electronic warfare assets, and fighter protection

Need: High payload to cover an area target in a high threat environment

Example: Military Industrial complex

- Many military, production, storage, and maintenance facilities in large complex just north of Baghdad
 - Because of large area, very good B-52 target, but because of high surface to air missile threat not able to use B-52s alone
 - Number of aimpoints excessive for complete coverage by F-117s alone
- To deal with high threat, used F-117s (stealth) to eliminate SAMs (required PGMs) to allow B-52s to attack from high altitude above AAA threat
 - Because of more immediate target priorities and high threat, this solution not implemented until later in the war

Solution: The B-2, even with non-precision munitions, would have allowed attacks against this complex from Day 1

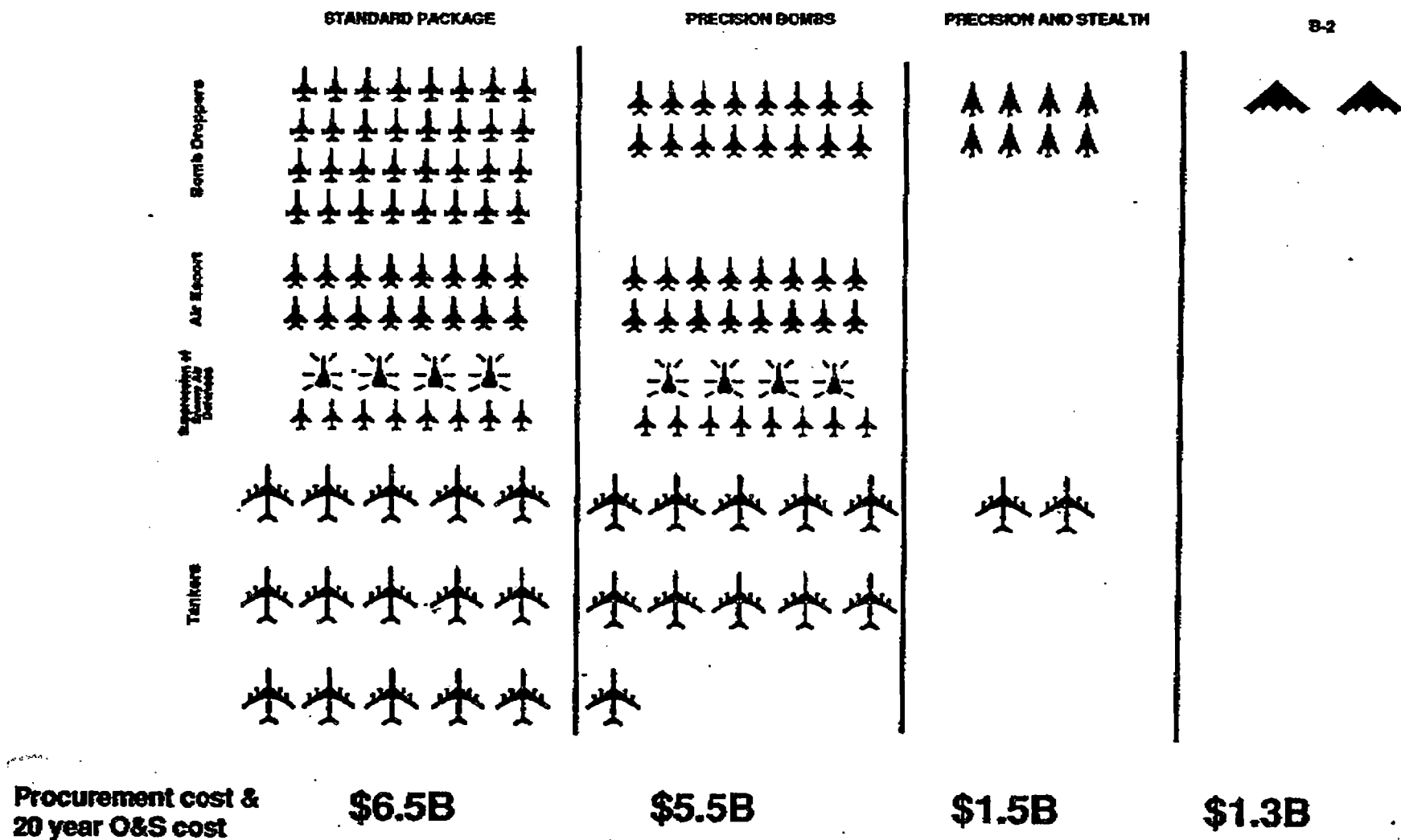
NEED: Multiple weapons to cover multiple aimpoints on soft single target in high threat area

EXAMPLE: Nuclear Research Facility: More than 15 aimpoints

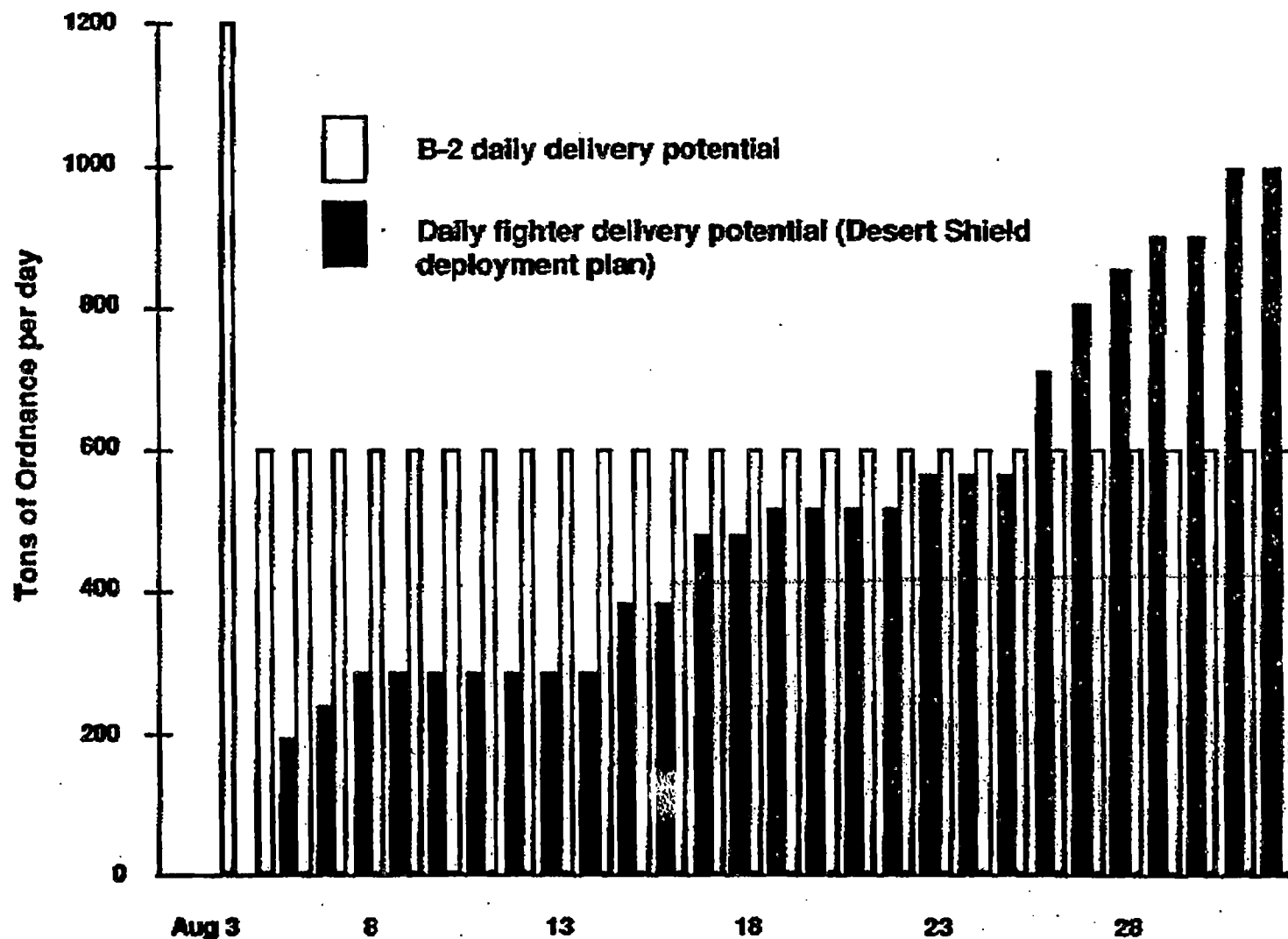
- Over 50 F-117 sorties
- Over 50 F-16 sorties and over 20 F-111 sorties and associated support

SOLUTION: 2 B-2s with stealth, large payload, and precision munitions could accomplish same task

WHAT THE B-2 OFFERS



WHAT IF SADDAM HADN'T WAITED?



Assumes same fighter build-up as in Desert Storm

- 2.0 sortie rate for A-10 and F-16
- 1.0 sortie rate for F-15E, F-111, and F-117

B-2 delivery potential assumes 60 B-2s

- First sortie flown from CONUS
- 0.5 sortie rate out of a rear area base

APPENDIX 5

05/14/91

07:30

SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

011

B-2 CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES

THE VALUE OF STEALTH

STANDARD PACKAGE

PRECISION BOMBS

PRECISION AND STEALTH

Stealth aircraft can overfly targets and attack with precision bombs

Advantages

- Unprecedented survivability—not a single F-117 scratched against Iraq
- Restores element of surprise (enduring principal of successful warfare)
- Responsive targeting and strike assessment
- Fewer lives at risk

Disadvantages

- Unit acquisition cost appears high

Bomb Droppers



Air Escort



Suppression of Enemy Air Defenses



Tankers



Unit acquisition cost & near O&S cost

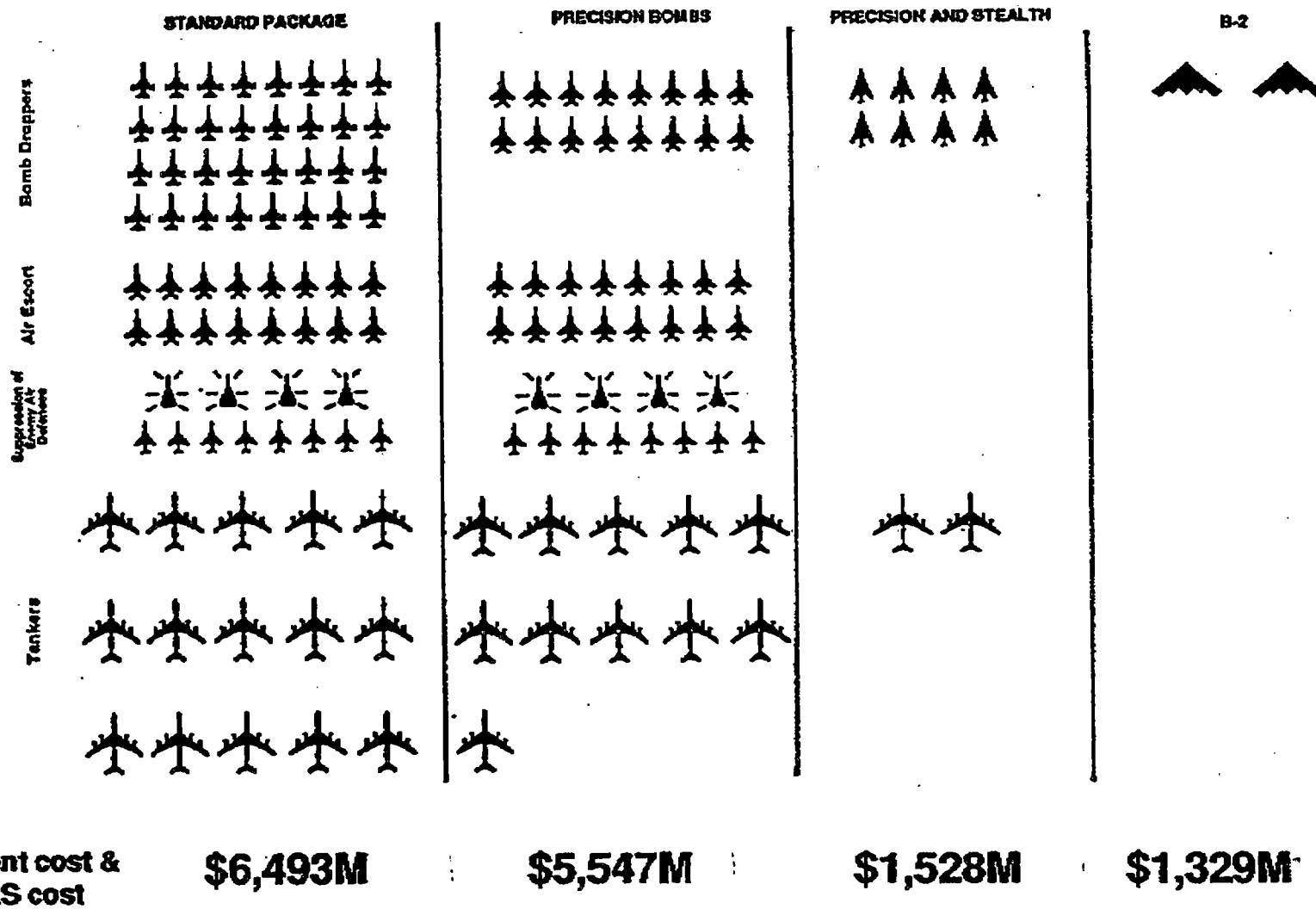
\$6,493M

\$5,547M

\$1,528M

Viewed in context, stealth aircraft—like the F-117—are costly, but cost-effective

WHAT THE B-2 OFFERS



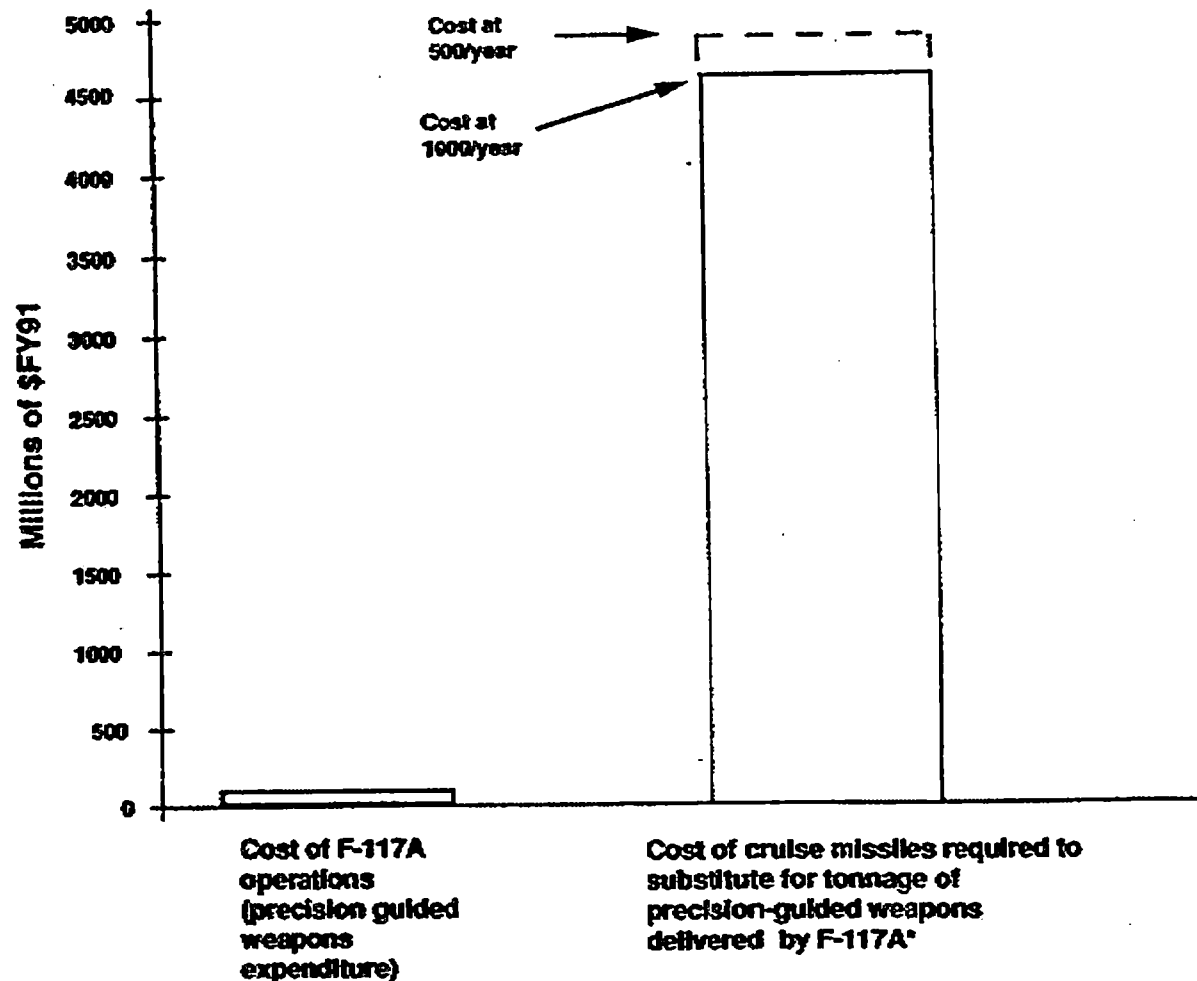
And the B-2 can do jobs no other aircraft can do....

THE COST-EFFECTIVENESS OF STEALTH

REUSABLE VS. EXPENDABLE INVESTMENT:

**Cost of F-117-delivered precision-guided weapons in Desert Storm
compared to
Cost to deliver same tonnage with cruise missiles**

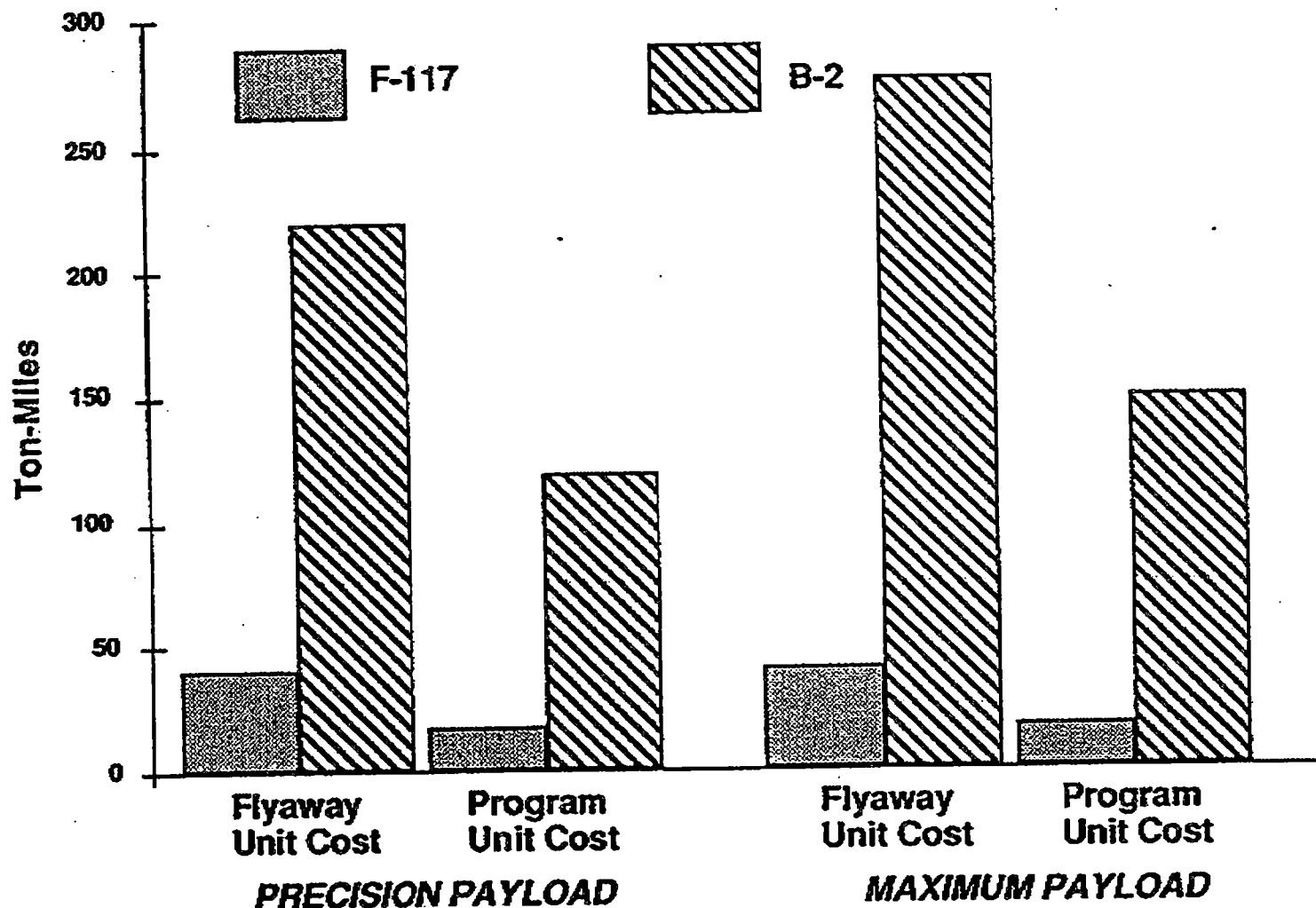
All costs expressed in
\$ FY91 flyaway dollars



