

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

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FOIA Number:

2011-2184-F

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

OA/ID Number: 13488
Folder ID Number: 13488-005

Folder Title:
Coast Guard Academy Commencement, 5/24/89 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	15	7	4

McGroarty/Dooley
May 23, 1989
11:30 pm
Draft 10

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
MAY 24, 1989

Thank you, Admiral. [Acknowledgments, Admiral Yost, Secretary Skinner, Alex Haley, distinguished guests.] I congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service.

Mention the Coast Guard, and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of the vital work the Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard continues to work around the clock in a major environmental clean-up effort. Let me commend Admiral Yost. Through his personal committment, involvement, and leadership he has served his country in the finest tradtions of the U.S. Coast Guard. Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- and keeping drugs off our streets. That may be "all in a day's work" for the Coast Guard -- but it's absolutely vital to our national health, well-being and security.

I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer, you never thought four years could pass so quickly. But they have. You've worked hard, Billet Night has come and gone.... You're ready -- "Semper Paratus" in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, and the world. The truth is, that is what

commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next.

Today, our world -- your world -- is changing, East and West. Today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into focus.

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea: the final chapter of the communist experiment. Communism is now recognized -- even by many within the communist world itself -- as a failed system: One that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of communism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea.

Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. Never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak, the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere, those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom. We hear them; the world hears them; and America will do all it can to encourage them.

So today, I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990s -- one that advances American ideals, and upholds American aims.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you: we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger than at any point in the post-war period, and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom.

There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

What is it that we want to see? It's a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market -- and nurturing that foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy.

America was founded on these values; they give us the confidence that flows from strength. So let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. But these values are not ours alone; they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the crowning success of our post-war policy.

This time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and destiny is in our own hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got hard work ahead of us.

o We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another.

- o We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a fact of life.
- o We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.
- o And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the world.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and turmoil exist. Therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves, our allies and friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Such goals are constant, but the strategy we employ to reach them can, and must, change as the world changes. Today, the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong -- economically, diplomatically, and militarily -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change.

And nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union.

What we're seeing now in the USSR is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake: Our policy is to seize every, and I mean every, opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power.

We want to see perestroika succeed. We want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from the top down -- institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see perestroika extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world . . . A Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. Now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment.

Our goal -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was in its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do

not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threats from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and (as you in the Coast Guard are well aware) narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: we must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry; we must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes; and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered this complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. Let me focus today on two points in particular.

- o First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength and resolve;
- o Second, the need to maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable.

In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. That's why we will move Peacekeeper ICBMs out of fixed and vulnerable silos -- making them mobile and thus harder to target.

Looking to the longer-term, we will also develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warning, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like these will fail.

We are also researching -- and we are committed to deploy when ready -- a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI. Our premise is straight forward: defense against incoming missiles endangers no person and no country.

We're also working to reduce the threat we face -- both nuclear and conventional. The INF Treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2400 shorter-range theater warheads. But we must remember that theater nuclear forces contribute to stability, no less than strategic forces. It would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe.

The conventional balance in Europe is just as important -- and is linked to -- the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years,

the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because -- if implemented -- they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along: that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the USSR. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone -- even if implemented -- are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority the Soviets now enjoy.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex. The stakes are high. But the Soviets are now being forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions we seek.

Let me emphasize: Our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The USSR has said it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force -- one less reliant on the tanks, artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact -- one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO -- would make Europe and the world more secure.

Peace can also be enhanced by movement toward more openness in military activities. Two weeks ago, I proposed an "open

skies" initiative, to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers. Publish an accurate defense budget.

But as we move forward we must also be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great deal is required of us, our allies -- and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particularly American ideal: freedom. I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- those who will think it boastful. But it's not, for one simple reason:

Democracy isn't our creation -- it's our inheritance.

We can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will continue in its service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

Thank you and God bless America.

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**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
MAY 24, 1989**

THANK YOU, ADMIRAL. [ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, ADMIRAL YOST, SECRETARY SKINNER, ALEX HALEY, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS.] I CONGRATULATE EACH MEMBER OF THIS YEAR'S CLASS ON RECEIVING YOUR COMMISSION INTO SUCH A PROUD SERVICE.

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MENTION THE COAST GUARD, AND MOST PEOPLE THINK ABOUT LIVES SAVED AT SEA, DARING RESCUE OPERATIONS. BUT THOSE DAILY ACTS OF HEROISM ARE JUST ONE PART OF THE VITAL WORK THE COAST GUARD PERFORMS. RIGHT NOW, IN PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND, THE COAST GUARD CONTINUES TO WORK AROUND THE CLOCK IN A MAJOR ENVIRONMENTAL CLEAN-UP EFFORT. RIGHT NOW, OFF THE FLORIDA COAST, COAST GUARD PATROLS ARE CHASING DOWN DRUG SMUGGLERS -- AND KEEPING DRUGS OFF OUR STREETS.

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THAT MAY BE "ALL IN A DAY'S WORK" FOR THE COAST GUARD -
- BUT IT'S ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL HEALTH,
WELL-BEING AND SECURITY.

I'M SURE ON THAT LONG FIRST DAY OF SWAB SUMMER, YOU
NEVER THOUGHT FOUR YEARS COULD PASS SO QUICKLY. BUT
THEY HAVE. YOU'VE WORKED HARD, BILLET NIGHT HAS COME
AND GONE.... YOU'RE READY -- "SEMPER PARATUS" IN THE
WORDS OF YOUR MOTTO -- READY TO ENTER THE COAST GUARD
SERVICE, AND THE WORLD.

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THE TRUTH IS, THAT IS WHAT COMMENCEMENT IS ALL ABOUT.
THE WORLD IS YOURS, AND TODAY'S CEREMONY IS REALLY PART
OF THE CHANGE OF COMMAND FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE
NEXT.

TODAY, OUR WORLD -- YOUR WORLD -- IS CHANGING, EAST
AND WEST. TODAY I WANT TO SPEAK TO YOU ABOUT THE WORLD
WE WANT TO SEE, AND WHAT WE CAN DO TO BRING THAT NEW
WORLD INTO FOCUS.

WE LIVE IN A TIME WHEN WE ARE WITNESSING THE END OF AN IDEA: THE FINAL CHAPTER OF THE COMMUNIST EXPERIMENT. COMMUNISM IS NOW RECOGNIZED -- EVEN BY MANY WITHIN THE COMMUNIST WORLD ITSELF -- AS A FAILED SYSTEM: ONE THAT PROMISED ECONOMIC PROSPERITY BUT FAILED TO DELIVER THE GOODS, A SYSTEM THAT BUILT A WALL BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS.

BUT THE ECLIPSE OF COMMUNISM IS ONLY ONE HALF OF THE STORY OF OUR TIME.

THE OTHER IS THE ASCENDANCY OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE IDEA OF FREEDOM SO CAPTURED THE IMAGINATIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN THE WORLD OVER. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE HOPE OF FREEDOM BECKONED SO MANY. TRADE UNIONISTS IN WARSAW. THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA. RULERS CONSULTING THE RULED IN THE SOVIET UNION. AND EVEN AS WE SPEAK, THE WORLD IS TRANSFIXED BY THE DRAMATIC EVENTS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE. EVERYWHERE, THOSE VOICES ARE SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM.

WE HEAR THEM; THE WORLD HEARS THEM; AND AMERICA WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO ENCOURAGE THEM.

SO TODAY, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT OUR SECURITY STRATEGY FOR THE 1990S -- ONE THAT ADVANCES AMERICAN IDEALS, AND UPHOLDS AMERICAN AIMS.

AMIDST THE MANY CHALLENGES WE'LL FACE, THERE WILL BE RISKS. BUT LET ME ASSURE YOU: WE'LL FIND MORE THAN OUR SHARE OF OPPORTUNITIES.

WE AND OUR ALLIES ARE STRONG -- STRONGER THAN AT ANY POINT IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD, AND MORE CAPABLE THAN EVER OF SUPPORTING THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

THERE'S AN OPPORTUNITY BEFORE US TO SHAPE A NEW WORLD.

