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Folder Title:
West Point 1/5/93 [OA 8483]

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**WEST POINT
JANUARY 5, 1993**

**THANK YOU GENERAL (HOWARD) GRAVES FOR
THAT KIND INTRODUCTION. BARBARA AND I ARE
PLEASED TO BE HERE AND HONORED THAT WE
COULD BE JOINED BY SEC. OF THE ARMY
(MICHAEL) STONE, GEN. (GORDON) SULLIVAN,
MRS. (GRACIE) GRAVES, GENERAL (ROBERT)
FOLEY, GENERAL (GERALD) GALLOWAY, AND
CADET FIRST CAPTAIN (SHAWN) DANIEL. AND A
WESTPOINT ALUM WHO HAS BEEN AT MY SIDE FOR
THE PAST FOUR YEARS, GENERAL SCOWCROFT.
MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS -- AND,
OF COURSE -- THE CORPS OF CADETS.**

LET ME BEGIN WITH THE HARD PART: IT IS DIFFICULT FOR A NAVY MAN TO COME UP TO WEST POINT AFTER THAT GAME A MONTH AGO. LOSING IS NEVER EASY -- TRUST ME, I KNOW - - BUT IF YOU HAVE TO LOSE, THAT'S THE WAY TO DO IT. FIGHT WITH ALL YOU HAVE. GIVE IT YOUR BEST SHOT. AND WIN OR LOSE, LEARN FROM IT AND GET ON WITH LIFE.

I AM ABOUT TO GET ON WITH THE REST OF MY LIFE. BUT BEFORE I DO, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY THINKING, BOTH ABOUT THE WORLD YOU WILL SOON BE CALLED UPON TO ENTER AND THE LIFE YOU HAVE CHOSEN.

ANY PRESIDENT HAS SEVERAL FUNCTIONS.
HE SPEAKS FOR AND TO THE NATION. HE MUST
FAITHFULLY EXECUTE THE LAW. HE MUST LEAD.

BUT NO FUNCTION, NONE OF THE
PRESIDENT'S HATS, IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN
HIS ROLE AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF. FOR IT IS
AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF THAT THE PRESIDENT
CONFRONTS AND MAKES DECISIONS THAT ONE WAY
OR ANOTHER AFFECT THE LIVES OF EVERYONE IN
THIS COUNTRY AS WELL AS MANY OTHERS
ABROAD.

I HAVE HAD MANY OCCASIONS TO DON THIS MOST IMPORTANT OF HATS. OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS, THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO PROUDLY AND BRAVELY WEAR THE UNIFORMS OF THE U.S. ARMED SERVICES HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO GO IN HARMS WAY -- AND HAVE DISCHARGED THEIR DUTY WITH HONOR AND PROFESSIONALISM.

I WISH I COULD SAY THAT SUCH DEMANDS WERE A THING OF THE PAST, THAT WITH THE END OF COLD WAR THE CALLS UPON THE UNITED STATES WOULD DIMINISH. I CANNOT. YES, THE END OF THE COLD WAR IS A BLESSING. IT IS A TIME OF GREAT PROMISE. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS HAVE NEVER BEEN SO NUMEROUS. AND THANKS TO HISTORIC TREATIES SUCH AS THE START II PACT JUST REACHED WITH RUSSIA, THE LIKELIHOOD OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST IS VASTLY DIMINISHED.

BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THERE IS NO SPECTER OF WAR, NO THREATS TO BE RECKONED WITH. ALREADY, WE SEE DISTURBING SIGNS OF WHAT THIS NEW WORLD COULD BECOME IF WE ARE PASSIVE AND ALOOF. WE WOULD RISK THE EMERGENCE OF A WORLD CHARACTERIZED BY VIOLENCE AND CHAOS, ONE IN WHICH DICTATORS AND TYRANTS THREATEN THEIR NEIGHBORS, BUILD ARSENALS BRIMMING WITH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND IGNORE THE WELFARE OF THEIR OWN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. AND WE COULD SEE A HORRIBLE INCREASE IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, WITH AMERICAN CITIZENS MORE AT RISK THAN EVER.

WE CANNOT AND NEED NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN. OUR OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO EXPLOIT THE UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED BY THE COLD WAR'S END -- TO WORK TOWARD TRANSFORMING THIS NEW WORLD INTO A NEW WORLD ORDER, ONE OF GOVERNMENTS THAT ARE DEMOCRATIC, TOLERANT, AND ECONOMICALLY FREE AT HOME, AND COMMITTED ABROAD TO SETTLING INEVITABLE DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY, WITHOUT THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE.

UNFORTUNATELY, NOT EVERYONE SUBSCRIBES TO THESE PRINCIPLES. WE CONTINUE TO SEE LEADERS BENT ON DENYING FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND SEIZING TERRITORY REGARDLESS OF THE HUMAN COST. NO, AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, ONE MORE ATTUNED TO THE ENDURING PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE MADE THIS COUNTRY A BEACON OF HOPE FOR SO MANY FOR SO LONG, WILL NOT JUST EMERGE ON ITS OWN. IT MUST BE BUILT.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, ANOTHER
DEPARTING PRESIDENT WARNED OF THE DANGERS
OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "ENTANGLING
ALLIANCES". HIS WAS THE RIGHT COURSE FOR
A NEW NATION AT THAT POINT IN HISTORY.
BUT WHAT WAS "ENTANGLING" IN WASHINGTON'S
DAY IS NOW ESSENTIAL.

THIS IS WHY, AT TEXAS A&M A FEW WEEKS AGO, I SPOKE OF THE FOLLY OF ISOLATIONISM, AND OF THE IMPORTANCE -- MORALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND STRATEGICALLY -- OF THE UNITED STATES REMAINING INVOLVED IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS. WE MUST ENGAGE OURSELVES IF A NEW WORLD ORDER -- ONE MORE COMPATIBLE WITH OUR VALUES AND CONGENIAL TO OUR INTERESTS -- IS TO EMERGE. BUT EVEN MORE, WE MUST LEAD.

LEADERSHIP TAKES MANY FORMS. IT CAN BE POLITICAL OR DIPLOMATIC, IT CAN BE ECONOMIC OR MILITARY, IT CAN BE MORAL OR SPIRITUAL. LEADERSHIP CAN TAKE ANY ONE OF THESE FORMS -- OR IT CAN BE A COMBINATION OF THEM.

LEADERSHIP SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH EITHER UNILATERALISM OR UNIVERSALISM. WE NEED NOT RESPOND BY OURSELVES TO EACH AND EVERY OUTRAGE OR ACT OF VIOLENCE. THE FACT THAT AMERICA CAN ACT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT MUST. A NATION'S SENSE OF IDEALISM NEED NOT BE AT ODDS WITH ITS INTERESTS. NOR DOES PRINCIPLE DISPLACE PRUDENCE.

NO, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT SEEK TO BE THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN. THERE IS NO SUPPORT ABROAD OR AT HOME FOR US TO PLAY THIS ROLE. NOR SHOULD THERE BE. WE WOULD EXHAUST OURSELVES, IN THE PROCESS WASTING PRECIOUS RESOURCES NEEDED TO ADDRESS THOSE PROBLEMS AT HOME AND ABROAD THAT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO IGNORE.

BUT IN THE WAKE OF THE COLD WAR, IN A WORLD WHERE WE ARE THE SOLE REMAINING SUPERPOWER, IT IS THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO MARSHAL ITS MORAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES TO PROMOTE A DEMOCRATIC PEACE. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY -- IT IS OUR OPPORTUNITY -- TO LEAD. THERE IS NO ONE ELSE.

**LEADERSHIP CANNOT BE SIMPLY ASSERTED
OR DEMANDED; IT MUST BE DEMONSTRATED.
LEADERSHIP REQUIRES FORMULATING WORTHY
GOALS, PERSUADING OTHERS OF THEIR VIRTUE,
AND CONTRIBUTING ONE'S SHARE OF THE COMMON
EFFORT AND THEN SOME. LEADERSHIP TAKES
TIME, IT TAKES PATIENCE, IT TAKES WORK.**

INSERT ON CONGRESS

THIS IS WHAT THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS TRIED TO DO. WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN INVADED KUWAIT, IT WAS THE UNITED STATES THAT GALVANIZED THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL TO ACT AND THEN MOBILIZED THE SUCCESSFUL COALITION ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE PATTERN WAS SIMILAR IN SOMALIA: FIRST THE UNITED STATES UNDERSCORED THE IMPORTANCE OF ALLEVIATING THE GROWING TRAGEDY, THEN WE ORGANIZED HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS DESIGNED TO BRING HOPE, FOOD AND PEACE.

AT TIMES, REAL LEADERSHIP REQUIRES A
WILLINGNESS TO USE MILITARY FORCE. FORCE
CAN BE A USEFUL BACKDROP TO DIPLOMACY, A
COMPLEMENT TO IT -- OR, IF NEED BE, A
TEMPORARY ALTERNATIVE.

AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, I HAVE MADE THE DIFFICULT CHOICE TO USE MILITARY FORCE. I DETERMINED WE COULD NOT ALLOW SADDAM'S FORCES TO RAVAGE KUWAIT AND HOLD THIS CRITICAL REGION AT GUNPOINT. I THOUGHT THEN, AND I THINK NOW, THAT USING MILITARY FORCE TO IMPLEMENT THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL WAS IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THE NEED TO USE FORCE AROSE AS WELL IN THE WAKE OF THE GULF WAR, WHEN WE CAME TO THE AID OF THE PEOPLES OF BOTH NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN IRAQ.

MORE RECENTLY, I DETERMINED THAT ONLY
THE USE OF FORCE COULD STEM THE ^{HUMAN} TRAGEDY IN
SOMALIA. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT
STAND BY WITH SO MANY LIVES AT STAKE AND
WHEN A LIMITED DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. FORCES,
BUTTRESSED BY THE FORCES OF OTHER
COUNTRIES AND ACTING UNDER THE FULL
AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, COULD
MAKE AN IMMEDIATE AND DRAMATIC
DIFFERENCE -- AND DO SO WITHOUT EXCESSIVE
LEVELS OF RISK AND COST. OPERATIONS
PROVIDE COMFORT AND SOUTHERN WATCH IN
IRAQ, AND OPERATION RESTORE HOPE IN
SOMALIA, ALL BEAR WITNESS TO THE WISDOM OF
SELECTED USE OF FORCE FOR SELECTIVE
PURPOSES.

SOMETIMES THE DECISION NOT TO USE
FORCE -- TO STAY OUR HAND -- IS JUST AS
DIFFICULT AS THE DECISION TO SEND OUR
SOLDIERS INTO BATTLE. THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN SUCH A SITUATION.
THERE ARE, WE ALL KNOW, IMPORTANT
HUMANITARIAN AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS AT
STAKE. BUT UP TO NOW IT HAS NOT BEEN
CLEAR THAT THE APPLICATION OF LIMITED
AMOUNTS OF FORCE BY THE UNITED STATES AND
ITS TRADITIONAL FRIENDS AND ALLIES WOULD
HAVE HAD THE DESIRED EFFECT GIVEN THE
NATURE AND COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION.

OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA COULD WELL CHANGE IF AND AS THE SITUATION CHANGES. THE STAKES COULD GROW; THE CONFLICT COULD THREATEN TO SPREAD. INDEED, WE ARE CONSTANTLY REASSESSING OUR OPTIONS, AND ARE ACTIVELY CONSULTING WITH OTHERS ABOUT STEPS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN TO CONTAIN THE FIGHTING, PROTECT THE HUMANITARIAN EFFORT, AND DENY SERBIA THE FRUITS OF AGGRESSION.

MILITARY FORCE IS NEVER A TOOL TO BE USED LIGHTLY OR UNIVERSALLY; IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES IT MAY BE ESSENTIAL, IN OTHERS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. I KNOW THAT MANY PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO FIND SOME FORMULA TO APPLY, TO TELL US WITH PRECISION WHEN AND WHERE TO INTERVENE WITH FORCE. ANYONE LOOKING FOR SCIENTIFIC CERTITUDE IS IN FOR A DISAPPOINTMENT. IN THE COMPLEX NEW WORLD WE ARE ENTERING, THERE CAN BE NO SINGLE OR SIMPLE SET OF FIXED RULES FOR USING FORCE.

INEVITABLY, THE QUESTION OF MILITARY INTERVENTION REQUIRES JUDGMENT; EACH AND EVERY CASE IS UNIQUE. TO ADOPT RIGID CRITERIA WOULD GUARANTEE MISTAKES INVOLVING AMERICAN INTERESTS AND AMERICAN LIVES. IT WOULD GIVE WOULD-BE TROUBLEMAKERS A BLUEPRINT FOR DETERMINING THEIR OWN ACTIONS; IT COULD SIGNAL U.S. FRIENDS AND ALLIES THAT OUR SUPPORT WAS NOT TO BE COUNTED UPON.

SIMILARLY, WE CANNOT ALWAYS DECIDE IN ADVANCE WHICH INTERESTS WILL REQUIRE OUR USING MILITARY FORCE TO PROTECT THEM. THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF AN INTEREST IS NOT A GUIDE: MILITARY FORCE MAY NOT BE THE BEST WAY OF SAFEGUARDING SOMETHING VITAL, WHILE USING FORCE MIGHT BE THE BEST WAY TO PROTECT AN INTEREST THAT QUALIFIES AS IMPORTANT BUT LESS THAN VITAL.

BUT TO WARN AGAINST A FUTILE QUEST
FOR A SET OF HARD AND FAST RULES TO GOVERN
THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE IS NOT TO SAY
THERE CANNOT BE SOME PRINCIPLES TO INFORM
OUR DECISIONS. SUCH GUIDELINES CAN PROVE
USEFUL IN SIZING AND SHAPING OUR FORCES
AND IN HELPING US TO THINK OUR WAY THROUGH
THIS KEY QUESTION.

**USING MILITARY FORCE MAKES SENSE AS A
POLICY WHERE THE STAKES WARRANT; WHERE AND
WHEN FORCE CAN BE EFFECTIVE; WHERE NO
OTHER POLICIES ARE LIKELY TO PROVE
EFFECTIVE; WHERE ITS APPLICATION CAN BE
LIMITED IN SCOPE AND TIME; AND WHERE THE
POTENTIAL BENEFITS JUSTIFY THE POTENTIAL
COSTS AND SACRIFICE.**

ONCE WE ARE SATISFIED THAT FORCE MAKES SENSE, WE MUST ACT WITH THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SUPPORT. THE UNITED STATES CAN AND SHOULD LEAD, BUT WE WILL WANT TO ACT IN CONCERT, WHERE POSSIBLE INVOLVING THE UNITED NATIONS OR OTHER MULTINATIONAL GROUPING.