*Replacement cost of F-117 airframes
would be \$2.4 billion

*Cruise missiles ineffective against
certain classes of targets

COST-EFFECTIVENESS: Measuring "Work"



Ton-Miles of munitions per million dollars

*The F-117 is costly, but cost-effective.
The B-2 is even more costly, but even more cost-effective*

DESERT STORM: B-2 POTENTIAL

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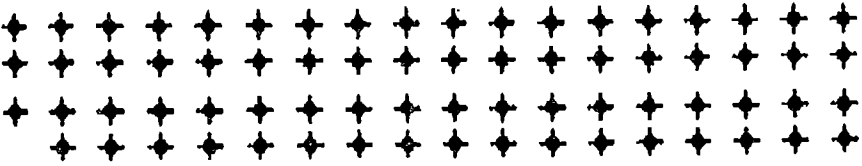
EXAMPLE: Nuclear Research Facility: More than 15 aimpoints

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- Over 50 F-16 sorties and over 20 F-111 sorties and associated support

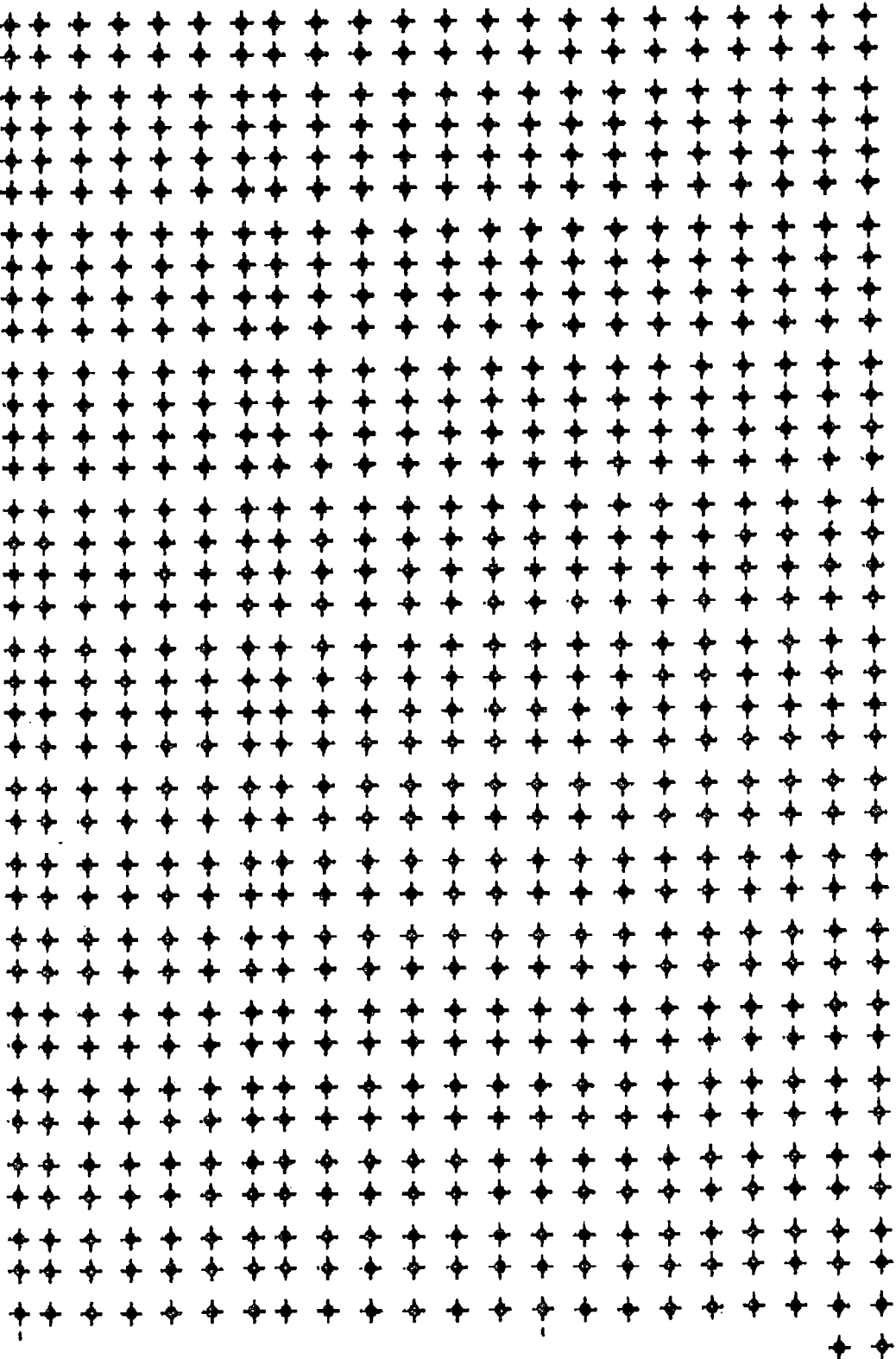
SOLUTION: 2 B-2s with stealth, large payload, and precision munitions could accomplish same task

PRECISION-GUIDED ORDNANCE DELIVERY POTENTIAL (2000 lb guided weapons) One Day of Operations

F-117A Fleet (42 PAA)

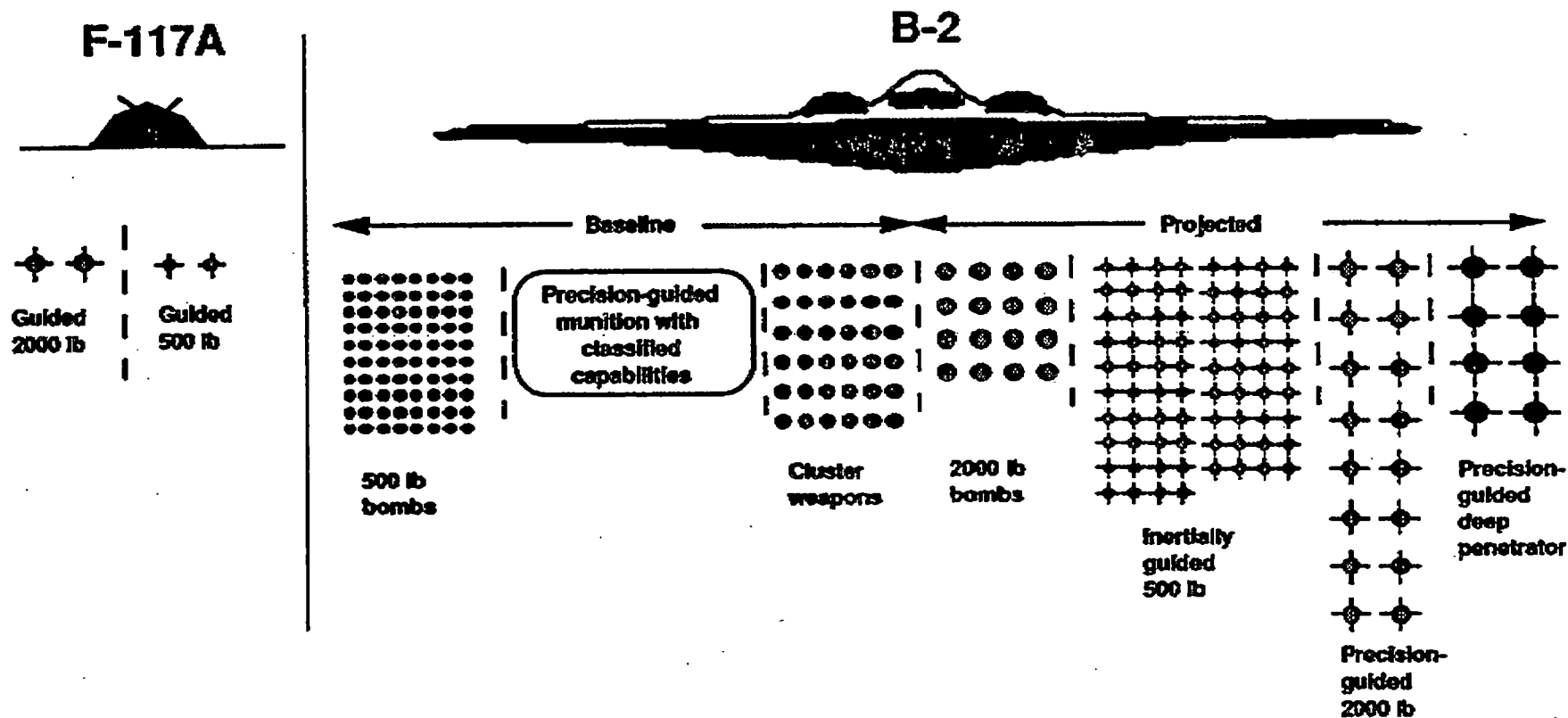


B-2 Fleet (60 PAA)



Assumes .05 Milsatm capable rate

CONVENTIONAL DELIVERY POTENTIAL OF STEALTH PLATFORMS



CONCLUSIONS

The B-2 offers unprecedented conventional warfighting capabilities

- **Combines stealth of the F-117 with greater payload and range than B-52**
 - **Very cost-effective compared to the "work" it does**
- **High payload provides great versatility and a powerful punch without a host of support assets**
- **Long range and stealth permits operations against an enemy anywhere on the planet within hours—can strike confidently at the heart of the enemy from Day One**

"The B-2 has the potential to make all other air forces in the world obsolete overnight."

General Merrill A. McPeak, Chief of Staff, United States Air Force

Questions -- general

How do you want to approach Congress on the defense budget?

How can we demonstrate, given defense budgets are declining, that Republicans are stronger on defense than Democrats are?

What is your sense of America's future world leadership?

How can we give the American people a sense for which world problems tap our interests and principles, and which don't?

Questions -- more specific

Given the instability in the Balkans, how do you see NATO's role?

Do you want to challenge Congress on its willingness to deploy anti-missile defense to protect our allies (Saudis, Israelis) -- but not to protect Americans (through G-PALS)?

Are you interesting in calling Congress to task for supporting unneeded weapons systems and unneeded bases, while cutting new technologies like Stealth?

Outline, U.S. Air Force Academy Address

5/17/91

I. New World Order [Aspen II]

- A. Need for American leadership as never before.
- B. Action neither unilateral nor isolationist -- instead, we are called upon for steady hands and staying power.
- C. In E. Europe, Soviet Union, Middle East -- need for cooperative arrangements (and economic & technical assistance) to cement alliances and promote regional stability.
- D. The demise of the declinists and ascendance of patriotism.
- E. Encomium to the troops [perhaps include humanitarian role w/ Kurds, Bangladesh]

II. The Changing Challenge [Threats]

- A. Move from Superpower polarization to outlaw regimes.
- B. Need for agility and responsiveness to unpredictable regional crises.
- C. May prove to be the greatest impetus in this century for meaningful cooperation (United Nations) -- the crucial importance of collective will.

III. Enduring Military Strength, Future Military Structure

- A. Defense Priorities: the Budget ("my program") -- reasoned, reasonable, the minimum essential. Pass it.
- B. Gulf lessons learned:
 - 1) Patriot; S.D.I. & need for missile defense
 - 2) Vindication of Air Power; Stealth technology
- C. End Congressional micromanagement of CINC & Defense
- D. Most fundamental: people. Today's military the best educated, most motivated in history. Not simply as warriors, but world leaders.
- E. In the next American century: U.S.A.F. Academy graduates' leadership.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2 '91 graduates
nominated by Bush

John Cinnamon

- grad school U. of Texas
engineering

Russell Michaud

- ~~"Giant's Pilot"~~
- rept: Pilot training
~~Sheppard AFB, Tex~~
- ~~demo pilot on soaring team~~

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Week Ending Friday, April 19, 1991

**Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base  
War College in Montgomery, Alabama  
April 13, 1991**

Thank you all very, very much for that warm welcome. General Boyd and General McPeak, the distinguished Members of the Congress with us—Senators Heflin, Shelby, and Bill Dickinson. Mayor Folmar—a non-partisan event, but I'm glad to see some friends of long-standing over here—[laughter]—who were enormously helpful to me in getting to be President of the United States.

It is my great pleasure to look out across what essentially is a sea of blue, to meet this morning with the men and women of the Air University—the Air War College, the Air Command and Staff School, the Squadron Officers School, and of course, the NCO Academy. And I'm glad to see democracy in action—I see a Navy guy here or there, or maybe a coastguardsman—[laughter]—maybe the Marines, maybe the Army over here. And I think I recognize some friends from overseas, members of our coalition who helped us so much in achieving our objectives halfway around the world. They're more than welcome.

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new mechanical bird to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the Nation's air strategy and tactics that have guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific, from the First World War to the 1,000 hours of Desert Storm.

It falls to all of you to derive the lessons learned from this war. Desert Storm demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: not the notion that each service must participate in equal parts in every operation in every war but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In Desert Storm, a critical tool was certainly air

power. And every one of you can take pride in that fact. Our technology and training ensured minimal losses, and our precision—your precision—spared the lives of innocent civilians.

But our victory also showed that technology alone is insufficient. A warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. And if he fights but does not believe, no technology in the world can save him. We and our allies had more than superior weapons; we had the will to win.

I might say parenthetically, this will is personified by the man who leads you. I know that General Boyd often speaks about what he calls the unlimited liability of the military profession. He knows because he's put it all on the line. As a veteran of Vietnam, he flew 105 combat missions before being shot down over Hanoi. And he spent almost 7 years—2,500 cruel days—in captivity. And yet he emerged brave, unbroken. He kept the faith to himself and to his nation.

And let me just say a word about this man over here on my left, General McPeak. I remember early on a meeting up at Camp David with Tony McPeak. Secretary Cheney was there; General Powell was there; Brent Scowcroft, other chiefs. The other chiefs, I believe, were with us, Tony. And in a very laid-back way—typical of him with his modesty—but with total confidence, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. And after he left—I don't mean to show my native skepticism—but I turned to my trusted National Security Advisor, who's standing over here, General Brent Scowcroft, and I said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" [Laughter] And Lieutenant General Scowcroft—Air Force Lieutenant General—said, "Yes." And General McPeak did.

And to be doubly sure then—and he'll remember this—just before the war started, I invited General McPeak and Secretary Cheney to join me and General Scowcroft upstairs at the Residence in the White

House—quiet lunch there. And I asked Tony—I think he'd just come back then from the theater—the other theater—[laughter]. And I put the question to him—I think this is exactly what I said—"Are you as certain now as you were up at Camp David?" And he said, "Even more so." And the war started just a few days later, and history will record that General McPeak was 100 percent right—right on target.

Here at Air University it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. And that's why I wanted to speak to you today about the new world taking shape around us, about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. For more than four decades we've lived in a world divided, East from West; a world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the cold war. Two systems, two superpowers separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility.

For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map as a separate entity. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent, divided a world in two, has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. And the sections that remain standing are but museum pieces. The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper—its demise reported in a story reported on page A16 of the Washington Post.

In the coming weeks I'll be talking in some detail about the possibility of a new world order emerging after the cold war. And in recent weeks I've been focusing not only on the Gulf but on free trade—on the North American free trade agreement, the Uruguay round trade negotiations, and the essentiality of obtaining from the United States Congress a renewal of Fast Track authority to achieve our goals. But today I want to discuss another aspect of that order—our relations with Europe and the Soviet Union.

Twice this century, a dream born on the battlefields of Europe died after the shooting stopped. The dream of a world in which major powers worked together to ensure peace; to settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation. Today a trans-

formed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny. At long last, Europe is moving forward, moving toward a new world of hope.

At the same time, we and our European allies have moved beyond containment to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer driven by cold war tensions and animosities. You see, as the cold war drew to an end we saw the possibilities of a new order in which nations worked together to promote peace and prosperity. I'm not talking here of a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations or some supernatural structure or institution. The new world order does not mean surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests. It really describes a responsibility imposed by our successes. It refers to new ways of working with other nations to deter aggression and to achieve stability, to achieve prosperity and, above all, to achieve peace.

It springs from hopes for a world based on a shared commitment among nations large and small to a set of principles that undergird our relations: peaceful settlements of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples.

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict—the aggression against Kuwait—did not serve as a proxy for superpower confrontation. For the first time, the United Nations Security Council, free from the clash of cold war ideologies, functioned as its designers intended—a force for conflict resolution in collective security.

In the Gulf, nations from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world joined together to stop aggression, and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in the world. By joining forces to defend one small nation, we showed that we can work together against aggressors in defense of principle.

We also recognized that the cold war's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is, in part, a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Today, thank God, Kuwait is free. But turmoil in that tormented region of the world continues. Saddam's continued savagery has placed his regime outside the international order. We will not interfere in Iraq's civil war. Iraqi people must decide their own political future.

Looking out here at you and thinking of your families, let me comment a little further. We set our objectives. These objectives, sanctioned by international law, have been achieved. I made very clear that when our objectives were obtained that our troops would be coming home. And yes, we want the suffering of those refugees to stop, and in keeping with our nation's compassion and concern, we are massively helping. But yes, I want our troops out of Iraq and back home as soon as possible.

Internal conflicts have been raging in Iraq for many years. And we're helping out, and we're going to continue to help these refugees. But I do not want one single soldier or airman shoved into a civil war in Iraq that's been going on for ages. And I'm not going to have that.

I know the coalition's historic effort destroyed Saddam's ability to undertake aggression against any neighbor. You did that job. But now the international community will further guarantee that Saddam's ability to threaten his neighbors is completely eliminated by destroying Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

And as I just mentioned, we will continue to help the Iraqi refugees, the hundreds and thousands of victims of this man's—Saddam Hussein's—brutality. See food and shelter and safety and the opportunity to return unharmed to their homes. We will not tolerate any interference in this massive international relief effort. Iraq can return to the community of nations only when its leaders abandon the brutality and repression that is destroying their country. With Saddam in power, Iraq will remain a pariah nation, its people denied moral contacts with most of the outside world.

We must build on the successes of Desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order, to use force wisely and extend the hand of compassion wherever we can. Today we welcome Europe's willingness to shoulder a large share of this responsibility. This new sense of responsibility

on the part of our European allies is most evident and most critical in Europe's eastern half.

The nations of Eastern Europe, for so long the other Europe, must take their place now alongside their neighbors to the west. Just as we've overcome Europe's political division, we must help to ease cross-over from poverty into prosperity.

The United States will do its part—we always have—as we have already in reducing Poland's official debt burden to the United States by 70 percent, increasing our assistance this year to Eastern Europe by 50 percent. But the key to helping these new democracies develop is trade and investment.

The new entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia and Poland and Hungary aren't looking to government, their own or others, to shower them with riches. They're looking for new opportunities, a new freedom for the productive genius strangled by 40 years of state control.

Yesterday, my esteemed friend, a man we all honor and salute, President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia called me up. He wanted to request advice and help from the West. He faces enormous problems. You see, Czechoslovakia wants to be democratic. This man is leading them towards perfecting their fledgling democracy. Its economy is moving from a failed socialist model to a market economy. We all must help. It's not easy to convert state owned and operated weapons plants into market-driven plants to produce consumer goods. But these new democracies can do just exactly that with the proper advice and help from the West. It is in our interest, it is in the interest of the United States of America, that Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary strengthen those fledgling democracies and strengthen their fledgling market economies.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are natural outgrowths of the new Europe. Whether it's the European Community or a broadened mandate for the CSCE, the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a European approach to common challenges on the Continent and in the world beyond, with the understanding that Europe's long-term security is intertwined

with America's and that NATO—NATO remains the best means to assure it.

And we look to Europe to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can maintain membership in good standing in the global community without assuming its fair share of responsibility for peace and security.