WHAT IS IT THAT WE WANT TO SEE? IT'S A GROWING COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES ANCHORING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY, AND A DYNAMIC FREE MARKET SYSTEM GENERATING PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS ON A GLOBAL SCALE.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF THIS NEW ERA IS THE PROVEN SUCCESS OF THE FREE MARKET -- AND NURTURING THAT FOUNDATION ARE THE VALUES ROOTED IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

AMERICA WAS FOUNDED ON THESE VALUES; THEY GIVE US THE CONFIDENCE THAT FLOWS FROM STRENGTH. SO LET'S BE CLEAR ABOUT ONE THING: AMERICA LOOKS FORWARD TO THE CHALLENGE OF AN EMERGING GLOBAL MARKET.

BUT THESE VALUES ARE NOT OURS ALONE; THEY ARE NOW SHARED BY OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES AROUND THE GLOBE.

THE ECONOMIC RISE OF EUROPE AND THE NATIONS OF THE PACIFIC RIM IS THE CROWNING SUCCESS OF OUR POST-WAR POLICY.

THIS TIME IS A TIME OF TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY -- AND DESTINY IS IN OUR OWN HANDS. TO REACH THE WORLD WE WANT TO SEE, WE'VE GOT HARD WORK AHEAD OF US.

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0 WE MUST RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL TRADE PROBLEMS THAT THREATEN TO PIT FRIENDS AND ALLIES AGAINST ONE ANOTHER.

0 WE MUST COMBAT MISGUIDED NOTIONS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM THAT TELL US TO CLOSE OFF OUR ECONOMIES TO FOREIGN COMPETITION, JUST WHEN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE HAS BECOME A FACT OF LIFE.

0 WE MUST OPEN THE DOOR TO THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THAT EMBRACE FREE MARKET REFORMS.

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0 AND FINALLY, FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS HEAVILY BURDENED WITH DEBT, WE MUST PROVIDE ASSISTANCE AND ENCOURAGE THE MARKET REFORMS THAT WILL SET THOSE NATIONS ON A PATH TOWARDS GROWTH.

IF WE SUCCEED, THE NEXT DECADE AND THE CENTURY BEYOND WILL BE AN ERA OF UNPARALLELED GROWTH -- AN ERA WHICH SEES THE FLOURISHING OF FREEDOM, PEACE AND PROSPERITY AROUND THE WORLD.

BUT THIS NEW ERA CANNOT UNFOLD IN A CLIMATE WHERE CONFLICT AND TORMOIL EXIST. THEREFORE, OUR GOALS MUST ALSO INCLUDE SECURITY AND STABILITY: SECURITY FOR OURSELVES, OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS; STABILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AND AN END TO REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

SUCH GOALS ARE CONSTANT, BUT THE STRATEGY WE EMPLOY TO REACH THEM CAN, AND MUST, CHANGE AS THE WORLD CHANGES. TODAY, THE NEED FOR A DYNAMIC AND ADAPTABLE STRATEGY IS IMPERATIVE.

WE MUST BE STRONG -- ECONOMICALLY, DIPLOMATICALLY, AND MILITARILY -- TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO US IN A WORLD OF RAPID CHANGE.

AND NOWHERE WILL THE ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE HAVE MORE SIGNIFICANCE FOR WORLD SECURITY THAN WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION.

WHAT WE'RE SEEING NOW IN THE USSR IS INDEED DRAMATIC. THE PROCESS IS STILL ONGOING, UNFINISHED.

BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE: OUR POLICY IS TO SEIZE EVERY, AND I MEAN EVERY, OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD A BETTER, MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- JUST AS IT IS OUR POLICY TO DEFEND AMERICAN INTERESTS IN LIGHT OF THE ENDURING REALITY OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER.

WE WANT TO SEE PERESTROIKA SUCCEED. WE WANT TO SEE THE POLICIES OF GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA -- SO FAR, A REVOLUTION IMPOSED FROM THE TOP DOWN -- INSTITUTIONALIZED WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION.

AND WE WANT TO SEE PERESTROIKA EXTENDED AS WELL. WE WANT TO SEE A SOVIET UNION THAT RESTRUCTURES ITS RELATIONSHIP TOWARD THE REST OF THE WORLD . . . A SOVIET UNION THAT IS A FORCE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS.

THE GRAND STRATEGY OF THE WEST DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD HAS BEEN BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF CONTAINMENT: CHECKING THE SOVIET UNION'S EXPANSIONIST AIMS, IN THE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET SYSTEM ITSELF WOULD ONE DAY BE FORCED TO CONFRONT ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. THE FERMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY AFFIRMS THE WISDOM OF THIS STRATEGY. NOW WE HAVE A PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT.

OUR GOAL -- INTEGRATING THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -- IS EVERY BIT AS AMBITIOUS AS CONTAINMENT WAS IN ITS TIME. AND IT HOLDS TREMENDOUS PROMISE FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY.

COPING WITH A CHANGING SOVIET UNION WILL BE A CHALLENGE OF THE HIGHEST ORDER. BUT THE SECURITY CHALLENGES WE FACE TODAY DO NOT COME FROM THE EAST ALONE. THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POWERS IS RAPIDLY CHANGING THE STRATEGIC LANDSCAPE.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN SOUTH ASIA, IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, A GROWING NUMBER OF NATIONS ARE ACQUIRING ADVANCED AND HIGHLY DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITIES -- IN SOME CASES, WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND THE MEANS TO DELIVER THEM. AND IT IS AN UNFORTUNATE FACT THAT THE WORLD FACES INCREASING THREATS FROM ARMED INSURGENCIES, TERRORISTS, AND (AS YOU IN THE COAST GUARD ARE WELL AWARE) NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS -- AND, IN SOME REGIONS, AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF ALL THREE.

OUR TASK IS CLEAR: WE MUST CURB THE PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY; WE MUST CHECK THE AGGRESSIVE AMBITIONS OF RENEGADE REGIMES; AND WE MUST ENHANCE THE ABILITY OF OUR FRIENDS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. WE HAVE NOT YET MASTERED THIS COMPLEX CHALLENGE. WE AND OUR ALLIES MUST CONSTRUCT A COMMON STRATEGY FOR STABILITY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

HOW WE AND OUR ALLIES DEAL WITH THESE DIVERSE CHALLENGES DEPENDS ON HOW WELL WE UNDERSTAND THE KEY ELEMENTS OF DEFENSE STRATEGY. LET ME FOCUS TODAY ON TWO POINTS IN PARTICULAR.

O FIRST, THE NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE DETERRENT, ONE THAT DEMONSTRATES TO OUR ALLIES AND ADVERSARIES ALIKE AMERICAN STRENGTH AND RESOLVE;

O SECOND, THE NEED TO MAINTAIN AN APPROACH TO ARMS REDUCTION THAT PROMOTES STABILITY AT THE LOWEST FEASIBLE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS.

DETERRENCE IS CENTRAL TO OUR DEFENSE STRATEGY. THE KEY TO KEEPING THE PEACE IS CONVINCING OUR ADVERSARIES THAT THE COST OF AGGRESSION AGAINST US OR OUR ALLIES IS SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE.

IN TODAY'S WORLD, NUCLEAR FORCES ARE ESSENTIAL TO DETERRENCE.

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OUR CHALLENGE IS TO PROTECT THOSE DETERRENT SYSTEMS FROM ATTACK. THAT'S WHY WE WILL MOVE PEACEKEEPER ICBMS OUT OF FIXED AND VULNERABLE SILOS -- MAKING THEM MOBILE AND THUS HARDER TO TARGET.

LOOKING TO THE LONGER-TERM, WE WILL ALSO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY A NEW HIGHLY MOBILE SINGLE-WARHEAD MISSILE, THE MIDGETMAN. WITH ONLY MINUTES OF WARNING, THESE NEW MISSILES CAN RELOCATE OUT OF HARM'S WAY. ANY ATTACK AGAINST SYSTEMS LIKE THESE WILL FAIL.

