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Folder Title:
Address to Troops Abroad U.S.S. Forrestal 12/1/89 [OA 3540]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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ns c/s

Walk to

Chris Winston

Room 122

Thanks
AC

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM 9545

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 PM, TUES., NOV. 28

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA

SUBJECT: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please provide comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

November 29, 1989

The NSC concurs, with changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

21:30 OCT 29 1989
James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1989 NOV 27 PM 7:16

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 27, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS
Forrestal. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind
introduction. Admiral Howe, Real Admiral ^{Allen} Alden, friends.

~~((First, I want to say: As you may have noticed, I
helicoptered here today. // I was going to try a new athletic
activity on my visit to the Forrestal, but I'll confess it:
Barbara convinced me to leave my water skis at home.)) //]~~

~~((Second, let me add: I'm glad I did. Just as I'm pleased
to be here. ((I just happened to be in the neighborhood and
thought I'd drop in. // It just goes to prove there's no body
of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch
fish.)) //~~

~~((It is indeed wonderful to be among America's sailors of
the sea -- among my Naval family. // In fact, I haven't made a
speech to five thousand people since the last Bush family
reunion. // And I promise: My remarks will be brief. //
Because I know you work 18-hour days. // So don't worry: I don't
mind people falling asleep during one of my speeches as long as
they have an excuse.)) //]~~

I know, ~~for example,~~ that your jobs don't leave much time
for speeches. After all, you can't afford to remain stationary

*I'd really of like to see
what you do*

*too trivial;
"elitist"
ring
cut*

*cut?
This is
OK*

*cut?
cut*

*Bob
Hope
this
isn't.*

for long. ((In that context, I was warned not to stand too long in one place aboard ship. Anything that doesn't move gets painted.)) //

CUT

(?)

~~I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((So let me say: Because I want President Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like, I was wondering if it's possible to get some "sliders" to go.)) //~~

Desires we want

2. Gorbachev, i'd like P Gorbachev

// on sea life, but like to see how it is, figuratively

changed

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready for a certain football event next Saturday. // As evidence, consider what a "Bee Bee Stacker" said when I noted that my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev moves us closer to the day when fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. "I hope you don't mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game." //

one of my advisers

militar types struck this

OK

CUT

(?)

~~(Well, you have my word as Commander-in-Chief. I'm not. And let me assure you: As President, I have to remain perfectly neutral in word and deed. ((So when Army and Navy play, I'll be watching it on television. // Not taking sides. // And patting my old dog, Millie. // And my new dog, Middie.)) //~~

different circumstances.

Nearly a-half-century ago, of course, in this very part of the Mediterranean, *young sailors like yourselves were here in very* ~~America -- thank goodness -- was taking sides.~~ For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

not sides in very

An old Indian proverb says: "No one can really know a man until he's walked in his moccasins." Well, I was your age when Malta was under assault. I'm an old Navy man. Flew a plane -- a Torpedo ^{bomber called the} avenger. One of 34 planes assigned to an aircraft carrier. // Like today's F-14, they were called a "Turkey" plane.

I hope no pun intended. // I've walked in your moccasins. I know what the Navy means to you. And even more, what you mean to the United States of America.

Not quite right. What pun?

(1764

For more than ^{two centuries} ~~220 years~~ now, the Navy has been a defender of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like ^{Midway} ~~Inchon~~ and Leyte Gulf. Think of guys I flew with. Leo Nadeau, my rear gunner. My radioman, John Delaney. And of guys you work with. Young Americans. Heroes all.

~~Now, it's true, of course. Certain things haven't changed since I enlisted in the Navy as a seaman 2nd Class.~~

cut "elitist" trap

~~I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes." (and "grapes.") And dinner is still called the mess. I'm sometimes tempted to use Navy jargon at the White House, but there are some Congressmen who would be a little leary if I called up and asked them to join me for "mid'rats."~~

Get to the serious stuff sooner

~~((Then, there's the zest for off-duty hours: That, too, is constant. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. I'm not going to say anything about the exuberance you showed when you finally hit~~

cut cut?

This is poor

~~town, but I want to assure you that our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //~~

~~((And the rivalry between attack pilots and fighter pilots -- that, too, endures. Even though you're still in good hands with an attack pilot -- your captain, Tim "Buzzard" Thomassy. // Now, I was a fighter pilot. But as far as the rivalry goes, I have no comment. Except to note that when they drink beer, one side yells "less filling" and the other yells "tastes great."))~~

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Real peace takes planning, patience, and ~~(at times)~~ personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Real peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from Nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Good

INSERT

~~Fellow sailors, those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe President Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.~~

~~You know, there is a painting in the White House which embodies this promise. It's called The Peacemakers. It hangs on~~

~~It is a meeting that you helped bring about -- just as you and service men and women before you helped bring about the hopeful changes we now see in East-West relations. Your steadfastness and devotion to duty -- in war and in peace, in good times and bad -- is the foundation of a brighter future.~~

INSERT ON PAGE 4

The war that my generation fought -- Winston Churchill called it the "unnecessary war." The free nations stumbled into it by not being vigilant enough or firm enough beforehand in deterring aggression. It's a lesson we can never forget.

Today, our challenge is different. For four decades, the United States and its allies have remained vigilant, and strong, and united. We have deterred war. And, indeed, we have finally convinced our adversaries that the quest for military superiority, and policies of intervention, don't pay. The change in the Soviet Union is real -- very real -- as after 40 years of confrontation with us, they have finally been forced to confront themselves -- to acknowledge the costly failure of their past policies and indeed of their system.

So, the historic new opportunities we face -- to help shape a world in which freedom is more secure than ever -- these are opportunities that you helped bring about. You and all the Servicemen and women who have done their duty and kept us strong.

And America must stay strong. Our responsibility as the bulwark of the democracies will not go away. Even as tensions ease and both sides reduce forces and the world is more secure, America

*Return the message is by our
Max is after the year
head depart
5 hrs*

must maintain the balance; America must remain the champion of democracy in a world in which history has not ended and challenges have not ceased.

But at this moment, freedom seems triumphant. Not since 1945 has the future of peace seemed brighter. If the democracies have the wisdom and vision and discipline, we have within our grasp ...

~~the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.~~

~~I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm.~~

Resume here

~~For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours will be a future bereft of tyranny and fear.~~

free of both
~~I believe President Gorbachev wants such a future. As do our allies. And all those who believe mankind's deepest impulse is to create a more secure and peaceful world.~~

Our fellow democracies share our hope for
And that's why I'm meeting with Mr. Gorbachev tomorrow.

~~For evidence, look to the present -- and to the extraordinary changes of the past few months. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square, as they felt the first precious moments of freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and sailor kissing in Times Square.~~

~~And, yes, look to tomorrow -- and to yourselves. For you, too, know that the horizons of democracy are like the Mediterranean -- boundless and beautiful, eclipsing Nation and race. Because of you -- and so many like you in Hungary, Poland,~~

bereft is wrong word

OK

Banal Trim

real hope for
~~Had Gorbachev something~~

banal

Trim

Germany, Czechoslovakia -- this meeting is taking place. ~~And freedom is sweeping the globe. / Our meeting here in Malta will last two days. But the freedoms we seek must last forever. //~~
99 The tide of freedom has never been stronger. From the Philippines and Republic of Korea to Namibia, to Latin America -- democracy is winning.

Let me close with a story, then, ~~about the freedom -- and respect for dignity -- that can make each one of us a "peacemaker."~~ A moment you're too young to remember, ~~but which wrote a glorious page in American history.~~ It occurred on D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Franklin Roosevelt spoke a moving prayer.

"Our sons," he said, "pride of our Nation. Lead them straight and true. Give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness to their faith."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the "pride of our Nation." As the Navy has been in wartime -- from the Battle of Lake Erie to the Atlantic Conference. And in peacetime -- spurring the space program which points us toward the stars.

[Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding.]

Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Good

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you. And may He protect the Nation that you are keeping "straight and true" -- the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: REMARKS ON THE USS FORRESTAL

I. SUMMARY

We have attached a revised draft of the remarks on the USS Forrestal. In response to your questions about the jargon used in the speech, Commander Stufflebeem provided nicknames of a few positions on the aircraft. A "gator" is the ship's navigator. "Snipes" are the ship's engineers, including boiler technicians, machinist mates, and hull technicians. "Grapes" are the flight deck crew in purple jackets that refuel the aircraft. "B.B. Stackers" load the ordinance on the aircraft. "Mid'rats" are midnight rations, the late meal eaten after a long shift.

In reference to your question in the middle of page three, after a long sail across the Atlantic, the crew was anxious to have liberty in their first port, Toulon, France. But they were kept at sea for a few extra days because of fierce winds. Many of the men waited in line for hours to go ashore. The joke refers to the exuberance they showed getting off of the ship.

Also, regarding the joke about the Army-Navy game, Commander Stufflebeem said the enlisted men would find it somewhat humorous -- and the officers, very humorous. We suggest it be left in the speech because of the nation's interest in the Army-Navy game.

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Six
November 30, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989
1:53 P.M.

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS Forrester -- and the sons of the Sixth Fleet. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe, Vice Admiral Williams, Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen, friends.

((First, let me say that I'm really pleased to be here. Just goes to prove there's no body of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch a fish.)) //

Second, I want to promise you: My remarks will be brief. // I say that because I know your jobs don't leave much time for speeches. After all, on a ship you can't afford to stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted. //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((In fact, I'd like Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. // On second thought, forget it. We want to ease tensions.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready -- as America is -- for a certain football event next Saturday. // Just this morning I was talking with a "B.B. Stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never

again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" //

Well, I'm not. And I know that next Saturday, Americans will be rooting for both sides. Just like nearly half-a-century ago, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides in different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

For more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of that freedom. Proclaiming the inevitability of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like Midway and Leyte Gulf. And of America's enlisted men and women who expressed our deepest values, and our character as a people.

Now, as you know, I am also a Navy man. And I must confess it: Certain things haven't changed since I joined up as a Seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." // You know, I love this Navy jargon. In fact, I'm sometimes tempted to use it at the White House. It's just that some Congressmen might be a little leary if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats." //

((Then, there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours: That, too, endures. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting

off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance you showed when you finally hit town.

// Don't worry: Our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Lasting peace takes planning, patience, and personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which captures this promise. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals,

meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? -- **The Peacemakers.**

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union to join us in building it. And that's why I'm meeting with Chairman Gorbachev tomorrow. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why.

One of them is that forty years ago, the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. **Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.**

And the Alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a champion of liberty. **And because of that, this meeting is taking place.**

There are other reasons, too, why freedom's victory is in our grasp. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square in Prague as they felt the first precious moments of real hope for freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and

sailor kissing in Times Square. **Because of them, this meeting is taking place.**

Finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your duty. You have kept us strong. And helped the horizons of democracy eclipse Nation and race. **Because of you**, freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here off of Malta will last two days. But the freedoms we seek must last for generations. //

You know, with the recent -- and extraordinary -- changes in Eastern Europe, I've been thinking of those freedoms. And at no time more than when the Berlin Wall began to open. I remember how shortly afterward, West German Chancellor Kohl telephoned the White House. He asked me to thank each American. And said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be occurring without the steadfast support of the United States.

Warm praise from a good friend. Praise which belongs to you. I recalled that conversation when last week West German Foreign Minister Genscher visited the White House. He also praised America's devotion to freedom. And he gave me a gift for the American people. It is a piece of the Berlin Wall. And it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom to bring down the walls between people.

Fellow Navy men, I treasure that momento. It shows what can happen when Americans stick to their principles. And we will not yield on those principles. Yet we also recognize a dynamic new Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, to think anew. And we want him to succeed. For we admire the Soviet people. And we

know that ours is a historic opportunity to foster peace. So I thought I would bring to the Sixth Fleet a symbol of that peace. It, too, comes from the Berlin Wall. And embodies this weekend's spirit of cooperation. It shows how we can be "peacemakers." And on behalf of each American, let me say: It now belongs to you. //

Let me close, then, with a moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade . . . The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere." As the Navy has been in wartime -- and in peacetime. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you and our "great and noble undertaking." And God bless the United States of America.

#

Anatomy of an Enigma: Jimmy Carter's 1980 State of the Union Address

Dan F. Hahn
and J. Justin Gustainis

This essay identifies several "image" problems faced by President Jimmy Carter during the period leading up to his 1980 State of the Union speech. It is contended that Carter's address failed to overcome those problems, largely due to a series of rhetorical "errors" contained in the speech.

KEY CONCEPTS Jimmy Carter, presidential rhetoric, State of the Union addresses, political rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, argumentation, U.S. presidents, media coverage, 1980 presidential campaign.

DAN F. HAHN (Ph.D., University of Arizona, 1968) is Professor and Chairman in the Department of Communication Arts and Sciences at Queens College of the City University of New York, Flushing, NY 11367. J. JUSTIN GUSTAINIS (Ph.D., Bowling Green State University, 1981) is Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication at the State University of New York, Plattsburgh, Plattsburgh, NY 12901.

In his 1980 State of the Union address, President Jimmy Carter said that the state of the union was bad because the state of the world was bad. Thus, if America were to put her own house in order, it would be necessary to be tough with the Soviet Union and to help put the world in order. But, he suggested, it would not be easy.

Neither was the rhetorical situation faced by Carter an easy one to modify. Given public cynicism about government generally, Carter's own lackluster performance in office and the ways in which news media portray the modern presidency (and the effects of such portrayals on public opinion), Carter was in need of a rhetorical miracle. The 1980 State of the Union speech did not provide one. This essay discusses the above mentioned factors affecting Carter's popularity and then considers how, through a series of rhetorical errors—including the use of absolutes and superlatives, internal contradictions, argumentative deficiencies, stylistic problems and a lack of toughness—Carter failed to mitigate them.

Carter's Problems

One of the biggest problems which Jimmy Carter faced in his attempts to create and implement policy was public cynicism about government performance. In 1958, during the latter part of Dwight Eisenhower's administration,

60 percent of Americans surveyed indicated that they were "trusting" of government; only 11 percent saw themselves as "cynical." By 1978, opinions had shifted drastically. Only 19 percent of Americans who were questioned regarding their opinions about government described themselves as "trusting"; a characterization of "cynical" was given by 52 percent (Harwood, Johnson, & Lemann, 1980, p. 7).

Of course, much of this decline in trust could not be blamed on Jimmy Carter. The Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal had been primary culprits. But Carter had been unable to reverse the trend, at least partially because of his own ineptness, including his rhetorical weaknesses (Hahn, 1984). His plan for a tax rebate had been abandoned because of "changed circumstances"; he characterized his energy program as the "moral equivalent of war" and then saw it mangled by a Congress dominated by his own party. And, although Carter described America's power as "second to none," it apparently was insufficient to deter Iranian militants from taking American diplomats hostage (Walsh, 1980, pp. 236-237).

Thus, due partly to a general cynicism about government and partly to a specific cynicism that Jimmy Carter was not up to the job, the American people did not trust their president to lead them out of the international wilderness: *Time* magazine pointed out that many Americans felt that Carter had been "too soft" in dealing with Iran; the number expressing dissatisfaction had risen from 27 percent in December of 1979 to 44 percent by January ("In a fiercely," 1980, p. 23). A writer for *The Washington Post* noted that, "for most of Carter's presidency, it appeared that the country basically did not give a damn" (Schram, 1980, p. A22). In fact, Lewis Lapham contended that Carter had been elected not to lead but to "perform the rites of purification." He argued:

He had a talent for telling fairy tales and cautionary stories, and most people didn't expect him to do much of importance. By electing him President, the country thought it had declared a four-year holiday, saying in effect that after the trouble caused by Richard Nixon, it might be nice not to have any President at all. It was enough that Mr. Carter merely existed, a passive and ceremonial figure, representing noble or democratic states of feeling, making occasional well-photographed gestures signifying his earnest and life-long commitment to truth, liberty, justice, beauty, equality and the flag. (Lapham, 1980, p. 18)

Carter's task was further complicated by the ways in which modern Americans tend to view their Presidents in the latter stages of their administrations. Just as the Presidential "honeymoon" (that period immediately following the inauguration when the President's popularity reaches great heights, almost irrespective of his actions) is a recognized phenomenon, so too is the fact that Presidential popularity inevitably declines over time, and reaches its lowest levels during the final two years of office (Cronin, 1977, p. 81).