But even in the face of such welcome change, Americans will remain in Europe in support of history's most successful alliance, NATO. America's commitment is the best guarantee of a secure Europe, and a secure Europe is vital to American interests and vital to world peace. This is the essential logic of the Atlantic alliance which anchors America in Europe.

This century's history shows that America's destiny and interests cannot be separate from Europe's. Through the long years of cold war and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. And now, as Eastern Europe is opening up to democratic ideals, true progress becomes possible.

The Soviet Union is engaged in its own dramatic transformation. The policies of confrontation abroad, like the discredited dogma of communism from which those policies sprang, lies dormant, if not mortally wounded. Much has changed. The path of international cooperation fostered by President Gorbachev and manifested most clearly in the Persian Gulf marks a radical change in Soviet behavior. And yet, the course of change within the Soviet Union is far less clear.

Economic and political reform there is under severe challenge. Soviet citizens, facing the collapse of the old order while the new still struggles to be born, confront desperate economic conditions—their hard-won freedoms in peril. Ancient ethnic enmities, conflict between republics and between republics and the central government add to these monumental challenges that they face.

America's policy toward the Soviet Union in these troubled times is, first and foremost, to continue our efforts to build the cooperative relationship that has allowed our nations and so many others to strengthen international peace and stability. At the same time, we will continue to support a

reform process within the Soviet Union aimed at political and economic freedom—a process we believe must be built on peaceful dialog and negotiation. This is a policy that we will advocate steadfastly, both in our discussions with the central Soviet Government and with all elements active in Soviet political life.

Let there be no misunderstanding, the path ahead for the Soviet Union will be difficult and, at times, extraordinarily painful. History weighs heavily on all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—liberation from 70 years of communism, from 1,000 years of autocracy. It's going to be slow. There will be setbacks. But this process of reform, this transformation from within, must proceed. If external cooperation and our progress toward true international peace is to endure, it must succeed. Only when this transformation is complete will we be able to take full measure of the opportunities presented by this new and evolving world order.

The new world order really is a tool for addressing a new world of possibilities. This order gains its mission and shape not just from shared interests but from shared ideals. And the ideals that have spawned new freedoms throughout the world have received their boldest and clearest expression in our great country, the United States. Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. And the reason is simple: Unlike any other nation in the world, as Americans we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths.

But what defines this nation? What makes us America is not our ties to a piece of territory or bonds of blood; what makes us American is our allegiance to an idea that all people everywhere must be free. This idea is as old and enduring as this nation itself—as deeply rooted, and what we are as a promise implicit to all the world in the words of our own Declaration of Independence.

The new world facing us—and I wish I were your age—it's a wonderful world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the

promise of freedom. It's no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores, if we strive to engage in the world that beckons us, then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us.

May God bless our great nation, the United States of America. And thank you all for what you have done for freedom and for our fundamental values. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:16 a.m. in the Fuel Cell Hangar at the base. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Charles G. Boyd, Air University Commander at Maxwell Air Force Base; Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, Air Force Chief of Staff; Representative Bill Dickinson; Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney; and Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.*

### Remarks at a White House Briefing for Representatives of the Associated General Contractors of America April 15, 1991

Thank you all very much. This rainy day, I'm delighted to have you all here at the White House. May I salute our Secretary of Transportation, Sam Skinner. And I want to say a word about a matter that's of great interest to him and to me and to the entire country. But first, to President Black and all the members of the AGC, we're delighted you're here. I appreciate the chance to just say a few words to a group whose support on so many issues has meant a great deal to me, and I think it's meant a great deal to our country.

I know that you were in strong support of Operation Desert Storm. I think your strong support was very helpful—Capitol Hill and elsewhere. I salute you, and I appreciate it very much. Thanks, also, for helping us promote free trade—especially during the negotiations for the United

States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement, an agreement that we strongly support.

And today I wanted to ask for your support again—support which can certainly enhance our ability to compete in the global marketplace and our ability to negotiate with our trading partners. That's the main subject I wanted to talk to you about.

But inasmuch as Sam Skinner is here with us, I thought I'd make a comment on another situation that affects the entire country. The rail industry is absolutely critical, and it's critically important to the United States economy, moving more than a third of all goods shipped in the United States. Now, there's a strike looming. And that strike that looms for right after midnight tomorrow could severely disrupt the economy just as the economy, in our view, is trying to turn around and get out of this recession. A rail strike could potentially idle hundreds of thousands of workers and affect virtually all Americans one way or another. It is always better for labor and management to resolve their differences and produce an agreement.

A Presidential Emergency Board, after 8 months of hearings, issued a report making dozens of recommendations for settling the dispute. This report can and should serve as the basis for resolution of this difficulty. Because of the potential economy-wide disruption, it would be prudent that all efforts and actions be taken to avoid the strike. My administration is willing to work with the parties to help in any way possible.

Now, just for a word on this free trade. We need Fast Track authority in trade negotiations, and we've asked Congress to approve Fast Track authority. Fast Track's a way of assuring our trading counterparts that the agreements they reach with us at the bargaining table—the ones that they reach with the negotiation process—will be the same ones that Congress has a chance to vote on, up or down.

Some allege that Congress has no say. And that simply is not true. We must negotiate with our trading partners, and then we bring the negotiated pact to the Congress for an up or down vote. Fast Track doesn't affect Congress' power to accept or reject trade agreements. But it does prevent 11th-hour changes to agreements that

**Remarks at the Aspen Institute  
Symposium in Aspen, Colorado  
August 2, 1990**

Thank you. Lod Cook, thank you so very much for that genuinely warm welcome. I've really been looking forward to coming here. To David McLaughlin, our president, and John Phelan, the chairman, I salute you for what you are doing, what you have done. To Henry Catto, our distinguished Ambassador to the Court of Saint James, I salute him and Jessica and thank them for their hospitality. I'm honored that the Governor of the State of Colorado, Governor Romer, is here today. Thank you, sir, for being with us. And to all the Aspen alumni and all our distinguished guests, many, many thanks for this warm welcome.

And of course, I've saved the piece de resistance to the very end, our very special guest, our friend, the distinguished world leader, Margaret Thatcher. It was very, very comforting to me today when I went out to try to represent you, the people of the United States, in expressing our views on the current emergency, I would say, in the Persian Gulf—naked aggression by the State of Iraq. I felt very comforted by the fact that as I spoke Prime Minister Thatcher was there with me answering the tougher questions and standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States. Madame Prime Minister, let me say that for more than a decade now America has known no better friend of freedom anywhere in the world than you, and it's an honor to join you today.

Kind of ironic, isn't it? Washington is getting more like a three-ring circus—and here I am—[laughter]—under the big tent. [Laughter] Of course, it's a special pleasure to experience the splendor of Aspen in August. The climate in Washington's tough this time of year. Lots of heat and temperatures rising. Everyone's hot under the collar. The weather's fine, but I'm talking about the budget summit. [Laughter]

I am delighted to celebrate with all of you the 40th anniversary of this most illustrious Aspen Institute. In those 40 years, the spirit of Aspen has come to signify the attempt to bridge the worlds of thought and action and, of course, to understand the tremendous changes taking place around us. Think back to the headlines 40 years ago,

the time of that first Aspen conference, in 1950. North Korea roared across the 38th parallel. Klaus Fuchs was caught and convicted for revealing the secrets of the atom bomb to the Soviets. The "Cold War"—a term introduced into our political vocabulary by Bernard Baruch—had come into its own as the shorthand to describe the half-way house of an armed and uneasy peace, a world divided, East from West. That was the world as Aspen came into being, the world Aspen sought to study, analyze, and to shape.

The 40 years since then have been a time of tremendous progress for the nations of the West, an era of unparalleled prosperity, peace, and freedom. But at the same time, we lived in a constant condition of tension, Cold War and, indeed, conflict.

That world is now changing. The decades-old division of Europe is ending, and the era of democracy-building has begun. In Germany, the divided nation in the heart of a divided continent, unity is now assured as a free and full member of the NATO alliance. The Soviet Union itself is in the midst of a political and economic transformation that has brought unprecedented openness—a process that is at once full of hope but, let's face it, still full of uncertainty.

We've entered a remarkable stage in our relationship with the Soviet Union. Just today I talked to [Secretary of State] Jim Baker in Ulan Bator. He'd just left Irkutsk. And he had very positive talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. And my discussions with President Gorbachev have been open and honest. All the issues are on the table; we don't dodge the tough ones. That's been the secret to our success so far, and over time, that's how we are going to narrow our differences and seize this historic opportunity to help create lasting peace.

The changes that I'm talking about have transformed our security environment. We're entering a new era: the defense strategy and military structure needed to ensure peace can and must be different. The threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe launched with little or no warning is today more remote than at any other point in the postwar period. And with the emergence of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact has lost its military meaning. And after

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more than four decades of dominance, Soviet troops are withdrawing from central and eastern Europe.

Our task today is to shape our defense capabilities to these changing strategic circumstances. In a world less driven by an immediate threat to Europe and the danger of global war, in a world where the size of our forces will increasingly be shaped by the needs of regional contingencies and peacetime presence, we know that our forces can be smaller. Secretary [of Defense] Cheney and General Powell [Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] are hard at work determining the precise combination of forces that we need. But I can tell you now, we calculate that by 1995 our security needs can be met by an active force 25 percent smaller than today's. America's Armed Forces will be at their lowest level since the year 1950.

What matters now, then, is how we re-shape the forces that remain. Our new strategy must provide the framework to guide our deliberate reductions to no more than the forces we need to guard our enduring interests—the forces to exercise forward presence in key areas, to respond effectively to crisis, to retain the national capacity to rebuild our forces should this be needed.

The United States would be ill-served by forces that represent nothing more than a scaled-back or a shrunken-down version of the forces that we possess right now. If we simply prorate our reductions, cut equally across the board, we could easily end up with more than we need for contingencies that are no longer likely, and less than we must have to meet emerging challenges. What we need are not merely reductions but restructuring.

And what we require now is a defense policy that adapts to the significant changes we are witnessing without neglecting the enduring realities that will continue to shape our security strategy, a policy of peacetime engagement every bit as constant and committed to the defense of our interests and ideals in today's world as in the time of conflict and Cold War.

And in this world, America remains a pivotal factor for peaceful change. Important American interests in Europe and the Pacific, in the Mediterranean and in the Persian

Gulf—all are key reasons why maintaining a forward presence will remain an indispensable element of our strategy.

We all remember when the Soviet Union viewed our presence, that forward presence, as a threat. Indeed, when we met at Malta, at the seasick summit—[laughter]—President Gorbachev handed me a map—I still have it, I still have it on display in my library—a map purporting to show American encirclement of the Soviet Union. And we talked about this in depth. And I think he understands now that we have no intention of threatening his country. And I happen to think that it's those kinds of conversations, frankly, that we had up there at Camp David that help make such progress.

I was candid with him, and I told him that for all the positive changes we have seen, the Soviet Union remains a world-class military power. Even after the conventional arms reductions that we're now negotiating, the Soviets will continue to maintain 2 to 3 million men under arms. And of course, our number one concern: the Soviets continue to maintain and modernize their arsenal of strategic weapons.

We and our allies welcome this new course, this clearly new course that the Soviet Union has chosen. But prudence demands that we maintain an effective deterrent, one that secures the peace not only in today's climate of reduced tensions but that ensures that renewed confrontation is not a feasible option for any Soviet leadership.

The Soviets will enter a START [strategic arms reduction] treaty with a fully modernized, highly capable, and very large strategic force. To maintain clear and confident strategic deterrence into the next century, we need the B-2. Secretary Cheney has already scaled back the program. Seventy-five aircraft makes strategic sense. Further delays will only increase the costs. And we need to complete the Trident program. Those 18 submarines will ensure a survivable, submarine-based deterrent. And we can defer final decisions on our land-based ICBM's [intercontinental ballistic missiles] as we see how the START talks proceed but we must keep our options open. And that means completing the development of the small ICBM and the rail-based Peacekeeper.

And finally, I am convinced that a defensive—and I reemphasize that word—a defensive strategic deterrent makes more sense in the nineties than ever before. What better means of defense than a system that destroys only missiles launched against us without threatening one single human life. We must push forward the great promise of SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] and deploy it when ready.

And the United States will keep a force in Europe as long as our allies want and need us there. Prime Minister Thatcher and I have discussed this at length. We will keep forces there as long as we are wanted and needed. As we and our allies adapt NATO to a changing world, the size and shape of our forces is destined to change to suit new and less threatening circumstances. But we will remain in Europe to deter any new dangers, to be a force for stability, and to reassure all of Europe—East and West—that the European balance will remain secure.

Outside of Europe, America must possess forces able to respond to threats in whatever corner of the globe they may occur. Even in a world where democracy and freedom have made great gains, threats remain. Terrorism, hostagetaking, renegade regimes and unpredictable rulers, new sources of instability—all require a strong and an engaged America.

The brutal aggression launched last night against Kuwait illustrates my central thesis: Notwithstanding the alteration in the Soviet threat, the world remains a dangerous place with serious threats to important U.S. interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. These threats, as we've seen just in the last 24 hours, can arise suddenly, unpredictably, and from unexpected quarters. U.S. interests can be protected only with capability which is in existence and which is ready to act without delay. The events of the past day underscore also the vital need for a defense structure which not only preserves our security but provides the resources for supporting the legitimate self-defense needs of our friends and of our allies. This will be an enduring commitment as we continue with our force restructuring. Let no one, friend or foe, question this commitment.

In spite of our best efforts to control the spread of chemical and nuclear weapons and ballistic missile technologies, more nations—more, not less—are acquiring weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. Right now, 20 countries have the capacity to produce chemical weapons. And by the year 2000, as many as 15 developing nations could have their own ballistic missiles. In the future, even conflicts we once thought of as limited or local may carry far-reaching consequences.

To cope with the full range of challenges that we may have to confront, we must focus on readiness and on rapid response. And to prepare to meet the challenges we may face in the future, we must focus on research—an active and inventive program of defense R&D.

Let me begin with the component with great long-range consequences: research. Time and again, we have seen technology revolutionize the battlefield. The U.S. has always relied upon its technological edge to offset the need to match potential adversaries' strength in numbers—cruise missiles, Stealth fighters and bombers, today's "smart" weapons with the state-of-the-art guidance systems, and tomorrow's "brilliant" ones. The men and women in our Armed Forces deserve the best technology America has to offer.

And we must realize the heavy price that we will pay if we look for false economies in research and development for defense. Most modern weapons systems take a minimum of 10 years to move from the drawing board to the battlefield. The nature of national defense demands that we plan now for threats on the distant horizon. The decisions we make today, the programs we push forward or push aside will dictate the kind of military forces we have at our disposal in the year 2000 and beyond.

Second, we must focus on rapid response. As we saw in Panama, the U.S. may be called on to respond to a variety of challenges from various points on the compass. In an era when threats may emerge with little or no warning, our ability to defend our interests will depend on our speed and our agility. And we will need forces that give us a global reach. No amount of political change will alter the geographic fact

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that we are separated from many of our most important allies and interests by thousands of miles of water. And in many of the conflicts we could face, we may not have the luxury of matching manpower with prepositioned material. We'll have to have air- and sea-lift capacities to get our forces where they are needed, when they are needed. A new emphasis on flexibility and versatility must guide our efforts.

And finally, as we restructure, we must put a premium on readiness. For those active forces we'll rely on to respond to crises, readiness must be our highest priority. True military capability never exists on paper; it's measured in the hours spent, experience gained on the training ground, under sail, and in the cockpit. Nothing is more shortsighted than cutting back on training time to cut costs; and nothing, I might add, is more demoralizing to our troops. Our soldiers, sailors, our airmen, our marines must be well-trained, tried and tested, ready to perform every mission we ask of them.

In our restructured forces, reserves will be important, but in new ways. The need to be prepared for massive, short-term mobilization has diminished; and we can now adjust the size, structure, and readiness of our reserve forces to help us deal with the more likely challenges we will face.

Our strategy will guard against a major reversal in Soviet intentions by incorporating into our planning the concept of reconstitution of our forces. By the mid-nineties the time it would take the Soviets to return to the levels of confrontation that marked the depths of the Cold War will be sufficient to allow us to rely not solely on existing forces but to generate wholly new forces. The readiness to rebuild, made explicit in our defense policy, will be an important element in our ability to deter aggression.

A rational restructuring of the kind that I've tried to outline here will take 5 years. I am confident we can meet the challenges that I've outlined today provided we proceed with an orderly reduction, not a fire sale. Any reduction of this magnitude must be managed carefully to minimize dislocations not just to the military balance but, in my view, equally as important, to the morale. And I can say right now as Com-

mander in Chief that we will take every step possible to minimize the turbulence of these changes. The turbulence that will be created for our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. I simply will not break faith with the young men and women who have freely chosen to serve their country.

And frankly, any parents who might be under this tent, you talk to any one of the general officers, and they'll tell you that we have the finest group of young people serving at any time in the history of this country. They are absolutely superb. And they are all volunteers, every single one of them.

All of us know the challenges we face are fiscal as well as military. The budget constraints we face are very real; but so, too, is the need to protect the gains that 40 years of peace through strength have earned us. The simple fact is this: When it comes to national security, America can never afford to fail or fall short.

Let me say once again how very pleased I am to appear here today—especially with our honored friend, Margaret Thatcher. Today, of course, is not the only time American and British leaders have shared the stage. The world remembers that day 44 years ago in Fulton, Missouri, when Churchill delivered what history calls now the Iron Curtain speech. But that wasn't what he called it. He titled it "The Sinews of Peace." And by that he meant to summon up a vision, a vision of strength of free nations united in defense of democracy.

At long last we are writing the final chapter of the 20th century's third great conflict. The Cold War is now drawing to a close, and after four decades of division and discord, our challenge today is to fulfill the great dream of all democracies: a true commonwealth of free nations. To marshal the growing forces of the free world, to work together, to bring within reach for all men and nations the liberty that belongs by right to all.

Thank you very much for all you do to contribute to the deliberations that, frankly, have helped lead to a more peaceful world. It is a great honor for me to be here; and I might say, with some special pride, I brought with me one of the movers and shakers of this institute, who I'm proud to have at my right hand every day. I wished I

hadn't seen him at 5 o'clock this morning. I'm talking about Brent Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs], who's done such a great job for this institution—hiding in the trees over here. But now I see firsthand what the people here at Aspen saw long ago: just how decent and honorable he is and how strong and knowledgeable. So, I would end by saluting him.

I'm sorry that the Silver Fox is not here. [Laughter] At this time of year, we're heavily in the grandchild business, and we have a sick dog. [Laughter] So, our priorities are such that she asked me to send you her love and affection and to tell you she's very sorry she's not here. And if I might say parenthetically, I'm proud of Brent, but I'm even prouder of Barbara Bush.

And I would also say—we were faced with a lot of problems here, budget problems, problems with Iraq and Kuwait, problems of restructuring the best defense force in the entire world—but I can't think of a more exciting time in the history of the United States to be your President. And I'm grateful. Thank you very, very much, and God bless you.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:35 p.m. in the Music Tent at the Aspen Institute. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lod Cook, David McLaughlin, and John Phelan, trustee, president, and chairman of the institute, respectively; and Jessica Catto, wife of Ambassador Catto.*

### Message to the Congress Transmitting the "Regulatory Program of the United States Government"

August 3, 1990

*To the Congress of the United States:*

The annual *Regulatory Program of the United States Government* sets forth the Administration's regulatory priorities for the coming year. This is my Administration's first *Regulatory Program* published pursuant to Executive Order No. 12498. It represents my long-standing commitment to prudent and cost-effective Federal regulation.

The decade of the nineties will demand governmental action to meet a broad range of challenges and opportunities. Cleaning up the environment, encouraging the use of new technologies, maintaining America's global competitiveness—these are just a few of the issues that will vitally affect the quality of life of all Americans.

My Administration is committed to using necessary Federal regulation, reasonably applied, as an effective tool for positive change. At the same time, imprudent and unnecessary regulation can create greater cost than benefit. Further, many regulations burden the economy by staying on the books long after their useful life is over.

Federal regulations impose estimated direct costs on the economy as high as \$175 billion annually—more than \$1,700 for every taxpayer in the United States. These costs are in effect indirect "taxes" on the American public—taxes that should only be levied when the benefits clearly exceed the costs.

I strongly believe in the commonsense regulatory principles that I helped develop and implement when as Vice President I chaired the Task Force on Regulatory Relief. These principles provide that regulations should be issued only when they are necessary, economically sensible, responsive to public comments and concerns, and understandable. Except where prevented by law, agencies should not take regulatory actions unless the benefits outweigh the costs. Regulations should also improve the quality of life for all Americans, rather than benefit a narrow special interest.