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WE ARE ALSO RESEARCHING -- AND WE ARE COMMITTED TO DEPLOY -- A MORE COMPREHENSIVE DEFENSIVE SYSTEM, KNOWN AS SDI. OUR PREMISE IS STRAIGHT FORWARD: DEFENSE AGAINST INCOMING MISSILES ENDANGERS NO PERSON AND NO COUNTRY.

WE'RE ALSO WORKING TO REDUCE THE THREAT WE FACE -- BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL. THE INF TREATY DEMONSTRATES THAT WILLINGNESS.

IN ADDITION, IN THE PAST DECADE, NATO HAS UNILATERALLY REMOVED 2400 SHORTER-RANGE THEATER WARHEADS. BUT THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY, NO LESS THAN STRATEGIC FORCES. IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE TO DEPEND SOLELY ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES TO DETER CONFLICT IN EUROPE.

THE CONVENTIONAL BALANCE IN EUROPE IS JUST AS IMPORTANT -- AND IS LINKED TO -- THE NUCLEAR BALANCE.

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, THE WARSAW PACT'S MASSIVE ADVANTAGE IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES HAS CAST A SHADOW OVER EUROPE.

THE UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS PROMISED GIVE US HOPE THAT WE CAN NOW REDRESS THAT IMBALANCE. WE WELCOME THOSE STEPS BECAUSE -- IF IMPLEMENTED -- THEY WILL HELP REDUCE THE THREAT OF SURPRISE ATTACK.

AND THEY CONFIRM WHAT WE'VE SAID ALL ALONG: THAT SOVIET MILITARY POWER FAR EXCEEDS THE LEVELS NEEDED TO DEFEND THE LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE USSR. AND WE MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT THESE REDUCTIONS ALONE -- EVEN IF IMPLEMENTED -- ARE NOT ENOUGH TO ELIMINATE THE SIGNIFICANT NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY THE SOVIETS NOW ENJOY.

THROUGH NEGOTIATION, WE CAN NOW TRANSFORM THE MILITARY LANDSCAPE OF EUROPE. THE ISSUES ARE COMPLEX.

THE STAKES ARE HIGH. BUT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN FORTHCOMING, AND WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE THE REDUCTIONS WE SEEK.

LET ME EMPHASIZE: OUR AIM IS NOTHING LESS THAN REMOVING WAR AS AN OPTION IN EUROPE.

THE USSR HAS SAID IT IS WILLING TO ABANDON ITS AGE-OLD RELIANCE ON OFFENSIVE STRATEGY. IT'S TIME TO BEGIN.

THIS SHOULD MEAN A SMALLER FORCE -- ONE LESS RELIANT ON THE TANKS, ARTILLERY AND PERSONNEL CARRIERS THAT PROVIDE THE SOVIETS' OFFENSIVE STRIKING POWER. A RESTRUCTURED WARSAW PACT -- ONE THAT MIRRORS THE DEFENSIVE POSTURE OF NATO -- WOULD MAKE EUROPE AND THE WORLD MORE SECURE.

PEACE CAN ALSO BE ENHANCED BY MOVEMENT TOWARD MORE OPENNESS IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

TWO WEEKS AGO, I PROPOSED AN "OPEN SKIES" INITIATIVE, TO EXTEND THE CONCEPT OF OPENNESS. THAT PLAN FOR TERRITORIAL OVERFLIGHTS WOULD INCREASE OUR MUTUAL SECURITY AGAINST SUDDEN AND THREATENING MILITARY ACTIVITIES. IN THE SAME SPIRIT, LET US EXTEND THIS OPENNESS TO MILITARY EXPENDITURES AS WELL. I CALL ON THE SOVIETS TO DO AS WE HAVE ALWAYS DONE. LET'S OPEN THE LEDGERS. PUBLISH AN ACCURATE DEFENSE BUDGET.

BUT AS WE MOVE FORWARD WE MUST ALSO BE REALISTIC. TRANSFORMATIONS OF THIS MAGNITUDE WILL NOT HAPPEN OVERNIGHT. IF WE ARE TO REACH OUR GOALS, A GREAT DEAL IS REQUIRED OF US, OUR ALLIES -- AND OF THE SOVIET UNION. BUT WE CAN SUCCEED.

I BEGAN TODAY BY SPEAKING ABOUT THE TRIUMPH OF A PARTICULARLY AMERICAN IDEAL: FREEDOM.

I KNOW THERE ARE THOSE WHO MAY THINK THERE'S SOMETHING PRESUMPTUOUS ABOUT THAT CLAIM -- THOSE WHO WILL THINK IT BOASTFUL. BUT IT'S NOT, FOR ONE SIMPLE REASON:

DEMOCRACY ISN'T OUR CREATION -- IT'S OUR INHERITANCE.

WE CAN'T TAKE CREDIT FOR DEMOCRACY -- BUT WE CAN TAKE THAT PRECIOUS GIFT OF FREEDOM, PRESERVE IT AND PASS IT ON -- AS MY GENERATION DOES TO YOU, AND YOU, TOO, WILL DO ONE DAY.

AND PERHAPS -- PROVIDED WE SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO US -- WE CAN HELP OTHERS ATTAIN THE FREEDOM WE CHERISH.

AS I SAID ON THE CAPITOL STEPS THE DAY I TOOK THIS OFFICE, "THERE IS BUT ONE JUST USE OF POWER, AND IT IS TO SERVE PEOPLE." AS YOUR COMMANDER IN CHIEF, LET ME CALL ON THIS COAST GUARD CLASS TO REAFFIRM WITH ME THAT AMERICAN POWER WILL REMAIN ALWAYS IN SERVICE TO THE ENDURING IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM.

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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McGroarty/Dooley
May 23, 1989
11:30 pm
Draft 10

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
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Thank you, Admiral. [Acknowledgments, Admiral Yost, Secretary Skinner, Alex Haley, distinguished guests.] I congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service.

Mention the Coast Guard, and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of the vital work the Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard continues to work around the clock in a major environmental clean-up effort. Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- and keeping drugs off our streets. That may be "all in a day's work" for the Coast Guard -- but it's absolutely vital to our national health, well-being and security.

I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer, you never thought four years could pass so quickly. But they have. You've worked hard, Billet Night has come and gone.... You're ready -- "Semper Paratus" in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, and the world. The truth is, that is what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next.

Today, our world -- your world -- is changing, East and West. Today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into focus.

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea: the final chapter of the communist experiment. Communism is now recognized -- even by many within the communist world itself -- as a failed system: One that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of communism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea.

Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. Never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere, those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom.

So today, I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990s -- one that advances American ideals, and upholds American aims.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you: we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger than at any point in the post-war period, and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom.

There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

What is it that we want to see? It's a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market -- and nurturing that economic foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy.

America was founded on these values; they give us the confidence that flows from strength. So let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. These values are not ours alone, they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the crowning success of our post-war policy.

Our time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and our destiny is in our hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got hard work ahead of us.

- o We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another.
- o We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace is a fact of life.
- o We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

o And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the world.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and instability exist. Therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves, our allies and friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Those goals don't change, but the strategy we employ to reach those goals can, and must. Today, the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong -- economically, diplomatically, and militarily -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change.

But nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union.

What we're seeing now in the USSR is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake: Our policy is to seize every, and I mean every, opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power.

We want to see perestroika succeed. We want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from the top down -- institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see perestroika extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world . . . A Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has been based upon the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. Now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment.

This goal -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was in its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an

unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threats from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and (as you in the Coast Guard are well aware) narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: we must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry; we must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes; and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered this complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. Let me focus today on two points in particular.

- o First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength and resolve;
- o Second, we must maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable.

In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. That's why we will move Peacekeeper ICBMs out of fixed and vulnerable silos -- making them mobile and thus harder to target.

Looking to the longer-term, we will develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warning, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like these will fail.

We are also researching -- and we are committed to deploy -- a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI. Our premise is straight forward: defense against incoming missiles endangers no person and no country.