The State of the Union address is, of course, broadcast live on television and radio during "prime time," and this massive public exposure represents the final monkey wrench that was waiting to drop into Jimmy Carter's machinery. As Grossman and Kumar (1981, p. 239) point out, "The President

and his aides know that a public judgment of his commitments will be made on the basis of what he says in [the State of the Union] address," for there is a "public expectation that the President show himself as a policy leader." The extensive media coverage which the President receives in the modern world has created a series of extremely high expectations for his performance, both rhetorically and otherwise. And, since these expectations are so unreasonably high much of the time, Presidents often fail to meet them; their standing in public opinion often suffers as a result (Cronin, 1975, p. 109). Jimmy Carter was no exception. The situation he faced in January of 1980 called for a tough-minded and emotionally stirring piece of rhetoric. As is shown below, the speech that was given failed to meet these criteria.

Carter's Errors

Despite the problems just outlined, the situation faced by Jimmy Carter as he prepared his State of the Union address did not lack for opportunities. With the Iranian takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter was given a chance to move away from symbolism toward action, while concomitantly moving up in the estimation of his fellow citizens and thus in the polls. The people could now find out if the man they had elected was the right answer to the "Why Not the Best"? question or if "Wee Jimmy" (as James Reston called him) was as ineffectual as his critics had been charging. The 1980 State of the Union speech was one of the first indications of Carter's response to the situation presented to him by the Iranians and the Russians. It was his chance to convert to toughness, to shed his "Mr. Nice Guy" image and demonstrate that he was the right man for the job, both then and for the next four years. To use terms first employed by Bitzer (1968), Carter was faced with a rhetorical situation, the exigencies of which were modifiable, if only he could find the right rhetoric.

While Carter's failure to win reelection nine months later can be taken as indicative of his failure to convert his opportunity into votes, it remains to be demonstrated whether any of that failure can reasonably be ascribed to weaknesses in the speech. The assessment argued here is that the speech, while one of Carter's better efforts, did contain a number of tactical errors. It was not a giant failure in the "wrong content at the wrong time by the wrong speaker" mold, but there were a number of deficiencies which, added together, undermined his attempt to portray himself as the right person saying what needed to be said in the exigencies existing at the moment. Then too, as suggested earlier, he had other problems to overcome—those involving high public expectations of presidential media performances and the low public opinion which often afflicts presidents towards the end of their terms.

One error committed by Carter in his State of the Union address was the use of absolutes and superlatives. Americans have come to expect some exaggeration from politicians, of course, but those who understood that Afghanistan had already been a puppet of the Soviets for several years may have detected a poor fit between Carter's announcement that henceforth America was going to "face the world as it is" and his description of the

Russian use of troops to consolidate its hold there as "this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others."¹

Carter's most famous superlative in the address was his contention that the Soviet invasion was "the most serious threat to the peace since the second world war." Senator Edward Kennedy, Carter's major opponent within his own party, took issue with that assertion, asking: "Is it a graver threat than the Berlin blockade, the Korean War, the Soviet march into Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Berlin wall, the Cuban missile crisis, or Vietnam?" Kennedy concluded that, "Exaggeration and hyperbole are the enemies of sensible foreign policy" ("Transcript of Kennedy's Speech," 1980, p. A12). In short, Carter's superlatives undermined his assertion of fealty to the facts and brought into question his ability to assess the world realistically.

The superlatives might, however, have been seen as justifications for a tough stand—and Carter made some major forays into toughness, saying, "The United States will not yield to blackmail," and "The Soviet Union must pay a concrete price for their aggression," and most notably, in laying down a new Persian Gulf doctrine: "Any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

But Carter also undermined his new toughness in two ways. First, he interlaced his speech with calls for caution and restraint—talk of avoiding bloodshed in Iran and observing the "mutual constraints" of the SALT treaties, as well as exercising restraint in the use of military force. The situation, Carter said, called for "careful thought," "steady nerves," "resolute action," "consultation," "close cooperation," "national will," and "diplomatic and political wisdom." Hahn (1982, p. 41) defines "tough talk" as "strong language in support of polar positions." Although the positions taken by Carter with respect to the Soviet Union may have been tough, the toughness was undermined by his vacillating language. This contrast was not, apparently, lost on the President's staff. One of Carter's aides, after the speech had been given, described it as "forcefully ambiguous" ("Carter Takes Charge," 1980, p. 14).

The second way in which Carter watered down his earlier tough rhetoric probably had its roots in political considerations: He could not, after all, allow the new crises to be seen as undermining his previous three years in the presidency. So, in the latter half of the speech, Carter emphasized the necessity of continuing his policies, from stressing human rights in international relations to cutting bureaucratic paperwork at home. In nine of the eleven references to his earlier policies, he even employed the phrase, "we will continue," so that it would be obvious that his administration was on the right track all along.

But the implied contradiction was obvious. If Carter had been on the right track, then why did these crises develop? Or, conversely, since the world had moved into a crisis situation, why should the old policies be continued? Either way, the call for continuation of the policies seemed to conflict with the announcement of new crises demanding new policies. While that conflict

may have been more apparent than real, and while restraint may have been the best course of action given the nature of the Iran and Afghanistan crises, the fact remained that the *seeming* contradictions between the international exigencies and Carter's solutions made him appear weak and passive at precisely the moment when he needed to be perceived as tough and active. As Schumacher (1980, p. A13) observed, "Critics say the statements [in the State of the Union address] represent not evolution but inconsistent lurching from crisis to crisis."

As a final demonstration of this "lack of fit," one may compare the first few paragraphs of the speech with the last few. In the introduction, Carter laid out the problems: "turmoil," "strife," "change," "challenges," "terrorism," "anarchy," "attempted subjugation," and "threats to peace." And, in the conclusion, he provided his vision of America's future: "strong," "free," "at peace," "with equal rights," "jobs," "good health," "good education," "a clean and bountiful life," "secure," with "justice, tolerance and compassion." The formidable challenges depicted in the beginning of the speech were countered, not with a tough new foreign policy, but with the mushiness of the American dream. Carter had lapsed from national leader to national dreamer.

Another type of lapse by Carter might be called "argumentative inadequacy." When putting forth a new policy, a President is normally expected to argue for it, to give reasons why it should be adopted. Such argumentation need not be highly detailed, but it should be easy to follow. Causes and effects need to be clearly related. The nature of the change, and the reasons for it, should be persuasively stated. And, if possible, the dovetailing of the new policy with American experience and values should be demonstrated.

In his State of the Union address, Jimmy Carter did very few of these things. He did establish a need for change, and he did announce a new doctrine. But he did not demonstrate how or whether the new doctrine would work, nor did he place it in the framework of past American policy.

Rather, perhaps because his own thought processes were honed by his engineering years, Carter tended to provide lists and leave the listeners to establish the relationships and rationales on their own. Thus, in this speech, he presented seven lists: a list of three basic developments which created the contemporary challenges, a list of five goals which he would continue to pursue, a four-part historic list of American-Soviet confrontations organized by decades in chronological order, beginning with the 1940's, a list of six ways in which America will continue to work for world peace, a list of five actions that will be undertaken to strengthen the national economy, a list of eight visions of the American future and a list of three things which all Americans could do together to make these visions realities.

In no case were Carter's lists expanded upon, defended or in any way argued for in subsequent paragraphs; in only one instance, in reference to the need to continue supporting human rights in international relations (point four of list four), was an item on one of the lists argued for within the confines of the list-making. In short, his lists consisted of 33 unsupported assertions and one supported one. Whether these 34 items were meant to be the meat of his argument or mere byproducts offered as addenda to the argumentation found

with our children. In fact, a case could be made that Carter response was so soft that Reagan was able to soften his pro-military force stance enough to escape his "trigger happy" image and still come off as much tougher than the incumbent.