Agencies need to consider the effect of new regulations in the context of existing ones. The overall regulatory structure should be coherent, and obsolete regulations should be eliminated or revised. After considering all of these factors, agencies should select the best regulatory options from among the available alternatives. In doing so, they should select alternatives that minimize paperwork burdens on the public. Agencies should, where appropriate, establish performance standards that allow American businesses (and the marketplace) to choose the most cost-effective way to reach those standards; they should avoid command-and-control regulations that dic-

given a tour of the facility.

Following his appearance at the center, the President went to the Broadmoor Hotel, where he attended several receptions for

Colorado Reagan-Bush volunteers and Republican officials. He remained at the hotel overnight.

### Address at Commencement Exercises at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado May 30, 1984

Secretary Orr, General Gabriel, General Scott, Senator Goldwater, Congressman Kramer, and distinguished guests, officers, cadets, and friends of the Air Force:

It's an honor and a real pleasure to come to Colorado Springs and to the Pike's Peak region. I just hope all Americans have the opportunity to visit Colorado and this breathtaking campus. Like me, they'll feel a deep pride in you, the men and women of our Air Force Academy.

On the flight from Washington, I asked our Air Force pilot for a few tips on Academy tradition. Well, he talked about Cadet Nino Baldacci—[laughter]—and then he offered to demonstrate an Immelman and a wingover. [Laughter] And my Air Force aide turned pale and said, "Mr. President, it would be better if you just remember the Air Force Academy is 7,250 feet above sea level, and that's far above West Point and Annapolis." [Laughter]

The greatest privilege of my office has been to lead the people who defend our freedom and whose dedication, valor, and skill increase so much our chance to live in a world of peace. I believe that we've made great progress in our efforts to rebuild the morale and the readiness of our Armed Forces. Once again, young Americans wear their uniforms and serve their flag with pride, and our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall.

And now, the class of 1984 has its turn. After 4 years of hard work and dedication, you've earned the right to be saluted. It will now be your responsibility to guard the flame of peace and freedom and to keep that flame burning brightly.

Your jobs will never be easy. But I believe you're ready to meet the challenges

before you and to turn them into opportunities for America. Your experience at this magnificent institution, guided by honesty, integrity, and an abiding loyalty to our nation will serve you well.

Dedicated instructors have increased your knowledge and understanding. You've been trained to deal in facts, not wishful thinking. And in doing many things together in classrooms, squadrons, and on the playing fields, you've learned the value of leadership and discipline and the need for both.

You've lived with the traditions and pioneering spirit of Rickenbacker, Billy Mitchell, Spaatz, Yeager, Lance Sijan, and the Mercury 7. You know that without the yeast of pioneering, we cannot rise above the status quo.

Personal honor, courage, and professional competence will guide your thoughts and actions. You understand the horrors of war, and you know that peace with freedom is the highest aspiration of our time. As a matter of fact, these past 4 years have prepared you to take your place in the best darn air force in the world.

So, now that I've paid your superiors a compliment, I hope they won't mind if their Commander in Chief pulls rank just this once. I hereby direct that the Secretary of the Air Force and the Superintendent of the Air Force Academy remit all existing confinements and other cadet punishments for minor offenses, and that this order be carried out today.

By the calendar, 52 years separate my college class from yours. Yet by the changes mine has seen, it might as easily have been 520. The world which the class of '32 had grown to know would soon disappear. True,

America was in the midst of a great worldwide depression which all of us desperately wanted to escape. Our immediate concern was work, but our class, like every college class, also thought about the future—and what a future it has been.

The pace of change, once orderly and evolutionary, became frantic and revolutionary. A series of scientific and technological revolutions flashed past us, touching Americans everywhere and every day. A new future was discovered and then quickly rediscovered. Technological progress was a cataclysmic rush.

The armies of Napoleon had not moved across Europe any faster than Caesar's legions eighteen centuries earlier—and neither army worried about air cover. But from my college days to yours, we went from open cockpits to lunar landings, from space fiction to space shuttles. Plotted on a graph, the lines representing technological progress would leap vertically off the page, and it wouldn't matter whether you plotted breakthroughs in agriculture or medicine, communications or engineering, genetics or military capability.

During the past few decades, the way we look and think about our world has changed in fundamental and startling ways. In 1932 "splitting the atom" was a contradiction in terms. We knew the word "atom" came from the Greek "atomos," meaning indivisible and, by definition, you couldn't split anything that was indivisible. But Albert Einstein wouldn't arrive in the States until the following year, and the Manhattan Project had not yet begun. The nuclear age was more than a decade away.

So many of the things that we take for granted today didn't exist on my commencement day: transistors, computers, supersonic flight, fiber optics, organ transplants, microelectronic chips, and xerography. Yes, even the venerable Xerox machine is only 25 years old.

Our progress results from human creativity and the opportunity to put our knowledge to use to make life better. We have yet to rid the world of disease and sickness, but today more people are living longer than ever before in human history. In many ways the good old days never were. In fact, I've already lived some two decades longer

than my life expectancy when I was born. That's a source of annoyance to a number of people—[laughter]—

But the greatest of all resources is the human mind; all other resources are discovered only through creative human intelligence. God has given us the ability to make something from nothing. And in a vibrant, open political economy, the human mind is free to dream, create, and perfect. Technology, plus freedom, equals opportunity and progress.

Now, what about your generation? Where do you go from here? The quickening pace shouldn't generate the belief that the tide of events is beyond your control. No, you should be confident that with wisdom, responsibility, and care you can harness change to shape your future.

We've only seen the beginning of what a free and courageous people can do. The bold, not the naysayers, will point the way, because history has shown that progress often takes its greatest strides where brave people transform an idea which is scoffed at by skeptics into a tangible and important part of everyday life.

Your generation stands on the verge of greater advances than humankind has ever known. America's future will be determined by your dreams and your visions. And nowhere is this more true than America's next frontier—the vast frontier of space.

The space age is barely a quarter of a century old, but already we've pushed civilization forward with our advances in science and technology. Our work on the space shuttle gives us routine access to the landscape above us, dropping off payloads, performing experiments, and fixing satellites. And I believe we've only touched the edge of possibilities in space. It's time to quicken our pace and reach out to new opportunities.

This past January, in my State of the Union Address, I challenged our nation to develop a permanently manned space station and to do so within a decade. And now we're moving forward with a strategy that will chart the future course of the U.S. space program.

The strategy establishes priorities, pro-

vides specific direction for our future efforts, and assigns responsibilities to various government agencies. Above all, America's space strategy offers a balanced program that will best serve the down-to-earth needs of our own people and people everywhere.

Our goals are ambitious and yet achievable. They include a permanently manned presence in space for scientific, commercial, and industrial purposes; increased international cooperation in civil space activities; expanded private investment and involvement; cost-effective access to space with the shuttle; and strengthened security and capability to maintain the peace.

The benefits to be reaped from our work in space literally dazzle the imagination. Together, we can produce rare, life-saving medicines, saving thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars. We can manufacture superchips that improve our competitive position in the world computer market. We can rapidly and efficiently repair defective satellites. We can build space observatories enabling scientists to see out to the edge of the universe. And we can produce special alloys and biological materials that benefit greatly from a zero-gravity environment.

Let me give you just one exciting glimpse that illustrates the great potential of how working in space can improve life on Earth. There is a medicine called—and I'm not quite sure of my pronunciation—it is either "urokinase" or "urokenase", but whichever name, it is used to treat victims of pulmonary embolism and heart attacks caused by blood clots. On Earth, this medicine is very difficult and expensive to produce. About 500,000 doses are needed annually at a cost of \$500 million. Dr. Robert Jastrow, chairman of the first NASA Lunar-Exploration Committee, notes that tests in our shuttle have shown that production of urokinase in zero gravity could reduce that cost by a factor of ten or more. We could make this medicine available to thousands of people who cannot afford it at today's price.

Our willingness to accept the challenge of space will reflect whether America's men and women today have the same bold vision, the same courage and indomitable spirit that made us a great nation. Where would we be if the brave men and women

who built the West let the unknowns and dangers overwhelm them? Where would we be if our aviation pioneers let the difficulties and uncertainties sway them?

The only limits we have are those of your own courage and imagination. And our freedom and well-being will be tied to new achievements and pushing back new frontiers. That's the challenge to the class of '84.

If I could leave you with one final thought, it would be to remind you again: The measure of America's future safety, progress, and greatness depends on how well you hold fast to our most precious values—values that embody the culmination of 5,000 years of Western civilization. Let your determination to make this world better and safer override all other considerations.

This Academy was not built just to produce air warriors; it was also built to produce leaders who understand the great stakes involved in the defense of this country, leaders who can be entrusted with the responsibility to protect peace and freedom. You are those leaders. And while you must know better than those before you how to fight a war, you must also know better than those before you how to deter a war, how to preserve peace.

As you look to the future, always remember the treasures of our past. Every generation stands on the shoulders of the generation that came before. Jealously guard the values and principles of our heritage; they didn't come easy.

Inspiration springs from great tradition. As military officers, guard the traditions of your service built here in the foothills of the Rockies and in the air over Ploesti, Mig Alley, the Red River Valley, and a thousand other places. The traditions you hold will serve you well.

Good luck, Godspeed, and God bless you all.

*[At the conclusion of his formal address, the President presented the Medal of Honor to William J. Crawford.]*

Now, there's something I want to do that means a lot to me and, I'm sure, will mean a lot to you. We're graced with the company of a man who believed so much in the

THE VICE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR RELEASE

Wednesday, May 28, 1986

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY  
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH  
AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT  
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1986

General Scott, Senator Goldwater, Acting Secretary Aldridge, distinguished guests and newly minted second lieutenants, I'm delighted to share this special day with you.

I always like to start a speech on an upbeat note, and let me tell you, I've got an applause line here if I ever heard one ... In accordance with existing Academy policy, I hereby grant amnesty to the members of the Cadet Wing and direct this order to be carried out immediately.

You know I heard a story the other day about the time Lec Durocher took his team up to the military academy at West Point for an exhibition game. During the game, one of the cadets yelled out, "Hey, Durocher, how did a bum like you get in the big leagues?" Durocher yelled right back, "My congressman appointed me."

Well, the Congress, the White House, and the Air Force made some outstanding appointments when they admitted each of you to this academy. You should feel very proud of what you've accomplished over these last four years.

The rest of us certainly feel that pride in you. And do you know why? Because there's something inspiring about commitment -- the commitment you had to make to arrive at this graduation day and, even more, the commitment you're making to keep your country and your fellow citizens safe and free. It's hard not to be moved by those who dedicate themselves to such civilized and generous ideals.

When I was thinking about what I wanted to say to you today, it occurred to me that what the beaches are to the Marines, what the seas are to the Navy, what the fields and trenches are to the Army, the heavens are to the Air Force. You look upward by tradition and training.

This morning I want you to look upward and forward and to the future. My theme and my purpose today is to discuss your future as military leaders and the challenges you face.

I believe the future will test you as surely as the enemy will. I believe the U.S. military is in the midst of great change -- in terms of the threat we face, in terms of the military's own structure and organization, in terms of technology. And you -- the military leaders of tomorrow -- are the ones who must meet these challenges.

And let me start by focusing on the central consideration in every military leader's planning -- the threat we face.

There's no doubt that the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values. And no amount of slick public relations can hide the disgraces of the KAL shootdown, the Chernobyl incident, the treatment of great spirits like Sakharov, or other reflections of basic Soviet nature. Yet the most immediate threat to America's security is not nuclear war with the Soviets. It's not a conventional war with the Warsaw Pact countries.

As dangerous as those threats are, we have deterred them. Deterrence operates on a very simple, street-smart principle and it's this -- if you try to harm us you put yourself in harm's way. That's not a very intellectual principle, but it's worked for 40 years. And it will work for another 40 as long as we don't take it for granted.

We can deter the Soviet threat as long as we maintain our resolve. That determination is being tested right now in Washington. The defense budget coming out of the House of Representatives is nothing more than a short cut for the shortsighted. Many in Congress hate to make hard choices, so their easy choice is to cut defense. Well, this Administration is going to make sure it's not easy for them. You in this audience are prepared to fight for America, and we're prepared to fight for the tools you need to do the job.

If we remain prepared, nuclear and conventional war will continue to be deterred. Yet the poet was right, "War is like love; it always finds a way." And so it has. The most active threat we face today is not high intensity conflict, but low intensity -- the war in the shadows, as it's been called. This threat is manifested in a stream of hostage crises, terrorist attacks, local conflicts and insurgencies. This is our most active threat for the remainder of the century. This is where we're taking our casualties.

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And it must be addressed with the same commitment as we've met previous threats. The question is how? What is the military's role? What are effective strategies and tactics?

You, as military leaders of the future, must use your intellect, your leadership and your courage to bring new and creative perspectives to the problem. Especially in dealing with the threat of low-intensity conflict, you must employ qualities that haven't always been our military's greatest strengths -- cooperation, flexibility, innovation and responsiveness.

You are part of a great military tradition, but you're living in a changing world and you must apply your own insights. You cannot be bound by the military thinking of the past once you have learned its lessons. Your generation must reason for itself and not simply follow safe and accepted military practices.

I am asking you today to be innovative and creative military leaders, so that we can meet the threats of the future. I'm asking you in effect to be military entrepreneurs who accept the risk of your beliefs. I am asking you to do what this Academy has taught you -- to lead.

The second major change in your future is reform of the military structure itself. We need the reforms outlined in the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management -- the Packard Commission -- and in the findings and legislation of Senators Goldwater and Nunn. Such reforms are necessary to prepare us for meeting the defense needs of the next century -- the years of your leadership.

The problem is threefold -- inadequate cooperation among the military services, no true unity of command, and unnecessary duplication and contradiction in legislative oversight. These problems are historic and continuing. This is a criticism of structure, not the people who devotedly work within it.

True unity of command has long been hindered by interservice rivalry. Eisenhower and Nimitz recognized the problem in World War II and tried to rectify it after our victory. We'd made some progress by the time of Grenada, but our changes were too often piecemeal and incomplete.

We in the current leadership positions of government and the military owe you a structure in which you can fulfill your potential as leaders. We owe you a new architecture, an organization that will enable you to do the job you've been trained so well to do at this Academy. Reform is necessary to accomplish this.

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President Reagan has a little sign on his desk in the Oval Office that says, "There's no limit to what you can accomplish if you don't care who gets the credit." I ask you to remember that you're representing not the interests of any one service, but the larger interests of the United States.

I ask you to remember the example of Senator Goldwater, whose independent insights and common sense make him one of the truest friends the United States military has ever known. Yet his loyalties, however deep, haven't blinded him to the need for constructive change in the institutions he loves. And when he retires this year, the Nation is going to miss his knowledge and his patriotism.

The third change that will affect your careers as military leaders is technology. President Jefferson once said of the U.S. minister of Spain, "I haven't heard from him in two years. If I don't hear from him next year, I will write a letter." Today, we have the ability to transmit the entire text of the 30 volume Encyclopedia Britannica ... in less than a one-second burst of light.

You, the military leaders of the future, will be charged with developing and guiding such sophisticated technology. You will see advances in our Strategic Defense Initiative, a concept that I believe history will show to be a giant leap in mankind's search for safety and protection, and a moral leap putting weapons at risk, not people. You will see a National Aerospace Plane that can accelerate 25 times the speed of sound, attaining low earth orbit or flying to Tokyo within two hours. You will see weapons go from smart to brilliant by relying on artificial intelligence.

You're the ones who will devise military strategies and tactics to tame such advancements for America's continuing security. And while all this is happening, you have another challenge -- not to be seduced by this very technology. For although this technology will continue to deter any major attack on the United States, it will not deter the terrorists and guerrillas I spoke of earlier.

For the low-intensity conflicts of the future, you must not let the highly sophisticated technology become your master. The U.S. military's most important technology is the electrical activity in your own brain. Your ability to reason and plan and adapt is the best weapon in America's arsenal.

Although your future will be changing in the ways I've outlined this morning, one thing is constant throughout military history -- leadership. That is your heritage, your training, your strength, your purpose. The fundamental difference between

a military officer and a civilian is that a military officer , , gears his entire career to being a leader. In the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., "The reward of a general is not a bigger tent, but command."

I came here today to tell you I believe in your leadership. And I know the price it can exact -- just recently over Libya it cost two Air Force men their lives.

It's been many years now since my plane was shot down in World War II. I was 20 and lucky; they plucked me out of the water. But there's one instant -- when the shells are exploding around you and the adrenaline is pumping out your ears -- that you know every soldier in every war has shared in some way.

You can train, but you can't prepare for that moment. The preparation is in the heart and spirit. It's in knowing you serve a larger ideal, a purpose much greater than yourself.

You here at the Academy have found your ennobling cause -- the security of your homeland and your fellow citizens. This is a long and honored tradition. In a few minutes when you take your diploma in hand, I want you to think of that scroll as an expression of gratitude from the American people.

For we are proud of your accomplishment. We are proud of your ideals. And we are proud that you wear the uniform of your country.

Thank you and God bless you.

# # # #

## 225 Address at the Air Force Academy Commencement Exercises in Colorado Springs, Colorado. June 4, 1969

*General Moorman, Governor Love, Senator Allott, Senator Dominick, General McConnell, Secretary Seamans, all the distinguished guests on the platform, members of the graduating class, and this great audience here in Falcon Stadium:*

Before addressing the members of the graduating class, I would like to be permitted a personal word to the people of Colorado and to the people of this city. I want to thank you for the very warm and gracious welcome you gave to me and the members of our family.

I well remember the conversations that I had with General Eisenhower in the months before he died. He often reminisced about the past and among his fondest memories were his visits to Colorado. These were some of the happiest days of his life.

Yesterday when we arrived in Colorado Springs, we stepped out of the aircraft; we breathed this wonderfully fresh air; we looked off across to the mountains 50 miles away; and as we stood there we knew what he meant when he spoke of Colorado, its people, and also the climate—everything that all of you who live here know and love so much.

I should just like to give you one impression that shows you there is some continuity in history. Dwight David Eisenhower II, the grandson of General Eisenhower, and his namesake, as he saw this beautiful country and looked to the mountains off to the distance, said, "Gee, this is great country." I want you to know that I agree, and I congratulate the Air Force for having the good judgment to locate the Air Force Academy here in Colorado Springs.

One other personal note: I had the opportunity before coming to this stadium to take a tour of some of the campus facilities and particularly the chapel. Now, there has been some controversy about that chapel. This is the first time that I have seen it. I am not an architectural expert, but I think it is magnificent, and I think you can be very proud of that chapel at the Air Force Academy.

Now, if I could address the members of the graduating class. For each of you, and your parents, and your countrymen, this is a moment of quiet pride. After years of study and training, you have earned the right to be saluted.

But you are beginning your careers at a difficult time in military life. On a fighting front, you are asked to be ready to make unlimited sacrifice in a limited war. On the home front, you are under attack from those who question the need for a strong national defense, and indeed see a danger in the power of the defenders.

You are entering the military service of your country when the Nation's potential adversaries abroad have never been stronger and when your critics at home have never been more numerous.

It is open season on the Armed Forces. Military programs are ridiculed as needless if not deliberate waste. The military profession is derided in some of the so-called best circles of America. Patriotism is considered by some to be a backward fetish of the uneducated and the unsophisticated. Nationalism is hailed and applauded as a panacea for the ills of every nation—except the United States of America.

This paradox of military power is a

mencement

June 4, 1969

nal note: I had the opportunity to come to this stadium, one of the campus facilities, particularly the chapel. Now, I am involved in controversy about the first time that I saw it, not an architectural masterpiece, but it is magnificent, and I am very proud of that. I am proud of that Force Academy.

I will address the members of the class. For each of you, and your countrymen, I want to express a sense of quiet pride. After a year of training, you have been saluted.

I am saluting your careers at the military life. On a battlefield, you are asked to be ready to die in a limited war. If you are under attack, you must question the need for a defense, and indeed see the need for the defense of the defenders. The military service in the Nation's potential has never been your critics at home are numerous.

On the Armed Forces, you are ridiculed as need-waste. The military is in some of the so-called America. Patriotism is to be a backward, uneducated and the unilateralism is hailed and accepted for the ills of the United States.

military power is a

symptom of something far deeper that is stirring in our body politic. It goes beyond the dissent about the war in Vietnam. It goes behind the fear of the "military-industrial complex."

The underlying questions are really these: What is America's role in the world? What are the responsibilities of a great nation toward protecting freedom beyond its shores? Can we ever be left in peace if we do not actively assume the burden of keeping the peace?