**THE UNITED STATES CAN AND SHOULD
CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMON UNDERTAKING IN A
MANNER COMMENSURATE WITH OUR WEALTH AND
STRENGTH. BUT OTHERS SHOULD ALSO
CONTRIBUTE MILITARILY, BE IT BY PROVIDING
COMBAT OR SUPPORT FORCES, ACCESS TO
FACILITIES AND BASES, OR OVERFLIGHT
RIGHTS. SIMILARLY, OTHERS SHOULD
CONTRIBUTE ECONOMICALLY; IT IS
UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT THE UNITED STATES
TO BEAR THE FULL FINANCIAL BURDEN OF
INTERVENTION WHEN OTHER NATIONS HAVE A
STAKE IN THE OUTCOME.**

cut

[HALF A CENTURY AGO, FDR JUSTIFIED AMERICA'S LAND-LEASE PROGRAM BY SAYING WHEN YOUR NEIGHBOR'S HOUSE IS ON FIRE, AND YOU'VE GOT A HOSE, PRUDENT POLICY DICTATES THAT YOU PASS THE HOSE OVER THE FENCE TO YOUR NEIGHBOR.

TODAY, WHEN CONFLICT FLARES, WE WILL LOOK FIRST TO THOSE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE CRISIS TO ACT ON THEIR OWN -- OR AT THE VERY LEAST IN CONCERT WITH US. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW OTHERS WILL EXPECT TO PERSUADE THE UNITED STATES TO ACT WHEN DANGER IS DISTANT WHILE THEY REFRAIN WHEN DANGER IS HAND.]

A DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT
MUST NOT BECOME A PREREQUISITE FOR ACTING.
SOMETIMES, A GREAT POWER HAS TO ACT ALONE.
I MADE THE TOUGH DECISION TO USE MILITARY
FORCE IN PANAMA, WHEN AMERICAN LIVES AND
THE SECURITY OF THE CANAL APPEARED TO BE
THREATENED BY OUTLAWS WHO STOLE POWER IN
THE FACE OF FREE ELECTIONS. SIMILARLY, WE
MOVED SWIFTLY TO SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY IN
THE PHILIPPINES.

BUT IN EVERY CASE INVOLVING THE USE OF FORCE, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO HAVE A CLEAR AND ACHIEVABLE MISSION; A REALISTIC PLAN FOR ACCOMPLISHING THE MISSION; AND CRITERIA NO LESS REALISTIC FOR WITHDRAWING U.S. FORCES ONCE THE MISSION IS COMPLETE. ONLY IF WE KEEP THESE PRINCIPLES IN MIND WILL THE POTENTIAL SACRIFICE BE ONE THAT CAN BE EXPLAINED AND JUSTIFIED. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT USING FORCE IS NOT SOME POLITICAL ABSTRACTION, BUT A REAL COMMITMENT OF OUR FATHERS AND MOTHERS, SONS AND DAUGHTERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

IN ORDER EVEN TO HAVE THE CHOICE, WE
MUST HAVE AVAILABLE ADEQUATE MILITARY
FORCES TAILORED FOR A WIDE RANGE OF
CONTINGENCIES, INCLUDING PEACEKEEPING.
INDEED, LEADING THE EFFORT TOWARD A NEW
WORLD ORDER WILL REQUIRE A MODERN, CAPABLE
MILITARY, IN SOME AREAS NECESSITATING MORE
RATHER THAN LESS DEFENSE SPENDING.

AS PRESIDENT, I HAVE SAID THAT MY ABILITY TO DEPLOY FORCE ON BEHALF OF U.S. INTERESTS ABROAD WAS MADE POSSIBLE BECAUSE PAST PRESIDENTS -- IN PARTICULAR, MY PREDECESSOR, RONALD REAGAN -- AND PAST SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE SUSTAINED A STRONG MILITARY. CONSISTENT WITH THIS SACRED TRUST, I AM PROUD TO PASS ON TO MY SUCCESSOR A MILITARY SECOND TO NONE.

YET IT IS ESSENTIAL TO RECOGNIZE THAT AS IMPORTANT AS SUCH FACTORS ARE, ANY MILITARY IS MORE THAN SIMPLY THE SUM OF ITS WEAPONS OR THE STATE OF ITS TECHNOLOGY. WHAT MAKES ANY ARMED FORCE TRULY EFFECTIVE IS THE QUALITY OF ITS LEADERSHIP, THE QUALITY OF ITS TRAINING, AND THE QUALITY OF ITS PEOPLE.

WE HAVE SUCCEEDED ABROAD IN NO SMALL PART BECAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE IN UNIFORM. THE MEN AND WOMEN IN OUR ARMED FORCES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR ABILITY TO MASTER THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN WARFARE. AT THE SAME TIME, AND WHETHER ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF IRAQ OR IN SOME SMALL VILLAGE IN SOMALIA, AMERICA'S SOLDIERS HAVE ALWAYS BROUGHT A QUALITY OF CARING AND KINDNESS TO THEIR MISSION.

WHO WILL EVER FORGET THOSE TERRIFIED IRAQI SOLDIERS SURRENDERING TO AMERICAN TROOPS? WHO WILL FORGET THE WAY THAT AMERICAN SOLDIER HELD OUT HIS ARMS AND SAID, "IT'S OKAY -- YOU'RE ALRIGHT NOW." OR IN SOMALIA, THE YOUNG MARINE, EYES FILLED WITH TEARS, HOLDING THE FRAGILE ARM OF AN EMACIATED CHILD.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT IT: THE ALL VOLUNTEER FORCE IS ONE OF THE TRUE SUCCESS STORIES OF MODERN DAY AMERICA.

IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO LOOK AT JUST WHY THIS IS SO. AT ITS HEART, A VOLUNTARY MILITARY IS BASED UPON CHOICE: THE DECISION FREELY TAKEN BY YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO JOIN, THE DECISION BY MORE MATURE MEN AND WOMEN TO REMAIN.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES HAS THRIVED ON ITS COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPING AND PROMOTING EXCELLENCE. IT IS MERITOCRACY IN ACTION. RACE AND RELIGION AND WEALTH AND BACKGROUND COUNT NOT. INDEED, THE MILITARY OFFERS MANY EXAMPLES FOR THE REST OF SOCIETY, SHOWING WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ERADICATE THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS, TO BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, TO OFFER EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO WOMEN.

THIS IS NOT JUST A RESULT OF SELF-SELECTION. IT ALSO REFLECTS THE MILITARY'S COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING. PEOPLE SPEAK OF DEFENSE CONVERSION, THE PROCESS BY WHICH DEFENSE FIRMS RETOOL FOR CIVILIAN TASKS. WELL, DEFENSE CONVERSION WITHIN THE MILITARY HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR YEARS. IT IS THE CONSTANT PROCESS OF TRAINING AND RETRAINING, WHICH THE MILITARY DOES SO WELL, THAT ALLOWS INDIVIDUALS TO KEEP UP WITH THE LATEST TECHNOLOGY, TAKE ON MORE CHALLENGING ASSIGNMENTS, AND PREPARE FOR LIFE ON THE OUTSIDE.

OUT OF THIS CULTURE OF MERIT AND COMPETITION HAVE EMERGED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF HIGHLY SKILLED MEN AND WOMEN BRIMMING WITH REAL SELF-CONFIDENCE. WHAT THEY POSSESS IS A SPECIAL MIX OF DISCIPLINE -- A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT DIRECTION -- AND CONFIDENCE, A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY. TOGETHER, DISCIPLINE AND CONFIDENCE PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR WINNING, FOR GETTING THE JOB DONE.

**THERE IS NO HIGHER CALLING, NO MORE
HONORABLE CHOICE, THAN THE ONE YOU HERE
TODAY HAVE MADE. TO JOIN THE ARMED FORCES
IS TO BE PREPARED TO MAKE THE ULTIMATE
SACRIFICE FOR YOUR COUNTRY AND FOR YOUR
FELLOW MAN.**

WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, WHAT YOU ARE DOING, SENDS AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE, ONE THAT I FEAR SOMETIMES GETS LOST AMIDST TODAY'S OFTEN MATERIALIST, SELF-INTERESTED CULTURE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER, IT IS IMPORTANT TO DEMONSTRATE, THAT THERE IS A HIGHER PURPOSE TO LIFE BEYOND ONE'S SELF. I SPEAK OF FAMILY, OF COMMUNITY, OF IDEALS. I SPEAK OF DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY.

THERE ARE MANY FORMS OF CONTRIBUTING TO THIS COUNTRY, OF PUBLIC SERVICE. YES, THERE IS GOVERNMENT. THERE IS VOLUNTEERISM, THE THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT. AND THERE ARE THE DAILY TASKS THAT REQUIRE DOING -- IN OUR CLASSROOMS, OUR HOSPITALS, OUR CITIES, OUR FARMS. ALL CAN AND DO REPRESENT A FORM OF SERVICE. IN WHATEVER FORM, SERVICE BENEFITS OUR SOCIETY AND ENNOBLES THE GIVER. IT IS A CHERISHED AMERICAN CONCEPT, ONE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRACTICE AND PASS ON TO OUR CHILDREN.

THIS WAS WHAT I WANTED TO SHARE ON THIS OCCASION. YOU ARE BEGINNING YOUR SERVICE TO COUNTRY; I AM ENDING MINE. EXACTLY HALF A CENTURY AGO, IN JUNE, 1942, WE WERE AT WAR. I WAS GRADUATING FROM SCHOOL. THE SPEAKER THAT DAY AT ANDOVER WAS SECRETARY OF WAR HENRY STIMSON. HIS MESSAGE WAS ONE OF PUBLIC SERVICE, BUT WITH A TWIST -- ON THE IMPORTANCE OF FINISHING ONE'S SCHOOLING BEFORE GOING OFF TO FIGHT FOR ONE'S COUNTRY.

I LISTENED CLOSELY TO WHAT HE HAD TO SAY, BUT I DIDN'T TAKE HIS ADVICE. THAT DAY WAS MY EIGHTEENTH BIRTHDAY. WHEN THE COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY ENDED, I WENT TO BOSTON, AND ENLISTED IN THE NAVY AS A SEAMAN 2ND CLASS. AND I NEVER REGRETTED IT.

YOU, TOO, HAVE SIGNED UP. YOU, TOO, WILL NEVER REGRET IT. I SALUTE YOU FOR IT.

FORTUNATELY, BECAUSE OF THE SACRIFICES
MADE IN YEARS BEFORE AND STILL BEING MADE,
YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO COMPLETE THIS PHASE
OF YOUR EDUCATION. A HALF CENTURY HAS
PASSED SINCE I LEFT SCHOOL TO SERVE MY
COUNTRY; A HALF CENTURY HAS PASSED SINCE
THAT DAY WHEN STIMSON SPOKE OF THE
CHALLENGE OF CREATING A NEW WORLD.

YOU WILL ALSO BE ENTERING A NEW WORLD,
ONE FAR BETTER THAN THE ONE I CAME TO KNOW
-- A WORLD WITH THE POTENTIAL TO BE FAR
BETTER YET. THIS IS THE CHALLENGE, THIS
IS THE OPPORTUNITY, OF YOUR LIFETIMES. I
ENVY YOU FOR IT, AND WISH YOU GODSPEED.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

WEST POINT, NEW YORK

JANUARY 5, 1993

EVENTS:

Viewing of Gift from King Fahd
Luncheon with Corps of Cadets
Reception at Superintendent's Residence
Address Corps of Cadets

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Presidential Advance Office
Edward Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Anne Mincy - 202/456-7565

West Point, New York - 914/446-0576
*96 38 000

ADVANCE:

Brad Blakeman	- LEAD	Brad Edgar	- SITE
Kim Fuller	- PRESS	Lenny Cherson	- SITE
Rick Bartee	- USSS	John Meyers	- PRESS
Rusty Schorsch	- MIL. AIDE		
Frank Valdez	- WHCA		
Pat Ash	- AF1		
Glenn Graham	- HMX		

WEATHER:

Rain/Low 50's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

WEST POINT, NEW YORK

JANUARY 5, 1993

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

9:10 am Vans depart West Basement
en route Andrews Air Force
Base.

9:45 am Those with own transportation
should arrive Andrews Air Force
Base Distinguished Visitor's
Lounge at this time.

9:40 am

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Marine One and
depart White House en route Andrews Air Force
Base.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush
Gen. Scowcroft
M. Fitzwater
M. Dannenhauer
D. Valdez
Doctor
Mil. Aide
2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

9:50 am

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Andrews Air
Force Base and proceed to Hangar 3.

EVENT: VIEWING OF GIFT FROM KING FAHD

CLOSED PRESS

9:55 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Hangar 3 and begin viewing gift from King Fahd.

NOTE: The gift is a gold statue from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

10:00 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude viewing gift, depart Hangar 3 and board Motorcade.

10:05 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Hangar 3 en route Air Force One.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

M. Dannenhauer
Doctor

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush

Follow-Up

Control

Gen. Scowcroft
Mil. Aide

Support

M. Fitzwater
E. Murnane
P. Swift
Official Photographer
Medic

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

10:10 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Air Force One and board.

10:15 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Andrews Air
(E.S.T.) Force Base en route Newburgh, New York.

(Flying Time: 55 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Beverage Service)

11:10 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Stewart Air
(E.S.T.) National Guard Base, Newburgh, New York and board
Marine One.

GREETERS:

Met by:

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Maguire, Jr.
Acting Group Commander, Stewart Air National Guard
Base

Lieutenant Colonel E. Michael Perry
Deputy Garrison Commander, Stewart Air National
Guard Base

Lieutenant Colonel Tom Bremb
Site Commander, Stewart Air National Guard Base

The Honorable William J. Larkin, Jr.
New York State Senator

The Honorable Joseph Holland
New York State Senator

The Honorable Steve Saland
New York State Senator

The Honorable Nancy Calhoun
New York State Assemblywoman

The Honorable John Bonacic
New York State Assemblyman

Mr. Clifford M. Barber
Chairman, Orange County Republican Committee

Mr. William R. Steinhaus
Dutchess County Executive

Mr. Fredrick W. Scoralick
Sheriff, Dutchess County

Mr. Vincent Reda
Republican Chairman, Rockland County

11:20 am

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Stewart Air
National Guard Base en route Parade Ground Landing
Zone, United States Military Academy, West Point,
New York.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS

Marine One:

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush
Gen. Scowcroft
M. Fitzwater
M. Dannenhauer
D. Valdez
Mil. Aide
Doctor
2 USSS

Nighthawk II:

J. Lindsey
S. Lindsey
S. McKenzie
J. Gaughan
Col. Hawes
WHCA PCO
8 USSS

Nighthawk III:

R. Porter
R. Haas
E. Murnane
B. Blakeman
C. Martin
S. Biddle
8 Press
2 USSS
Medic

Nighthawk IV:

J. Herrick
J. Meyers
M. Busch
13 Press
WHCA A/V
2 WHTV
1 USSS

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at the United States Military Academy, Guests and Staff will be escorted to the Washington Mess Hall Dining Tables or Holding Rooms.