Conclusion

To the extent that a specimen of rhetoric may be measured by its effects, Jimmy Carter's 1980 State of the Union address was a failure. It did not convince the Iranians to return the hostages, did not influence the Russians to withdraw from Afghanistan, and did not persuade the American people that Jimmy Carter was tough enough to be allowed to direct America's fight against her enemies for another four years.

Thus, several months later, amid the wreckage (both literal and figurative) of the abortive attempt by American commandos to rescue the hostages from Iran, a widely held conclusion was that the episode was "just the sort of tragically flawed comedy of errors the public had come to expect from its president—a nice try, too bad the little guy couldn't pull it off" (Walsh, 1980, p. 236).

NOTE

¹All subsequent quotations from Carter's speech are taken from "Transcript of President's State of the Union Address to Joint Session of Congress," *The New York Times*, January 24, 1980, p. A12.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: REMARKS ON THE USS FORRESTAL

I. SUMMARY

We have attached a revised draft of the remarks on the USS Forrestal. In response to your questions about the jargon used in the speech, Commander Stufflebeem provided nicknames of a few positions on the aircraft. A "gator" is the ship's navigator. "Snipes" are the ship's engineers, including boiler technicians, machinist mates, and hull technicians. "Grapes" are the flight deck crew in purple jackets that refuel the aircraft. "B.B. Stackers" load the ordinance on the aircraft. "Mid'rats" are midnight rations, the late meal eaten after a long shift.

In reference to your question in the middle of page three, after a long sail across the Atlantic, the crew was anxious to have liberty in their first port, Toulon, France. But they were kept at sea for a few extra days because of fierce winds. Many of the men waited in line for hours to go ashore. The joke refers to the exuberance they showed getting off of the ship.

Also, regarding the joke about the Army-Navy game, Commander Stufflebeem said the enlisted men would find it somewhat humorous -- and the officers, very humorous. We suggest it be left in the speech because of the nation's interest in the Army-Navy game.

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Six
November 30, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989
1:53 P.M.

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS Forrestral -- and the sons of the Sixth Fleet. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe, Vice Admiral Williams, Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen, friends.

((First, let me say that I'm really pleased to be here. Just goes to prove there's no body of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch a fish.)) //

Second, I want to promise you: My remarks will be brief. // I say that because I know your jobs don't leave much time for speeches. After all, on a ship you can't afford to stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted. //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((In fact, I'd like Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. // On second thought, forget it. We want to ease tensions.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready -- as America is -- for a certain football event next Saturday. // Just this morning I was talking with a "B.B. Stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never

again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" //

Well, I'm not. And I know that next Saturday, Americans will be rooting for both sides. Just like nearly half-a-century ago, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides in different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

For more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of that freedom. Proclaiming the inevitability of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like Midway and Leyte Gulf. And of America's enlisted men and women who expressed our deepest values, and our character as a people.

Now, as you know, I am also a Navy man. And I must confess it: Certain things haven't changed since I joined up as a Seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." // You know, I love this Navy jargon. In fact, I'm sometimes tempted to use it at the White House. It's just that some Congressmen might be a little leary if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats." //

((Then, there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours: That, too, endures. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting

off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance you showed when you finally hit town.

// Don't worry: Our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Lasting peace takes planning, patience, and personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which captures this promise. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals,

meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? -- **The Peacemakers.**

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union to join us in building it. And that's why I'm meeting with Chairman Gorbachev tomorrow. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why.

One of them is that forty years ago, the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. **Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.**

And the Alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a champion of liberty. **And because of that, this meeting is taking place.**

There are other reasons, too, why freedom's victory is in our grasp. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square in Prague as they felt the first precious moments of real hope for freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and

sailor kissing in Times Square. Because of them, this meeting is taking place.

Finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your duty. You have kept us strong. And helped the horizons of democracy eclipse Nation and race. Because of you, freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here off of Malta will last two days. But the freedoms we seek must last for generations. //

You know, with the recent -- and extraordinary -- changes in Eastern Europe, I've been thinking of those freedoms. And at no time more than when the Berlin Wall began to open. I remember how shortly afterward, West German Chancellor Kohl telephoned the White House. He asked me to thank each American. And said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be occurring without the steadfast support of the United States.

Warm praise from a good friend. Praise which belongs to you. I recalled that conversation when last week West German Foreign Minister Genscher visited the White House. He also praised America's devotion to freedom. And he gave me a gift for the American people. It is a piece of the Berlin Wall. And it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom to bring down the walls between people.

Fellow Navy men, I treasure that momento. It shows what can happen when Americans stick to their principles. And we will not yield on those principles. Yet we also recognize a dynamic new Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, to think anew. And we want him to succeed. For we admire the Soviet people. And we

know that ours is a historic opportunity to foster peace. So I thought I would bring to the Sixth Fleet a symbol of that peace. It, too, comes from the Berlin Wall. And embodies this weekend's spirit of cooperation. It shows how we can be "peacemakers." And on behalf of each American, let me say: It now belongs to you. //

Let me close, then, with a moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade . . . The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere." As the Navy has been in wartime -- and in peacetime. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you and our "great and noble undertaking." And God bless the United States of America.

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USS FORRESTAL / MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989 / 1:53 P.M.

HELLO, FELLOW NAVY MEN. HELLO, THE SONS OF THE USS
FORRESTAL -- AND THE SONS OF THE SIXTH FLEET. CAPTAIN
THOMASSY -- AND THANK YOU FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION.
ADMIRAL HOWE, VICE ADMIRAL WILLIAMS, REAR ADMIRAL
"SWEET PEA" ALLEN, FRIENDS.

- 2 -

((FIRST, LET ME SAY THAT I'M REALLY PLEASED TO BE
HERE. JUST GOES TO PROVE THERE'S NO BODY OF WATER IN
THE WORLD I'LL LEAVE UNEXPLORED IN MY QUEST TO CATCH A
FISH.)) //

SECOND, I WANT TO PROMISE YOU: MY REMARKS WILL BE
BRIEF. // I SAY THAT BECAUSE I KNOW YOUR JOBS DON'T
LEAVE MUCH TIME FOR SPEECHES. AFTER ALL, ON A SHIP YOU
CAN'T AFFORD TO STAND STILL FOR LONG. ANYTHING THAT
DOESN'T MOVE GETS PAINTED. //

I KNOW, TOO, THAT YOU HAVE MEALS TO EAT. ((IN FACT, I'D LIKE CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV TO GET AN IDEA OF WHAT U.S. NAVY FOOD IS LIKE. // ON SECOND THOUGHT, FORGET IT. WE WANT TO EASE TENSIONS.)) //

FINALLY, I'LL BE BRIEF BECAUSE I KNOW YOU HAVE OTHER PRIORITIES. LIKE GETTING READY -- AS AMERICA IS -- FOR A CERTAIN FOOTBALL EVENT NEXT SATURDAY. // JUST THIS MORNING I WAS TALKING WITH A "B.B. STACKER."

AND I TOLD HIM I HOPE MY MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV MEANS THAT FIERCE ADVERSARIES WILL NEVER AGAIN CLASH ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE. HE SAID, "YOU MEAN YOU'RE GOING TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE ARMY-NAVY GAME?" //

WELL, I'M NOT. AND I KNOW THAT NEXT SATURDAY, AMERICANS WILL BE ROOTING FOR BOTH SIDES.

JUST LIKE NEARLY HALF-A-CENTURY AGO, IN THIS VERY PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, YOUNG SAILORS LIKE YOURSELVES WERE TAKING SIDES IN DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR ON MALTA ITSELF, AS A BRAVE PEOPLE ENDURED SAVAGE ATTACK, THEY WERE AIDED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF AMERICA AND HER ALLIES -- DARING GREATLY -- FIGHTING VALIANTLY -- SO THAT FREEDOM COULD PREVAIL.

FOR MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES NOW, THE NAVY HAS BEEN A DEFENDER OF THAT FREEDOM. PROCLAIMING THE INEVITABILITY OF DEMOCRACY. LIVING ON "THE TIP OF THE SPEAR." THINK OF NIMITZ, HALSEY, AND COMMODORE PERRY. AND OF BATTLES LIKE MIDWAY AND LEYTE GULF. AND OF AMERICA'S ENLISTED MEN AND WOMEN WHO EXPRESSED OUR DEEPEST VALUES, AND OUR CHARACTER AS A PEOPLE.