When great questions are posed, fundamental differences of opinion come into focus. It serves no purpose to gloss over these differences, or to try to pretend that they are mere matters of degree. Because there is one school of thought that holds that the road to understanding with the Soviet Union and Communist China lies through a downgrading of our own alliances and what amounts to a unilateral reduction of our arms in order to demonstrate our "good faith."

They believe that we can be conciliatory and accommodating only if we do not have the strength to be otherwise. They believe that America will be able to deal with the possibility of peace only when we are unable to cope with the threat of war.

Those who think that way have grown weary of the weight of free world leadership that fell upon us in the wake of World War II. They argue that we—that the United States is as much responsible for the tensions in the world as the adversaries we face.

They assert that the United States is blocking the road to peace by maintaining its military strength at home and its defenses abroad. If we would only reduce our forces, they contend, tensions would disappear and the chances for peace

would brighten.

America's powerful military presence on the world scene, they believe, makes peace abroad improbable and peace at home impossible.

Now we should never underestimate the appeal of the isolationist school of thought. Their slogans are simplistic and powerful: "Charity begins at home. Let's first solve our problems at home and then we can deal with the problems of the world."

This simple formula touches a responsive chord with many an overburdened taxpayer. It would be easy, easy for a President of the United States to buy some popularity by going along with the new isolationists. But I submit to you that it would be disastrous for our Nation and the world.

I hold a totally different view of the world, and I come to a different conclusion about the direction America must take.

Imagine for a moment, if you will, what would happen to this world if America were to become a dropout in assuming the responsibility for defending peace and freedom in the world. As every world leader knows, and as even the most outspoken critics of America would admit, the rest of the world would live in terror.

Because if America were to turn its back on the world, there would be peace that would settle over this planet, but it would be the kind of peace that suffocated freedom in Czechoslovakia.

The danger to us has changed, but it has not vanished. We must revitalize our alliances, not abandon them.

We must rule out unilateral disarmament, because in the real world it wouldn't work. If we pursue arms control

as an end in itself, we will not achieve our end. The adversaries in the world are not in conflict because they are armed. They are armed because they are in conflict, and have not yet learned peaceful ways to resolve their conflicting national interests.

The aggressors of this world are not going to give the United States a period of grace in which to put our domestic house in order—just as the crises within our society cannot be put on a back burner until we resolve the problem of Vietnam.

The most successful solutions that we can possibly imagine for our domestic programs will be meaningless if we are not around to enjoy them. Nor can we conduct a successful peace policy abroad if our society is at war with itself at home.

There is no advancement for Americans at home in a retreat from the problems of the world. I say that America has a vital national interest in world stability, and no other nation can uphold that interest for us.

We stand at a crossroad in our history. We shall reaffirm our destiny for greatness or we shall choose instead to withdraw into ourselves. The choice will affect far more than our foreign policy; it will determine the quality of our lives.

A nation needs many qualities, but it needs faith and confidence above all. Skeptics do not build societies; the idealists are the builders. Only societies that believe in themselves can rise to their challenges. Let us not, then, pose a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither.

That is why my disagreement with the

skeptics and the isolationists is fundamental. They have lost the vision indispensable to great leadership. They observe the problems that confront us; they measure our resources and then they despair. When the first vessels set out from Europe for the New World these men would have weighed the risks and they would have stayed behind. When the colonists on the eastern seaboard started across the Appalachians to the unknown reaches of the Ohio Valley, these men would have counted the costs and they would have stayed behind.

Our current exploration of space makes the point vividly; here is testimony to man's vision and to man's courage. The journey of the astronauts is more than a technical achievement; it is a reaching-out of the human spirit. It lifts our sights; it demonstrates that magnificent conceptions can be made real.

They inspire us and at the same time they teach us true humility. What could bring home to us more the limitations of the human scale than the hauntingly beautiful picture of our earth seen from the moon?

When the first man stands on the moon next month every American will stand taller because of what he has done, and we should be proud of this magnificent achievement.

We will know then that every man achieves his own greatness by reaching out beyond himself, and so it is with nations. When a nation believes in itself—as Athenians did in their Golden Age, as Italians did in the Renaissance—that nation can perform miracles. Only when a nation means something to itself can it mean something to others.

That is why I believe a resurgence of

American idealism can bring about a modern miracle, and that modern miracle is a world order of peace and justice.

I know that every member of this graduating class is, in that sense, an idealist.

However, I must warn you that in the years to come you may hear your commitment to the American responsibility in the world derided as a form of militarism. It is important that you recognize that strawman issue for what it is, the outward sign of a desire by some to turn America inward and to have America turn away from greatness. I am not speaking about those responsible critics who reveal waste and inefficiency in our defense establishment, who demand clear answers on procurement problems, who want to make sure new weapons systems will truly add to our defense. On the contrary, you should be in the vanguard of that movement. Nor do I speak of those with sharp eyes and sharp pencils who are examining our post-Vietnam planning with other pressing national priorities in mind. I count myself as one of those.

But as your Commander in Chief, I want to relay to you as future officers of our Armed Forces some of my thoughts on these great issues of national moment.

I worked closely with President Eisenhower for 8 years. I know what he meant when he said: "... we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

Many people conveniently forget that he followed that warning with another: "... we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

We sometimes forget that in that same farewell address, President Eisenhower spoke of the need for national security. He said: "A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction."<sup>1</sup>

I say to you, my fellow Americans, let us never forget those wise words of one of America's greatest leaders.

The American defense establishment should never be a sacred cow, but on the other hand, the American military should never be anybody's scapegoat.

America's wealth is enormous, but it is not limitless. Every dollar available in the Federal Government has been taken from the American people in taxes, and a responsible government has a duty to be prudent when it spends the people's money. There is no more justification for wasting money on unnecessary military hardware than there is for wasting it on unwarranted social programs.

There can be no question that we should not spend unnecessarily for defense. But we must also not confuse our priorities.

The question, I submit, in defense spending is a very simple one: "How much is necessary?" The President of the United States is the man charged with making that judgment. After a complete review of our foreign and defense policies I have submitted requests to the Congress for military appropriations. Some of these are admittedly controversial. These requests represent the minimum I believe essential for the United States to

<sup>1</sup> "Public Papers of the Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1960-61," Item 421.

meet its current and long-range obligations to itself and to the free world. I have asked only for those programs and those expenditures that I believe are necessary to guarantee the security of this country and to honor our obligations. I will bear the responsibility for those judgments. I do not consider my recommendations infallible. But if I have made a mistake, I pray that it is on the side of too much and not too little. If we do too much it will cost us our money. If we do too little, it may cost us our lives.

Mistakes in military policy today can be irretrievable. Time lost in this age of science can never be regained. America had months in order to prepare and to catch up in order to wage World War I. We had months and even years in order to catch up so we could play a role in winning World War II. When a war can be decided in 20 minutes, the nation that is behind will have no time to catch up.

I say: Let America never fall behind in maintaining the defenses necessary for the strength of this Nation.

I have no choice in my decisions but to come down on the side of security, because history has dealt harshly with those nations who have taken the other course.

So, in that spirit, to the members of this graduating class, let me offer this credo for the defenders of our Nation:

I believe that we must balance our need for survival as a nation with our need for survival as a people. Americans, soldiers and civilians, must remember that defense is not an end in itself; it is a way of holding fast to the deepest values known to civilized men.

I believe that our defense establishment will remain the servants of our national policy of bringing about peace in

the world and that those in any way connected with the military must scrupulously avoid even the appearance of becoming the master of that policy.

I believe that every man in uniform is a citizen first and a serviceman second, and that we must resist any attempt to isolate or separate the defenders from the defended. So you can see that in this regard, those who agitate for the removal of the ROTC [Reserve Officers' Training Corps] from college campuses contribute to an unwanted militarism.

I believe that the basis for decisions on defense spending must be "What do we do; what do we need for our security?" and not "What will this mean for business and employment?" The Defense Department must never be considered as a modern WPA [Work Projects Administration]. There are far better ways for government to help insure a sound prosperity and high employment.

I feel that moderation has a moral significance only in those who have another choice. The weak can only plead. Magnanimity and restraint gain moral meaning coming from the strong.

I believe that defense decisions must be made on the hard realities of the offensive capabilities of our potential adversaries, and not on the fervent hopes about their intentions. With Thomas Jefferson, we can prefer "the flatteries of hope" to the gloom of despair, but we cannot survive in the real world if we plan our defense in a dream world.

I believe we must take risks for peace—but calculated risks, not foolish risks. We shall not trade our defenses for a disarming smile or charming words. We are prepared for new initiatives in the control of arms in the context of other specific moves

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I believe that America is not going to become a "garrison state," or a "welfare state," or a "police state"—simply because the American people will defend our values from those forces, external or internal, that would challenge or erode them.

And I believe this above all: That this Nation shall continue to be a source of world leadership, a source of freedom's strength, in creating a just world order that will bring an end to war.

Members of the graduating class and your colleagues in the Academy, a President shares a special bond with the men and women in the Nation's Armed Forces. He feels that bond strongly at moments like these, facing all of you who have pledged your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honor to the service of your country. He feels that bond most strongly when he presents the Medal of Honor to an 8-year-old boy who will never see his father again. Because of that bond, let me say this to you:

In the past generation, since 1941, this Nation has paid for 14 years of peace with 14 years of war. The American war dead of this generation has been far greater than all of the preceding generations in America's history. In terms of human suffering, this has been the costliest generation in the two centuries of our history.

Perhaps this is why my generation is so determined to pass on a different legacy. We want to redeem that sacrifice. We want to be remembered, not as the generation that suffered in war, but as the generation that was tempered in its fire for a great purpose: to make the kind of peace that the next generation will be able to keep.

This is a challenge worthy of the idealism which I know motivates every man who will receive his diploma today.

I am proud to have served in the Armed Forces of this Nation in a war which ended before the members of this class were born.

It is my deepest hope and my belief that each of you will be able to look back on your military career with pride, not because of the wars in which you have fought, but because of the peace and freedom which your service will make possible for America and the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:52 a.m. in Falcon Stadium at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo. In his opening words he referred to Lt. Gen. Thomas S. Moorman, Superintendent, U.S. Air Force Academy; Governor John A. Love, Senator Gordon Allott, and Senator Peter H. Dominick, all of Colorado; Gen. John P. McConnell, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force; and Secretary of the Air Force Robert C. Seamans, Jr.

On the same day the White House Press Office released an advance text of the President's remarks.

## 226 Declaration of Amnesty for Air Force Academy Cadets. June 4, 1969

WHEREAS, it is customary and traditional that a visiting Head of State at the United States Air Force Academy grant reprieve to those cadets who unfortunately

are required to perform extra duty or suffer punishment for violation of United States Air Force Academy regulations;

And whereas, it is now desired that

**Quotation of the day:**

"...banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies..."—Thomas Jefferson, May 28, 1816

—MAY 29—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Gemini, the twins.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Emerald.

**The day in history:**

1790—Rhode Island became 13th state to ratify U.S. Constitution.

1848—Wisconsin admitted to U.S. as 30th state.

1953—Edmund P. Hillary of New Zealand and Tensing Norkay of Nepal became first to climb Mt. Everest.

**The day's birthdays:**

Statesman Patrick Henry 1736, Studley, Va.; President John F. Kennedy 1917, Brookline, Mass.; author Gilbert K. Chesterton 1874, London; actor Bob Hope 1903, London; comedienne Bea Lillie, Toronto, Canada.

**Quotation of the day:**

"If this be treason, make the most of it."—Patrick Henry, May 29, 1765

"Let us have peace."—Ulysses S. Grant, May 29, 1868

—MAY 30—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Gemini, the twins.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Emerald.

**The day in history:**

1431—Joan of Arc was burned at the stake in Rouen, France.

1901—Hall of Fame at New York University in New York City, was dedicated.

1961—Dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo of Dominican Republic was assassinated there.

1967—Eastern Region of Nigeria declared itself independent as Republic of Biafra in prelude to civil war.

**The day's birthdays:**

Politician James A. Farley 1888, Grassy Point, N.Y.; musician Benny Goodman 1909, Chicago; Tsar Peter the Great 1672, Moscow; sculptor Alexander Archipenko 1887, Kiev, Russia.

**Quotation of the day:**

"...my voices were of God; my voices have not deceived me."—Joan of Arc, May 30, 1431

—MAY 31—

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Gemini, the twins.

*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Emerald.

**The day in history:**

1889—Johnstown Flood killed more than 2,000 people when dam burst near Johnstown, Penna.

1916—In greatest naval battle ever fought up to that time, the British Navy drove the German fleet back from the North Sea to be bottled up at Kiel in the Battle of Jutland in World War I.

1961—South Africa became a republic; it had become a self-governing British dominion on this date in 1910.

1962—Nazi leader Adolf Eichmann was hanged by Israel.

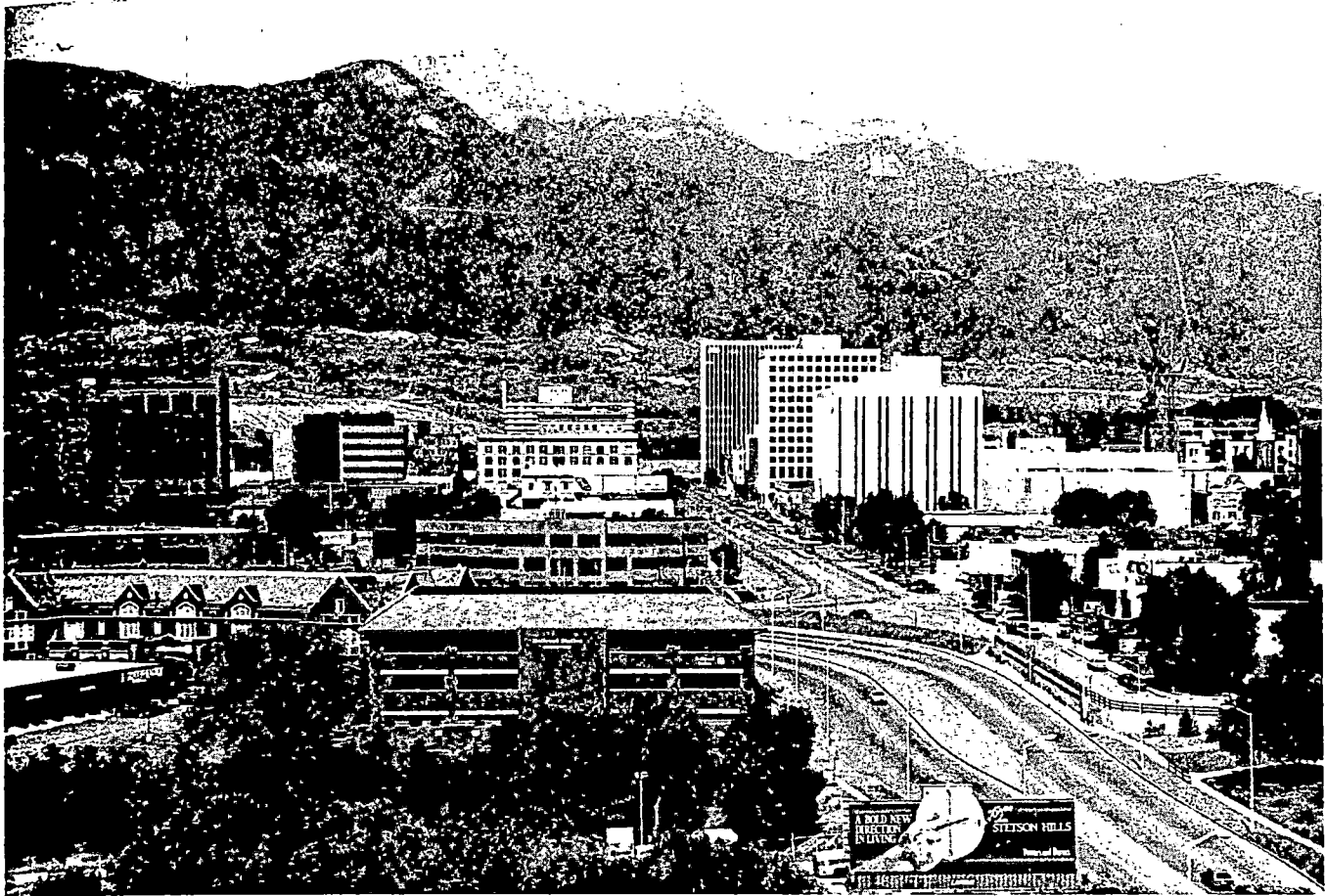
**The day's birthdays:**

Poet Walt Whitman 1819, Huntington, Long Island, N.Y.; football's Joe Namath 1943, Beaver Falls, Penna.; churchman Norman Vincent Peale 1898, Bowersville, Ohio.

**Quotation of the day:**

"Here in America we are descended in blood and in spirit from revolutionists and rebels..."—Dwight D. Eisenhower, May 31, 1954

# Colorado Springs



Courtesy of Colorado Springs Convention and Visitors Bureau

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## *The City in Brief*

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**Founded:** 1871 (incorporated 1872)

**Head Official:** Robert M. Isaac (since 1987)

**City Population**

1970: 136,000

1980: 215,150

1986 estimate: 273,000

Percent change, 1970-1980: 58.8%

U.S. rank in 1980: 66th

U.S. rank in 1986: 58th

**Metropolitan Area Population**

1970: 236,000

1980: 309,000

1985 estimate: 366,000

Average annual percent change, 1970-1980: 2.7%

U.S. rank in 1980: 105th

U.S. rank in 1985: 95th

**Area:** 103.4 square miles

**Elevation:** 6,035 feet above sea level

**Average Annual Temperature:** 49.9° F

**Average Annual Precipitation:** 15.73 inches

**Major Economic Sectors:** Military, aerospace, tourism, manufacturing

**Unemployment Rate:** Not available (May, 1988)

**Per Capita Income:** \$11,334 (1985 estimate)

**1988 ACCRA Average House Price:** \$84,760

**1988 ACCRA Cost of Living Index:** 91.0 (U.S. average = 100.0)

**Crime Rate per 100,000 Population:** 6,964.1 (1987)

**Major Colleges and Universities:** University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Technical College

**Daily Newspapers:** *Gazette-Telegraph*

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## Introduction

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At the foot of Pikes Peak, the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains, Colorado Springs is a city surrounded by natural beauty that draws millions of visitors a year. Its municipal parts include the breath-taking Garden of the Gods, once sacred Indian tribal grounds. Upon ascending Pikes Peak in 1893, Katharine Lee Bates wrote the words to "America the Beautiful"; the lyrics "purple mountains' majesty" refer to the vistas around Colorado Springs. Now an important center of military installations, Colorado Springs is home to the United States Air Force Academy and to the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD).

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## Geography and Climate

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Colorado Springs is located on a high, flat plain at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, in eastern central Colorado. To the east of the city are rolling prairie lands and to the north is Monument Divide. The climate of Colorado Springs is relatively mild and dry, since the city is protected from harsh weather by the Rocky Mountains in the west. In the winter, Colorado Springs is warmed by the Chinook, a wind whose name means "snow eater."

**Area:** 103.4 square miles

**Elevation:** 6,035 feet

**Average Temperatures:** January, 28.9° F; July, 71° F; annual average: 49.9° F

**Average Annual Precipitation:** 15.73 inches

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## History

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The history of Colorado Springs is the history of two very different communities, one wild and rowdy, the other a model of controlled growth. The area was first discovered by settlers of European descent in 1806 when Zebulon Montgomery Pike came upon a mountain he named Pikes Peak and attempted to ascend it. Later, several tribes of Native Americans, namely the Ute, Arapahoe, and Cheyenne, lived and battled in the region. They declared what is now called the Garden of the Gods to be

sacred ground where the tribes could meet in peace and bathe in the mineral springs.

Mountains rich in silver and gold brought miners into the area. A settlement developed and was called El Dorado City, owing to its proximity to the gold mines. This became Colorado City, a rough town full of saloons where frequent brawls and gun fights raged. In 1871, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, the first narrow-gauge line in Colorado, came to the region. The railroad was directed by General William Jackson Palmer, who began to plan a community near Colorado City. Palmer envisioned the town as a playground for the rich, rivalling the elegant resorts on the East Coast. First called the Fountain Colony, the town was incorporated as Colorado Springs in 1872. According to what was called "The Palmer Pattern of Responsibility," Colorado Springs was planned with schools, libraries, churches, parks, and a college. Citizens of "good moral character and strict temperance habits were purposely sought; intemperance and industry were relegated to Colorado City across the railroad tracks.