Upon conclusion of luncheon, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Superintendent's Residence Holding Rooms.

Please board Motorcade **no later than 1:00 pm** for transport to Eisenhower Hall.

11:35 am

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Parade Ground Landing Zone, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York and proceed to Washington Mess Hall (via foot.)

Col. Edgar:

Met by:

The Honorable Michael P. W. Stone
Secretary of the Army

General Gordon R. Sullivan
Chief of the Staff of the Army

→ Lieutenant General and Mrs. Howard D. Graves
(Gracie)
Superintendent, United States Military Academy

(Brad
Edgar)

Cadet Shawn Daniel
First Captain, United States Corps of Cadets

11:40 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Washington Mess Hall and proceed to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

11:43 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

Met by:

Brigadier General Robert Foley
Commandant, United States Military Academy

*MORE
BRASS:*

Brigadier General Gerald R. Galloway
Dean, United States Military Academy

Colonel Ronald F. Massey
Garrison Commander, United States Military Academy

Colonel Michael P. Peters
Chief of Staff, United States Military Academy

EVENT: LUNCHEON WITH CORPS OF CADETS

EXPANDED POOL (at beginning only)

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

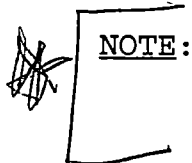
OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

NATIONAL ANTHEM

LUNCHEON

11:45 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by General and Mrs. Graves and Cadet Daniel, are announced into Washington Mess Hall and proceed onto Stage.



NOTE:

General and Mrs. Graves and Cadet Daniel will accompany THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush throughout the visit.

11:47 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Stage and remain Standing.

11:48 am National Anthem is played by the West Point Army Band.

11:50 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Stage and proceed to Poop Deck.

11:52 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Poop Deck and wave to Corps of Cadets.

Met by: .

Cadet Eugenia Guilmartin
Brigade Adjutant, United States Military Academy

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush are announced to Corps of Cadets by Cadet Guilmartin at this time.

11:55 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Poop Deck and proceed to Luncheon Table.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Mrs. Graves, proceed to separate luncheon table at this time.

11:57 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Luncheon Table and begin participation in Luncheon.

Met by:

Captain Frank Shields
Officer in Charge, Cadet Mess, United States
Military Academy

12:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Luncheon, depart Washington Mess Hall and proceed to Superintendent's Residence (via foot).

NOTE: The Corps of Cadets will be called to rise for THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush's departure by Cadet Guilmartin, at this time.

EVENT: RECEPTION AT SUPERINTENDENT'S RESIDENCE

CLOSED PRESS

MIX AND MINGLE

12:40 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Superintendent's Residence and begin participation in Reception.

NOTE: Coffee and dessert will be served at this time.

1:05 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Reception, depart Superintendent's Residence and board Motorcade.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush will sign two guest books and be presented with a 1992 Howitzer (Cadet Yearbook) at this time.

1:10 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Superintendent's Residence en route Eisenhower Hall.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

B. Blakeman

Spare	M. Dannenhauer Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT Mrs. Bush
Follow-Up	
Control	Gen. Scowcroft Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater E. Murnane Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	J. Gaughan
Superintendent's Car	LTG Graves
Camera I	J. Herrick
Camera II	
Guest and Staff Mini Bus	All Guests and Remaining Staff
Wire Van	
Press Mini Bus	M. Busch

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Eisenhower Hall, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Viewing Area or Holding Rooms.

Please board Motorcade **no later than 1:50 pm** for transport to Parade Ground Landing Zone.

1:15 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Eisenhower Hall and proceed to Holding Room.

1:20 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Holding Room and hold briefly.

1:25 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Holding Room and proceed to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

1:27 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

EVENT: ADDRESS CORPS OF CADETS

OPEN PRESS

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

GIFT PRESENTATION

1:28 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush are announced onto Stage, proceed to Seats and are Seated.

NOTE: Dais participants are already on Stage at this time.

POTUS INTRO:

1:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by General Graves, Superintendent, United States Military Academy.

1:32 pm

THE PRESIDENT makes Remarks.

1:52 pm

THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and remains Standing at Podium.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT is presented with a Cadet Jacket by Cadet First Captain Shawn Daniel.

1:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Gift Presentation and, with Mrs. Bush, departs Stage and boards Motorcade.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush bid farewell to Secretary Stone, General Sullivan and Cadet Daniel at this time.

Six Police Photos will be taken at this time.

2:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Eisenhower Hall en route Parade Ground Landing Zone.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

2:05 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Parade Ground Landing Zone and board Marine One.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush bid farewell to General and Mrs. Graves at this time.

2:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Parade Ground Landing Zone, United States Military Academy en route Stewart Air National Guard Base.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

2:25 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Stewart Air
National Guard Base and board Air Force One.

2:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Newburgh, New
(E.S.T.) York en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Sandwiches Available)

3:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Andrews Air
(E.S.T.) Force Base and board Marine One.

3:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Andrews Air
Force Base en route White House.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush
Gen. Scowcroft
M. Fitzwater
M. Dannenhauer
D. Valdez
Doctor
Mil. Aide
2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

3:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive White House.

*Army - Navy Game
Dec. 5, 1992*

Let me begin with the hard part: It is difficult for a Navy man to come up to West Point after that ^{X X X X}game a month ago. Losing is never easy--trust me, I know--but if you have to lose, that's the way to do it. Fight with all you have. Give it your best shot. And win or lose, learn from it and get on with life and what really matters.

I am about to get on with the rest of my life. But before I do, I want to share with you some of my thinking, both about the world you will soon be called upon to enter and the life you have chosen.

Any President has several functions. He speaks for and to the Nation. He must faithfully execute the law. He must lead.

But no function, none of the President's hats, is more important than his role as Commander in Chief. For it is as Commander in Chief that the President confronts and makes decisions that one way or another affect the lives of everyone in this country as well as many others abroad.

I have had many occasions to don this most important of hats. Over the past four years, the men and women who proudly and bravely wear the uniforms of the U.S. armed services have been called upon to go in harms way--and have discharged their duty with honor and professionalism.

I wish I could say that such demands were a thing of the past, that with the end of Cold War the calls upon the United

States would diminish. I cannot. Yes, the Cold War's end is a blessing. Thanks to historic treaties such as the START II pact just reached with Russia, we no longer live in the shadow of nuclear holocaust. But this does not mean there are no shadows to take its place, no threats to be reckoned with.

In the wake of the Cold War, we find ourselves in a new world. And already we see disturbing signs of what this new world could become if we become passive and aloof. We would risk the emergence of a world characterized by violence and chaos, one in which dictators and tyrants threaten their neighbors, build arsenals brimming with weapons of mass destruction, and ignore the welfare of their own men, women and children. And we would see a horrible increase in international terrorism, with American citizens more at risk than ever.

We cannot and need not allow this to happen. Our objective must be to continue to transform this new world into a new world order, one of governments that are democratic, tolerant, and economically free at home, and committed abroad to settling inevitable differences peacefully, without the threat or use of force.

Unfortunately, not everyone subscribes to these principles. We see leaders bent on denying fundamental human rights and seizing territory regardless of the human cost. No, an international society, one more attuned to the enduring principles that have made this country a beacon of hope for so

many for so long, will not just emerge on its own. It must be built.

Several weeks ago, at Texas A&M, I spoke of the folly of isolationism and of the importance--morally, economically, and strategically--of the United States remaining involved in the world's affairs. This nation's foreign policy has always been more than simply an expression of American interests. It is an extension of American ideals. This moral dimension of American policy requires us to remain active, engaged in the world. Many times, that means trying to chart a moral course through a world of lesser evils. That's the real world: not black and white; very few moral absolutes--enormous potential for error.

With the end of the Cold War, we have an unparalleled opportunity to bring about a world more hospitable to American interests and ideals. But this impulse--this moral dimension to American foreign policy--does not make the United States the world's policeman. We need not respond by ourselves to each and every outrage or act of violence. There is no support abroad or at home for us to play this role. Nor should there be. We would exhaust ourselves, in the process wasting precious resources needed to address those problems at home and abroad that we cannot afford to ignore.

The fact that America can act does not mean that it must. Idealism does not nullify interest. Nor does principle displace prudence.

Two hundred years ago, another departing President warned of the dangers of what he described as "entangling alliances". His was the right course for a new nation at that point in history. But what was "entangling" in Washington's day is now essential. We must engage ourselves if a new world order is to emerge. Even more, we must lead.

Leadership takes many forms. It can be political or diplomatic, it can be economic or military, it can be moral or spiritual. Leadership can take any one of these forms--or it can be a combination of them.

In the wake of the Cold War, where we are the sole remaining superpower, it must be the policy of the United States to marshal its moral and material resources to promote a democratic peace. It is our responsibility--it is our opportunity--to lead. No one else can provide it. The fact is, if the United States does not provide leadership, the job probably won't get done.

But leadership cannot be simply asserted or demanded; it must be earned. Leadership requires formulating worthy goals, persuading others of their virtue, and contributing one's share of the common effort and then some. Leadership takes time, it takes patience, it takes work.

This is what the Bush Administration has done when it had to. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, it was the United States that galvanized the UN Security Council to act and then mobilized the successful coalition on the battlefield. We are seeing much the same in Somalia: first the United States raised the

importance of alleviating the growing tragedy, then we organized the humanitarian effort designed to bring hope, food and peace.

At times, however, real leadership also means a willingness to use force. Force can be a useful backdrop to diplomacy, a complement to it--or, if need be, a temporary alternative.

→ As Commander in Chief, I have made the difficult choice to use military force ^{OK 1/5/92 BOND/Backup} ~~(a number of times.)~~ I determined we could not allow Saddam's forces to ravage Kuwait and hold this critical region at gunpoint. I thought then, and I think now, that ordering our military to implement the resolutions of the UN Security Council was the best and only choice available to the United States. The need to use force arose as well in the wake of the Gulf war, when we came to the aid of the peoples of both northern and Southern Iraq. More recently, it became necessary to act in Somalia. I determined that the United States should not stand by with so many lives at stake and when a limited deployment of U.S. forces, buttressed by the forces of other countries and acting under the full authority of the United Nations, could make an immediate and dramatic difference--and do so without excessive levels of risk and cost. Operations Provide Comfort and Southern Watch in Iraq, and Operation Restore Hope in Somalia, all bear witness to the wisdom of selected use of force for selective purposes.

Sometimes the decision not to use force--to stay our hand--is just as difficult as the decision to send our soldiers into battle. The former Yugoslavia has been such a situation. There

are, we all know, important humanitarian and strategic interests at stake. But up to now it has not been clear that the application of limited amounts of force by the United States would have had the desired effect given the potential adversary, the complexity of the situation, and the assistance we could expect from our traditional friends and allies, many of whom stand closer to this conflict and are more directly affected by its outcome than ourselves.

FDR
LEND-LEASE
SPEECH
MARCH 11,
1941

Half a century ago, FDR justified America's Lend-Lease program by saying when your neighbor's house is on fire, and you've got a hose, prudent policy dictates that you pass the hose over the fence to your neighbor.

Today, when conflict flares, we will look first to those in the neighborhood of the crisis to act on their own--or at the very least in concert with us. It is difficult to see how others will expect to persuade the United States to act when danger is distant while they refrain when danger is at hand.

Our assessment of the situation in the former Yugoslavia could well change. The stakes could rise, the conflict could threaten to spread, potential coalition partners might decide to increase what they would be prepared to contribute. Indeed, we are reassessing our options, and are actively consulting with others about additional military steps that might be taken to contain the fighting, protect the humanitarian effort, and deny Serbia the fruits of aggression.

Military force is never a tool to be used lightly or universally; in some circumstances it may be essential, in others counter-productive. I know that many people would like to find some formula to apply, to tell us when and where to intervene with force. But in the complex new world we are entering, there can be no single or simple set of fixed rules for using force. Inevitably, the question of military intervention requires judgment; each and every case is unique. To adopt rigid criteria would guarantee mistakes involving American interests and American lives. It would give would-be troublemakers a blueprint for determining their own actions; it would signal U.S. friends and allies that our support was not to be counted upon.

Similarly, we cannot always decide in advance which interests will require our using military force to protect them. The relative importance of an interest is not a guide: military force may not be the best way of safeguarding something vital, while using force might be the best way to protect an interest that qualifies as important but less than vital.

But to warn against a futile quest for a set of hard and fast rules to govern the use of military force is not to say there cannot be some principles to inform our decisions. Such guidelines can prove useful in sizing and shaping our forces and in helping us to think our way through this key question.

Using military force makes sense as a policy where the stakes warrant; where and when force can be effective; where no other policies are likely to prove as effective; where its

application can be limited in scope and time; and where the potential benefits justify the potential costs and sacrifice.

Once we are satisfied that force makes sense, we must exert sufficient leadership to see that it is used with the maximum possible support. We will almost always need some military contribution from others--be it combat or support forces, access to facilities and bases, overflight rights. We will also likely require economic contributions. It is unreasonable to expect the United States to bear the full financial as well as military burden of intervention when other nations share in the success of our efforts. We will also want diplomatic support, where possible involving the United Nations or some other multinational grouping.

A desire for international support should not be allowed to become a prerequisite for acting. Sometimes, a great power has to act alone. I made the tough decision to use military force in Panama, when American lives and the security of the Canal appeared to be threatened by outlaws who stole power in the face of free elections. Similarly, we did what we had to to safeguard democracy in the Philippines.

But in every case involving the use of force, it will be essential to have a clear and achievable mission; a realistic plan for accomplishing the mission; and criteria no less realistic for withdrawing U.S. forces once the mission is complete. Only if we keep these principles in mind will the potential sacrifice be one that can be explained and justified.

We must never forget that using force is not some political abstraction, but a real commitment of our fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors.

In order even to have the choice, we must have available adequate military forces tailored for a wide range of contingencies, including peacekeeping. Indeed, leading the effort to bring about a new world order will require a modern, capable military, in some areas necessitating more rather than less defense spending. As President, I have said that my ability to deploy force on behalf of U.S. interests abroad reflects countless decisions of past presidents--in particular, my predecessor, Ronald Reagan--and past secretaries of defense. Consistent with this sacred trust, I am proud to pass on to my successor a military second to none. //

Yet it is essential to recognize that as important as such factors are, any military is more than simply the sum of its weapons or the state of its technology. What makes any armed force truly effective is the quality of its leadership, the quality of its training, and the quality of its people.