NOW, AS YOU KNOW, I AM ALSO A NAVY MAN. AND I MUST CONFESS IT: CERTAIN THINGS HAVEN'T CHANGED SINCE I JOINED UP AS A SEAMAN 2ND CLASS.

I ASSUME MAIDS STILL COME INTO YOUR QUARTERS, MAKE YOUR BEDS, AND LEAVE A MINT ON THE PILLOW. // I KNOW YOU STILL HAVE A "GATOR" AND "SNIPES" AND "GRAPES." // YOU KNOW, I LOVE THIS NAVY JARGON. IN FACT, I'M SOMETIMES TEMPTED TO USE IT AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

IT'S JUST THAT SOME CONGRESSMEN MIGHT BE A LITTLE LEARY IF I ASKED THEM TO JOIN ME FOR "MID'RATS." //

((THEN, THERE'S THE SAILORS' ZEST FOR OFF-DUTY HOURS: THAT, TOO, ENDURES. I HEAR YOU MISSED A FEW DAYS OF LIBERTY SITTING OFF THE COAST OF FRANCE IN BAD WEATHER. AND FAR BE IT FROM ME TO CRITICIZE THE EXUBERANCE YOU SHOWED WHEN YOU FINALLY HIT TOWN. // DON'T WORRY: OUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE FRENCH ARE STILL INTACT ANYWAY.)) //

AS YOU CAN SEE, SOME THINGS HAVEN'T CHANGED. YES, IT'S TRUE MY GENERATION WAS CHARGED WITH WINNING A WAR, AND YOURS IS CHARGED WITH PRESERVING THE PEACE. BUT BOTH WANT TO PROTECT FREEDOM. THAT HASN'T CHANGED. NOR HAS THE KNOWLEDGE THAT REAL PEACE -- THE PEACE WHICH LASTS -- IS NOT AN ACCIDENT.

LASTING PEACE TAKES PLANNING, PATIENCE, AND PERSONAL SACRIFICE. IT TAKES A PARTNERSHIP WITH ALLIES WHO ARE RESOLUTE IN DEFENSE OF LIBERTY.

LASTING PEACE STEMS FROM STRENGTH THAT IS MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY. AND FROM NATIONS WHO USE THAT STRENGTH TO MAKE FRAGILE PEACE STRONG, AND TEMPORARY PEACE PERMANENT.

THOSE LESSONS HELPED MY GENERATION WIN WORLD WAR II. AND TODAY, THEY BRING ME, AND I BELIEVE CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV, TO OUR TWO DAYS OF TALKS. A MEETING FOR YOUR GENERATION -- AND ALL THE GENERATIONS TO COME.

YOU KNOW, THERE IS A PAINTING IN THE WHITE HOUSE WHICH CAPTURES THIS PROMISE. IT HANGS ON THE WALL OF MY STUDY. AND IT PORTRAYS THE DECENCY -- AND HUMANITY -- OF ONE OF OUR GREATEST LEADERS.

I'VE OFTEN SAID THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS ONE OF MY FAVORITE PRESIDENTS. I SUPPOSE VIRTUALLY EVERY AMERICAN FEELS THAT WAY. THIS PAINTING SHOWS WHY. IT PICTURES LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS, MEETING NEAR THE END OF A WAR THAT PITTED BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER.

OUTSIDE, AT THAT MOMENT, A BATTLE RAGES. AND YET WHAT WE SEE IN THE DISTANCE IS A RAINBOW -- THAT SYMBOL OF HOPE, OF THE PASSING OF THE STORM. THE PAINTING'S NAME? -- THE PEACEMAKERS.

FOR ME, THIS PAINTING IS A CONSTANT REASSURANCE THAT THE CAUSE OF PEACE WILL TRIUMPH. AND THAT OURS CAN BE A FUTURE FREE OF BOTH TYRANNY AND FEAR. OUR FELLOW DEMOCRACIES SHARE OUR HOPE FOR SUCH A FUTURE. WE WANT THE SOVIET UNION TO JOIN US IN BUILDING IT.

AND THAT'S WHY I'M MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV TOMORROW. FOR THE TIMES ARE ON THE SIDE OF PEACE. AND THERE ARE IMPORTANT REASONS WHY.

ONE OF THEM IS THAT FORTY YEARS AGO, THE NATO ALLIANCE WAS FORMED IN THE HOPE THAT FREEDOM WOULD ONE DAY BELONG TO THE MILLIONS IN EUROPE STILL YEARNING FOR IT. BECAUSE NATO REMAINED VIGILANT, STRONG, AND UNITED, THIS MEETING IS TAKING PLACE.

AND THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY AMERICA'S ENDURING COMMITMENT TO ITS PROTECTION. AMERICA HAS BEEN, AND REMAINS, A CHAMPION OF LIBERTY. AND BECAUSE OF THAT, THIS MEETING IS TAKING PLACE.

THERE ARE OTHER REASONS, TOO, WHY FREEDOM'S VICTORY IS IN OUR GRASP. LOOK AT THE WORKERS OF BERLIN AND BUDAPEST. AND THAT TINY GIRL IN KRAKOW WAVING AN AMERICAN FLAG.

LOOK AT THE YOUNG COUPLE EMBRACING IN WENCESLAS SQUARE IN PRAGUE AS THEY FELT THE FIRST PRECIOUS MOMENTS OF REAL HOPE FOR FREEDOM -- THEIR POSE SO REMINISCENT OF THE FAMOUS WORLD WAR II PHOTO OF THAT NURSE AND SAILOR KISSING IN TIMES SQUARE. BECAUSE OF THEM, THIS MEETING IS TAKING PLACE.

FINALLY, THIS MEETING IS TAKING PLACE BECAUSE YOU HAVE DONE YOUR DUTY. YOU HAVE KEPT US STRONG.

AND HELPED THE HORIZONS OF DEMOCRACY ECLIPSE NATION AND RACE. BECAUSE OF YOU, FREEDOM IS SWEEPING THE GLOBE. OUR MEETING HERE OFF OF MALTA WILL LAST TWO DAYS. BUT THE FREEDOMS WE SEEK MUST LAST FOR GENERATIONS. //

YOU KNOW, WITH THE RECENT -- AND EXTRAORDINARY -- CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE, I'VE BEEN THINKING OF THOSE FREEDOMS. AND AT NO TIME MORE THAN WHEN THE BERLIN WALL BEGAN TO OPEN. I REMEMBER HOW SHORTLY AFTERWARD, WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR KOHL TELEPHONED THE WHITE HOUSE.

HE ASKED ME TO THANK EACH AMERICAN. AND SAID THAT THE REMARKABLE CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE WOULD NOT BE OCCURRING WITHOUT THE STEADFAST SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WARM PRAISE FROM A GOOD FRIEND. PRAISE WHICH BELONGS TO YOU. I RECALLED THAT CONVERSATION WHEN LAST WEEK WEST GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER VISITED THE WHITE HOUSE. HE ALSO PRAISED AMERICA'S DEVOTION TO FREEDOM.

AND HE GAVE ME A GIFT FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT IS A PIECE OF THE BERLIN WALL. AND IT'S ON MY DESK AS A REMINDER OF THE POWER OF FREEDOM TO BRING DOWN THE WALLS BETWEEN PEOPLE.

FELLOW NAVY MEN, I TREASURE THAT MOMENTO. IT SHOWS WHAT CAN HAPPEN WHEN AMERICANS STICK TO THEIR PRINCIPLES. AND WE WILL NOT YIELD ON THOSE PRINCIPLES.