Tourists from throughout the country flocked to Colorado Springs and to the spa at nearby Manitou Springs. By the turn of the century Colorado Springs was the wealthiest city per capita in the United States. At this time it earned the nickname Little London, reflecting the number of Tudor-style houses constructed in the area. During this age of the elegant hotel, the rich and the titled were drawn to the Rocky Mountains—especially Colorado Springs—to play polo and hunt foxes. Colorado City, after suffering great economic vicissitudes tied to the mining industry, was absorbed by Colorado Springs in 1971.

Since World War II, Colorado Springs has become an important focus of military installation. Fort Carson Army Base was established in the early 1940s; the United States Air Force Academy was completed in 1958. In 1966, the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) was installed inside Cheyenne Mountain as the first warning system for North America against a nuclear missile strike. The United States Olympic Committee created an Olympic Training Grounds in Colorado Springs in 1978. Athletes come from places throughout the world to train there, surrounded by the beauty of the Rocky Mountains.

Wild Blue U.

great outdoors. Stanley developed a steam car—the Stanley Steamer Mountain Wagon—bought Lord Dunraven's holdings, and spent \$500,000 in 1909 to build the white clapboard Stanley Hotel. Like the inns of his native New England, it gleamed with lofty white columns, leaded glass windows, sweeping porches, and polished furniture—still to be seen today. John Philip Sousa and Theodore Roosevelt were guests. An original 1909 Stanley Steamer is on display at the **Estes Park Area Historical Museum** (200 South 4th Street, 303-586-6256), which focuses on regional history.

The **MacGregor Ranch Museum** (180 MacGregor Lane, off Devil's Gulch Road, 303-586-3749) is a working mountain ranch of the 1870s that still does haying and raises cattle without modern gasoline-powered machinery. The ranch house contains artifacts of three generations of the pioneering MacGregor family. Traversing **Rocky Mountain National Park** (303-879-0080) since 1935, **Trail Ridge Road** follows an old Ute path. It is the highest continuous highway in the United States, crossing the Continental Divide at 12,183 feet. The park headquarters and visitor center was designed by Edmond Thomas Casey, an architect of the Taliesin Fellowship (Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation) in Scottsdale, Arizona.

## STEAMBOAT SPRINGS

Early fur trappers in this region were greeted by the sound of a "steamboat"—actually the noise of a small geyser puffing out gas every ten seconds—a phenomenon that apparently gave rise to the town's name. In 1875 James H. Crawford emigrated from Missouri to become the first homesteader, later building the stone **James H. Crawford House** (1184 Crawford Street, private). With more than 150 medicinal springs in its vicinity, the town attracted health seekers via the Denver, Pacific & Northwestern Railway. The **Steamboat Springs Depot** (13th Street and Stockbridge Road) dates to 1909.

Early home furnishings and artifacts illustrating the local history of Indian life, mining, and skiing can be found at the **Tread of Pioneers Historical Commission Museum** (8th and Oak streets, 303-879-2214). Exhibits include skis used in the late 1800s by the first skiing mailmen. Recreational skiing was brought to the area by the Norwegian stonemason Carl Howelsen, who had been performing ski jumps for the Barnum & Bailey Circus out of Chicago and came west in 1913.

## HAHNS PEAK

The **Hahns Peak Schoolhouse** (Main Street off Route 129, 303-879-6781), built in 1912, is a preserved one-room educational center, complete with desks, library, and piano. An old horse barn and mining artifacts are also on the site. Next to it is the **Hahns Peak Historical Society**, which exhibits old mining equipment and photographs and artifacts illustrating the town's past.

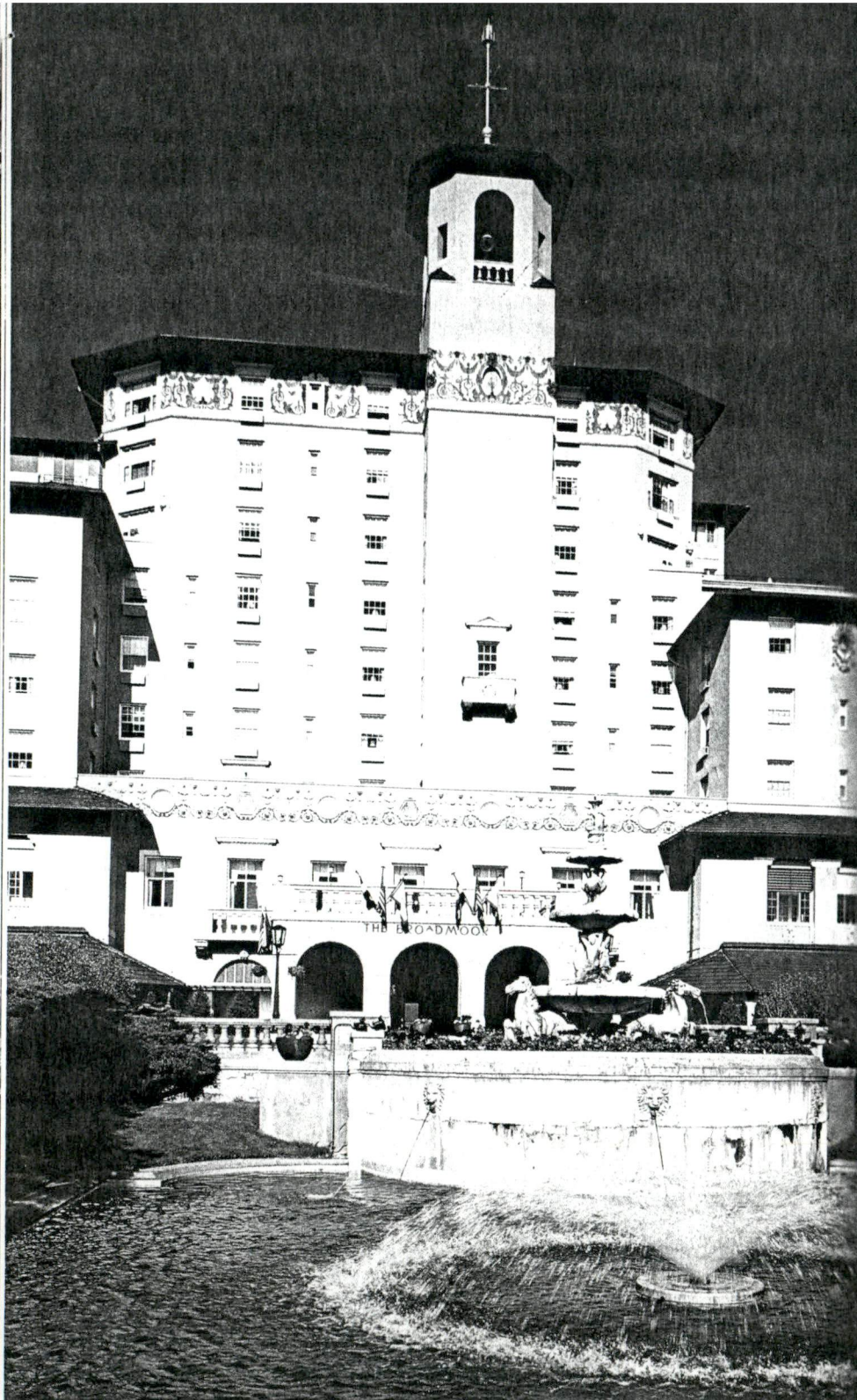
## MEEKER

The town named itself for Nathan Meeker, founder of Union Colony in Greeley, who had been appointed Indian agent at the White River Agency but was slain with all the post's men during a Ute Indian revolt in 1879. Meeker had tried to make farmers out of the hunting tribe and had seriously offended them with a series of denigrations of their traditions. The **White River Museum** (565 Park Street, 303-878-9982) is housed in the officers' quarters of the military post that was erected in 1888 after the Meeker massacre. Built of cottonwood logs, it contains a stagecoach and other artifacts from the locality.

Located in the vicinity of **Palmer Lake**, an early Colorado resort town, the **Ben Quick Ranch and Fort** (6695 West Plum Creek Road, private) is made up of an Italianate house built in 1885, a cabin dating from 1867, and the site of Fort Washington, which was built on Benjamin Quick's homestead in 1868 to defend the West Plum Creek valley.

## COLORADO SPRINGS

Colorado Springs began as a dream—part financial, part romantic—in the mind of General William Jackson Palmer. Traveling west from Philadelphia after the Civil War, he conceived the notion of laying a north-south railroad along the eastern base of the Rockies. Palmer's Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad introduced narrow-gauge tracks to the Colorado Rockies and reached the future site of Colorado Springs in 1871. The location was five miles from old Colorado City, a town that had petered out after its founding in 1859 as a supply center for the mines of South Park.



Palmer remained convinced that "this belt of country had special advantage in its location, climate, and natural resources," and his romantic side now came into play. To entice his New York fiancée to join him in the raw West, he would lay out a city, "the most attractive in the west for homes—a place for schools, colleges, literature, science, first-class newspapers, and everything the above implies" at the foot of Pikes Peak, surrounded by natural beauty. His resort, he believed, would grow as fashionable as such eastern spas as Saratoga Springs—from which he appropriated the word *springs*, although the closest ones were several miles away at Manitou. By the end of 1871, there were 800 settlers and 150 buildings. An influx of English citizens lent refinement and also earned the community the nickname "Little London." Among the American writers and artists who settled here was Helen Hunt Jackson, author of *Ramona*. The Antlers Hotel opened in 1882 with billiard rooms and Turkish baths.

When the nearby Cripple Creek mining district roared to life west of Pikes Peak in 1891, the gleam of gold also reflected on Colorado Springs. Winfield Scott Stratton, who had worked for \$3 a day as a carpenter, became the "Midas of the Rockies." He built the town a trolley system at a cost of \$2 million, then donated a large park. Mining magnate Spencer Penrose developed the **Broadmoor Hotel** (1 Lake Circle, 719-634-7711), a pinkish hotel in the Italian Renaissance style, set in a stunning location below Cheyenne Mountain. Incorporating a Georgian ballroom and frescoed ceilings, the hotel was designed by Warren & Wetmore, the New York architects whose buildings included New York's Grand Central Terminal and the Biltmore Hotel. After the Broadmoor's opening in 1918, Maxfield Parrish arrived to paint its picture. For the convenience of guests, the hotel included every amenity, from a stock market ticker to a fleet of Pierce Arrow touring cars for jaunts into the mountains.

Some of the early conveyances collected by Spencer Penrose are preserved at the hotel's **El Pomar Carriage House Museum** (719-634-7711, ext. 5353), the earliest being a brougham used in the inauguration of William Henry Harrison in 1841 (the new president caught pneumonia and died a month later). There are twenty-eight carriages with complete tack, a Conestoga wagon, and Buffalo Bill's Yellowstone Coach. Penrose was also an auto

OPPOSITE: The Broadmoor Hotel, a lavish resort near Colorado Springs, was developed by Spencer Penrose and Charles Tutt, who intended to make it "permanent and perfect."

enthusiast, so he built the Cheyenne Mountain Highway to broaden the appeal of the resort. On a knoll along this highway stands the **Will Rogers Shrine of the Sun Memorial**, named to honor the humorist (a friend of Penrose); the medieval-looking tower made of rose granite is the burial place of Penrose and his wife, Julia. In 1936 the Santa Fe artist Randall Davey decorated the interior with frescoes illustrating the history of Pikes Peak.

In downtown Colorado Springs, another creative talent from Santa Fe, John Gaw Meem, designed the Pueblo-style **Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center** (30 West Dale Street, 719-634-5581), which was the country's second free community center when it opened in 1936. Its collection includes Native American pieces, Hispanic colonial folk art, and American Western paintings and bronzes; there is a portrait of General Palmer's daughter by John Singer Sargent.

### *Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum*

The El Paso County Courthouse was built in 1903 of rusticated stone with a clock tower and domed cupola. It now houses the Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum, where a steel birdcage elevator transports visitors to three reconstructed rooms from the home of the novelist Helen Hunt Jackson. Other galleries display Anasazi pottery, weapons, Indian artifacts, Van Briggie pottery, Victorian decorative items, jewelry, and period costumes from the Pikes Peak region.

LOCATION: 215 South Tejon Street. HOURS: 10-5 Monday-Saturday, 1-5 Sunday. FEE: None. TELEPHONE: 719-578-6650. *Carol Bruce*

Several other museums in the area focus on special subjects. North of town near the U.S. Air Force Academy, the twenty-seven-acre **Western Museum of Mining and Industry** (125 Gleneagle Drive, exit 156 off Route 25, 719-598-8850) has an operating ten-stamp ore mill and a reconstructed hard-rock mine with working machinery, and it also offers instructions in blacksmithing, prospecting, and other skills. The **ProRodeo Hall of Fame and Museum of the American Cowboy** (101 Pro Rodeo Drive, 719-593-8840) displays saddles, boots, and other artifacts tracing rodeo history since 1865.

Downtown, the **Museum of the American Numismatic Association** (818 North Cascade Avenue, 719-632-2646) has the largest collection of coins, paper money, tokens, and medals west of



Two santos, carved and painted religious sculptures from New Mexico, in the collection of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center: Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception by an anonymous carver known only as the Arroyo Hondo Carver, and José Rafael Aragón's Our Lady of the Rosary.

the Smithsonian Institution. Collections focus on American coins and paper money, the gold rush era, and selected numismatic themes from ca. 600 B.C. to the present. On display in Antlers Park (Sierra Street, northern fringe of downtown area) is old **Denver & Rio Grande Engine Number 168**, a narrow-gauge "ten-wheeler" that saw hard service over Rocky Mountain passes.

### *McAllister House Museum*

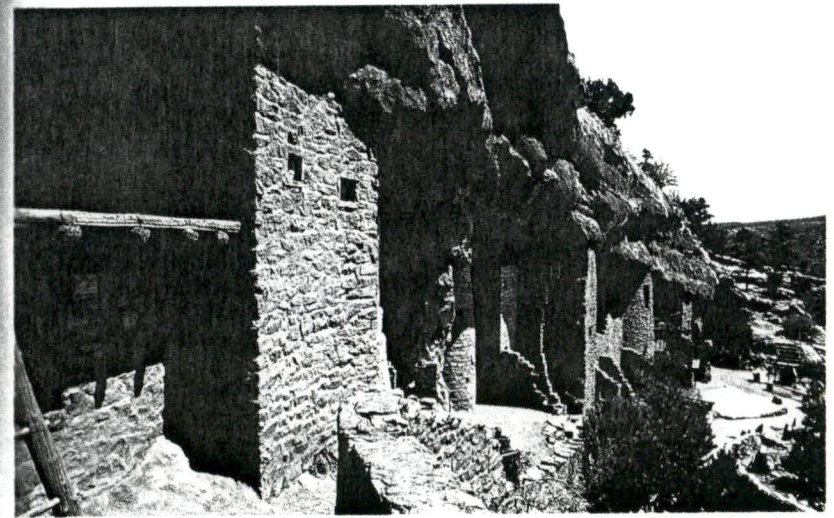
The first brick home in Colorado Springs, this Downing Gothic-style cottage was built in 1873 by Major Henry McAllister, director of Palmer's early colony. The twenty-inch-thick walls were designed to withstand chinook winds, which were sometimes violent enough to blow a narrow-gauge locomotive off its tracks. The museum's furnishings represent the way of life of the upper class of the city in the 1880s. (The Pearce-McAllister Cottage in Denver was also owned by Major McAllister.)

LOCATION: 423 North Cascade Avenue. HOURS: May through August: 10-4 Wednesday-Saturday, 12-4 Sunday; September through April: 10-4 Thursday-Saturday. FEE: Yes. TELEPHONE: 719-635-7925.

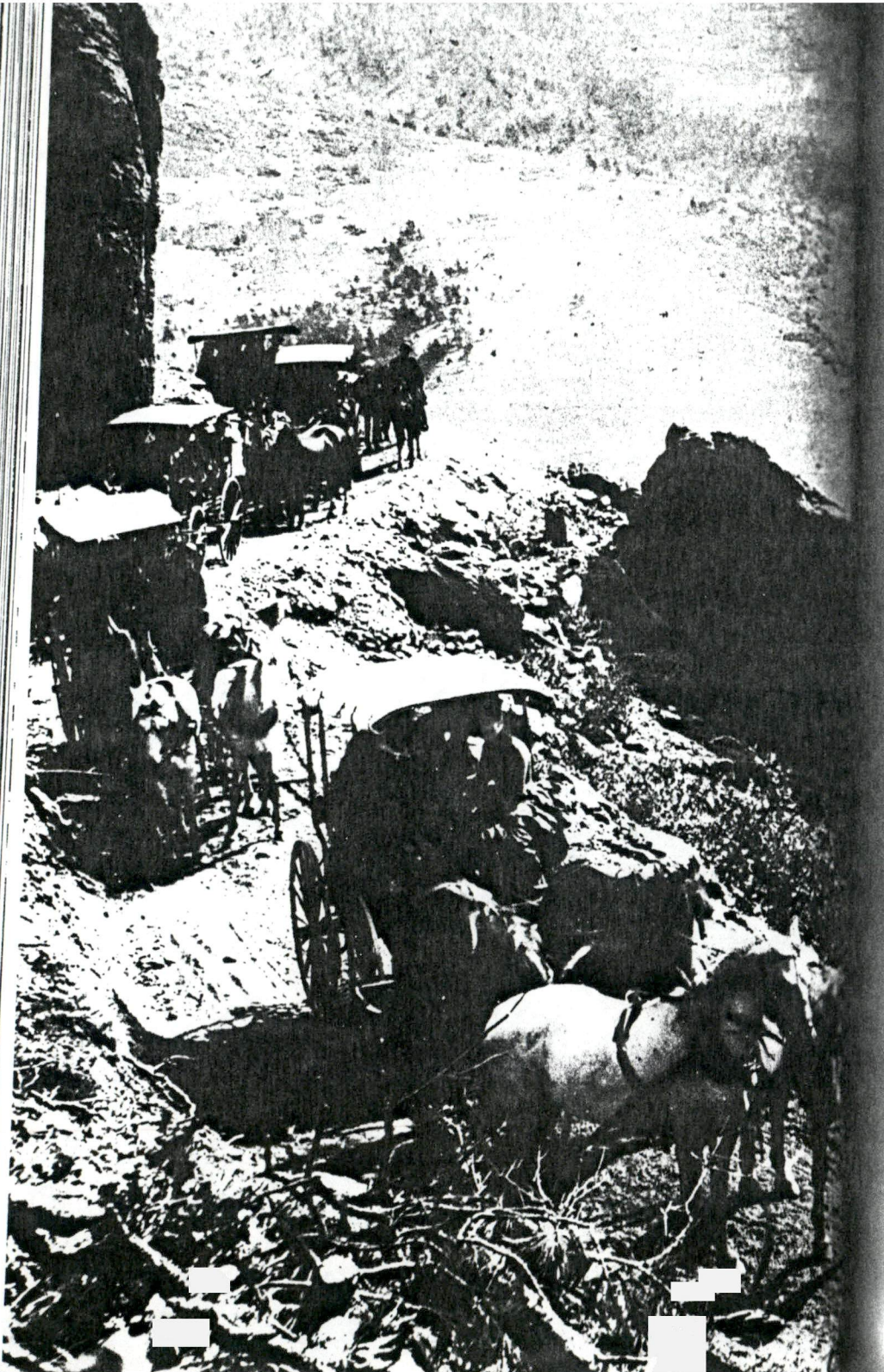
corpulence, and health seekers flocked in. "Manitou Ginger Champagne," a drink made from a special recipe, was shipped out by the millions of bottles.