We're also working to reduce the threat -- nuclear and conventional. The INF Treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2400 shorter-range theater warheads. But theater nuclear forces contribute to stability, no less than strategic forces. It would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe.

The conventional balance in Europe is just as important -- and is linked to -- the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years, the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because -- if implemented -- they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along: that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the USSR. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone -- even if

implemented -- are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority the Soviets now enjoy.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex. The stakes are high. But the Soviets have been forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions we seek.

Let me emphasize: Our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The USSR has said it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force -- one less reliant on the tanks, artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact -- one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO -- would make Europe and the world more secure.

Peace can also be enhanced by movement toward more openness in military activities. Two weeks ago, I proposed an "open skies" initiative, to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers. Publish an accurate defense budget.

But we must be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great

deal is required of us, our allies -- and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particularly American ideal: freedom. I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- those who will think it boastful. But it's not, for one simple reason:

Democracy isn't our creation -- it's our inheritance.

We can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will remain always in service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

Thank you and God bless America.

#




United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: David F. Demarest, Assistant to the President
for Communications

FROM: Edward L. Rowny, Special Advisor to the President
and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters 

SUBJECT: President's Speech at the Coast Guard Academy

The Coast Guard Academy draft has good themes and good style. Since this has been advertised in the media as a major speech on national security strategy, however, I believe the President will miss a golden opportunity if he does not have more "attention getters." These could be more details on the Soviet threat and our response through defense programs and arms control.

You also should factor in the fact that Paul Nitze will be continuing his campaign against Bush arms control policies in a National Press Club luncheon address the very day of the Coast Guard Academy speech. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, Nitze not only made his familiar arguments against President Bush's policy on SNF, but he also revealed his true opinion of the restraints he would like to put on SDI. He said that while the narrow interpretation of the ABM Treaty cannot now stand up legally, he would favor a new agreement with the Soviets that unambiguously codified the narrow interpretation. He also renewed his support for negotiating crippling limits on the SDI technologies we are now researching. No one from the Administration was on hand to respond.

Here are some specific suggestions for strengthening the speech:

--Challenge Gorbachev to make more unilateral cuts in conventional arms. He can afford to make them because the Warsaw Pact enjoys such a large margin of superiority in conventional weapons over NATO.

--Strongly endorse SDI and challenge the Soviets on the missile defense issue.

-Stress that SDI is as necessary as strategic offensive modernization, and that the two should go hand-in-hand. Tower and Cheney made this point emphatically earlier this year.

-Assure the public we will not cripple SDI through compromises at the negotiating table.

-Point out that SDI would provide insurance against violation of a START agreement and, moreover, insurance against third-country or rogue ballistic missiles.

-Reaffirm the Reagan Administration policy that "SDI is going to make possible a return to the commonsense view that effective defenses, which threaten no one, contribute to peace and stability."

-Point out that the Soviet Union has never embraced the mutual assured destruction concept. No nation is as strong a proponent of strategic defenses as the Soviet Union, while no nation is more strongly opposed to our SDI. Vice President Quayle put it well in his recent Navy League speech: ". . . despite some encouraging changes within the Soviet Union, I know of nothing that has occurred since 1983 that should change our thinking about strategic defense. In fact, when it comes to deployed military hardware -- the only tangible criterion by which to measure our adversaries' purpose and intent -- the only changes I have seen have reinforced the case for strategic defense."

If the President does not make strong, detailed declarations of support for SDI soon, he could be accused of retreating from the Republican Platform and his own campaign statements.

U.S. COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

DATE: MAY 24, 1989
TIME: 12:00 P.M.
LOCATION: U.S. COAST GUARD ACADEMY

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS

I. PURPOSE

To deliver an address focusing primarily on nuclear strategy and modernization questions, with some treatment of conventional force balance.

II. BACKGROUND

Originally established by legislation in 1876, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy had a fitful history until World War I, when it received its present name. The Academy is the only federal service academy that offers appointments on the basis of a nationwide competition -- there are no congressional nominations, state quotas or special categories.

There are 835 cadets at the Academy: 120 women; and 715 men. Each graduate earns a Bachelor of Science degree, and after commencement each ensign will be assigned aboard a Coast Guard cutter. Their duties could involve drug or alien interdiction, saving lives at sea, or the defense of U.S. maritime regions.

Thirty-four members of the class of 1991 will be spending their summer in Alaska, aiding in the Valdez oilspill clean-up.

Alex Haley, author of Roots, will be receiving an honorary degree at the ceremony. He was in the Coast Guard for twenty years, and claims he does his best work aboard ship, which is where he wrote his most recent book.

III. PARTICIPANTS

164 First Class Cadets (3 international cadets: two from Costa Rica, one from Panama)

5200 Friends, Family and Faculty

(Please see attached diagram of those who will be seated on stage.)

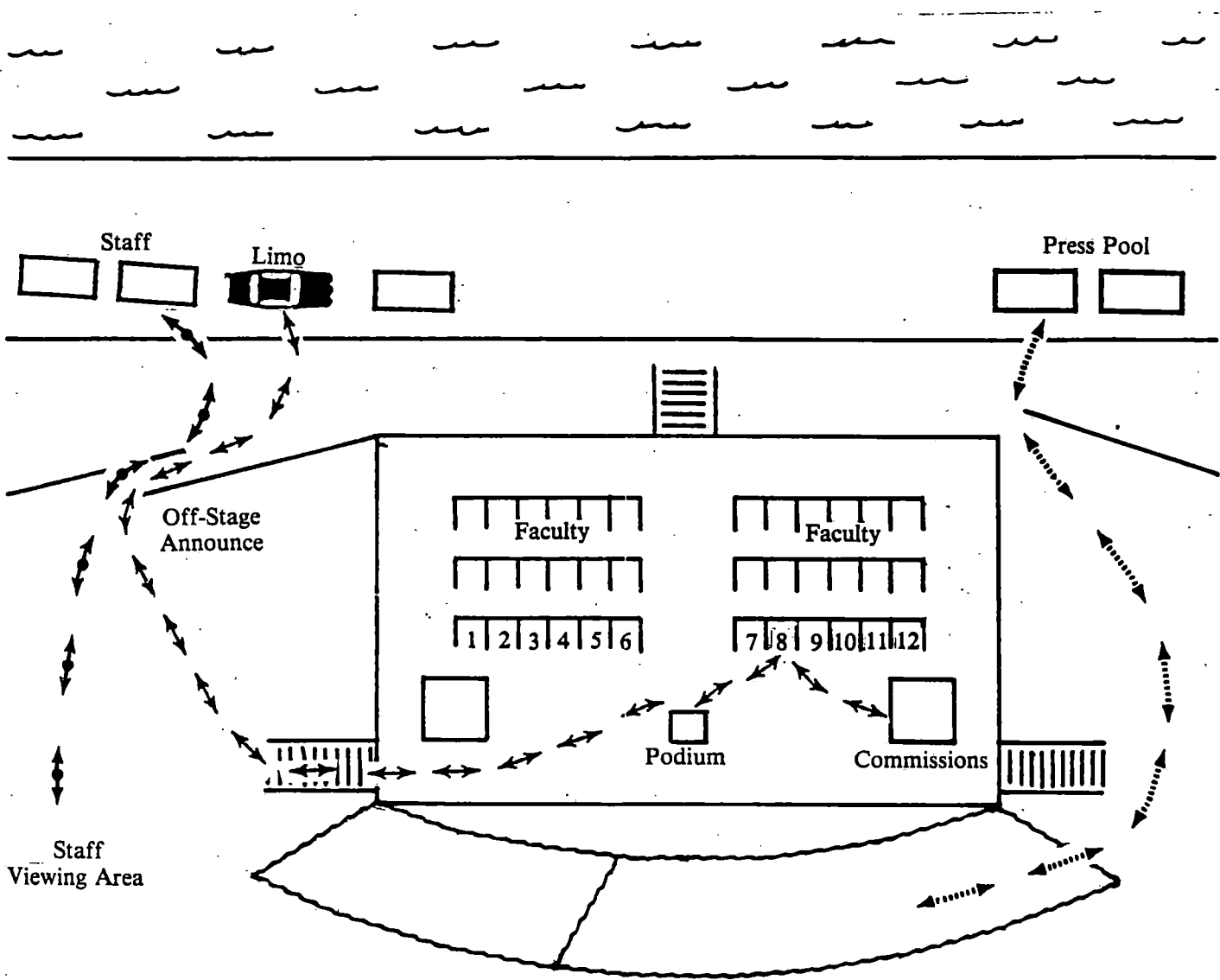
IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Please see Advance Team Scenario.