We have succeeded abroad in no small part because of our people in uniform. The men and women in our armed forces have demonstrated their ability to master the challenges of modern warfare. At the same time, and whether on the battlefield of Iraq or in some small village in Somalia, America's soldiers have always brought a quality of caring and kindness to their mission. Who will ever forget those terrified Iraqi soldiers surrendering

to American troops? Who will forget the way that American soldier held out his arms and said, "We will not hurt you." Or in Somalia, the young marine, eyes filled with tears, holding the fragile arm of an emaciated child.

There can be no doubt about it: the All Volunteer Force is one of the true success stories of modern day America.

It is instructive to look at just why this is so. At its heart, a voluntary military is based upon choice: the decision freely taken by young men and women to join, the decision by more mature men and women to remain.

The institution of the armed forces has thrived on its commitment to developing and promoting excellence. It is meritocracy in action. Race and religion and wealth and background count not. ^{- Wayne, earth -} Indeed, the military offers many examples for the rest of society, showing what can be done to eradicate the scourge of drugs, to break down the barriers of racial discrimination, to offer equal opportunity to women. And I have no doubt that with time the military will set the standard for the enlightened treatment of other minorities. //

This is not just a result of self-selection. It also reflects the military's commitment to education and training. People speak of defense conversion, the process by which defense firms retool for civilian tasks. Well, defense conversion within the military has been going on for years. It is the constant process of training and retraining, which the military does so well, that allows individuals to keep up with the latest

✓
It's okay
You're okay
now.

1.

5 technology, take on more challenging assignments, and prepare for life on the outside. (of what)

Out of this culture of merit and competition have emerged hundreds of thousands of highly skilled men and women brimming with real self-confidence. What they possess is a special mix of discipline--a willingness to accept direction--and confidence, a willingness to accept responsibility. Together, discipline and confidence provide the basis for winning, for getting the job done.] ~~ORDER~~

7 There is no higher calling, no more honorable choice, than the one you (here today) ^{Makes it sound like they decided today...} have made. To join the armed forces is to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice for your country and for your fellow man. The fact that you have chosen to do so, that you have volunteered to be where you are today, only makes it that much more worthy.

What you have done, what you are doing, sends an important message, one that I fear sometimes gets lost amidst today's often materialist, self-interested culture. It is important to remember, it is important to demonstrate, that there is a higher purpose to life beyond one's self. I speak of family, of community, of ideals. I speak of duty, honor, country.

There are many forms of contributing to this country, of public service. Yes, there is government. There is volunteerism, the thousand points of light. And there are the daily tasks that require doing--in our classrooms, our hospitals, our cities, our farms. All can and do represent a form of

service. But none is greater or more worthy than yours.

This was what I wanted to share on this occasion. You are beginning your service to country; I am ending mine. Exactly half a century ago, in June, 1942, I was graduating from high school. The speaker that day at Andover was Henry Stimson, ~~(then~~ Secretary of War.) His message was one of public service, but with a twist--on the importance of finishing one's schooling before going off to fight for one's country.

I listened closely to what he had to say; I examined carefully the arguments he advanced. He may have been right, but I chose to ignore him--just as I expect a few of you might ignore me today. // You see, that day was my eighteenth birthday. When the commencement ceremony ended, I put off plans for college, went to Boston, and enlisted in the Navy. And I never regretted it. //

You, too, have signed up. You, too, will never regret it. I salute you for it.

Fortunately, because of the sacrifices made in years before and still being made, you should be able to complete this phase of your education. A half century has passed since I left school to serve my country; a half century has passed since that day when Stimson spoke of the challenge of creating a new world.

You will also be entering a new world, one far better than the one I came to know--a world with the potential to be far better yet. This is the challenge, this is the opportunity, of your lifetimes. I envy you for it, and wish you Godspeed.

WESTPOINT ACKS:

DAIS: FLOTUS

- ✓ MRS. [GRACIE] GRAVES
- ✓ CADET FIRST CAPTAIN SHAWN DANIEL, First Captain, US Corps of Cadets
- ✓ SEC. of Army [MICHAEL] STONE, Secretary of the Army
- ✓ GEN. [GORDON] SULLIVAN, Chief of Staff of the Army

Brad Blakeman said add: (✓ GEN. SCOWCROFT [Westpoint alum, added to dais] ✓ GEN. [ROBERT] FOLEY, Commandant of the Cadets ✓ GEN. [GERALD] GALLOWAY, Dean of the Military Academy)

✓ POTUS INTRO: GEN. HOWARD GRAVES, Superintendent, US Military Academy

GENERIC: and the members of the Board of Visitors -- and of course -- the Corps of Cadets

Brad
Blakeman

Acks:

(Rusty)

✓ Sec. of Army store

✓ Col. Sullivan

✓ Gen & Mrs Graves

✓ Suggested - Capt's
Ethan Daniels

Gen. Foley Command of
Capt's

Gen. Calloway
Dean of ^{the} mil. acad.
iten

Gen. Scowcroft
Alm

2708

records in Jan
Burnerstein's office

→ 6-12-42

signed up for
Naval Reserve
on 18th birthday

→ Jun 12, 1942
10:30 o'clock
Common Program

looking
forward

→ Sworn-in 6-12-42
on the same day of
on my 18th

draft response

(A boy goes
to war
life)

Jun 12, 42 - born in
Seaside 2nd Class

magazine
Article

life magazine article

* NY Times

National Archives

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION

Boston Area
papers

Hannah Zedler
504-5416

Jim Knight

Yale Univ. Library

(203) 432-1775

* (717) 245-3611
Vetok, Dennis

(probably "special collections")

Has his MSS. - Maine/archives

[- no - speeches, writings] see. kn (203) 432-1744

- Andover Hist. Society

Bill Massie

(508) 475-2236

AFTER 1pm.

8:30 - 12 on Mon.

Dottie Bailey / Peg Hughes
volunteer

- Memorial Hall Library (Andover)

(508) 475-6960

"local history"

- VIC GOLD - WHITE HOUSE OPERATOR

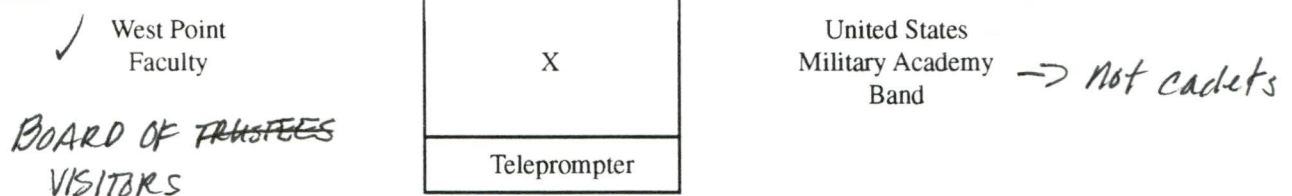
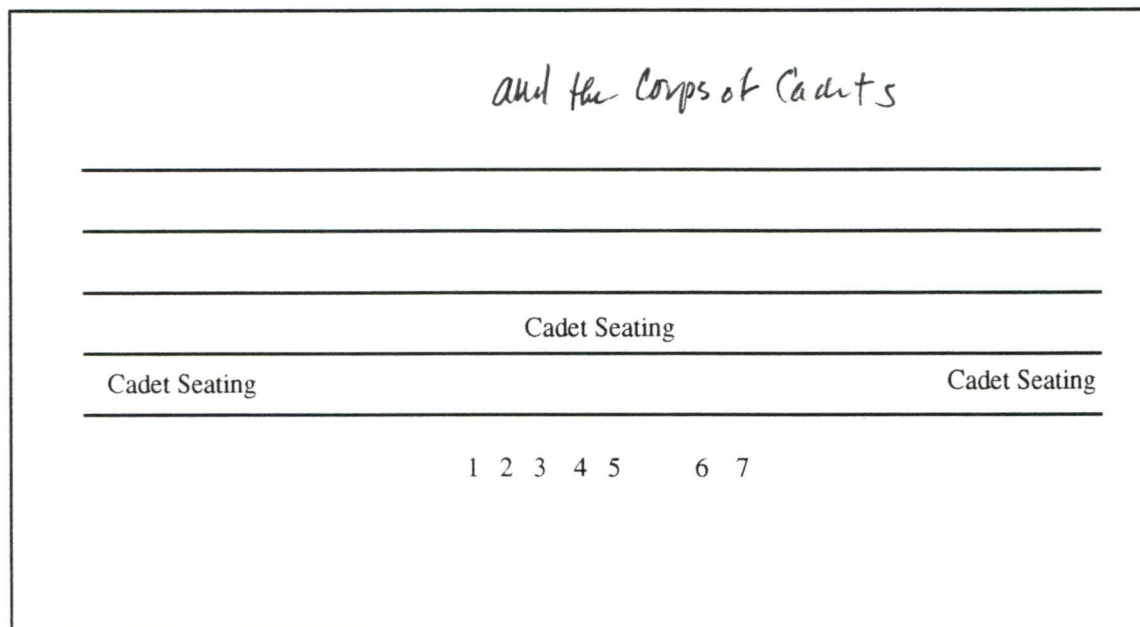
(202) 296-3600 (WASHINGTONIAN)

703-998-7711

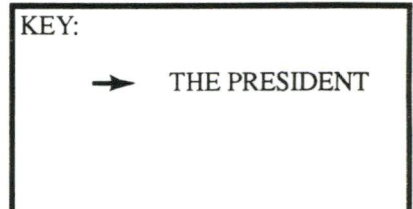
JUNE 14, 1942

- [WAR DEPARTMENT @ STATE DEPT.
DOD - OLD WAR DEPT. DEPT. OF ARMY
 ↓
 HISTORICAL SECTION

TAB I
 WEST POINT, NEW YORK
 Eisenhower Hall
 Address Corps of Cadets
 Dais Diagram
 Tuesday, January 5, 1993



- ✓ 1. Mrs. Bush
- ✓ 2. Mrs. Graves (*GRACIE*)
- ✓ 3. Cadet First Captain Shawn Daniel
- ✓ 4. THE PRESIDENT
- ✓ 5. General Graves
- ✓ 6. Secretary Stone
- ✓ 7. General Sullivan
- ✓ 8. *Gen. Scowcroft (alum)*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

DAN MC GROARTY



SUBJECT:

GRADUATION DAY FROM ANDOVER

Imagine my relief: It was June 12.

Please see the attached.

[Jan 2708]

adm. speech @
can. Stimson - Andover

transcript of talk / commencement

- 1942 -

[Vic Gold -]

general account

[Jan Burmeister]

Phillips Academy
Melissa Tavilla

Spence Adrian's admissions Director

(Phillips Andover)

[Frank DeClementi @ Soccer Coach
since 1984
508-475-3222
- Don McNemar -
(Headmaster 508-475-3460) yearbook
Jane Monroe]

Stimson Advises Waiting For Draft

War Secretary Praises Morale, Awards Phillips
Diplomas To 213; Clark Wins Scholastic Prize

Thirteen local boys, the largest local representation in a Phillips Academy graduating class in several years, were among the 213 receiving their diplomas from Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson at the commencement exercises in Cochran chapel last Friday morning. They were William S. Barnard, George Brown, Jr., Lincoln D. Clark, Willet L. Eccles, Jr., Gordon B. Elliot, Jr., Warren Arthur Lewis, Russell H. Lord, Jr., James McMahon, Allan L. Northam, Frank R. Strong, Philip R. Toohey, Gerard N. Twomey, and Vasco E. Nunez, Jr.

Lincoln D. Clark of 4 Stirling street received one of the five major awards made annually at Phillips on Commencement Day, winning the Faculty prize, awarded to the member of the graduating class who has maintained the highest average in scholarship.

Among 17 boys initiated into Cum Laude, Phillips honorary scholastic society, was William S. Barnard of Andover. Seniors elected to the society earlier in the year included Lincoln D. Clark, Russell H. Lord, Jr., and Gerard N. Twomey of Andover.

Mr. Stimson, in his first visit here since the outbreak of the war, delivered a rather surprising message to the assembly, advising the new graduates not to volunteer for active service, but to wait their call from "a step in legislation we have taken which did not exist in earlier days, the selective service law, drawn with great care to actually select citizens for the most useful part they can play in this great test of war." Mentioning that the graduating class members were undoubtedly "straining at the leash to get into the fray," he told them that "you, with all our young men, are face to face with the approach of that most difficult and dangerous, but noble task of citizenship—the service of your country in war."

Saying that the problems of war had grown more complicated as our civilization has grown so, Mr. Stimson warned that such problems could not be solved by having everyone rush into, for instance, the field of aviation. "We have a future America to think of," he said. "The problem of the creation of a new world, now crumbling around us, awakens the need for trained men to build it up again."

TRAINED MEN NEEDED

"For now," he continued, "do what is chosen for you by others, and do not act on your own impulses. We are all needed, and you, as trained men, will be better equipped than those without training."

"When you do go into the service of your country, you will go as members of a splendid fellowship. The present army of the United States is a grand army. Even now, before leaving this country, they are performing a great service. Only a year ago, people were asking 'how good is the morale of our army?' Now they refrain from asking such a question, since the army is giving morale to the nation."

"An American soldier has very high standards; he is brave without descending to brutality and cruelty, self-confident to the highest extent, but not boastful and arrogant. Keep this in mind if

and when the great function falls to you.

"I wish you good luck, and may God bless you all at this, our last meeting."

1500 BOYS IN SERVICE

Dr. Claude M. Fuess, speaking a final word to the class after the presentation of diplomas to student marshals by Secretary Stimson, told them that "more than 1500 boys whose diplomas I have signed are now being tested on many fronts for loyalty and courage, and they are nobly meeting their responsibilities. Your own class of 1942 is warm in my heart, for we have gone through much together. Four years ago, we were lukewarm to world affairs, but now we are all keenly interested in a modern and momentous crusade for the greatest issue the world has ever known."

"This is no time for sentiment or tears," he concluded, "and I say again: you are no Lost Generation, you will never complain or retreat. . . . Be strong in the Lord and in His might. You will not fail your country, and you will be true to yourselves and worthy of this great school."

DR. SEYMOUR'S ADDRESS

President Charles Seymour of Yale, delivering the Cum Laude address, said that "there is only one topic worthy of discussion, the way the men graduating today should meet their new obligations. . . . Yet no man, old or young, can answer the question, 'how am I to live my life' for another. The answer must be given by the individual, based on his circumstances, good or bad."