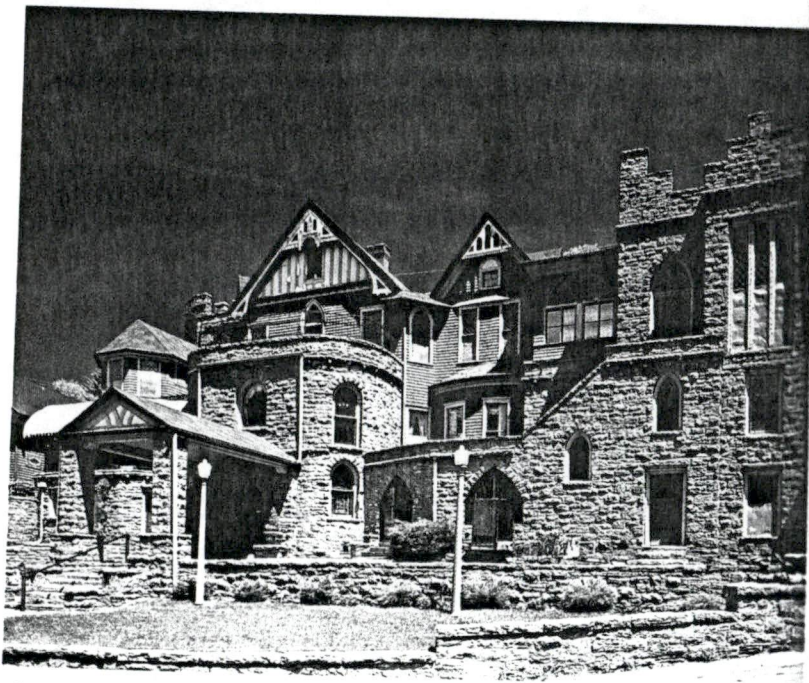
When the mattress king Zalmon G. Simmons suffered a jarring mule ride to the summit of Pikes Peak, he decided to finance a railway to the top. First operated in 1891 and powered by little teapot steam engines, the **Manitou and Pikes Peak Cog Railway** (515 Ruxton Avenue, 719-685-5401) still climbs a path of steel to the mountain's 14,110-foot summit. It is the highest cog railway in the world, ascending to the windy province above the timberline, where the view sweeps from Denver to New Mexico.

At **Pikes Peak National Historic Landmark** in 1806, Zebulon Pike tried, but failed, to scale the peak that now bears his name. "I believe no human being could have ascended to its summit," he wrote. It was a chilly November and his men were dressed in summer uniforms. Fourteen years later, members of Major Stephen H. Long's party climbed the mountain. In 1893 a young Wellesley College professor named Katherine Lee Bates took a leisurely wagon trip up Pikes Peak and later wrote: "It was then and there, as I was looking out over the sealike expanse of fertile country spreading away so far under these ample skies, that the opening lines of the hymn floated into my mind." The hymn to which she referred was



Anasazi cliff dwellings, reconstructed in Manitou Springs as a tourist attraction in 1906. OPPOSITE: In the 1880s before the cog railway was constructed, tourists wishing to see the view from Pikes Peak ascended in carriages for five-hours along twisting trails.





*The forty-six-room Miramont Castle was built in 1895 by a French priest who had moved to Manitou Springs for his health. He lived there for only five years.*

her creation "America the Beautiful." By 1915 Spencer Penrose (developer of the Broadmoor Hotel) and his associates had built a zigzag auto road to the summit. The next year Penrose staged the first **Pikes Peak Auto Hill Climb** race (719-685-4400), an American classic that still takes place annually on the Sunday after July 4.

Other attractions in Manitou Springs include **Manitou Cliff Dwellings Museum** (Route 24 Bypass, 719-685-5242) in Phantom Cliff Canyon. The outdoor museum is made up of reconstructed cliff dwellings depicting the life of the Anasazi, whose culture flourished in southwestern Colorado from A.D. 550 to 1300. The stone structures, which can be explored room by room, were dismantled and brought here by promoters in 1906. There are also displays of Anasazi artifacts and Indian dance performances.

The cream of "Little London" society met at **Briarhurst** (404 Manitou Avenue, 719-685-1864), Dr. William Bell's Tudor Revival house, completed in 1888. Other guests included Ulysses S. Grant. Bell and his wife first built Briarhurst in 1872. When a fire destroyed

the house in 1886, a second and more elaborate Briarhurst was built, complete with a schoolroom, conservatory, library, and cloister. The 1888 stone house now operates as a restaurant.

In 1895 a French priest named Jean-Baptiste Francolon, who was the administrator of several Indian missions, erected the eclectic forty-six-room edifice as a home for his mother, who came from France to live there. It now houses the **Miramont Castle Museum** (9 Capitol Hill, 719-685-1011). There are tours of restored rooms and exhibits of model railroads and toys.

## CRIPPLE CREEK

"Free gold sticks out of the rock like raisins out of a fruit cake," said a reporter visiting Cripple Creek during its heyday. Legend has it that a drugstore clerk flung his hat aloft and dug where it hit the ground, discovering the Pharmacy Mine. Cresson Mine workers hit an underground chamber lined with nearly pure gold.

It all began in 1891 when a cowpoke named Bob Womack found gold on a cattle ranch. The hordes then rushed in, laying out a town they named Cripple Creek because cows had been lamed when they stumbled in a local stream bed. The town became a financial center for the mining district, whose outpouring of gold saved Colorado's economy after the decline of silver in 1893. Businesses boomed on Bennett Street, while Myers Street became one of the West's most notorious red-light districts. When a resident prostitute named Jennie LaRue got into a fight with her boyfriend and knocked over a stove, a fire was started that devastated the business district in 1896; another fire five days later leveled the rest of town.

Building this time with brick and stone, settlers raised an elegant new city, whose leading citizens included such men as Winfield Scott Stratton, a carpenter who became sole owner of the fabulous Independence Mine. By 1900 a pair of opera houses and 14 newspapers flourished; there were good hospitals and a stock exchange (as well as 139 saloons) to serve the town of 50,000; electric trolley cars rolled through downtown. Cripple Creek could well afford these civic improvements: About \$500 million worth of gold was mined in the district.

Relics of the boom days are displayed at the **Cripple Creek District Museum** (head of Bennett Avenue, 719-689-2634), where the Midland Railroad Terminal Depot of 1896 has exhibits about the mining and social history of Cripple Creek; the Colorado Trading



# Fact Sheet

# United States Air Force

U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, USAF ACADEMY, CO 80840  
(719) 472-4050

## STATISTICS

In its 36-year history, the U.S. Air Force Academy, its cadets and alumni have produced some impressive statistics in academic, military and athletic endeavors. Detailed below is a brief history through the Class of 1990.

- \* Some 23,583 cadets have graduated from the Academy in 32 classes since 1959.
- \* More than 60 percent of those commissioned in the Air Force are still on active duty.
- \* 186 graduates have been commissioned by other services; 75 by the Marine Corps, 66 by the Navy, and 44 by the Army.
- \* 83 allied cadets have graduated.
- \* 11 cadets have graduated posthumously.
- \* 14,592 graduates commissioned in the Air Force entered pilot training; 1,305 entered navigator training, and 434 helicopter training.
- \* One graduate has received the Medal of Honor.
- \* 117 graduates have become general officers. Of those, three have been promoted to the rank of general, seven to the rank of lieutenant general, 43 to major general, and 64 to brigadier general.
- \* 151 graduates have been killed in combat.
- \* 32 graduates are repatriated prisoners of war.
- \* Two graduates are combat aces.
- \* 30 cadets have been selected as Rhodes Scholars.
- \* Three cadets have accepted Marshall Scholarships.
- \* 86 cadets have been accepted as Guggenheim Fellows.
- \* 59 cadets have been selected as National Science Foundation Fellows.
- \* 27 cadets have accepted Fulbright-Hays Scholarships.
- \* 32 cadets have accepted scholarships to attend Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.
- \* 31 cadets have been selected as Hertz Fellows.
- \* 387 cadets have entered medical school.
- \* 240 cadets have received athletic All-American recognition with 615 total individual awards.



# United States Air Force

U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, USAF ACADEMY, CO 80840  
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## THE FALCON

Sports audiences across the country have been intrigued and delighted by the aerobatics of the falcon, flying mascot of the U.S. Air Force Academy. Trained and handled by cadet falconers, the birds soar and dive, sometimes zooming low over the heads of spectators.

While their public performances are limited to outdoor venues, most often at football games, the falcons appear at many other athletic contests in which cadet teams play. All Academy varsity sports teams are called the "Falcons."

### History

Members of the Class of 1959, the first to enter the Academy, chose the falcon as the mascot of the cadet wing Sept. 25, 1955, feeling that it best characterized the combat role of the U.S. Air Force. They did not specify any particular species, thus, any falcon can serve as mascot. Some of the characteristics which led to its selection are:

- Speed: can attain velocities exceeding 100 miles per hour in stoops or dives on their prey.
- Powerful and graceful flight, with strong, deep wing beats; they maneuver with ease, grace and evident enjoyment.
- Courage: fearless and aggressive, falcons fiercely defend their nest and young against intruders. They have been known to unhesitatingly attack and kill prey more than twice their size.
- Keen eyesight: about eight times sharper than man.
- Alertness, regal carriage and noble tradition.

Although they are members of the hawk family, falcons differ in that they have long pointed wings and dark eyes. There are five types of falcons native to North America, ranging in height from two feet to as small as five inches. They are the arctic gyrfalcon, the largest; peregrine falcon, sometimes called the duckhawk; prairie falcon; American merlin, or pigeon hawk; and the American kestrel, also known as a windhover or a sparrowhawk.

Through the ages, all types have been trained, usually for hunting. In medieval Europe, the gyrfalcon was reserved for kings and princes while the peregrine was flown by nobles of ducal rank. Recently, many countries have enacted legislation to protect the falcon, whose existence has become precarious. Colorado, along with many other states, has similar laws.

### Falcons at the Academy

On Oct. 5, 1955, a splendid peregrine was the first falcon presented to the cadet wing. It was named "Mach 1," referring to the speed of sound. While "Mach 1" is still the official mascot name, each bird receives an individual name from the falconers.

Twelve to 15 falcons are kept in the mews (enclosures for trained hawks) north of the cadet area. The majority are prairie falcons native to Colorado. Cadets train both the tiercels (males) and falcons (females) to perform flying demonstrations. The Academy has been fortunate to have had white phase gyrfalcons represent the cadet wing. Previous gyrfalcon mascots were Atholl and Pegasus, who was later renamed Baffin. Baffin got her name from the island in the Arctic Ocean where she was captured with the permission of the government of Canada. Capt. Richard Graham presented her to the Academy Nov. 20, 1965, as a gift from the 17th Air Force. Baffin died April 7, 1978, at the age of 13.

During her years as queen of the mews, Baffin appeared at all home football games and countless other Academy events. What's more, she starred on several television talk shows. Artist Donald Eckelberry, renowned wildlife painter, was commissioned in 1972 by the Association of Graduates to record her likeness for posterity. Baffin has been restored to her former beauty by highly acclaimed taxidermist Don Bowman. On Aug. 8, 1979, she was presented to the cadet wing by David Merrifield of Wildlife World, Monument, Colo. She is now on display in Arnold Hall.

Since July 1980, the cadet wing again has had a white phase gyrfalcon mascot to show the public. Glacier, a male, was taken from its nest in the Seward Peninsula of Alaska July 3, 1980, by an Academy-sponsored search team. Although the Academy received permission from Alaskan authorities to take two gyrfalcons, a white one and a less rare gray phase gyrfalcon, the search team felt it best to take only one. Glacier is regularly the center of attention at Air Force Academy functions.

Experts once said falcons could not be trained to perform before huge crowds, that the birds would panic and flee. Since 1956, however, cadets have flown the birds at sports events before thousands of cheering spectators.

Falconry is one of the extracurricular activities offered to cadets. The Academy's chief of environmental health services is the officer-in-charge. There are usually 12 falconers, with four chosen from each new class at the end of the year to replace graduating seniors. The new falconers begin training in January under the leadership of experienced upperclassmen and the officer-in-charge. Without proper instruction, novices can physically harm the birds or adversely affect their training. Falconers' duties include daily checks of each bird's health and condition, training sessions during which the birds are fed a measured ration of meat, frequent cleaning of the mews and routine maintenance of equipment.

## **Training the falcons**

Under special permits issued by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the Colorado Division of Wildlife, the Academy is permitted to propagate captive prairie falcons. Since 1974, most birds used for public exhibition have been born in the Academy breeding project. Due to the success of the project, birds excess to Academy needs have been transferred to agencies for use in educational programs dealing with raptors (birds of prey) or have been trained to hunt and then released into the wild. Annual reports on all activities of the Academy falcon program are submitted to state and federal wildlife conservation agencies.

The striking Colorado prairie falcon is the bird used by cadet falconers in flying demonstrations. The birds are flown throughout the year, weather permitting, to keep them in top condition. Between May and October, when the birds are molting, the training is minimized to prevent damage to new feathers.

Young birds hatched in May or June grow rapidly and by the end of July are fully feathered and ready for training. The first step is to acquaint them with the jess, a short leather strap fastened to each of the bird's legs. The next stage is called manning, a procedure to let the falcons become accustomed to the presence, sounds and smell of people. Each falcon has a six-foot leash coupled to the jess, and is carried on a falconer's gloved fist. In this manner, the bird gradually loses the fear of moving among crowds of people. A leather hood is used when necessary; when placed over the bird's head, the falcon will remain calm.

Next, a long stout string called a creance is used to secure the bird. One end of the creance is fastened to the base of a portable outdoor perch and the other end is fastened to the jess, thus giving the bird a restricted flight range. The falcon is taught to hop, then flutter, and finally fly the length of the creance to the falconer for food. This is followed by training the bird to fly to the lure, a rectangular shaped leather pouch to which meat is attached. The falconer whirls the lure in a circle on a 10-foot cord; the bird quickly learns to strike it in mid-air, carry it to the ground and dine on the food. As the bird stoops toward the lure in free flight, the lure is jerked aside, causing the falcon to fly up, circle and make another pass. This procedure is repeated several times before bird is allowed to strike the lure in mid-air.

When the falcon flies unhesitatingly to the lure every time, the creance is removed and the bird is permitted to fly free. A small battery-powered transmitter is attached to one leg so that, should the bird not come to the lure as it had been trained, the cadet falconers will be able to follow and safely recover the falcon.

Six weeks or more are required to properly train an eyass or young falcon. When a bird is in top condition, it is able to fly for more than an hour and make repeated stoops. Although they can be trained to perform, falcons are never totally domesticated and remain wild creatures with strong, independent spirits.

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# United States Air Force

U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, USAF ACADEMY, CO 80840  
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## ACADEMY MISSION

The mission of the U.S. Air Force Academy is to provide instruction and experience to all cadets so they graduate with the knowledge, character and motivation essential to leadership as career officers in the United States Air Force.

The goal of the Air Force Academy is to produce career Air Force officers devoted to duty, honor and country. Graduates of the Academy enter the Air Force with a unique combination of experiences -- military, athletic, academic and ethical -- designed to produce officers who possess:

The skills provided by a sound and balanced undergraduate academic curriculum and the ability to formulate problems and devise and implement solutions in diverse and ambiguous situations;

A firm understanding of the role of the military in society, the history and traditions of their service, and an appreciation of military customs and courtesies;

The ability to meet the varied challenges that are traditionally the calling of the military, including the ability to communicate and work effectively and compassionately with others;

High moral standards who recognize the ethical aspects of situations, determine the right thing to do and then do it;

The self discipline, adaptability, stamina and courage to perform their duty responsibility in both routine activities and the extreme and prolonged conditions of risk and stress that occur in the national defense;

The ability to subordinate themselves to the service of their country, the Air Force and their unit in war and peace;

The ability to inspire pride in their units and are predisposed to a career in the Air Force and a lifetime of service to the nation;

A commitment to lifelong personal and professional development and growth.



# United States Air Force

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## UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY OVERVIEW

The staff and faculty of the United States Air Force Academy are charged with providing instruction and experience to all cadets so they graduate with the knowledge, character and motivation essential to leadership as career officers in the United States Air Force. Before its graduates enter various flying and support specialties, the Academy trains them to be, first and foremost, Air Force officers. Of the nearly 24,000 cadets who have graduated from the Academy in 32 classes, more than 60 percent are still on active duty and most have been productive and successful.

During its short history, the Academy has become a leader among undergraduate institutions. Thirty cadets, including two from the Class of 1991, have earned Rhodes Scholarships. Nearly 200 others have been named Guggenheim and National Science Foundation Fellows, earned Marshall and Fulbright-Hays Scholarships, and accepted scholarships to attend Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Cadets complete four years of studies leading to a bachelor of science degree. Emphasis is given to academics, military training, athletic conditioning, and spiritual and ethical development. Academics includes classes in the basic sciences, engineering, the humanities and the social sciences. Within this framework, all cadets complete a core curriculum consisting of 91.5 semester hours. They can specialize in any of 25 academic majors.

Nearly all Academy professors wear the uniform of the United States Air Force, a constant reminder that the instructors are teaching their students to become military officers.

Military development is central to the Academy experience and distinguishes it from other institutions of higher learning. Four primary areas are stressed: professional military studies, theoretical and applied leadership experiences, aviation science and airmanship programs, and military training. The intent is to provide cadets the knowledge, skills, values and behavior patterns necessary to meet the leadership challenges of the 21st century.

Within the airmanship area, most cadets complete the sailplane program, about half earn parachuting wings and all cadets intending to become pilots complete training in T-41s. About two-thirds of all graduates attend undergraduate pilot training.

Graduates from the Class of 1991 who enter pilot training incur an active duty service commitment of eight years after earning their wings. For subsequent classes the pilot training commitment is 10 years. Class of 1991 graduates not attending flying training incur a five-year active duty service commitment. Those in the Class of 1996 and subsequent years will incur a six-year commitment.

Few schools in the country have such an extensive athletic program --intercollegiate sports, intramurals and physical education. The goal is to enhance the physical conditioning of all cadets, develop the physical skills necessary for officership, teach leadership in a competitive environment and build character.

Seventeen men's and 10 women's intercollegiate teams compete nationally. Each of the 40 cadet squadrons fields a team in 20 intramural sports, such as football, tennis, swimming, wrestling and cross-country. The physical education program consists of mandatory courses and electives ranging from gymnastics to SCUBA.

The Honor Code is the centerpiece of a cadet's moral and ethical development. Cadets pledge: "We will not lie, steal or cheat, nor tolerate among us anyone who does." All cadets take formal courses in ethics and receive honor and ethics instruction as part of their training.

Information on admissions procedures can be obtained from the Director of Admissions, U.S. Air Force Academy, CO 80840-5651.



Fact Sheet

# United States Air Force

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## A QUICK LOOK AT THE U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY

### MISSION:

To provide instruction and experience to all cadets so they graduate with the knowledge, character and motivation essential to leadership as career officers in the United States Air Force.

### HISTORY:

Youngest of the four service academies.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the bill authorizing establishment of the Academy April 1, 1954.

First class entered in July 1955 at temporary facilities at Lowry Air Force Base in Denver. Construction of the present site also began that year.

The Cadet Wing moved into its permanent home in August 1958.

First class of 207 graduated in June 1959.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a bill in 1964 authorizing the Academy to expand its enrollment from 2,529 to 4,417.

First class with women entered in June 1976 and graduated in June 1980.

Approximately 23,583 have graduated in 32 classes. Of those, more than 60 percent are still on active duty.

### ADMISSIONS CRITERIA:

Cadets must be between 17 and 22 on July 1 of the year of admission.

Each must be a U.S. citizen, unmarried and have no dependent children.

Applicants must have good grades (generally ranked in at least the top 20 percent of their high school class), be active in athletic and non-athletic extracurricular activities, and be in good physical condition.

The Academy's goal is for 65 percent of each entering class to be pilot-qualified.

### ACADEMY EXPERIENCE:

The sum of the unique opportunities and experiences at the Academy. Designed to allow cadets to grow militarily, intellectually, physically, and morally/ethically. Begins with the first day of basic cadet training and ends as second lieutenants toss their hats into the air at graduation.

1. Military Development -- The goal is to develop the knowledge, skills, values and behavior patterns needed to be an effective Air Force officer.

a. Professional Military Studies -- Designed to develop in each cadet an understanding of the military profession and the composition, heritage and employment of U.S. military power. Instruction is phased over four years and advances

from the basics of professionalism, Air Force heritage and force make-up, to doctrine and force employment on the battlefield, and culminates with an examination of the Soviet Union and its military employment concepts. Additional military history courses are taught by the faculty.

b. Leadership -- First learned as a concept and then put into practice, initially at the "follower" level. Upperclass cadets develop their leadership abilities by running the Cadet Wing, leading classroom discussions, and helping to teach SERE (Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape) and various airmanship courses. Officers are assigned to each program to advise and help.

c. Aviation Sciences and Airmanship -- All cadets participate in some form of airmanship activity each of their four years at the Academy. During the first summer, basic cadets are introduced to flying through orientation rides in a sailplane, T-41 (Cessna 172), T-43 (modified Boeing 737) and a helicopter. Freshmen take a required aviation fundamentals course during the academic year that includes classroom instruction, T-37 simulator rides, space navigation and a one-day field trip to an operational flying base. All sophomores participate in the Soar-for-All program, which is designed to solo each cadet through a combination of conventional and powered sailplane flights. Juniors can participate in a wide range of courses in soaring, parachuting and navigation. Advanced courses in these areas prepare cadets to be instructors, permitting them to gain valuable operational and leadership experience. Seniors medically qualified for pilot training must pass the T-41 Pilot Indoctrination Program to qualify for pilot training after graduation. All other seniors take a required course in applied navigation. All cadets may belong to the Cadet Aviation Club and fly light aircraft as a member of the Aero Club during all four years. Flying activities are complemented by academic studies in astronomy, aeronautics, astronautics and physics.

d. Professional Military Training -- Military training begins when cadets arrive to start six weeks of basic cadet training and progresses steadily over four years. Each year builds on previous training and experience. Cadets have professional military classes two mornings each week. They must pass a professional competency evaluation near the end of each year. Emphasis in these programs is on the duty, commitment and responsibilities of a professional officer.