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
 U.S. Coast Guard Academy
 Commencement Ceremony
 Dais Diagram
 Wednesday, May 24, 1989



- 1. Dr. Sanders
Dean, USCGA
- 2. Capt. Versaw
Assit. Superintendent, USCGA
- 3. Prof. Gathy
- 4. Como. Pratt
Comodore, USCG Auxiliary
- 5. Secretary Skinner
- 6. Admiral Yost

- 7. Rear Admiral Cueroni
Superintendent, USCGA
- 8. THE PRESIDENT
- 9. Mr. Alex Haley
- 10. Ambassador Juarez
Costa Rica
- 11. Capt. Ashworth
Commandant of Cadets
- 12. Capt. McCoy
Catholic Chaplain

12:15

KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- PRESS
- - - - GUESTS & STAFF

For insert in Coast Guard Speech

RECOMMENDED ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH: Insert between penultimate and last paragraph.

I applaud the patriotism and dedication to freedom and democracy that each of you are demonstrating here today at this graduation. The Coast Guard plays critical roles not only in drug interdiction but also in ~~the~~ national defense and other programs important to our total national security picture: the Maritime Defense Zone, Icebreaking, Low Intensity Conflict, National Security Assistance and many others.

As the Coast Guard's newest officers, you are becoming a part of this great national purpose.

456-2397

FROM:
David Bates

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

STEPHEN P. FARRAR *SFF*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks: Coast Guard Academy
Commencement

The Office of Policy Development recommends that the President's reference to the international debt situation on page 4 be modified as follows:

Delete: "...we've got to provide debt relief and...."

Insert: "...we've got to help reduce these burdens and..."

If the language were not changed, the President could be misinterpreted as favoring additional USG resources to reduce third-world debt levels. The Brady Initiative fits better within the proposed language.

cc: Roger Porter
Bill Roper
Jim Cicconi

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JIM PINKERTON 

SUBJECT: Coast Guard Academy Commencement

This speech is missing a structure that involves:

- 1) the repetition of our previous themes when it speaks to the same ideas as those themes, e.g. we speak of a "new world" and "the ascendancy of the democratic idea" but we do not mention "the new breeze is blowing" or "The day of the dictator is over."
- 2) telling the audience up front that you will speak to these themes and then lay them out. If we want people to believe we have themes, we ought to speak in thematic terms. For example, the key themes in this speech are found in graf 5 at page 3 and the first graf at page 6. I suggest that we articulate these early, amplify them in the middle and re-emphasize in the conclusion.

Pg. 2, para. 4, line 2 "...evolution of the socialist experiment." "Evolution" is too complementary a term to attach to the decline of communism. The sentence would read better as simply: "the final chapter of the communist experiment." Also, we suggest using "communism" instead of "socialism" because we presumably want to avoid offending the democratically-elected socialist governments around the world.

3,2,2 The phrase "new world" is perfectly good, but why not dwell upon "new breeze" which is reshaping the world, blowing down tired institutions, and filling the sails of hope and progress. There is a value in repetition of our most familiar and effective themes.

3,7,1 "Hand-wringers" sounds rather Agnew-esque, i.e. a little harsh, and un-presidential.

4,1 This excellent paragraph turns the "America in decline" whiners on their heads.

(more)

2-2-2

4,4,1 We think that this is a shrewd way of making "economic nationalism" into an epithet. We should do to this term what was done to the formerly innocent term "appeasement."

We suggest that the President knock "economic nationalism" even harder by breaking one long sentence into two shorter, punchier sentences, i.e., "We've got to combat the misguided notion of economic nationalism. Economic nationalism would have us close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a reality."

4,4,3 "Fact of life" sounds a bit smart-aleck, we suggest something softer, e.g, "a reality [as above]."

4,5,2 We suggest: "embrace freedom and free market reforms." We don't want to "open our door" to the East Bloc until we are sure that they are politically as well as economically pacific.

4,6,2 We suggest "free market reforms." [emphasis added].

4,8 "Security" and "stability" do not have the ring of grand themes; they seem a bit bland. Furthermore, in the next graf, we go into an antithetical idea of "dynamism." We need a formulation that we articulate early and come back to: perhaps, security and stability as a foundation for dynamism; perhaps, the idea that respect for law and human rights leads to creativity and dynamism of the free exchange of goods and ideas.

5,4,1 "I want Perestroika to succeed." We believe this sentence is the line that the press will seize upon. To ensure maximum effect, the text should highlight and emphasize the phrase. Better yet, say: "I hope perestroika succeeds, and I am confident perestroika will succeed if the Soviet leadership follows the will of the people."

The succession of "I want..." in this paragraph sounds petulant. We suggest casting it in terms of a vision. Instead of "I want..." the President should say "I hope...", "I see....," "I look forward to...."

6,1 In the spirit of vision and themes, the President should refer, in this paragraph on "containment", to his Texas A & M speech on the same subject. If this is the heart of the message, it should be moved up in the body of the speech and incorporated into the structure, as noted in point 2) on the previous page.

7,8,6 This is a lame endorsement of SDI which will not go unnoticed on the Right.

9,3,8 We suggest "real stability, not to mention real equality, to the nations of Europe." [emphasis added]

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/19/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an information copy to my office by 5:00 TODAY, FRIDAY, MAY 19. Thank you

RESPONSE: *See changes*

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
May 19, 1989
9:00 am
Draft 3

1989 MAY 19 AM 10:00

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
MAY 24, 1989

Thank you, Admiral. I congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service.

Mention the Coast Guard, and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of vital work the Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard is working around the clock in a major environmental clean-up effort -- and I know that some of you receiving commissions will soon be joining the Coast Guard team in Alaska. Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- and keeping drugs off our streets. That may be "all in a day's work" for the Coast Guard -- but it's absolutely vital to our national health, well-being and security.

((I spoke to your Superintendent earlier about what I'd be saying here today, and he asked me one favor. He said: "Whatever you do, please don't throw a scare into these new Ensigns by telling them the world is theirs."))

The truth is, that is what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next. I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer, you never thought four years could

pass so quickly. But they have. You've worked hard, Billet Night has come and gone.... You're ready -- "Semper Paratus" in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, and the world.

And today, our world -- your world -- is changing. The signs are everywhere. Look east across the Atlantic. The nations of Western Europe are expanding their economic ties, uniting into a truly common market beginning in 1992. Look west, to the nations of the Pacific Rim -- to Japan's emergence as a world-class economic power, and to a half-dozen other Asian countries moving quickly into the global economy's front ranks.

And changes in the socialist world are even more profound.

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea: the final chapter in the evolution of the socialist experiment. Socialism is now recognized -- even by many within the socialist world itself -- as a failed system: One that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of socialism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea.

Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. Never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many -- students in Tiananmen Square. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Millions throughout the Soviet Union, given a voice and vote.

Everywhere, those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom.

Today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into existence. My national security team has now completed a series of systematic reviews that will help us chart that course. I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990s -- one that advances American aims, and upholds American ideals.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you: we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger than at any point in the post-war period, and capable of advancing the cause of freedom.

And the world we can help shape is cause for optimism.

Its outlines are clear: A growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the free market -- and developing that economic foundation is central to our security strategy.

And let's be clear about one thing: the emergence of a global market is a challenge America looks forward to -- not a threat to our status as a world power.

We all know there are hand-wringers out there, talking about an "America in decline." I can't explain how some people mistake the triumph of American ideas as a sign of defeat and decline....

The plain truth is: the economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim isn't proof of American decline at all -- it is the crowning success of our post-war alliance policy.