Sketching the details of the achievements of St. Francis of Assisi, Joan of Arc and Lawrence of Arabia, all of whom did unprecedented things and achieved an almost unbelievable success, Dr. Seymour said that such careers were to be viewed, not as physical miracles or grand adventures, but as the results of long and rigorous processes of self-discipline. "Though, separated by centuries, these three people were great because they dared to reject conventions and win their own personal freedom, not by luck or courage, but by the development of their personal characteristics."

"There was never a time when the country so needed men of character to make its decisions. As General Hugh Drum has said, 'the army needs resourceful and highly-educated men, simply because they know how to think.'

TO WIN THE PEACE

"If we are to beat the Axis, we must have first-rate men as well as first-rate machines. This is even more true of the peace to follow, which we must also win. The aftermath of the last war was not due to the treaty of peace; the opportunity might have been capitalized. The ideals of individual freedom were lost in the easy-going materialism of the 20's, a period in which men forgot that freedom must be paid for."

"This war must result in a guaranteed freedom for all nations to live their own lives. A price must be paid. We cannot choose the

(Continued on Page 4)

THE ANDOVER TOWNSMAN

Published every Thursday by Elmer J. Grover at The Townsman Press, Inc., 4 Park Street, Andover, Mass. Assoc. C. Moynihan. Entered as Second Class Matter at the Andover Post Office. Price, 5 cents per copy, \$2.00 a year.

ANDOVER TOWNSMAN, JUNE 18, 1942.

Provided by Ms. Dorothy E. Bailey,
Andover Historical Society
97 Main Street, Andover, MA 01810
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GREETING

for

Father

TEMP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: GRADUATION DAY FROM ANDOVER

Imagine my relief: It was June 12.

Please see the attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MC GROARTY

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: POTUS GRADUATION / NAVY SWEARING-IN DATES

The following information is documented by the attached:

6/12/42: George Bush's 18th birth date. GB signed up for the Naval Reserves. Sworn in by Walter Levering in Boston. He was home for the summer.

["President George Bush's Navy Days," drafted by Desiree Thompson, updated by Don Rhodes and Lt. Curry Graham / from Jan Burmeister records.]

The Phillips Academy "Order of Exercises" program for the President's graduation is dated June 12, 1942. [See attached / from Jan Burmeister records.]

Also, Sec. Stimson's notes for his remarks at Andover, provided to me by Andover Archives are dated June 12, 1942. [See attached.]

"June 12, 1942: Sec. of War Stimson, an alumnus of Andover, spoke at our commencement ... on the same day, my 18th birthday, I was sworn into the Navy as a Seaman Second Class...."* [See attached.]

[Summer 1989 article in Life Magazine entitled, "A Boy Goes to War," under the President's by-line. From Jan Burmeister records.]

* Similar reference is made on page 30 of Looking Forward.

Andover

Phillips Academy Andover, Massachusetts 01810-4166 Telephone: (508) 749-4000

FAX TRANSMITTAL

PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

DATE: December 3, 1992 TIME: 11:15 AM

TO: Jeannie Burton

FROM: Melissa Tavilla

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET): 2

DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL BEING FAXED: _____

Remarks made by Admiral Henry Stimson,
Secretary of War, at Phillips Academy's
commencement exercises in 1942.

FAX NUMBER BEING SENT TO: 202-456-6218

FAX NUMBER BEING SENT FROM: 508-749-4010

OPERATOR: Melissa Tavilla

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2

In absence of Special Mass:
~~Band~~ Await Call.
That is general rule of duty

~~What~~ When you go
Enter splendid company
Expand. Effect on
type - citizens and leaders.
Characteristics of Amer. Soldier
Brave without Brutal.
Selfconfident - without Boasting
Becomes a part of irresistible
might without losing touch
in individual liberty.
Good type & good luck.
Get to work here

1

Since last talk — War
All straining on leash
Honorable impulse
Nothing but praise
But — Word of caution
End of war is not end
of problems or duty
Future America needs
Educated men
Sad case if all morons
Object of Selective Service
To fit each man according
to call of duty -
America does not need all
aviators

NOTES OF HLS FOR TALK AT COMMENCEMENT
EXERCISES AT PHILLIPS ACADEMY ON

JUNE 12, 1942.

Article: LIFE Magazine A Boy Goes to War. by: George Bush

Date: Summer 1989

Descr: Exact documentation of WWII and Navy experiences by President Bush.

ANNIVERSARY

A BOY GOES TO WAR



IE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ing Poland, igniting World War II. When it was over, in August 1945, 39 nations had been drawn into the struggle. The unprecedented carnage extended from Europe and the Soviet Union to Africa and Asia. In six years more than 45 million were killed, and the lives of millions more were catastrophically disrupted. The war's immediate aftermath saw a shift in the international balance of power and a reconstitution of the political map. On the anniversary of this last great war, a notable U.S. veteran recalls his experience.

by GEORGE BUSH

December 7, 1941

I was walking across the campus at Andover when I heard the news. I was 17. It came as a shock—a jolt—an awakening. I did not fully comprehend world affairs. My interests were our undefeated soccer season just finished, basketball—baseball coming up. Christmas vacation only a couple of weeks away, graduation, then college. Things changed instantly. I knew right then that I wanted to go into the service.

December 8, 1941

Our headmaster, a great historian and tough disciplinarian, summoned us all into George Washington Hall, the school's assembly place. There was the normal joking, kidding, sloppy posture. Dr. Claude M. Fuess called to order the 800 students by saying something like this: "Your country is at war. We have just played 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' From now on when 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is played you will stand at attention, hands at your sides, and you will show respect." From that day on, without fail, I have stood at attention when the national anthem is played.

June 12, 1942

Secretary of War Henry Stimson, an alumnus of Andover, spoke at our commencement. He encouraged the graduating class to get some college education before serving. I was determined not to go on to college but to become a Navy pilot. Secretary Stimson was a towering world figure, but I wondered about this call of his.

On the same day, my 18th birthday, I was sworn into the Navy as a Seaman Second Class, the first step toward becoming a pilot. I was a scared, nervous kid. The Navy had just changed the rules. It no longer required two years of college before becoming a pilot; pilots were urgently needed. Walter Levering, Lieutenant USNR, swore me in at Boston. I went on active duty as an aviation cadet August 6, 1942.

August 6, 1942

I climbed on a southbound train at Penn Station. My dad was a big, strong guy. He put his arm around me and said goodbye. I'd never seen my dad shed a tear before. We arrived in Chapel Hill, N.C., and I met "The Splendid Splinter," Ted Williams of the Boston Red Sox, who later became a great friend. We all stood in awe of the famous hitter who was in the same program.

June 1943

Having been stationed at Chapel Hill for preflight, Minneapolis for primary training and Corpus Christi for advanced, I received my Navy wings and ensign's commission June 9. I was still 18 years old. I wanted to fly in combat. All my classmates wanted to as well. I fell in love early on with the "low and slow" torpedo bombers. The Grumman Avenger carried 2,000 pounds of bombs, the biggest single-engine aircraft in the fleet. It had a crew of three. I went off to Fort Lauderdale to learn to fly it. Training up and down the East Coast, dropping torpedoes off Cape Cod, dummy bombs and torpe-

ANNIVERSARY

A BOY GOES TO WAR



FIFTY YEARS AGO WWII BEGAN. PROBABLY THE LAST U.S. PRESIDENT TO FIGHT IN IT LOOKS

Opposite, late in 1944 Lieutenant (j.g.) George Bush, combat crewman Leo Nadeau (right) and Joe Re... was part of a naval air squadron in the Pacific. Bush killed out his right leg aboard the U.S.S. San Jac...

ORDER OF EXERCISES

AT

EXHIBITION

PHILLIPS ACADEMY

Andover, Massachusetts

JUNE 12, 1942, AT 10:30 O'CLOCK A.M.

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOURTH YEAR

THE ANDOVER PRESS
1942

AWARDING OF DIPLOMAS

A FINAL WORD TO THE CLASS

CLAUDE MOORE FUESS

CLASS OF 1942

Aaron, Henry Osborne	Jeffersonville, Ind.
Adams, William Alexander, Jr.	Shanghai, China
Aikman, William Oakley	Cazenovia, N. Y.
Ames, Richard McCurdy	Old Lyme, Conn.
Andrews, Edwin Carlos, Jr.	Buffalo, N. Y.
Arnold, Stuart	Briardiff Manor, N. Y.
Bacon, Carter Smith	Winnetka, Ill.
Badger, Carlton Mills	Greenwich, Conn.
Bailey, George Raney, Jr.	Englewood, N. J.
Bancker, Robert Kirkus	Summit, N. J.
Barnard, William Sprague	Andover
Barrett, Norman Whitton	Claremont, Calif.
Barrow, Thomas Davies	Houston, Texas
Batchelor, Dudley Bowman	Kansas City, Mo.
Bauman, William Allen	New Rochelle, N. Y.
Beck, Alfred Elwin, Jr.	Lawrence
Beggs, James Judson	Portland, Ore.
Bentley, William Bancroft Anderton	Lawrence, L. I., N. Y.
Biglow, Lucius Horatio, Jr.	Old Lyme, Conn.
Bissell, Charles Spencer, Jr.	Suffield, Conn.
Bitting, Kenneth Hills, Jr.	Clayton, Mo.
Bixby, William Keeney, 2d	Clayton, Mo.
Blackall, Frederick Steele, 3d	Woonsocket, R. I.
Boone, Olin Pickett	Bayside, L. I., N. Y.
Brady, Frank	Wellesley Hills
Brayton, James Flint	Englewood, N. J.
Brown, David Williams	Dover, N. H.
Brown, George Gibson, Jr.	Andover
Brown, William Farrar	Lawrence
Bush, George Herbert Walker	Greenwich, Conn.
Butler, Stuart Markle, Jr.	St. Louis, Mo.
Calder, Benjamin Glanton	Bronxville, N. Y.
Carr, John Wesley, 2d	Flushing, L. I., N. Y.
Carrington, James Harrison Hewes	Riverside, Conn.
Carter, John Avery	Nashua, N. H.
Chavchavadse, David	Wallingford
Clark, Lincoln Dufon	Andover
Cochran, John Thomas	Canosanas, Puerto Rico
Coffin, William Sloane	Yarmouthport
Contarino, Angelo Robert	Methuen

ABOUT THE CO-AUTHOR

VICTOR GOLD is a Washington journalist and author who served as a senior consultant on Vice President Bush's staff during the 1980 and 1984 presidential campaigns.

LOOKING FORWARD

George Bush
with Victor Gold



BANTAM BOOKS

NEW YORK • TORONTO • LONDON • SYDNEY • AUCKLAND

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, there wasn't any doubt which branch of the service I'd join. My thoughts immediately turned to naval aviation. College was coming up the following fall, but that would have to wait. The sooner I could enlist, the better.

Six months later I got my diploma from Phillips Academy Andover. Secretary of War Henry Stimson came from Washington to deliver the commencement address. He told members of our graduating class the war would be a long one, and even though America needed fighting men, we'd serve our country better by getting more education before getting into uniform.

After the ceremony, in a crowded hallway outside the auditorium, my father had one last question about my future plans. Dad was an imposing presence, six feet four, with deep-set blue-gray eyes and a resonant voice.

"George," he said, "did the Secretary say anything to change your mind?"

"No, sir," I replied. "I'm going in."

Dad nodded and shook my hand.

On my eighteenth birthday, I went to Boston and was sworn into the Navy as a Seaman Second Class. Not long thereafter, I was on a railway coach headed south for Navy preflight training in North Carolina.

I'd joined up to fly, and like the piano student who didn't see why he couldn't begin his lessons playing *Rhapsody in Blue*, I was gung ho to strap on the leather helmet and goggles the day I arrived at Chapel Hill. Because of the pilot shortage, the Navy had trimmed its aviator training course to ten months, but there weren't any shortcuts. It would be months before I'd finally climb into a Stearman N-2S trainer—the Navy's "Yellow Peril," a two-cockpit, open-air special. Even then I got the impression that my instructor thought I was still too fuzz-faced to trust with an expensive piece of Navy equipment.

Looking through old scrapbooks at photos taken at the time, I can't say I blame him. I was younger than the other

trainees—the youngest aviator in the Navy when I got my wings. To make matters worse, I looked younger than I actually was—enough to make me self-conscious. When Barbara came to visit—she was on her way to school in South Carolina—I even asked her to stretch the calendar, add a few months to her age, and tell anybody who asked that she was eighteen, not seventeen.

We'd met six months before, at a Christmas dance. I'm not much at recalling what people wear, but that particular occasion stands out in my memory. The band was playing Glenn Miller tunes when I approached a friend from Rye, New York, Jack Wozencraft, to ask if he knew a girl across the dance floor, the one wearing the green-and-red holiday dress. He said she was Barbara Pierce, that she lived in Rye and went to school in South Carolina. Would I like an introduction? I told him that was the general idea, and he introduced us, just about the time the bandleader decided to change tempos, from fox trot to waltz. Since I didn't waltz, we sat the dance out. And several more after that, talking and getting to know each other.

It was a storybook meeting, though most couples that got serious about each other in those days could say the same about the first time they met. Young people in the late 1930s and early '40s were living with what modern psychologists call heightened awareness, on the edge. It was a time of uncertainty, when every evening brought dramatic radio newscasts—Edward R. Murrow from London, William L. Shirer from Berlin—reporting a war we knew was headed our way.

In the eight months that passed from that first meeting until her visit to Chapel Hill, Barbara and I had progressed from simply being "serious," to meeting and spending time with each other's families—a fairly important step for teenagers in those days. After I got my wings and went into advanced flight training, we took the next important step. In August of 1943, she joined the Bush summer convocation in Maine where, between boating and fishing excursions, we were secretly engaged. Secret, to the extent that the German and Japanese high commands weren't aware of it. That December we went public with our engagement, though we

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH'S NAVY DAYS

in chronological
order

Drafted by: Desiree Thompson, updated by: Don Rhodes & Lt. Curry Graham

6/12/42.....George Bush's 18th birth date. GB signed up for the Navy reserves. Sworn in by Walter Levering in Boston. He was home for the summer.

8/5/42 - to.....Reported for pre-flight training at Chapel Hill North
11/1/42 Carolina. Lived on University of North Carolina Campus in Lewis Hall.

11/2/42.....Took 3 days for rest and travel for next assignment.

11/5/42.....Was sent to Wold Chamberlain Field in Minneapolis, MN for flight training.

11/10/42.....1st flight took place in Minnesota.

2/1/43.....1st night-time solo flight.

2/19/43.....Total flying hours out of MN 82.5 hours and 61 flights.

3/43 - to.....Advanced flight training in Texas NAS Corpus Christi-
6/9/43 to begin checkout in SNV-1 Vultee AKA "Vibrator".
Practiced: precision landings, acrobatic flying, division tactics, gunnery, advanced fixed gunnery, etc.