2. Academic Development -- Designed to provide cadets with a broad, high-quality education appropriate to a military career.

a. The Academy is recognized as one of the finest colleges in the nation. More than 550 graduates have received post-graduation scholarships, including 30 Rhodes Scholarships.

b. The faculty is unique, consisting of approximately 570 Air Force officers who not only teach but also serve as role models for cadets. Each has a master's degree and about 30 percent have doctorates.

c. Cadet course load (132-147 semester hours) is a good deal heavier than most other colleges. The core curriculum consists of 90 semester hours, slightly weighted toward the basic sciences and engineering sciences versus the social sciences and humanities.

d. Cadets may choose one of 25 academic majors. About half major in science or engineering.

3. Physical Development -- Objective is to develop good physical condition and the traits of teamwork, courage, aggressiveness, self-confidence, and an intense desire to win, all of which are essential to a military officer.

a. Each cadet takes 12 semester hours of physical education during four years at the Academy.

b. In addition, cadets must participate in an intercollegiate or intramural sports throughout the academic year.

c. Cadets have three intramural seasons. Each squadron fields a team in 20 sports. Men and women compete as teammates in all but a few contact sports, such as boxing and football.

d. Academy fields intercollegiate teams in 17 men's and 10 women's sports.

4. Moral and Ethical Development -- Designed to build the moral and spiritual fiber of the cadets.

a. Centerpiece is the Honor Code, which states, "We will not lie, steal, or cheat, nor tolerate among us anyone who does."

b. All cadets take a formal course in ethics and receive honor and ethics instruction as part of their military training throughout their four years at the Academy.

c. In addition, cadets are encouraged to participate in the religious services and programs at the Academy.

## **SUMMARY:**

The Academy experience is designed to:

- Create professional officers and leaders.
- Offer an environment in which all cadets can reach their full potential.
- Instill discipline and responsibility for one's actions.
- In short, create graduates who are able to think, articulate their thoughts, and accept the consequences of their actions.

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# United States Air Force

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## ATHLETICS

Not all athletes are Air Force Academy cadets, but all Air Force Academy cadets are athletes. Few schools in the country have as extensive an athletic program as the academy.

The goal of the athletic program is to enhance the physical conditioning of all cadets, develop the physical skills necessary for officership, to teach leadership in a competitive environment and to build character. The athletic program is broken down into three subdivisions: intercollegiate, intramural and physical education.

Seventeen men's and 10 women's intercollegiate teams compete at the academy. Varsity men's teams face some of the top competition in the nation in football, baseball, basketball, ice hockey, cross-country, fencing, golf, gymnastics, indoor and outdoor track, lacrosse, rifle, soccer, swimming, tennis, water polo, and wrestling. Currently, women's teams are fielded in basketball, cross-country, fencing, golf, gymnastics, indoor and outdoor track, swimming, tennis and volleyball.

In several major sports, the Air Force Falcons are members of the Western Athletic Conference and compete against teams from Brigham Young University, the University of Hawaii, the University of New Mexico, Colorado State University, San Diego State University, the University of Wyoming, the University of Utah and the University of Texas, El Paso, as well as non-WAC opponents like Notre Dame, Army and Navy. The football team has been particularly successful, winning the Commander-In-Chief's Trophy for victories over Army and Navy for the first time in 1982 and repeating a sweep of its sister academies again in 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989 and 1990. The Falcons won their first post season bowl game, defeating Vanderbilt University in the 1982 Hall of Fame Bowl in Birmingham, Ala. They added their second post-season victory in 1983 with a win over the University of Mississippi in the Independence Bowl in Shreveport, La., becoming one of only three NCAA Division I teams in the nation to win four consecutive post-season bowl games with victories over Virginia Tech in the 1984 Independence Bowl and Texas in the 1985 Bluebonnet Bowl in Houston. They also played Arizona State in the Freedom Bowl in 1987. The three service academies entered into an agreement in 1989 with the Liberty Bowl to allow the winner of the Commander-in-Chief Trophy to represent the military academies at the Liberty Bowl. Air Force has gone twice with a major upset of Ohio State occurring in 1990.

The intramural program is conducted by cadets under the supervision of the physical education department. Each cadet squadron fields a team in each of 20 sports including basketball, boxing, cross-country, flag and tackle football, flickerball, handball, racquetball, rugby, soccer, softball, squash, swimming, table tennis, team handball, tennis, volleyball, water polo and wrestling. Cadets participate in this program throughout their four years.

A new physical education program which includes 11 electives was initiated in the 1980-81 academic year. Each cadet has an opportunity to select one elective each year, with SCUBA and pistol being the most popular. During the fourth-class (freshman) year, core courses include boxing for men, physical development for women and coeducational swimming and gymnastics. Third-class (sophomore) cadets take introduction to racquet sports (handball, racquetball, squash), tennis and wrestling. Second-class (junior) cadets have courses in golf, judo and water survival. The first-class (senior) cadets take physical fitness methods, unarmed combat and volleyball.

Cadet athletes enjoy some of the best facilities available anywhere. The cadet gymnasium contains 20 squash courts, 19 handball/racquetball courts, six basketball courts (which have cross-court floors), two swimming pools, an indoor rifle and pistol range, gymnastics, wrestling, fencing, boxing and judo rooms, a supply area, men's and women's training rooms, lockers for all cadets, and the administrative offices of the physical education instruction and support staffs.

The \$5.6 million field house contains a one-sixth mile indoor track with an artificial turf infield, a basketball arena for varsity competition, a regulation ice hockey rink, training rooms, lockers for varsity athletes and coaches, and administrative offices of the director of athletics and staff.

Falcon Stadium, which seats more than 50,000, is the site of varsity football contests. Other outdoor facilities include 57 athletic fields covering 143 acres for intercollegiate and intramural sports, two baseball diamonds, and a 400-meter all-weather track. Also, the Eisenhower Golf Course, located on the academy, offers two 18-hole courses for varsity golf and cross-country competition.

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# Fact Sheet

# United States Air Force

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## THE CADET CHAPEL

Soaring 150 feet toward the Colorado sky, the Air Force Academy Chapel is an all-faith house of worship designed to meet the spiritual needs of cadets. It contains a separate chapel for each of the three major religious faiths represented in the Air Force -- Protestant, Catholic and Jewish -- plus an all-faiths room for members of other faiths. There are two main levels, with the Protestant nave on the upper level. The Catholic and Jewish chapels and the all-faiths room are located beneath it. Each chapel has its own entrance and services may be held simultaneously without interfering with one another.

The aluminum, glass and steel structure features 17 spires. There is no significance to this number. Original designs were too expensive, so changes were made, among them a reduction in the number of spires. The changes did not alter the basic design or the interior square footage of the chapel, however.

The chapel structure cost \$3.5 million to build. Furnishings, pipe organs, liturgical fittings and adornments of the chapel were presented as gifts from individuals and donations from Easter offerings made at Air Force bases around the world.

The principal designer-architect of the chapel was Walter A. Netsch Jr. of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill of Chicago. Construction was by Robert E. McKee, Inc. of Santa Fe, N.M.

## PROTESTANT CHAPEL

The tetrahedrons form the walls and the 99-foot-high pinnacled ceiling of the Protestant Chapel. Stained glass windows form ribbons of color between the tetrahedrons. Eight basic colors graduate from cool to warm, from the narthex (entrance) to the chancel (altar area). The floor is gray-white terrazzo.

The chancel is set off by a crescent-shaped, varicolored reredos behind the altar. The 14- by 45-foot reredos represents the arms of God ready to receive anyone who goes there in prayer. Semiprecious stones from Colorado and pietra santa marble from Italy cover its 1,260 square-foot area.

A sleek marble slab 15 feet long, formed in the shape of ship symbolizing the church, is the holy table, or altar. Four travertine marble legs support the table.

The focal point of the chancel is the cross suspended over it. Executed in aluminum, the cross is 46 feet, 2 inches high, 15 and one-half feet wide and weighs 1,200 pounds.

Surrounding the curved steps of the altar are 12 kneelers done in needlepoint by officers' wives' clubs throughout the Air Force. Each kneeler, except one, contains a cross seen in the historical development of representative art within the Protestant church.

The pews, which can seat 1,200, are of American walnut and African mahogany. They were sculptured so the end of each pew resembles an airplane propeller. The backs of the pews are capped by a strip of aluminum similar to the leading edge of an aircraft wing.

Perched in the choir loft above the narthex and reaching the uppermost heights of the chapel is the classical pipe organ. Designed by Walter Holtkamp of the M. P. Moller Co. of Hagerstown, Md., the organ has 79 ranks and 67 stops controlling 4,334 pipes. The largest pipe is 32 feet high and the smallest is pencil size.

## CATHOLIC CHAPEL

The focal point of the Catholic Chapel is the reredos behind the altar. An abstract glass mosaic mural, the reredos is composed of varying shades of blue, turquoise, rose and gray tessera to form a portrayal of the firmament. Superimposed on

the mural are two 10-foot tall marble figures, "Our Lady of the Skies" (The Blessed Mother) on the left, and the Guardian Angel is on the right. Above and between these two figures is a marble dove, symbolic of the Holy Ghost.

In front of the reredos is the altar which was dedicated by the late Francis Cardinal Spellman on Sept. 22, 1963. The altar has a large table top of polished marble mounted on a cone-shaped pedestal. Above the altar is a six-foot sculptured nickel-silver crucifix. Altar furnishings are of high gloss nickel-silver.

The side walls of the chapel, from floor to ceiling, are panels of amber glass which cast soft brown colors across the chapel. Between the amber glass panels are strip windows of multi-colored cast glass set in precast reinforced concrete.

Along the side walls are the 14 stations of the cross, carved from four-inch thick slabs of marble. The recessed backgrounds in the sculptures are multi-colored tessera.

Both the stations of the cross and the reredos were designed and completed by the late Lumen Martin Winter, who created "The Conversion of St. Paul" for the facade of the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in New York City. The Carrera marble in which the figures are done was taken from the same quarries from which Michelangelo drew his stone.

The pews, which seat 500 people, are of American walnut trimmed in satin finished stainless steel.

There is a confessional and reconciliation room at the rear of the 55- by 95-foot nave. Off one side of the narthex is the baptistry and on the other side is the blessed sacrament room, the walls of which are marble chips and semi-precious Colorado stones.

The classical pipe organ, placed in the 100-seat choir loft, was designed by Walter Holtkamp and built by M. P. Moller Co. It features 36 ranks and 29 stops controlling its 1,950 pipes.

## **JEWISH CHAPEL**

Architecturally, the synagogue is a circle within a square. The circular design symbolizes the global mission of the Air Force and the everlasting presence of God. The surrounding foyer is paved with 1,631 pieces of Jerusalem brownstone donated by the Israeli Defense Forces.

The walls of the foyer are purple stained glass panels alternating with green and blue stained accent windows. The circular walls of the synagogue are panels of translucent glass separated by stanchions of Israeli cypress.

The paintings, done by Shlomo Katz in 1985, are grouped by theme and each has a Biblical basis.

The focal point of the Jewish Chapel is the Aaron Kodesh, the Holy Ark, which shelters the Scrolls of the Torah. The Eternal Light hangs to the right of the Ark. Nested in three Stars of David, it symbolizes the ever-present God within the life of the Jewish People.

In the foyer of the chapel is a display cabinet with a Torah Scroll that was saved from the Nazis during World War II. It was found in Poland in 1989 in an abandoned warehouse and donated to the Jewish Chapel in April 1990. This "Holocaust Torah" is dedicated to the memory of all of those who fought against the Nazis.

The synagogue is the only one of the three cadet chapels with individual chairs for the congregants. It seats 100 people.

## **ALL-FAITHS ROOM**

The all-faiths room is a neutral place of worship for small groups and other denominations. It is purposely devoid of religious symbols to make it acceptable to a variety of religious groups. An altar is available which can be adapted to several types of service, including Buddhist. The all-faiths room seats about 25 people.



# Fact Sheet

# United States Air Force

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## A COMPUTERIZED CAMPUS

Aircraft, missiles, spacecraft and battle management are all computer-based or computer-controlled. The modern Air Force demands officers with computer sophistication to develop, procure and use these tools. Air Force decision makers will be even more dependent on computers in the future.

The Air Force Academy has integrated computers into virtually every aspect of a cadet's intellectual development. Providing each cadet almost unlimited access to personal computing was an essential step in this effort.

The Academy faculty believes that the knowledge of today's graduate in his or her field represents a smaller fraction of the total knowledge in that field than any graduate of the past. This is because of the information explosion occurring in all fields of human endeavor. Academy officials feel they must provide tools and techniques for students to cope with the requirement to use this expanded information base effectively and efficiently.

Computers have been used since the late 1960s to support engineering and scientific programming and analysis. In 1981, the faculty began the development of extensive courseware to support subjects ranging from physics to foreign language education.

The process of integrating personal computing into the environment at the Academy began in 1984. Initially 290 microcomputers were installed in academic and staff areas. These systems provided a chance for faculty and staff to develop materials and to prototype courses with select sections of cadets before microcomputers became widely available to all cadets.

In the fall of 1985, a \$6.5 million contract was awarded to Contel Information Systems to design and install a local area network providing the communications environment necessary to link microcomputers installed in cadet dormitory rooms with faculty, staff and other academy computer resources. The installation of the "Falconnet" local area network, the delivery of microcomputers, and the integration of all subsystem components occurred throughout the summer of 1986. As a result, a complete information system was available for use at the beginning of the 1986-87 academic year.

Each year since 1986, the entering classes have received more powerful microcomputers and the latest versions of various applications software packages. This approach is similar to microcomputer purchase requirements for students enrolled in a number of colleges and universities throughout the country. The Academy provides video monitors to serve as displays for the cadets' microcomputers.

The Academy has added microcomputer labs for cadet use, both for in-class instruction and for special exercises outside class. The laboratories continue to be upgraded with modern workstations to meet the ever increasing demands of the academic disciplines. Specialized interactive video disk laboratories provide state-of-the-art instruction in foreign language and other disciplines.

A unique aspect of the Falconnet network is the ability to broadcast as many as 36 channels of television to every dormitory room and classroom. This has allowed instructors to easily incorporate video programming into their lectures as well as to provide additional video programming which includes CNN, laboratory previews, a cadet news show called "Blue Tube," and video supporting specific course topics. The recent addition of a satellite down-link expands the available programming significantly to include live foreign language newscasts and national lectures and academic courses. All of this is available at every cadet's desk via their dual purpose microcomputer/TV monitor.

Academy staffing in computing has been modified to accommodate the new environment. The academic computing center director has taken on new duties relating to operation of the Falconnet and the various common use labs. The faculty is responsible for strategic planning related to computers and for incorporation of microcomputers into the academic environment. Additionally, the Director of the Educational Technology Center has taken on the task of facilitating the development of courseware by the faculty using the latest instructional technology.

Cadets now can do much of their work on a computer, from writing a letter home to working with a professor on a research project. The faculty and staff today enjoy significantly enhanced communications; teachers spend much greater amounts of time in personal student interactions; cadets accomplish library searches in a matter of minutes from their desks; and hundreds of other educational functions are routinely accomplished. The administration and faculty of the Air Force Academy are actively preparing for even greater use of technology to enhance the education of future cadets.

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## CAPTAIN LANCE P. SIJAN

Capt. Lance P. Sijan, U.S. Air Force Academy Class of 1965, is the only Air Force Academy graduate to receive the Medal of Honor. Captain Sijan was cited for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action in Southeast Asia at the risk of his life, above and beyond the call of duty.

The nation's highest decoration was presented posthumously to Captain Sijan's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester Sijan, by President Gerald R. Ford on March 4, 1976.

While on a flight over North Vietnam on Nov. 9, 1967, Captain Sijan ejected from his disabled aircraft and successfully evaded capture for more than six weeks. During this time, he was seriously injured and suffered from shock and extreme weight loss due to lack of food.

According to the citation accompanying the Medal of Honor, Captain Sijan was captured by North Vietnamese soldiers and taken to a holding point for subsequent transfer to a prisoner of war camp. In his emaciated and crippled condition, he overpowered one of his guards and crawled into the jungle, only to be recaptured several hours later.

He was later transferred to another prison camp where he was kept in solitary confinement and interrogated at length. During interrogation, he was tortured, but did not divulge any information. Captain Sijan lapsed into delirium and was placed in the care of another prisoner. During intermittent periods of consciousness until his death, he never complained of his physical condition, but did speak of future escape plans.

After contracting pneumonia Jan. 18, 1968, Captain Sijan was removed from his cell on the night of January 21 and died the next day at Hoa Lo, as reported by his Vietnamese captors.

The Air Force Academy honored Captain Sijan on May 31, 1976, when its newest cadet dormitory, Sijan Hall, was named in his honor. The Air Force sponsors a yearly awards program in the memory of Captain Sijan. The Lance P. Sijan Leadership Award recognizes select Air Force personnel who exhibit the highest example of professional and personal leadership standards.



# United States Air Force

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## THE ACADEMY IN THE SPACE AGE

The Air Force Academy is playing a vital role in America's space program. Academy graduates are America's current and future astronauts, engineers and mission support specialists.

Space has always been a part of the Academy curriculum. Since 1965, the school has offered a major in astronautical engineering, America's only accredited undergraduate astronautics program. The physics department also offers a major in space physics which deals with environmental problems in space. In addition, the Academy offers cadets an interdisciplinary space operations major. This major provides the necessary background for graduates to meet the requirements of the Air Force Space Command, also headquartered in Colorado Springs.

Many members of the Academy faculty are active in space-related research. Areas of interest include structural design of space hardware, vibration control of large space structures, directional control of satellites, Strategic Defense Initiative-related laser pointing and control systems and satellite orbit prediction.

Academy cadets also participate in space research. Cadets developed the first completely successful student experiments on a space shuttle mission. These experiments were carried on the Challenger's maiden flight in 1983. Current cadet efforts include the development of a structural vibration experiment soon to be flown on the shuttle, and the design, development and construction of a small, self-contained communications satellite to be launched on an expendable booster rocket by the end of 1992.

Many Academy graduates are involved in the astronaut program. Col. Karol Bobko, Class of 1959, was the first graduate in space, piloting the space shuttle Challenger in April 1983. Approximately 55 Academy graduates work as engineers and mission support specialists for NASA. Col. John Fabian, a former tenure associate professor in the aeronautical engineering department, also flew on a shuttle mission in June 1983. Additionally, Col. Richard O. Covey, a 1968 graduate of the Academy, piloted the space shuttle Discovery in 1985 and again in 1988, and Col. John E. Blaha, a 1965 graduate, piloted the Discovery in March 1989. The November 1989 shuttle Discovery was commanded by Col. Fred D. Gregory, a 1964 Academy graduate.

Academy faculty members are also involved in a space operations working group. This is an interdisciplinary working group which reviews space doctrine and provides ideas, specific proposals, and other support to military organizations interested in space. Academy departments which participate in the working group include astronautics, physics, political science, management and mathematics.



## HIGH FLIGHT

By John Gillespie Magee, Jr.

Oh, I have slipped the surly bonds of earth  
And danced the skies on laughter-silvered  
wings;  
Sunward I've climbed, and joined the tum-  
bling mirth  
Of sun-split clouds—and done a hundred  
things  
You have not dreamed of—wheeled and  
soared and swung  
High in the sunlit silence. Hov'ring there,  
I've chased the shouting wind along, and flung  
My eager craft through footless halls of air.  
Up, up the long, delirious, burning blue  
I've topped the windswept heights with  
easy grace  
Where never lark, or even eagle flew.  
And, while with silent, lifting mind I've trod  
The high untrespassed sanctity of space,  
Put out my hand, and touched the face of  
God.

May 20, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: BOB SIMON *DS*

SUBJECT: BANGLADESH

The servicemen lending a hand with relief efforts in Bangladesh aren't worried about getting home a little later than planned. Says Sgt. Mark Smith: "It's a good mission. Anytime you can save people, that's better than going to war."

Source: CBS Evening News, 5/16/91