YET WE ALSO RECOGNIZE A DYNAMIC NEW SOVIET LEADER WILLING, AS LINCOLN SAID, TO THINK ANEW. AND WE WANT HIM TO SUCCEED. FOR WE ADMIRE THE SOVIET PEOPLE. AND WE KNOW THAT OURS IS A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO FOSTER PEACE. SO I THOUGHT I WOULD BRING TO THE SIXTH FLEET A SYMBOL OF THAT PEACE. IT, TOO, COMES FROM THE BERLIN WALL. AND EMBODIES THIS WEEKEND'S SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

IT SHOWS HOW WE CAN BE "PEACEMAKERS." AND ON BEHALF OF EACH AMERICAN, LET ME SAY: IT NOW BELONGS TO YOU. //

LET ME CLOSE, THEN, WITH A MOMENT YOU'RE TOO YOUNG TO REMEMBER -- BUT WHICH WROTE A GLORIOUS PAGE IN AMERICAN HISTORY. IT OCCURRED ON D-DAY AS DWIGHT EISENHOWER ADDRESSED THE SAILORS, SOLDIERS, AND AIRMEN OF THE ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

"YOU ARE ABOUT TO EMBARK," HE TOLD THEM, "UPON A GREAT CRUSADE . . . THE EYES OF THE WORLD ARE UPON YOU. THE HOPES AND PRAYERS OF LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE MARCH WITH YOU." AND THEN IKE SPOKE THIS MOVING PRAYER: "LET US ALL BESEECH THE BLESSING OF ALMIGHTY GOD, UPON THIS GREAT AND NOBLE UNDERTAKING."

LIKE THE MEN OF D-DAY, YOU, TOO, ARE THE HOPE OF "LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE." AS THE NAVY HAS BEEN IN WARTIME -- AND IN PEACETIME.

KEEPING OUR HEARTS AFLIGHT -- AND OUR FAITH UNYIELDING. SACRIFICING TIME AWAY FROM YOUR HOMES SO THAT OTHER AMERICANS CAN SLEEP SAFELY IN THEIRS.

TODAY, THE WALLS OF OPPRESSION ARE TUMBLING DOWN BECAUSE OF WHAT YOU HAVE DONE TO KEEP AMERICA'S DEFENSES UP. THANK YOU FOR THAT -- FOR WRITING STILL-NEW PAGES IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICA AND HER NAVY.

GOD BLESS YOU AND OUR "GREAT AND NOBLE UNDERTAKING."
AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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WHRC

91st Congress, 2d Session

House Document No. 91-355

SELECTED SPEECHES
OF
DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER
34th President of the United States



Selected From the Three Principal Periods of His Life

- As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe
During the War Years
- As Supreme NATO Commander
- As President

residency. In June 1952, he returned to the Army and conducted an active campaign for the 1952 election. In the election, Eisenhower was nominated for the presidency from the state of Ohio. On November 4, 1952, Eisenhower took the oath of office on January 20,

and the country prosperous, but anxious about the country's principal foreign difficulties, like the tense relations with Communist Russia and the Korean War. The Korean War was in discussion between American and Chinese forces in Korea was signed late in July

President Eisenhower addressed the United Nations General Assembly to pool atomic energy supplies, and to bring about peaceful relations between Communist Worlds, for peaceful purposes. In his first year, Eisenhower's first year was spent dealing with problems before him relating to labor, education, and defense. In 1953, the new Federal Social Security Act, and Welfare was created.

In the Democratic House and Senate were passed some measures in Congress, Eisenhower continued his program.

Eisenhower ran for a second term and was reelected. He won majorities in Congress, as they did

and extensively in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. His convictions that world peace could be achieved through negotiation.

Eisenhower was barred from seeking a third term and returned to private life at Gettysburg, Pa., where the years that followed were active ones. He continued his views on national and world affairs. He was a member of the National Republican Coordinating Committee, an adviser to President John F. Kennedy, and a member of the Johnson administration. In 1967, Eisenhower published "Eisenhower Tells Friends." In the same year, he gave a farm to the Federal Government as a memorial to his death, he was writing a book about World War II.

Eisenhower died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center. He is buried in Abilene, Kans.

SELECTED SPEECHES OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

D-DAY MESSAGE, JUNE 6, 1944: EISENHOWER INSTRUCTS EUROPEANS;
GIVES BATTLE ORDER TO HIS ARMIES

Following are the texts of a statement by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower broadcast to the people of western Europe and his Order of the Day to the Allied Expeditionary Force as recorded by The New York Times and the Columbia Broadcasting System:

People of western Europe! A landing was made this morning on the coast of France by troops of the Allied Expeditionary Force. This landing is part of the concerted United Nations plan for the liberation of Europe, made in conjunction with our great Russian Allies. I have this message for all of you. Although the initial assault may not have been made in your own country, the hour of your liberation is approaching.

All patriots, men and women, young and old, have a part to play in the achievement of final victory. To members of resistance movements, whether led by national or outside leaders, I say: "Follow the instructions you have received." To patriots who are not members of organized resistance groups I say, "continue your passive resistance, but do not needlessly endanger your lives until I give you the signal to rise and strike the enemy. The day will come when I shall need your united strength. Until that day, I call on you for the hard task of discipline and restraint."

Citizens of France! I am proud to have again under my command the gallant forces of France. Fighting beside their Allies, they will play a worthy part in the liberation of their homeland. Because the initial landing has been made on the soil of your country, I repeat to you with even greater emphasis my message to the peoples of other occupied countries in western Europe. Follow the instructions of your leaders. A premature uprising of all Frenchmen may prevent you from being of maximum help to your country in the critical hour. Be patient. Prepare.

As supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, there is imposed on me the duty and responsibility of taking all measures necessary to the prosecution of the war. Prompt and willing obedience to the orders that I shall issue is essential. Effective civil administration of France must be provided by Frenchmen. All persons must continue in their present duties unless otherwise instructed. Those who have common cause with the enemy and so betrayed their country will be removed. As France is liberated from her oppressors, you yourselves will choose your representatives, and the government under which you wish to live.

In the course of this campaign for the final defeat of the enemy you may sustain further loss and damage. Tragic though they may be, they are part of the price of victory. I assure you that I shall do all in my power to mitigate your hardships. I know that I can count on your steadfastness now, no less than in the past. The heroic deeds of Frenchmen who have continued their struggle against the Nazis and their Vichy satellites, in France and throughout the French Empire, have been an example and an inspiration to all of us.

This landing is but the opening phase of the campaign in western Europe. Great battles lie ahead. I call upon all who love freedom to stand with us. Keep your faith staunch—our arms are resolute—together we shall achieve victory.

ORDER OF THE DAY

Soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force: You are about to embark upon a great crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you.

In company with our brave Allies and brothers in arms on other fronts, you will bring about the destruction of the German war machine, the elimination of Nazi tyranny over the oppressed peoples of Europe, and security for ourselves in a free world.

Your task will not be an easy one. Your enemy is well trained, well equipped and battle-hardened. He will fight savagely.

But this is the year 1944. Much has happened since the Nazi triumphs of 1940-41. The United Nations have inflicted upon the Germans great defeats in open battle, man to man. Our air offensive has seriously reduced their strength in the air and their capacity to wage war on the ground.

Our home fronts have given us an overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war, and placed at our disposal great reserves of trained fighting men.

The tide has turned. The free men of the world are marching together to victory. I have full confidence in your courage, devotion to duty and skill in battle. We will accept nothing less than full victory. Good luck.

Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking.

THE WASHINGTON ADDRESS

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen:

There is a message that I should like to bring to you from the fighting front this morning. There is so much I would like to say, so many subjects I should like to cover that as the only way of saving an unconscionable trespass upon your time I have tried to reduce my thoughts to notes and therefore I ask your permission for me to break my invariable custom and for once to use notes in addressing an audience such as this.

sign for the final defeat of the enemy and damage. Tragic though they may be, I assure you that I shall do all the hardships. I know that I can count on less than in the past. The heroic deeds continued their struggle against the Nazis in France and throughout the French Empire an inspiration to all of us.

During the phase of the campaign in western Europe, I call upon all who love freedom to stand staunch—our arms are resolute—to

OF THE DAY

of the Allied Expeditionary Force: a great crusade, toward which we have the eyes of the world are upon you. The loving people everywhere march with

Allies and brothers in arms on other side the destruction of the German war machine, tyranny over the oppressed peoples of the world in a free world.

Your enemy is well trained, well equipped. He will fight savagely.