3/11/43.....Soloed in the SNC-1 Vultee "Vibrator".

6/9/43.....Received his Gold Wings and officially became a Naval Aviator at age: 18 years, 11 months, 27 days.

6/11/43 - to.....Was sent to Aviation Training Department at NAS Fort
8/23/43 Lauderdale, FL. There he learned to fly and operate Gruman TBF torpedo "Avenger". He was with flight squadron 44.

6/18/43 - to.....Accumulated 91 hours of TBF "Avenger" training.
8/43

8/24/43.....With in a 2 day period, GB was qualified for carrier landings aboard a paddlewheel carrier called the USS Sable, on Lake Michigan. There he practiced deck run takeoffs and carrier landings. Total flight hours were 234.7 hours.

con't....

9/19/43.....Assigned to VC-51 (VC stands for Aviation Composite),
and VF (Aviation Fighter) 13 pilots - 32 total enlisted
men.

9/43.....Reported to his 1st Fleet Squadron VC-51 based at NAS
Norfolk, flying TBF's - TBM-IC's - TMB "Avenger". Assign
as Photo Graphic Officer during coming months of combat.

9/19/43.....Under command of Lt. Commander Donald J. Melvin USNR.
GB began Squadron Flying.

9/43 - to.....VT-51 Torpedo Squadron was moving from Norfolk to various
11/43 set east coast bases for additional training: Chincoteagu
Virginia on 9/27. Hyannis, MA and Charlstown RI.

11/1/43.....While flying in Hyannis MA (?), GB had his first aircraft
accident. "The wheels collapsed upon landing".

11/15/43.....GB was joined by radioman Second Class Jack Delaney from
Rhode Island who would fly as his radioman.

11/17/43.....Leo W. Nadeau also joined the George Bush crew as his
gunner.

12/43.....VT-51 was assigned to fast light carrier the USS San Jacin

1/24/44.....Made 3 carrier landings on San Jacinto, two more the
following day and another Jan. 28th.

3/24/44.....Returned to Norfolk, Virginia.

3/44.....Made 2 night carrier landings on small escort carrier
called USS Charger.

3/44.....VT-51 was then moved aboard San Jacinto through Panama
Canal to Pacific arriving in Hawaii.

4/20/44.....GB flew to Kaneohe, via Ford Islands.

5/15/44.....Returned to San Jacinto to under take first combat mission
The Essex and Wasp were supporting cruisers and destroyers

5/15/44.....Enroute, VT-51 suffered first operational loss in combat
area. Ensign J.J. Wykes and Air Crewman R.E. Whelan and
C.I. Haggard declared MIA when their "Avernger" failed
to return.

5/18&19/44.....GB made 1st combat flights attacking targets on Marcus
Island and May 23rd targets on Wake Island.

6/13/44.....Pre-dawn lanch from San Jacinto; GB experienced a complete
hydraulic failure and made and emergency landing back on
board.

Cont.....

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THE COLONEL

The Life and Wars of
Henry Stimson

1867-1950

Godfrey Hodgson



Alfred A. Knopf

New York

1990

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ing through luncheon
New York, was "very

mmediate question of
ing Republican Secre-
ratic President on the
Manchuria to disarm-
Philippines. Roosevelt,
subjects he discussed,
was to grow into the
Stimson's life.

ert Hoover up on the
Stimson they would
it knowing it, as the
shield, he had begun
ration to the next.

VI

The Organizer of Victory*

Gabriel, lead forth to Battel these my sons
Invincible, lead forth my armèd Saints
By Thousands and by Millions rang'd for fight.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book VI, ll. 46-48

Geographically and historically Bolero [the code name
for a frontal attack on Germany across the English
Channel] was the easiest road to the center of our
chief enemy's heart.

Henry L. Stimson, *Diary*, June 19, 1942

My faith rests upon my belief that there is a Power
in the universe that makes for righteousness and that
Power cannot allow such a clear issue of right and
wrong to go the wrong way.

Henry L. Stimson, *Diary*, July 1942

In the fateful month of June 1940, as German *Panzers* entered Paris and Marshal Pétain formed a government and went to Hitler for an armistice, Henry Stimson took a week off from his legal work that, at least for him, was also to be fateful. On June 12, which was a Wednesday, he took the train from New York via Boston to his old school at Andover, Massachusetts. The next day he wrote the commencement address he had been asked to give, and on Friday he delivered it to an audience of boys who included the future President George Bush. He told them that a civilization built up over four centuries was under

*Lazare Carnot, one of the members of the Directory which governed France from 1795 to 1797 was known as *l'organisateur de la victoire* after his arrest was ordered and a deputy cried out in the Assembly: "Will you dare to lay hands on the man who has organized victory?"

June 14th, 1942

principle of the equal value but, he said, when he looked out with the desire to catch a moment of great oppor-

g Island and worked on an auxiliary military training. On Monday he gave his speech on Tuesday over NBC radio net. This radio speech developed Stimson's by now could not afford to let Britain sentimental reason but because regret. On Wednesday June 19, to their rented apartment on Central Park from Fifth Avenue. In the afternoon, that the new call

comes on the phone. FDR came to the job of Secretary of War even ingratiating. He needed assistance, he said, because "even at loose ends." He did not rely in his own inspired system anyone compete with someone

a few close friends, and dis- partners Bronson Winthrop to accept. At about seven and asked the President three

o speech? The President said. Did he know that Stimson did, and he conveyed, with it he was "in sympathy" on sident to confirm that Frank Republican to whom the Pres- had accepted. Roosevelt said

he had, and Stimson then said yes, too. For good measure, he also indicated that he had no objection to Judge Robert P. Patterson* as his Assistant Secretary. Those were the circumstances in which Colonel Henry Stimson, a lifelong Republican, became—at the age of seventy-two and in a Democratic administration—Secretary of War, a job he had last accepted twenty-nine years before.

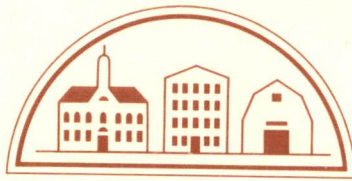
In the summer of 1940 Henry Stimson was a tired and troubled grandee. Since 1936 he had been involved in the biggest and longest lawsuit of his legal career. This was *Blaustein v. Pan American Petroleum and Transport Company*. Stimson's client was Jacob Blaustein, who, with his immigrant father Louis Blaustein, had founded the American Oil Company, which marketed petroleum products under the Amoco trademark, but which was dependent on the major oil-producing companies for those products. The Blausteins had therefore sold their stock to Pan American Oil. It would be an integrated oil company; they would be minority shareholders, and Standard Oil of Indiana would hold the majority of the stock. An elaborate contract was drawn up to give effect to this plan, but the moment it was signed, Standard Oil of Indiana in effect tore it up, arranging for oil to be shipped and refined not by Pan American Oil, but by Standard Oil of New Jersey (ancestor of the modern Exxon).

The Blausteins retained Stimson, who for technical reasons advised that, while there was little hope of winning an action for breach of contract, the Standard Oil of Indiana management might be successfully sued for breach of their obligations as directors. Standard was represented by one of the leaders of the American bar at the time, John W. Davis, also counsel to Standard Oil of New Jersey and Democratic presidential candidate in 1924. (The judge in the case, incidentally, was Samuel I. Rosenman, President Roosevelt's close adviser and favorite speechwriter.)

The case took four years to come to trial. That was hardly surprising, since it involved more than 1,000 exhibits, 2,686 printed pages of pretrial examinations and 2,900 pages of printed briefs.† When it

*Patterson, a robust opponent of isolationism and a man of the "neo-Hamiltonian" tendency, had fought in France in World War I and wore around his waist as a memento the belt of a German soldier he had killed there.

†On *Blaustein*, see *Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam and Roberts: A History of a Law firm*, pp. 35-37. 1



ANDOVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

December 8, 1992

Hi,

Just for your information, this article was found in the
ANDOVER TOWNSMAN of June 18, 1942.

Hope this is the information you were searching for.

Good Luck,

Dorothy E. Bailey

Andover Historical Society
97 Main Street
Andover, Massachusetts 01810

Ms. Jeannie Bunton
Room 111.5
O. E. O. Building
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 257

Let us learn from them as well. Let us honor those who have served us by serving others. Let us honor them as individuals -- men and women of every race, all creeds and colors -- by setting the face of this nation against discrimination, bigotry, and hate. Eliminate them.

I'm sure that many of you saw on the television the unforgettable scene of four terrified Iraqi soldiers surrendering. They emerged from their bunker -- broken, tears streaming from their eyes, fearing the worst. And then there was an American soldier. Remember what he said? He said: "It's okay. You're all right now. You're all right now." That scene says a lot about America, a lot about who we are. Americans are a caring people. We are a good people, a generous people. Let us always be caring and good and generous in all we do.

Soon, very soon, our troops will begin the march we've all been waiting for -- their march home. And I have directed Secretary Cheney to begin the immediate return of American combat units from the Gulf. Less than 2 hours from now, the first planeload of American soldiers will lift off from Saudi Arabia, headed for the U.S.A. It will carry men and women of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division bound for Fort Stewart, Georgia. This is just the beginning of a steady flow of American troops coming home. Let their return remind us that all those who have gone before are linked with us in the long line of freedom's march.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 1 DOCUMENT

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the
Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict

27 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 257

#APRD# #100T920723SPRDAO1#

March 6, 1991

LENGTH: 2792 words

Speaker Foley. Mr. President, it is customary at joint sessions for the Chair to present the President to the Members of Congress directly and without further comment. But I wish to depart from tradition tonight and express to you on behalf of the Congress and the country, and through you to the members of our Armed Forces, our warmest congratulations on the brilliant victory of the Desert Storm Operation.

Members of the Congress, I now have the high privilege and distinct honor of presenting to you the President of the United States.

200
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1940
WHRC

THE ^{ti}PUBLIC PAPERS
AND ADDRESSES OF
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



1940 Volume

WAR—AND AID TO DEMOCRACIES

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY · NEW YORK · 1941

145 ¶ The Seven Hundred and Second Press Conference. December 17, 1940

(Inaugural plans — Building up productive facilities in aiding Great Britain — Lending arms as a neighbor would lend garden hose to put out a fire — Construction of naval destroyers — Hours of labor in defense industries.)

THE PRESIDENT: When I came back yesterday I began to note intimations that this inaugural party was getting out of hand — all these chairmen, et cetera, trying to make a real party out of it, and I was trying not to. In other words, simplicity, I still think, should be the keynote; and I am trying to catch up and find out what people have been doing while I was away.

Outside of that I have been trying to catch up on quite a number of other things.

I don't think there is any particular news, except possibly one thing that I think is worth my talking about. In the present world situation of course there is absolutely no doubt in the mind of a very overwhelming number of Americans that the best immediate defense of the United States is the success of Great Britain in defending itself; and that, therefore, quite aside from our historic and current interest in the survival of democracy in the world as a whole, it is equally important from a selfish point of view of American defense, that we should do everything to help the British Empire to defend itself.

I have read a great deal of nonsense in the last few days by people who can only think in what we may call traditional terms about finances. Steve [Mr. Early] was asking me about it this morning, and I thought it was better that I should talk to you than for Steve to talk to you; but I gave him one line which he would have used this morning if anybody had asked him, and that was this: In my memory, and your

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memory, and in all history, no major war has ever been won or lost through lack of money.

I remember 1914 very well, and I will give you an illustration: In 1914 I was up at Eastport, Maine, with the family the end of July, and I got a telegram from the Navy Department that it looked as if war would break out in Europe the next day. Actually it did break out in a few hours, when Germany invaded Belgium. So I went across from the island and took a train down to Ellsworth, where I got on the Bar Harbor Express. I went into the smoking room. The smoking room of the Express was filled with gentlemen from banking and brokerage offices in New York, most of whom were old friends of mine; and they began giving me their opinion about the impending world war in Europe. These eminent bankers and brokers assured me, and made it good with bets, that there wasn't enough money in all the world to carry on a European war for more than three months—bets at even money; that the bankers would stop the war within six months—odds of 2 to 1; that it was humanly impossible—physically impossible—for a European war to last for six months—odds of 4 to 1; and so forth and so on. Well, actually, I suppose I must have won those—they were small, five-dollar bets—I must have made a hundred dollars. I wish I had bet a lot more.

There was the best economic opinion in the world that the continuance of war was absolutely dependent on money in the bank. Well, you know what happened.

Now we have been getting stories, speeches, et cetera, in regard to this particular war that is going on, which go back a little bit to that attitude. It isn't merely a question of doing things the traditional way; there are lots of other ways of doing them. I am just talking background, informally; I haven't prepared any of this—I go back to the idea that the one thing necessary for American national defense is additional productive facilities; and the more we increase those

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facilities — factories, shipbuilding ways, munition plants, et cetera, and so on — the stronger American national defense is.

Orders from Great Britain are therefore a tremendous asset to American national defense; because they automatically create additional facilities. I am talking selfishly, from the American point of view — nothing else. Therefore, from the selfish point of view, that production must be encouraged by us. There are several ways of encouraging it — not just one, as the narrow-minded fellow I have been talking about might assume, and has assumed. He has assumed that the only way was to repeal certain existing statutes, like the Neutrality Act and the old Johnson Act and a few other things like that; and then to lend the money to Great Britain to be spent over here — either lend it through private banking circles, as was done in the earlier days of the previous war, or make it a loan from this Government to the British Government.

Well, that is one type of mind that can think only of that method somewhat banal.

There is another one which is also somewhat banal — we may come to it, I don't know — and that is a gift; in other words, for us to pay for all these munitions, ships, plants, guns, et cetera, and make a gift of them to Great Britain. I am not at all sure that that is a necessity, and I am not at all sure that Great Britain would care to have a gift from the taxpayers of the United States. I doubt it very much.

Well, there are other possible ways, and those ways are being explored. All I can do is to speak in very general terms, because we are in the middle of it. I have been at it now three or four weeks, exploring other methods of continuing the building up of our productive facilities and continuing automatically the flow of munitions to Great Britain. I will just put it this way, not as an exclusive alternative method, but as one of several other possible methods that might be devised toward that end.

It is possible — I will put it that way — for the United

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States to take over British orders, and, because they are essentially the same kind of munitions that we use ourselves, turn them into American orders. We have enough money to do it. And thereupon, as to such portion of them as the military events of the future determine to be right and proper for us to allow to go to the other side, either lease or sell the materials, subject to mortgage, to the people on the other side. That would be on the general theory that it may still prove true that the best defense of Great Britain is the best defense of the United States, and therefore that these materials would be more useful to the defense of the United States if they were used in Great Britain, than if they were kept in storage here.