So the hand-wringers are wrong. Our time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and our destiny is in our hands. To reach the world I just spoke of, we've got hard work ahead of us.

- o We've got to resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another.

- o We've got to combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace is a fact of life.

- o We've got to open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

- o And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we've got to provide debt relief and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the new century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the globe.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and instability prevail. Our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves, our allies and friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Those goals don't change, but the strategy we employ to reach those goals can, and must. Today, the need for a dynamic

and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must use all the means at our disposal -- economic, diplomatic, and military -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change.

Nowhere is change more evident than in the Soviet Union, and nowhere are the ultimate consequences of change more important for world security.

I firmly believe that what we're seeing now in the USSR is significant and far-reaching. I also know that the process is still ongoing and unfinished. It is the policy of this Administration to seize every opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power. Socialism may no longer be a moral force in the world, but it is still -- in the Soviet Union -- a military force of considerable power.

I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from the top down -- institutionalized into the Soviet system. And I want to see perestroika extended as well. I want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship within the community of nations.... A Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems -- not a power that seeks to exploit and create international conflict to further its own ends.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has centered on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The fact that that is happening today spells the ultimate success of our strategy -- and creates an opportunity to move beyond containment.

The goal we've now set for ourselves -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was in its time. And it is a goal that holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in Latin America, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threats from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and (as you in the Coast Guard are well aware) narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: We must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry, check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes, and build up -- by means of economic and security

assistance -- the ability of friendly nations to defend themselves. ~~Our review shows that we have not yet mastered this complex challenge -- that~~ We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

Hu Santel
4770

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. Let me focus today on three points in particular.

- o First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength and resolve;
- o Second, the need for a dynamic and durable alliance structure;
- o Third, we must maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at lower levels of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the costs of aggression against us are simply unacceptable.

Conventional capability is crucial. We must be able to defend our interests well forward of our own shores, and to project power when and where we need to, to protect American citizens and interests.

But our nuclear forces remain our ultimate deterrent. My decision to move ahead on a rail-mobile ~~MX~~ ^{*Peace Keeper*} force -- and beyond that to develop and deploy the mobile single-warhead ^{*small CBM*} ~~Midgetman~~ missile -- will provide the survivable land-based deterrent that will help us keep the peace well into the next century. And maintaining a credible deterrent means moving forward on SDI as

Howard
4634

Howard
so that in the future we can rely
well, ~~to strengthen our deterrent by relying~~ increasingly on
defense, and less on the threat of retaliation.

In addition to an effective deterrent, our defense strategy depends upon strong alliances. Coalition defense has been the cornerstone of our security strategy for the past four decades. With the growing trend towards economic interdependence, now is no time for the U.S. to adopt a "go it alone" security policy.

But let me make equally clear that we view our alliances as true partnerships. The United States expects its alliance partners -- many now major economic powers in their own right -- to contribute their fair share to our common defense.

Those who think we've outgrown our alliance system are wrong. A strong security partnership among the democracies of the world will be the key to peace in the 21st Century.

But as our alliances mature, we must make sure our expectations remain realistic. Alliances of sovereign democratic nations will never be free of controversy. But we must never forget that disagreements between democracies are "family quarrels" -- differences that don't obscure the common aims and enduring interests we share.

Finally, we must seek to strengthen our security through significant arms reductions, both nuclear and conventional.

But reductions alone are not enough. Even deep reductions in strategic nuclear arsenals would leave the U.S. and USSR with enormous destructive power. Our aim must be strategic stability: a balance in which neither side can hope to destroy the forces of

the other without bringing destruction on itself. Any agreement that fails to pass that test is not in our national interest.

Next month, our negotiators will be back at the table in Geneva, working to hammer out a treaty that achieves real reductions, ensures stability -- and allows us to know with confidence that any agreement we sign is honored and observed.

In the area of conventional arms reductions, the U.S. and its NATO allies seek stability at lower levels of armaments -- and an agreement that eliminates the massive conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact forces. President Gorbachev's promise to make a unilateral cut in Soviet conventional forces is a welcome first step -- but it's still a long way from the deep reductions in tanks, artillery and troop strength that will bring real stability to the nations of Europe.

The complex calculations and analysis that are constant factors in setting our course should not obscure the plain truths that guide our defense strategy:

If we remain strong, we remain safe. If we work in concert with our allies, we add their strengths to our own. If we seek stability as well as real reductions in the weapons of war, we make ourselves and our allies more secure.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particularly American idea: freedom. I know there will be people who think there's something presumptuous about that -- people who will think it boastful to talk about that triumph. But it's not, for one simple reason:

Democracy isn't our creation -- it's our inheritance.

We can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take the precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on today's class to reaffirm with me that American power will remain always in service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/19/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an information copy to my office by 5:00 TODAY, FRIDAY, MAY 19. Thank you

RESPONSE: *Oh GRW 5/19*

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

BRENT O. HATCH *BH*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Remarks: Coast Guard Academy
Commencement

I have reviewed the above draft, and the Counsel's office has no comments.

cc: James W. Cicconi

McGroarty/Dooley
May 19, 1989
9:00 am
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT
MAY 24, 1989

Thank you, Admiral. I congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service.

Mention the Coast Guard, and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of vital work the Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard is working around the clock in a major environmental clean-up effort -- and I know that some of you receiving commissions will soon be joining the Coast Guard team in Alaska. Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- and keeping drugs off our streets. That may be "all in a day's work" for the Coast Guard -- but it's absolutely vital to our national health, well-being and security.

((I spoke to your Superintendent earlier about what I'd be saying here today, and he asked me one favor. He said: "Whatever you do, please don't throw a scare into these new Ensigns by telling them the world is theirs."))

The truth is, that is what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next. I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer, you never thought four years could

pass so quickly. But they have. You've worked hard, Billet Night has come and gone.... You're ready -- "Semper Paratus" in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, and the world.

And today, our world -- your world -- is changing. The signs are everywhere. Look east across the Atlantic. The nations of Western Europe are expanding their economic ties, uniting into a truly common market beginning in 1992. Look west, to the nations of the Pacific Rim -- to Japan's emergence as a world-class economic power, and to a half-dozen other Asian countries moving quickly into the global economy's front ranks.

And changes in the socialist world are even more profound.

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea: the final chapter in the evolution of the socialist experiment. Socialism is now recognized -- even by many within the socialist world itself -- as a failed system: One that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of socialism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea.

Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. Never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many -- students in Tiananmen Square. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Millions throughout the Soviet Union, given a voice and vote.

Everywhere, those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom.

Today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into existence. My national security team has now completed a series of systematic reviews that will help us chart that course. I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990s -- one that advances American aims, and upholds American ideals.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you: we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger than at any point in the post-war period, and capable of advancing the cause of freedom.

And the world we can help shape is cause for optimism.

Its outlines are clear: A growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the free market -- and developing that economic foundation is central to our security strategy.

And let's be clear about one thing: the emergence of a global market is a challenge America looks forward to -- not a threat to our status as a world power.

We all know there are hand-wringers out there, talking about an "America in decline." I can't explain how some people mistake the triumph of American ideas as a sign of defeat and decline....

The plain truth is: the economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim isn't proof of American decline at all -- it is the crowning success of our post-war alliance policy.

So the hand-wringers are wrong. Our time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and our destiny is in our hands. To reach the world I just spoke of, we've got hard work ahead of us.

- o We've got to resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another.

- o We've got to combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace is a fact of life.

- o We've got to open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

- o And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we've got to provide debt relief and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the new century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the globe.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and instability prevail. Our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves, our allies and friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Those goals don't change, but the strategy we employ to reach those goals can, and must. Today, the need for a dynamic

and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must use all the means at our disposal -- economic, diplomatic, and military -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change.

Nowhere is change more evident than in the Soviet Union, and nowhere are the ultimate consequences of change more important for world security.

I firmly believe that what we're seeing now in the USSR is significant and far-reaching. I also know that the process is still ongoing and unfinished. It is the policy of this Administration to seize every opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power. Socialism may no longer be a moral force in the world, but it is still -- in the Soviet Union -- a military force of considerable power.