Much has happened since the Nazi-occupied Nations have inflicted upon the world the battle, man to man. Our air offensive has length in the air and their capacity to

bring us an overwhelming superiority in the air, and placed at our disposal great re-

sources. The men of the world are marching to your confidence in your courage, devotion to duty. I accept nothing less than full victory.

In the name of Almighty God, upon this great

WASHINGTON ADDRESS

Members of Congress, Ladies and

I would like to bring to you from the heart of the front here is so much I would like to say, I would like to cover that as the only way of saving the world in your time I have tried to reduce the time before I ask your permission for me to stand before you and for once to use notes in addressing

My imagination cannot picture a more dramatic moment than this in the life of an American. I stand before the elected Federal lawmakers of our great Republic, the very core of our political life, and a symbol of those things we call the American heritage. To preserve that heritage, three million American citizens, at your behest, have faced resolutely every terror the ruthless Nazi could devise. I come before you as the representative of those three million people—their commander—because to them you wish this morning to pay the tribute of a grateful America for military victory. In humble realization that they, who earned your commendation, should properly be here to receive it, I am nevertheless proud and honored to be your agent in conveying it to them.

This does not seem to be the moment in which to describe the great campaigns by which the victory in Europe was won. They will become the substance of history, and great accounts they will be! But I think you would want from me some brief estimate of the quality of the sons, the relatives and friends that you—all America—have sent to war.

I have seen the American proved on battle-grounds of Africa and Europe over which armies have been fighting for more than two thousand years of recorded history. None of these battle-fields has seen a more worthy soldier than the trained American.

Willingly, he has suffered hardships; without a whimper, he has made heavy sacrifices. He has endured much, but he has never faltered. His aggressiveness—his readiness to close with the enemy—has become a by-word in embattled armies of Europe. You have read many reports of his individual exploits, but not one-tenth of them ever has been or ever will be told. Any one of them is sufficient to fill a true American with emotion—with an intense pride of his countryman.

Never have soldiers been called upon to endure longer-sustained periods of contact with a vicious enemy nor greater punishment from weather and terrain. The American has been harassed by fire and automatic weapons, pounded by hand grenades, by artillery and rocket shells, attacked by tanks and airplane bombs! He has faced the hazards of countless mines and booby traps and every form of static obstacle. He has conquered them all!

The tempo of battle has increased tremendously during the span of this conflict. When the Germans launched their blitzkriegs through Poland, the Low Countries and France, featuring tactical use of air power with mechanized units on the ground, it seemed to a fearful world that at last there had been achieved the ultimate in destructive force—that nothing could stand against the German armies.

When America entered the war arena the Nazi machine was at the zenith of its power. In 1940 it had overrun practically the whole of western Europe, while, a year later, in the East, it had hammered back the great Red Army into the far reaches of its own territory.

The Allies met this challenge with vision, determination, and a full comprehension of the enormity of the task ahead. America brought forth her effort from every conceivable source. New techniques of war were developed. Of these the most outstanding was the completely coordinated use of ground, air and sea forces. To his dismay the German found that, far from having achieved perfection in the combined employment of all types of destructive power, his skills and methods were daily outmoded and surpassed by the Allies.

Through tactical and strategic unification the Allies successfully undertook the greatest amphibious landings yet attempted in warfare. Following each of these, forces were swiftly built up on the beaches, and sustained by our naval strength. The next step was always a speedy advance, applying to the astonished enemy an air-ground teamwork that inflicted upon him defeat after defeat.

The services of supply, by their devotion to duty, performed real miracles in supporting the battle lines. America, and her Allies, sent finally into Europe such an avalanche of aggressive power by land, by sea, by air, as to make the campaigns of 1939 and 1940 seem puny in contrast. The result was the unconditional surrender of an arrogant enemy.

All this America and her allies have done.

The real beginning, for us, was in December, 1941, when our late great war leader, President Roosevelt, met with his friend Prime Minister Churchill and forged a definition of Allied organizational and directional method for the prosecution of this war.

During most of my three years in Europe these two God-given men were my joint Commanders-in-Chief. Their insistence on making common cause the key to victory established the pattern of the war in Europe.

To those two all of us recognize our lasting obligation. Because no word of mine could add to your appreciation of the man who, until his tragic death, led America in war, I will say nothing other than that from his strength and indomitable spirit I drew constant support and confidence in the solution of my own problems.

In Mr. Churchill he had a worthy partner, who had led his country through the blackest hour, in 1940. The Prime Minister's rugged determination, his fighting spirit and his singleness of purpose were always a spur to action. Never once did he give less than full co-operation in any endeavor necessary to our military objectives. And never did he hesitate to use his magnetic and powerful personality to win cheerful acceptance from his countrymen of the great demands he was forced to make upon them.

It was no small test of the hospitality and generous understanding of the British people to have two million-strangers moved among their already limited and crowded facilities. The added confusion imposed by the extensive gear of a great army was accepted with a cheerfulness that won the admiration of us Americans.

In critical moments Mr. Churchill did not hesitate to cut Britain's already reduced rations to provide more shipping for war purposes. Their overburdened railways had to absorb additional loads until practically all passenger traffic was suspended and even essential goods could be moved only on an emergency basis. For the hospitality the British offered us, for the discomforts they endured on our behalf, and for the sacrifices they made for the success of operations, every American acquainted with the facts will always carry for them a warm and grateful place deep within his heart.

Under these two great war leaders were the combined British-American Chiefs of Staff who were my direct military superiors and the channel through whom I received all my orders. Their unwavering support, their expressed and implied confidence, their wise direction, and their friendliness in contact, were things to which I am happy to

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bear witness. They devised the machinery by which huge Allied forces
were put together as a single unit, and through them were implemented
the great military purposes that America and Great Britain agreed
upon to further the political objectives of the war.

The spirit of unison that they developed was absorbed by the forces
in the field.

In no place was this vital unity more strikingly evidenced than
among the individuals that served as my principal commanders and
on my staff. British and Americans forgot differences in customs and
methods—even national prejudice—in their devotion to a common
cause. Often have I thanked a kind Providence for these staunch allies,
from highest commander to the newest recruit, and for their readiness
to serve within the team.

From our first battle associations with the British air forces in Eng-
land, with her Navy in the African invasion, and with the British
armies in North Africa, we have measured their quality through many
months of war. We well know and respect the fighting heart of the
British, Canadian and French soldiers, and their leaders.

This teamwork was equally strong among the several services, air,
ground, Navy and supply. The Navy's task in gaining our first Euro-
pean footholds was a staggering one. Without wearying you with
tactical details I ask you to take my word for the truth that in all the
brilliant achievements of the American Navy, and of her sister service
in Great Britain, there is none to excel the record that was written in
the great and successful invasions of Africa, Sicily, Italy and France.
With the Navy was always the Merchant Marine, in which Americans
have served with a devotion to duty and a disregard for danger and
hardship that defy any attempts to describe.

To the air forces, without whose services all else would have been
futile, I—all of us—owe similar debts of gratitude. Perhaps it is best
for me merely to say that in every ship, on every plane, in every regi-
ment, was a readiness to give life itself for the common good. And
in this statement I must include the men that have been responsible
for the tactics of the battle itself.

As an Allied commander, I have tried in London and in Paris to
record something of the debt the United Nations owe to the fighting
leaders of the British Empire and of France. Today, as an American,
I would like to give you the names of our own officers that will always
rank high in any list of those noted for service to their country. But
any enumeration would necessarily be incomplete, so I must content
myself by saying that, in great numbers, these battle leaders of the
Army, the Navy and the air have served loyally, devotedly and bril-
liantly in my commands in Europe and Africa. Particularly I think
you would like to know that, without exception, their first concern,
their first care, has been the welfare—spiritual and physical—of their
men—your sons, relatives and friends. You have as much right to
swell with pride in the quality of the battle commanders you have sent
to Europe and Africa as you have in the conduct of the millions they
have led so skillfully and devotedly.

I have spoken mostly of Americans and British, because troops
from this country and the British Empire always formed the bulk of
my own command. But the campaigns of the Red Army, crushing all
resistance in the East, played a decisive part in the defeat of Germany.