Now, what I am trying to do is to eliminate the dollar sign. That is something brand new in the thoughts of practically everybody in this room, I think — get rid of the silly, foolish old dollar sign.

Well, let me give you an illustration: Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him to put out his fire. Now, what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, "Neighbor, my garden hose cost me \$15; you have to pay me \$15 for it." What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want \$15 — I want my garden hose back after the fire is over. All right. If it goes through the fire all right, intact, without any damage to it, he gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it. But suppose it gets smashed up — holes in it — during the fire; we don't have to have too much formality about it, but I say to him, "I was glad to lend you that hose; I see I can't use it any more, it's all smashed up." He says, "How many feet of it were there?" I tell him, "There were 150 feet of it." He says, "All right, I will replace it." Now, if I get a nice garden hose back, I am in pretty good shape.

In other words, if you lend certain munitions and get the

munitions back at the end of the war, if they are intact—haven't been hurt—you are all right; if they have been damaged or have deteriorated or have been lost completely, it seems to me you come out pretty well if you have them replaced by the fellow to whom you have lent them.

I can't go into details; and there is no use asking legal questions about how you would do it, because that is the thing that is now under study; but the thought is that we would take over not all, but a very large number of, future British orders; and when they came off the line, whether they were planes or guns or something else, we would enter into some kind of arrangement for their use by the British on the ground that it was the best thing for American defense, with the understanding that when the show was over, we would get repaid sometime in kind, thereby leaving out the dollar mark in the form of a dollar debt and substituting for it a gentleman's obligation to repay in kind. I think you all get it.

Q. Mr. President, that suggests a question, all right; Would the title still be in our name?

THE PRESIDENT: You have gone and asked a question I have told you not to ask, because it would take lawyers much better than you or I to answer it. Where the legal title is would depend largely on what the lawyers say. Now, for example, if you get mixed up in the legal end of this, you get in all kinds of tangles. Let me ask you this simple question: You own, let us say, a house, a piece of property, a farm, and it is not encumbered in any way—there is no mortgage on it—but you have had some troubles, and you want to borrow four or five thousand dollars on it. You go to the bank and you say, "I want to borrow four or five thousand dollars on my house or my farm." They say, "Sure; give me a mortgage."

You give them a mortgage, if you think you will be able to pay it off in three or four years. In your mind you still think you own your own house; you still think it is your house or your farm; but from the strictly legalistic point of view, the bank is the owner. You deed your house over to

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the bank; you pledge it, like going to the pawnbroker. Let's take the other side of it: The title to your gold watch is vested in the pawnbroker. You can redeem it; you can pay off your mortgage and get title to your house.

On this particular thing—let's say it's a ship—I haven't the faintest idea at this moment in whom the legal title of that particular ship would be. I don't think that makes any difference in the transaction; the point of the transaction is that if that ship were returned to us in first-class condition, after payment of what might be called a reasonable amount for the ship during that time—the other people might have had a legal title or the title might have remained in us; I don't know, and I don't care.

Q. Let us leave out the legal phase of it entirely; the question I have is whether you think this takes us any more into the war than we are?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not a bit.

Q. Even though goods that we own are being used?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think you go into a war for legalistic reasons; in other words, we are doing all we can at the present time.

Q. Mr. President, did you mean naval craft?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no! I am talking about merchant ships.

Q. It is my understanding that this is all for purposes of background, but at one point here I was wondering whether you would attribute this to the necessity for facilities and for encouragement of production?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you can attribute this—what we have been talking about—to me.

Q. Mr. President, would we take our own goods abroad?

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean—take our own goods?

Q. As long as this is being made to our account and we are lending it to Great Britain, would we deliver the goods in Great Britain that are going to be used in that way?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I suppose it would depend on what flag was flying at the stern of the ship. You can work it out any way

you want. It might be even a Bolivian flag. That question is a detail.

Q. Would it be an American flag?

THE PRESIDENT: Not necessarily. That would bring up another subject; that would bring up a subject which might be a dangerous one, quite frankly, of American sailors and American passengers, et cetera, taking the American flag into a war zone. You need not worry about that one bit, because you don't have to send an American flag and an American crew on an American vessel.

Q. I was backing into the question that this whole theory of yours doesn't involve amendment of the Neutrality Act.

THE PRESIDENT: Right!

Q. You referred to future orders in this connection; as I understand it, the orders the British have given would go ahead on the basis of existing contracts and would be paid for?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think so. They have plenty of exchange, you know. There doesn't seem to be very much of a problem about payment for existing orders, but there might be a problem about paying for additions to those orders or for replacement of those orders now.

Q. Is this a safe conclusion on what you have said, that what the British are interested in is to have us lend them the supplies?

THE PRESIDENT: That's the point. I am trying to eliminate the dollar mark.

Q. Does this require Congressional approval?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes, this would require various types of legislation, in addition to appropriation. Let me give you an example: Let's take anything—a shell factory; and the present shell factories are all filled up with orders a year—two years—ahead; but the British need more shells now, and the shell manufacturers say, "That is all very well, but we have got to get a new factory." And the United States Government has ordered several new factories and put up the money through the R.F.C. or some other way for the capital. Well, if the British wanted a new factory for additional shells,

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or went above present orders, if we take that order over we would do the financing of the factory just the way we have done it for ourselves, thereby increasing the productive capacity for turning out shells.

Q. Mr. President, before you loan your hose to your neighbor you have to have the hose. I was wondering, have you any plans to build up supplies? There has been a good deal of discussion about lack of authority to tell a manufacturer he should run two or three shifts a day. There is no one now that has that authority.

THE PRESIDENT: Isn't there?

Q. I don't believe so.

THE PRESIDENT: I think so, yes. After all, you have to follow certain laws of the land. Of course the law is, and always was that contracts by the Navy, for instance (I used to place a great many of them in the World War)—should be signed by the Secretary of the Navy or the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Never, in the history of the United States, has that power been taken away from the two main contracting departments.

That is a pretty important thing to remember. A lot of people in the last week or two have forgotten that fact. There never has been one individual in this country, outside of the Army or Navy, who could do anything more than recommend very strongly that they do thus and so, and supervise it—supervise keeping the program up to date. If the program is not kept up to date, there are lots of things that have been done in the past, and would be done in the future. That is what was done in the World War.

The number of perfectly crazy assertions that have been made in the last couple of weeks by some people who didn't grow up until after the World War is perfectly extraordinary. They have assigned all kinds of authorities and powers to people in the World War that never existed, except in the figment of their imagination. I went through it; I happen to know.

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Q. Mr. President, on your statement that we never would get into war for legalistic reasons—would you amplify that a little?

THE PRESIDENT: Only this, that I would not try, from what I have said, to make it appear—who was it who asked that question a while ago?

MR. EARLY: Jim Wright.

THE PRESIDENT: Jim Wright asked whether any of these steps would be a greater danger to the United States of getting into war than the existing situation, and the answer is: "No, of course not." In other words, we are furnishing everything we possibly can at the present moment. This will make easier a continuation of that program. That's all there is to it.

Q. Mr. President, it is interesting about taking over the future orders for the British, but Mr. Knudsen says that the first half of that is crucial. Can you do anything more than you are doing?

THE PRESIDENT: Except efficient people; that's what he is trying to do—push them.

Q. Mr. President, has the division of orders been changed? It was 50-50 the last time.

THE PRESIDENT: That was a rule of thumb. In some places it is 40-60, and in others 60-40.

Q. Mr. President, do any production delays at the present time indicate any need for authority to take over plants?

THE PRESIDENT: That is a thing I asked Steve [Mr. Early] to look up this morning.

MR. EARLY: No one is reporting today, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: That is a thing I asked Steve to report on. No one reported today. But I think it is fair to say there are two or three companies under investigation.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect to place this general idea before this session of Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: Either that or something similar.

Q. Within a few days?

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THE PRESIDENT: No, probably not until the 3rd, because the thing has not only to be worked out here, but in London too.

Q. Mr. President, is there any plan under consideration for building up our Defense Program because of this?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's a pretty general question; on what, for example?

Q. I wondered if you had any specific program for building up any phase of defense.

THE PRESIDENT: You can't answer a general question like that. If you ask about an article that is coming along in good shape, the answer is No. It depends on what you are talking about. Before I left, I think we talked about the Navy destroyer program which, in my judgment, was completely insufficient because a lot of the planned destroyers could not be laid down except in turn. In other words, after No. 1 Destroyer had been built and launched from the ways, then they would start No. 31 of the destroyers on the same ways, build that and launch it, and after that was launched they would put No. 61 on the same ways, so that No. 61 would not be launched for perhaps four years from now.

Well, now, the answer to that program, which was laid down by the Navy Department, was that in my judgment it was too darned slow. And how can you speed it up? By building more ways. So that was an illustration of how the program as laid down proved insufficient, and we are now studying how we can build more destroyer ways.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Knudsen said the whole Defense Program was lagging pretty severely; do you see anything in this picture that would require you to extend the present limited emergency?

THE PRESIDENT: No; that again is largely a legalistic problem. It is a great question whether it would speed it up or not—a great technical question.

Q. Mr. President, when the Government refuses to take in a union man on a defense project, don't you think it is because the unions ask exorbitant fees?

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THE PRESIDENT: You would have to give me the name of the man and information about the case.

Q. How about eliminating the Friday to Monday blackout?

THE PRESIDENT: It depends entirely on the particular type of industrial plant and the conditions in the locality, and the type of workmen that are used. There is no generalization that is possible; and the one thing we have to avoid, all of us, is generalization. Now for example—you take down here in the Washington Navy Yard, there are certain very, very skilled trades; and there is a shortage of labor in those trades. Because there is a shortage, because there is no relief, no additional labor in that trade, we probably have to employ the people in that particular trade, more than 40 hours; and for the extra hours they will get time and a half for overtime.

You take the other extreme—common labor; there's plenty of it. For common labor it is not necessary in that particular yard to work men overtime; and yet you can run the yard six days a week, or even seven days a week. It takes a lot more planning on the part of management to work it out, but you can employ one group of common laborers the first five days in the week, 40 hours—that is, 8 hours a day; and then another group you can employ on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday and give them Sunday and Monday off; and another group you can employ Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday and give them Monday and Tuesday off; and in that way you can keep a plant going seven days a week if you want to. It takes a little more—what shall I say?—figuring out on a sheet of paper, a little more trouble.

In that way some people will get their holiday in the middle of the week for a while, and others will get it at the end of the week; but it can be done, and it is being done—that is the point of it—in a great many plants in the United States. It is being done; and that can be extended to a great many other plants. It is a nuisance from the point of view of plant management; we all know that.

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There is still another point to consider — there are plants which obviously could not run seven days a week; the plant that has to be laid up for repairs one day out of seven; or a part of a particular plant that has to be laid up for repairs and closed down one day out of seven. You see you can't apply a general rule. It's just plain immature to try to do it. The people that understand manufacturing will be the first to say you can't apply a general rule to this question.

Q. Mr. President, one argument that is advanced is where it is necessary for a man to work 55 hours a week, a trained man, and he can't be replaced; and since the public is begging for this armament, that is putting undue stress on the public's shoulders — time and a half.

THE PRESIDENT: In the case of that particular man that is irreplaceable working 55 hours a week, we are trying, as you know, to train other people to fit into those positions. It takes time to do it, but gradually we are getting a large number of people trained to do these specialized jobs.

Q. Mr. President, on this defense setup, do we understand you to mean that you are not interested in appointing a chairman of the national defense?

THE PRESIDENT: I would not draw any inferences on a detail. That is a pure detail.

Q. One more question: I believe Mr. Knudsen referred to the blackout of machine time rather than human time. I believe he was referring quite specifically to the fact that the machines were shut down between Friday and Monday.

THE PRESIDENT: You have to tell me the machine, and the trade that runs the machine.

Q. He didn't say.

THE PRESIDENT: In some cases, yes; in some cases, no. The objective is to keep all the machines that will run seven days a week in operation seven days a week.

(See note to Item 152, this volume, for discussion of the Lend-Lease Act, the principles of which are discussed in the foregoing press conference.)

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January, 1988

SECTION: IN BETWEEN; Vol. 9, No. 1; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 278 words

SOURCE: 2268. Remarks to the Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology, R. G. Wallace, Phillips Petroleum Company, delivered at Annual Meeting, Res. Triangle Pk, North Carolina, March 11, 1987 - (11 pages). Keywords: SCIENCE; CHEMICAL INDUSTRY; COMMUNICATION; GOVERNMENT; PUBLIC AFFAIRS; CREDIBILITY

BODY:

In a discussion on the importance of the chemical industry improving its communication with both the political and public sectors through greater involvement, R. Wallace, president, Phillips 66 Company, offers four imperatives for that involvement: be credible, be clear, be realistic, and be proud. In the section on clarity, he uses an example from American history to illustrate exactly how something can be communicated clearly, simply and effectively even though the subject is both complex and controversial:

"The benefits of telling our story in clear and simple terms are worth the extra time and effort.

"Probably no one knew this better than Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Exactly 46 years ago today, on March 11, 1941, he signed the Lend-Lease Law.

"It provided aid to England and other nations fighting Nazi Germany, without sending U.S. soldiers overseas.

"It was a controversial and complex law. And several months before its passage, FDR faced the press to explain it.

"Here's what he said:

"Suppose my neighbor's house catches fire, and I have a garden hose. If he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him put out the fire . . .

"If the garden hose goes through the fire all right, without damage, then my neighbor gives it back to me and thanks me very much for the use of it . . .

"If the hose is destroyed, he replaces it."

"From that simple story, FDR launched his successful drive for passage of Lend-Lease.

"Most Americans didn't know a thing about weapons or commerce. But they all had garden hoses, and they all had neighbors.

"Be clear. That's our second imperative." (2268)

14. Seven Hundred and Twenty-fifth Press Conference

and died. This faith he commemorated by leaving his modest fortune to the Government as the representative and the agent of the people of the United States. We do well to cherish the life and memory of this great man as part of our national heritage.

NOTE: On the 92nd birthday of Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes — four days after President Roosevelt had been inaugurated in 1933 — the President paid a call on Justice Holmes. This was rather unusual and unprecedented, inasmuch as the President rarely if ever visits other individuals, but receives callers instead at the White House. Yet it was not unusual in the light of the long and useful service rendered to the Nation by Justice Holmes, and the President's appreciation of the magnificent contributions which Justice Holmes made on the United States Supreme Court. (See Item 23, pp. 93-94, 1935 volume, for the President's statement on the death of Justice Holmes; see Item 46, pp. 130-131, 1935 volume, for the President's message to the Congress following Justice Holmes's will bequeathing his estate to the Treasury of the United States Government.)