I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from the top down -- institutionalized into the Soviet system. And I want to see perestroika extended as well. I want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship within the community of nations.... A Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems -- not a power that seeks to exploit and create international conflict to further its own ends.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has centered on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The fact that that is happening today spells the ultimate success of our strategy -- and creates an opportunity to move beyond containment.

The goal we've now set for ourselves -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was in its time. And it is a goal that holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in Latin America, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threats from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and (as you in the Coast Guard are well aware) narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: We must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry, check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes, and build up -- by means of economic and security

assistance -- the ability of friendly nations to defend themselves. Our review shows that we have not yet mastered this complex challenge -- that we and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. Let me focus today on three points in particular.

- o First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength and resolve;
- o Second, the need for a dynamic and durable alliance structure;
- o Third, we must maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at lower levels of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the costs of aggression against us are simply unacceptable.

Conventional capability is crucial. We must be able to defend our interests well forward of our own shores, and to project power when and where we need to, to protect American citizens and interests.

But our nuclear forces remain our ultimate deterrent. My decision to move ahead on a rail-mobile MX force -- and beyond that to develop and deploy the mobile single-warhead Midgetman missile -- will provide the survivable land-based deterrent that will help us keep the peace well into the next century. And maintaining a credible deterrent means moving forward on SDI as

well, to strengthen our deterrent by relying increasingly on defense, and less on the threat of retaliation.

In addition to an effective deterrent, our defense strategy depends upon strong alliances. Coalition defense has been the cornerstone of our security strategy for the past four decades. With the growing trend towards economic interdependence, now is no time for the U.S. to adopt a "go it alone" security policy.

But let me make equally clear that we view our alliances as true partnerships. The United States expects its alliance partners -- many now major economic powers in their own right -- to contribute their fair share to our common defense.

Those who think we've outgrown our alliance system are wrong. A strong security partnership among the democracies of the world will be the key to peace in the 21st Century.

But as our alliances mature, we must make sure our expectations remain realistic. Alliances of sovereign democratic nations will never be free of controversy. But we must never forget that disagreements between democracies are "family quarrels" -- differences that don't obscure the common aims and enduring interests we share.

Finally, we must seek to strengthen our security through significant arms reductions, both nuclear and conventional.

But reductions alone are not enough. Even deep reductions in strategic nuclear arsenals would leave the U.S. and USSR with enormous destructive power. Our aim must be strategic stability: a balance in which neither side can hope to destroy the forces of

the other without bringing destruction on itself. Any agreement that fails to pass that test is not in our national interest.

Next month, our negotiators will be back at the table in Geneva, working to hammer out a treaty that achieves real reductions, ensures stability -- and allows us to know with confidence that any agreement we sign is honored and observed.

In the area of conventional arms reductions, the U.S. and its NATO allies seek stability at lower levels of armaments -- and an agreement that eliminates the massive conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact forces. President Gorbachev's promise to make a unilateral cut in Soviet conventional forces is a welcome first step -- but it's still a long way from the deep reductions in tanks, artillery and troop strength that will bring real stability to the nations of Europe.

The complex calculations and analysis that are constant factors in setting our course should not obscure the plain truths that guide our defense strategy:

If we remain strong, we remain safe. If we work in concert with our allies, we add their strengths to our own. If we seek stability as well as real reductions in the weapons of war, we make ourselves and our allies more secure.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particularly American idea: freedom. I know there will be people who think there's something presumptuous about that -- people who will think it boastful to talk about that triumph. But it's not, for one simple reason:

Democracy isn't our creation -- it's our inheritance.

We can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take the precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on today's class to reaffirm with me that American power will remain always in service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

U.S. COAST GUARD ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

DATE: MAY 24, 1989
TIME: 12:00 P.M.
LOCATION: U.S. COAST GUARD ACADEMY

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS

I. PURPOSE

To deliver an address focusing primarily on nuclear strategy and modernization questions, with some treatment of conventional force balance.

II. BACKGROUND

Originally established by legislation in 1876, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy had a fitful history until World War I, when it received its present name. The Academy is the only federal service academy that offers appointments on the basis of a nationwide competition -- there are no congressional nominations, state quotas or special categories.

There are 835 cadets at the Academy: 120 women; and 715 men. Each graduate earns a Bachelor of Science degree, and after commencement each ensign will be assigned aboard a Coast Guard cutter. Their duties could involve drug or alien interdiction, saving lives at sea, or the defense of U.S. maritime regions.

Thirty-four members of the class of 1991 will be spending their summer in Alaska, aiding in the Valdez oilspill clean-up.

Alex Haley, author of Roots, will be receiving an honorary degree at the ceremony. He was in the Coast Guard for twenty years, and claims he does his best work aboard ship, which is where he wrote his most recent book.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

164 First Class Cadets (3 international cadets: two from Costa Rica, one from Panama)

5200 Friends, Family and Faculty

Rear Admiral Cueroni, Superintendent, USCGA

Secretary Skinner

Admiral Yost

Ambassador Juarez, Costa Rica

Alex Haley

Dr. Sanders, Dean, USCGA

Captain Versaw, Assistant Superintendent, USCGA

Professor Gethy

Commodore Pratt, Commodore, USCG Auxiliary

Captain Ashworth, Commandant of Cadets

Captain McCoy, Catholic Chaplain

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Please see Advance Team Scenario.

#672

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New London, Connecticut)

For Immediate Release

May 24, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE COAST GUARD ACADEMY
GRADUATION CEREMONY

Nitchman Field
Coast Guard Academy
New London, Connecticut

12:13 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And, Mr. Superintendent, my friend, Rick, thank you for inviting me here. Thank all of the -- particularly those in the white uniforms who are fixing to move on for that warm welcome. To Admiral Yost, the Commandant and Secretary Skinner, Dr. Alex Haley, and all the distinguished, broke but happy parents sitting over here -- (laughter) -- this is a special day. I want to single out Admiral Cueroni for -- who will be leaving the service, that he has served so well. And it was my pleasure as Vice President of the United States to work directly with him when he headed the south Florida effort fighting narcotics. And he showed us a lot of class then and he showed the country a lot of class for his many years in service to the Coast Guard. (Applause.)

I want to congratulate each member of this year's class on receiving your commission into such a proud service. You mention the Coast Guard and most people think about lives saved at sea, daring rescue operations. But those daily acts of heroism are just one part of the vital work that this Coast Guard performs. Right now, in Prince William Sound, the Coast Guard continues to work around the clock in a major environmental clean-up. And let me at this point, on behalf of a grateful nation, commend Admiral Yost. Through his personal commitment, his involvement, and the leadership that he has shown, he has served his country in the finest tradition of the United States Coast Guard.

And those of us who care about the environment -- and that is 250 million Americans at a minimum -- he's showing us the way. And your service -- backing him up in every way, and I am very proud of what Paul Yost has done. (Applause.)

Right now, off the Florida coast, Coast Guard patrols are chasing down drug smugglers -- helping to keep the drugs off the streets. And that may be all in a day's work for the Coast Guard -- but it is absolutely vital to our national health, our well-being and our security.

I'm sure on that long first day of Swab Summer that you never thought four years could pass so quickly. But they have. And you've worked hard -- Billet Night has come and gone -- (laughter) -- and you're ready -- Semper Paratus in the words of your motto -- ready to enter the Coast Guard service, enter the world. And the truth is, that's what commencement is all about. The world is yours, and today's ceremony is really part of the change of command from one generation to the next.

Today our world -- your world -- is changing, East and West. And today I want to speak to you about the world we want to see, and what we can do to bring that new world into clear focus.

MORE

We live in a time when we are witnessing the end of an idea -- the final chapter of the communist experiment. Communism is now recognized -- even by many within the communist world itself -- as a failed system -- one that promised economic prosperity but failed to deliver the goods, a system that built a wall between the people and their political aspirations.