14 ¶ The Seven Hundred and Twenty-fifth
Press Conference (Excerpt). March 11, 1941

(Approval of the Lend-Lease Act.)

THE PRESIDENT: At quarter to four or ten minutes to four, the [Lend-Lease] Bill [H. R. 1776] was duly signed in the presence of the press photographers and the picture people; and immediately thereafter — after they left the room — the second step happened. After talking the thing over with the Army and Navy authorities, the first list of material was approved — Army and Navy material which will go, the greater part of it, to Britain; a portion of it will go to the Greeks. The items, of course, involved must of necessity and fairness be kept secret until such time that the disclosure of their military identity will not be of benefit to anybody else.

At the meeting this morning on that line, I told the Senate and House members of the Committee — we talked it over — and I made the suggestion that they appoint from the two

14. *Seven Hundred and Twenty-fifth Press Conference*

Appropriations Committees a small subcommittee that would feel entirely free to come down here at any time and be kept in complete and constant touch with everything that is being done under Bill No. 1776.

Of course, there is nothing that could not be disclosed except some of these things which probably we should defer announcing — the type of material or amounts involved — for purely military reasons for a reasonably short time. This particular list of items relates both to the Army and Navy. It is not a very large amount. I only have at the present time the figures showing the total original cost, because you will understand that that does not necessarily mean the billing price for the reason that a great many of these articles are out of date or surplus and haven't got the same monetary value that they had when they were manufactured a good many years ago.

And then I — well, you saw the gentlemen when they went out; they told you about the letter tomorrow which will be the usual — I have forgotten whether it is deficiency or supplemental estimate letter — to the Speaker. It is not a message to the Congress, because this is an appropriation bill and it goes in in the form of a deficiency or supplemental estimate to the Speaker, and, under the rules of the House, it is referred by him to the Appropriations Committee; and then they start hearings, I think, the day after. My letter will go up at noon tomorrow, and they will start the hearings on Thursday; so there is no waste of time in this procedure.

Q. Mr. President, you said you had a total of the value; are you going to tell us what that is?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, you called these supplemental or deficiency —

THE PRESIDENT: (*interposing*) I don't know whether they call it deficiency or supplemental.

Q. Usually supplemental is for the current year; is this for the current year?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

14. *Seven Hundred and Twenty-fifth Press Conference*

Q. What I am getting at, will there be another one for next year?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. You better ask them on the Hill what they want to call it; really, it is an appropriation bill under H. R. 1776.

Q. Mr. President, you have indicated that this list of stuff is current material, surplus, et cetera.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. I haven't read the bill lately; that bill mentioned a certain amount.

THE PRESIDENT: Up to a billion, three hundred million; the amount arrived at — the value of this stuff — will come out of that billion, three hundred million.

Q. I was going to ask you further, sir, if you will permit me, if there have been any terms or any dicker; have you made a deal with these people?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Will that be made public at any time you do so?

THE PRESIDENT: As soon as it is proper. Of course the Congressional people will know about it, but it won't be made public until the items themselves are made public. You couldn't do any figuring on dollars and cents unless you knew what the items were.

Q. Mr. President, is this a lending or a leasing procedure?

THE PRESIDENT: I give it up; I'm not interested.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us when the proposed aid to China may be forthcoming?

THE PRESIDENT: The what?

Q. Aid for China; I heard you mention Britain and Greece.

THE PRESIDENT: That's all I've done today! (*Laughter*)

Q. Will there be aid to China?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I guess so.

Q. Would it depend, sir, on the report that Lauchlin Currie makes to you?

THE PRESIDENT: That might have something to do with it; I wouldn't say it would depend on it.

15. Request for \$7,000,000,000 for Lend-Lease

Q. Mr. President, will some of this be out of the 1942 budget?

THE PRESIDENT: There is not much we can talk about yet because it is still in the process of working out on the Hill as to whether certain types of things taken out by anticipation, things already ordered but not yet delivered, already appropriated for and ordered and which would fall into the one-billion-three-hundred-million-dollar category — as to whether they should be deducted, or any portion of them, from the seven-billion-dollar appropriation or not. That is a thing that is really a legislative matter and we hadn't worked it out this morning. There are too many categories of things in there to make an over-all statement; some might and some might not. . . .

Q. Is it proper for you to say whether any of this equipment is now on the way?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no, none of it is on the way — at least it wasn't until five minutes to four, because I didn't approve it until then. We work fast, but there *are* limitations! (Laughter)

NOTE: For accounts of the genesis of Lend-Lease, and the operation of the lend-lease program, see the following references: Item 145, pp. 606-615, 1940 volume; Item 152 and note, pp. 668-678, 1940 volume; Item 157, p. 710, 1940 volume; Items 15, 17, 28, 37, 52, 76, 82, 96, 105, 111, 123 and notes, this volume; Item 31, 1942 volume; Items 30, 98, 119 and 124, 1943 volume; and Items 25 and 31, 1944-1945 volume.

15 ¶ The President Requests an Appropriation of \$7,000,000,000 to Finance the Lend-Lease

→ Program. March 12, 1941

My dear Mr. Speaker:

THIS Nation has felt that it was imperative to the security of America that we encourage the democracies' heroic resistance to aggressions, by not only maintaining but also increasing the flow

15. Request for \$7,000,000,000 for Lend-Lease

of material assistance from this country. Therefore, the Congress has enacted and I have signed H. R. 1776.

Through this legislation, our country has determined to do its full part in creating an adequate arsenal of democracy. This great arsenal will be here in this country. It will be a bulwark of our own defense. It will be the source of the tools of defense for all democracies who are fighting to preserve themselves against aggression.

While the defense equipment produced under H. R. 1776 remains under the control of the United States until it is ready for disposition, it is the fixed policy of this Government to make for democracies every gun, plane, and munition of war that we possibly can.

To accomplish these objectives, I am transmitting an estimate in the amount of \$7,000,000,000, the details of which are set forth in the accompanying letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. I strongly urge the immediate enactment of this appropriation.

Respectfully,

Honorable Sam Rayburn,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

NOTE: There can be little question that the lend-lease program was at once one of the most brilliantly conceived and most important contributions of President Roosevelt to ultimate victory. The concept of lend-lease was evolved by the President late in 1940 as a means of defending the United States by furnishing striking power to those who were resisting the Nazi and Fascist forces. Many factors played a role in the President's determination to propose the plan of lend-lease. These factors in-

cluded principles of international economics, the desirability of speeding up war production in the United States, the necessity for building up American defenses, and the need to find a way of evolving a workable plan which would be wholeheartedly supported by the Congress and the American people.

As early as October, 1937, in his "quarantine" speech at Chicago (see Item 128, pp. 406-411, 1937 volume) the President had taken a courageous (although, from the point of view of the American peo-

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ple as a whole, still premature) stand against the spread of aggressive imperialism. Many times thereafter, the President proclaimed the need for curbing aggressor Nations.

His public pronouncements were supplemented by a series of affirmative actions designed to stem the increasing international lawlessness. After the outbreak of the war in 1939, the President realized that the existing embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to belligerent countries aided the dictators at the expense of those countries fighting aggression. Accordingly, at his request, the Congress in extraordinary session repealed the embargo (see Item 130, 1939 volume). This permitted the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerent Nations on a cash-and-carry basis; i.e., the purchasers would send their ships here for the goods and pay cash for them.

During 1939 and 1940, the President took several other drastic steps to aid the democracies and to keep war away from the United States. Outstanding among those measures was the transfer of 50 over-age destroyers to Great Britain in September, 1940, and, in exchange therefor, the acquisition of naval and air bases on British territory, reaching from Newfoundland to the Caribbean area; and the supply of over \$40,000,000 worth of surplus stocks of rifles, machine guns, field artillery, ammunition, and aircraft to Great Britain following the evacu-

ation at Dunkirk (see note to Item 152, pp. 673-674, 1940 volume).

Even before the outbreak of the European war, Great Britain and France had placed many orders for munitions and aircraft in this country. Concurrently, between 1938 and 1940, the Export-Import Bank of Washington made loans to China totaling \$120,000,000. These loans made possible the purchase by China of American trucks, tires, gasoline, metals, machinery, and electrical equipment. (For an account of financial aid to China see Item 140 and note, pp. 587-595, 1940 volume.) Through these foreign purchases, American defense industries started to expand, to develop the "know-how" which so greatly aided the United States to mobilize its war industry and later to reach the high level of production which it did.

Several days after the passage of the Neutrality Act of 1939 (Nov. 4, 1939), a British Purchasing Commission established headquarters in this country to expedite the purchase of necessary war materials for Great Britain. The British assisted American defense expansion not only by direct purchases but by advancing capital for plant construction, lending the necessary machine tools, and otherwise investing in American manufacturing facilities. British orders made a substantial contribution to the expansion of American machine-tool production, shipbuilding, tanks, and aircraft.

The British and other purchas-

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ing countries were assisted by the work of the Interdepartmental Committee for Coordination of Foreign and Domestic Military Purchases. More popularly known as "the President's Liaison Committee," it had been created by a letter from the President on December 6, 1939, to the Secretaries of War, Navy, and the Treasury. This Liaison Committee cooperated with the foreign missions in placing contracts with American industries. It also helped create new facilities for the production of munitions in the United States, and it stimulated the interchange of plans and blueprints for aircraft and munitions.

After the fall of France, the British took over all of the French contracts for the purchase of matériel in the United States. By the autumn of 1940, British purchases of munitions in the United States rose to a total of over \$3,000,000,000 — a small figure when contrasted with ultimate American wartime expenditures, but a very large figure when contrasted with American prewar defense expenditures.

Late in 1940, however, as the British needs for American material became even more urgent, Britain was experiencing increasing difficulty in making payments. Her dollar and gold supply had become seriously depleted. It was impossible for her to replenish her supply of dollars by the export of British goods to the United States because so much of British production was being devoted to war that Britain

had few goods available to export. By the end of 1940, it was apparent that British dollar resources could not last much beyond January, 1941.

The President was well aware of the perilous economic position of Great Britain late in 1940. Accordingly, he began to give attention to some means of solving this grave problem in order that American munitions and material could continue to assist Great Britain in holding off Axis onslaughts and in this way protect America's first line of defense in Europe.

Several weeks after his reelection for a third term in November, 1940, the President left on a cruise on the *Tuscaloosa*. In the course of this cruise, which took him through the British West Indies area and enabled him to inspect sites for the new naval and air bases recently acquired from the British, the President had an opportunity to consider various alternatives for action which would continue the flow of American war materials to Britain. He concluded that the Congress and American public opinion would not support an outright repeal of provisions of the Neutrality Act without a long and bitter political battle. He felt that even if legislation could be enacted which would permit direct loans to Britain to improve her dollar supply, this would be only a temporary stopgap and would raise the same diplomatic frictions which accompanied war debt settlement discus-

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sions following the first World War. On the other hand, outright gifts of munitions and war matériel not only would be politically inexpedient in the United States, but also might be distasteful to the British people.

During his cruise, the President received a remarkable 4,000-word letter on December 9 from Prime Minister Churchill, reviewing in some detail the British military position and financial situation. This letter, which Churchill after the war termed one of the most important he ever wrote, posed no solution to the problem of how to alleviate Britain's financial squeeze. Nevertheless, it aided the President in his thinking on the subject during the quiet weeks he spent on the deck of the *Tuscaloosa*. Toward the end of his cruise, the President one evening unfolded the lend-lease idea in a conversation with Harry Hopkins. All that remained was to reduce the concept to legislative terms, and to explain it to the country with simplicity and in a way which would capture the imagination. The former was accomplished with the aid of brilliant individuals like Oscar Cox; the latter was done by Roosevelt himself.

After his return to the United States, the President in his historic press conference of December 17, 1940, advanced the concept of lend-lease for the first time in public (see Item 145, pp. 604-615, 1940 volume). This was the occasion at which he used his famous "garden

hose" metaphor pointing out that if a neighbor's home caught fire, you would lend him your garden hose to help put out the fire, without thought of charging for its use but rather in the hope and expectation of getting it back after the fire is out. The President indicated that the defense of Great Britain was the best defense of the United States, and that it was in the self-interest of the United States to lend-lease war materials to Great Britain as they came off American production lines, eliminating the dollar sign from the transaction.

In his fireside chat on national security, delivered on December 29, 1940, the President announced to the world that America would be "the great arsenal of democracy." (See Item 149, pp. 633-644, 1940 volume.) Lend-lease was to be the mechanism by which this objective was to be attained.

On January 6, 1941, the President in his annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union outlined in more detail the principles of lend-lease (see Item 152, pp. 663-678, and note, 1940 volume). On January 10, 1941, H. R. 1776 and its companion bill in the Senate were introduced in both houses of the Congress. (See note to Item 152, p. 674, 1940 volume, for the legislative history of the Lend-Lease Act, which the President approved on March 11, 1941—55 Stat. 31; see also note to Item 152, pp. 675-678, for an account of the

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provisions and initial administration of the Lend-Lease Act.)

Prompt Congressional action followed the President's request of March 12, 1941, set out in the foregoing message, recommending that \$7,000,000,000 be appropriated for the administration of the lend-lease program. The House of Representatives passed, by a vote of 336-55, a bill appropriating this full amount for lend-lease purposes, and the Senate approved the bill by 67-9; the President signed the bill on March 27, 1941 (55 Stat. 53). The new appropriation act, known as the "Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1941," appropriated \$7,000,000,000 to remain available until June 30, 1943, for the procurement of defense articles, and for testing, inspecting, improving, repairing, outfitting, reconditioning, or otherwise placing in good working order any defense articles on behalf of foreign Nations whose defense was vital to ours. Subsequent appropriations vastly increased these sums available.

In 1943, the Congress, by overwhelming votes of 407-6 in the House of Representatives and 82-0 in the Senate, approved the extension of the Lend-Lease Act to June

30, 1944. Subsequent enactments extended the Lend-Lease Act to June 30, 1946, after which a three-year period to liquidate lend-lease affairs was provided.

Including the amount appropriated in the Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1941, approximately \$62,413,000,000 were made available for lend-lease purposes from all appropriations (excluding funds available for the leasing of ships). As of V-J Day, the United States Government under the lend-lease program had supplied to its allies American materials and labor representing a total cost of \$48,665,000,000.

For about two months after the passage of the first Lend-Lease Act, the President's Liaison Committee had charge of its administration. On May 2, 1941, the President by the issuance of Executive Order No. 8751 established the Division of Defense Aid Reports for the administration of the Lend-Lease Act. The Office of Lend-Lease Administration was established by Executive Order No. 8926 on October 28, 1941. (See Items 28, 37, 52, 96, 105 and notes, this volume, for additional accounts of the administration of the Lend-Lease Act.)