But the eclipse of communism is only one half of the story of our time. The other is the ascendancy of the democratic idea. Never before has the idea of freedom so captured the imaginations of men and women the world over. And never before has the hope of freedom beckoned so many. Trade unionists in Warsaw. The people of Panama. Rulers consulting the ruled in the Soviet Union. And even as we speak today, the world is transfixed by the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square. Everywhere those voices are speaking the language of democracy and freedom, and we hear them and the world hears them, and America will do all it can to encourage them.

So today I want to speak about our security strategy for the 1990's -- one that advances American ideals and upholds American aims.

Amidst the many challenges we'll face, there will be risks. But let me assure you -- we'll find more than our share of opportunities. We and our allies are strong -- stronger really than at any point in the post-war period, and more capable than ever of supporting the cause of freedom

There's an opportunity before us to shape a new world.

What is it that we want to see? It is a growing community of democracies anchoring international peace and stability, and a dynamic free market system generating prosperity and progress on a global scale. The economic foundation of this new era is the proven success of the free market -- and nurturing that foundation are the values rooted in freedom and democracy.

Our country, America, was founded on these values and they gave us the confidence that flows from strength. So let's be clear about one thing: America looks forward to the challenge of an emerging global market. But these values are not ours alone; they are now shared by our friends and allies around the globe.

The economic rise of Europe and the nations of the Pacific Rim is the growing success of our post-war policy. This time is a time of tremendous opportunity -- and destiny is in our own hands. To reach the world we want to see, we've got to work, and work hard. There's a lot of work ahead of us.

We must resolve international trade problems that threaten to pit friends and allies against one another. We must combat misguided notions of economic nationalism that will tell us to close off our economies to foreign competition, just when the global marketplace has become a fact of life.

We must open the door to the nations of Eastern Europe and other socialist countries that embrace free market reforms.

And finally, for developing nations heavily burdened with debt, we must provide assistance and encourage the market reforms that will set those nations on a path towards growth.

If we succeed, the next decade and the century beyond will be an era of unparalleled growth -- an era which sees the flourishing of freedom, peace and prosperity around the world.

But this new era cannot unfold in a climate where conflict and turmoil exist. And therefore, our goals must also include security and stability: security for ourselves and our

allies and our friends; stability in the international arena, and an end to regional conflicts.

Such goals are constant, but the strategy we employ to reach them can, and must, change as the world changes. Today, the need for a dynamic and adaptable strategy is imperative. We must be strong -- economically, diplomatically, and, as you know, militarily -- to take advantage of the opportunities open to us in a world of rapid change. And nowhere will the ultimate consequences of change have more significance for world security than within the Soviet Union itself.

What we're seeing now in the Soviet Union is indeed dramatic. The process is still ongoing, unfinished. But make no mistake -- our policy is to seize every, and I mean every, opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union -- just as it is our policy to defend American interests in light of the enduring reality of Soviet military power.

We want to see perestroika succeed. And we want to see the policies of glasnost and perestroika -- so far, a revolution imposed from top down -- institutionalized within the Soviet Union. And we want to see perestroika extended as well. We want to see a Soviet Union that restructures its relationship toward the rest of the world -- a Soviet Union that is a force for constructive solutions to the world's problems.

The grand strategy of the West during the post-war period has been based on the concept of containment: checking the Soviet Union's expansionist aims, in the hope that the Soviet system itself would one day be forced to confront its internal contradictions. The ferment in the Soviet Union today affirms the wisdom of this strategy. And now we have a precious opportunity to move beyond containment. You're graduating into an exciting world, where the opportunity for peace -- world peace, lasting peace -- has never been better.

Our goal -- integrating the Soviet Union into the community of nations -- is every bit as ambitious as containment was at its time. And it holds tremendous promise for international stability.

Coping with a changing Soviet Union will be a challenge of the highest order. But the security challenges we face today do not come from the East alone. The emergence of regional powers is rapidly changing the strategic landscape.

In the Middle East, in South Asia, in our own hemisphere, a growing number of nations are acquiring advanced and highly destructive capabilities -- in some cases, weapons of mass destruction, and the means to deliver them. And it is an unfortunate fact that the world faces increasing threat from armed insurgencies, terrorists, and as you in the Coast Guard are well aware, narcotics traffickers -- and, in some regions, an unholy alliance of all three.

Our task is clear: we must curb the proliferation of advanced weaponry; we must check the aggressive ambitions of renegade regimes; and we must enhance the ability of our friends to defend themselves. We have not yet mastered the complex challenge. We and our allies must construct a common strategy for stability in the developing world.

How we and our allies deal with these diverse challenges depends on how well we understand the key elements of defense strategy. And so let me just mention today two points in particular.

First, the need for an effective deterrent, one that demonstrates to our allies and adversaries alike American strength, American resolve;

And second, the need to maintain an approach to arms reduction that promotes stability at the lowest feasible level of armaments.

Deterrence is central to our defense strategy. The key to keeping the peace is convincing our adversaries that the cost of aggression against us or our allies is simply unacceptable.

In today's world, nuclear forces are essential to deterrence. Our challenge is to protect those deterrent systems from attack. And that's why we'll move Peacekeeper ICBMs out of fixed and vulnerable silos -- making them mobile and thus harder to target. Looking to the longer-term, we will also develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, the Midgetman. With only minutes of warnings, these new missiles can relocate out of harm's way. Any attack against systems like this will fail.

We are also researching -- and we are committed to deploy when ready -- a more comprehensive defensive system, known as SDI. Our premise is straightforward: defense against incoming missiles endangers no person, endangers no country.

We're also working to reduce the threat we face -- both nuclear and conventional. The INF Treaty demonstrates that willingness. In addition, in the past decade, NATO has unilaterally removed 2400 shorter-range theater warheads. But theater nuclear forces contribute to stability, no less than strategic forces, and thus it would be irresponsible to depend solely on strategic nuclear forces to deter conflict in Europe.

The conventional balance in Europe is just as important, and is linked to the nuclear balance. For more than 40 years -- and look at your history books to see how pronounced this accomplishment is -- for more than 40 years, the Warsaw Pact's massive advantage in conventional forces has cast a shadow over Europe.

The unilateral reductions that President Gorbachev has promised give us hope that we can now redress that imbalance. We welcome those steps because, if implemented, they will help reduce the threat of surprise attack. And they confirm what we've said all along -- that Soviet military power far exceeds the levels needed to defend the legitimate security interests of the USSR. And we must keep in mind that these reductions alone -- even if implemented -- are not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority that the Soviet Union enjoys right now.

Through negotiation, we can now transform the military landscape of Europe. The issues are complex, stakes are very high. But the Soviets are now being forthcoming, and we hope to achieve the reductions that we seek.

Let me emphasize -- our aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe.

The USSR has said that it is willing to abandon its age-old reliance on offensive strategy. It's time to begin. This should mean a smaller force -- one less reliant on tanks and artillery and personnel carriers that provide the Soviets' offensive striking power. A restructured Warsaw Pact -- one that mirrors the defensive posture of NATO -- would make Europe and the world more secure.

Peace can also be enhanced by movement towards more openness in military activities. And two weeks ago, I proposed an "open skies" initiative, to extend the concept of openness. That plan for territorial overflights would increase our mutual security against sudden and threatening military activities. In the same spirit, let us extend this openness to military expenditures as well. I call on the Soviets to do as we have always done. Let's open the ledgers. Publish an accurate defense budget.

But as we move forward we must be realistic. Transformations of this magnitude will not happen overnight. If we are to reach our goals, a great deal is required of us, our allies -- and of the Soviet Union. But we can succeed.

I began today by speaking about the triumph of a particular, peculiar, very special American ideal -- freedom. And I know there are those who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- those who will think it's boastful. But it is not, for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- it is our inheritance.

And we can't take credit for democracy -- but we can take that precious gift of freedom, preserve it and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities open to us -- we can help others attain the freedom that we cherish.

As I said on the Capitol steps the day I took this office, as President of the United States, "There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people." As your Commander in Chief, let me call on this Coast Guard class to reaffirm with me that American power will continue in its service to the enduring ideals of democracy and freedom.

Congratulations to each and every one of you. Thank you and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END

12:32 P.M. EDT