The abilities of the Soviet leaders and the courage and fortitude

of their fighting men—and women—stir the emotions of anyone who admires soldierly virtues. The Soviet people have been called upon for terrible sacrifices in their own land, ravished by the bestial excesses of the German. Driven back to Stalingrad, their calm refusal to acknowledge the possibility of any other outcome than victory will be honored in history for all time to come. Finally when the Russian armies and ourselves started the great drives that met on the Elbe, the end was merely a matter of days—the Allies, east and west, linked up and Nazi Germany was no more.

Here at home you played a very special part in the Soviet victory. Large quantities of American equipment, sent over the Arctic route to Murmansk and up from the Persian Gulf furnished vital material of war to assist the Russians in mounting their great drives. The production of our people has won high praise from the Soviet leaders, as it has from other leaders in the Allied nations. There is not a battlefront in Europe where it has not been of decisive importance.

The liberated countries of Europe have played a part in fashioning the victory.

Following upon our invasion of Normandy, the break-through last summer permitted the swift liberation of most of France and gave that people an opportunity to begin resumption of normal conduct of their own lives. France's own resistance forces, and some of her own divisions, took a notable part in driving out the enemy.

Every American soldier has seen the toll that war has exacted from France. Towns have been destroyed. Broken bridges make difficult road and river transport. The destruction of rolling stock or its allocation to military needs has denied its use to carry needed civilian goods, particularly food and fuel. Even now, although the guns are silent, the urgent necessities of our redeployment to the Pacific make it impossible to do all that we would wish toward improving the trying conditions in which the French people live.

This feeling extends also to Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, which endured four years of German tyranny, and which supported effective resistance movements. In the Netherlands, during the last few months of conflict, real starvation prevailed in certain sections, where the German garrisons refused assistance. Our sympathy was aroused and tons of food were dropped by parachute to alleviate their suffering. Those countries still need, and deserve, our help.

And now, because this meeting typifies, for me, the spiritual unity of the American home and battlefronts, I address a word to that relationship.

The American fighting man has never failed to recognize his dependence upon you at home. I am grateful for this opportunity to stand before the Congress and express my own and the thanks of every soldier, sailor and airman to the countrymen who have remained devoted to their tasks.

This feeling goes beyond the tangible things—guns, ammunition, tanks and planes, although in these things you have sent us the most and the best. It extends to such intangibles as the confidence and sympathetic understanding which have filled the letters written by families and friends to the men up front. For a few moments, simple words of affection and cheer blot out the danger and loneliness and hardship which are the soldier's life. They sent him back with renewed vigor and courage to his inexorable task of crushing the enemy.

men—stir the emotions of anyone who Soviet people have been called upon to land, ravished by the bestial excesses of Stalingrad, their calm refusal to accept any other outcome than victory will be the price to come. Finally when the Russian great drives that met on the Elbe, the days—the Allies, east and west, linked together.

A very special part in the Soviet victory. Equipment, sent over the Arctic route from the Persian Gulf furnished vital material for mounting their great drives. The praise from the Soviet leaders, as well as the Allied nations. There is not a battle that has not been of decisive importance. The Red Cross have played a part in fashioning

the liberation of Normandy, the break-through last year, the liberation of most of France and gave the beginning of resumption of normal conduct of the resistance forces, and some of her own driving out the enemy.

When we see the toll that war has exacted from the world. Broken bridges make difficult the reconstruction of rolling stock or its allocation to its use to carry needed civilian goods, and now, although the guns are silent, the commitment to the Pacific make it impossible to improve the trying conditions

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to tangible things—guns, ammunition, these things you have sent us the most intangibles as the confidence and sympathy have filled the letters written by families. For a few moments, simple words of danger and loneliness and hardship they sent him back with renewed vigor and the risk of crushing the enemy.

I hope you realize that all you have done for the soldier has been truly appreciated. Never have they felt absent from your anxious care and warm affections. The Red Cross—to name just one outstanding organization—stands high in their admiration. The Red Cross, with its clubs for recreation, its coffee and doughnuts in the forward areas, its readiness to meet the needs of the well and help minister to the wounded—even more important, the devotion and warm-hearted sympathy of the Red Cross girl! The Red Cross has often seemed to be the friendly hand of this nation, reaching across the sea to sustain its fighting men.

The battle-front and the home front; together we have found the victory! But even the banners of triumph cannot hide from our sight the sacrifices in which victory has been bought. The hard task of a commander is to send men into battle knowing some of them—often many—must be killed or wounded in order that necessary missions may be achieved.

It is a soul-killing task! My sorrow is not only for the fine young lives lost or broken, but it is equally for the parents, the wives and the friends who have been bereaved. The price they pay is possibly the greatest. The blackness of their grief can be relieved only by the faith that all this shall not happen again! Because I feel this so deeply I hope you will let me attempt to express a thought that I believe is today imbedded deep in the hearts of all fighting men.

It is this. The soldier knows how grim and black was the outlook for the Allies in 1941 and '42. He is fully aware of the magnificent way the United Nations responded to the threat. To his mind the problems of peace can be no more difficult than the one you had to solve more than three years ago, and which, in one battle area, has been brought to a successful conclusion. He knows that in war the threat of separate annihilation tends to hold allies together; he hopes we can find in peace a nobler incentive to produce the same unity.

He passionately believes that, with the same determination, the same optimistic resolution and the same mutual consideration among Allies that marshalled in Europe forces capable of crushing what had been the greatest war machine of history, the problems of peace can and must be met. He sees the United Nations strong but considerate; humane and understanding leaders in the world to preserve the peace he is winning.

The genius and power of America have, with her Allies, eliminated one menace to our country's freedom—even her very existence. Still another remains to be crushed in the Pacific before peace will be restored. The American men and women I have been so honored to command, would, I know, say this to you today:

In our minds and hearts there is no slightest doubt that our people's spirit of determination, which has buoyed us up and driven us forward in Europe, will continue to fire this nation through the ordeals of battle yet to come. Though we dream of return to our loved ones, we are ready, as we have always been, to do our duty to our country, no matter what it may be. In this spirit we renew our pledge of service to Commander-in-Chief President Truman, under whose leadership we know that final victory is certain.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1989

1989 NOV 29 PM 7: 21

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *w*
FROM: CURT SMITH *C*
SUBJECT: REMARKS ON THE USS FORRESTAL

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, December 1, at 1:53 p.m., you will address about five thousand sailors aboard the USS Forrestal. Captain Tim "Buzzard" Thomassey will introduce you. Admiral Howe, Vice Admiral Williams, and Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen will also attend. You will address the crew in the hangar bay after you view the launch and recovery of aircraft.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (12 minutes, speechcards) discuss the Navy's role in keeping America strong and the world at peace -- with special emphasis on the global movement toward democracy. In particular, the text focuses on the historic importance of your meeting with President Gorbachev.

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Five
November 29, 1989
NAVY

Vice Admiral Williams
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989
1:53 P.M.

Sixth Fleet
Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS
~~Forrestal~~. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind
(I saw per...)
introduction. Admiral Howe, Rear Admiral Allen, friends.

no women aboard for this ceremony?

((I'm really pleased to be here. ~~Would you believe that I just happened to be in the neighborhood and thought I'd drop in?~~
// ~~No?~~ // ~~How about this?~~ Just goes to prove there's no body of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch a fish?)) //

((~~It is indeed wonderful to be among America's sailors of the sea -- among my Naval family.~~ // ~~In fact, I haven't made a speech to five thousand people since the last Bush family reunion.~~ // ~~And I promise you: My remarks will be brief.~~)) //

I say that because I know your jobs don't leave much time for speeches. After all, on a ship you can't afford to stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted. //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((In fact, I'd like Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. // On second thought, forget it. We want to ease tensions.)) //

13

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready for a certain football event next

cyphers!
Bet will fill
James & board
my home
Passing
father's

Do all the enlisted men care about Army-Navy game??

Saturday. // Just this morning I was talking with a "B.B. Stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" //

~~Well, you have my word as Commander-in-Chief. I'm not. And let me assure you: As President, I have to remain perfectly neutral in word and deed. ((So when Army and Navy play, I'll be watching it on television. // Not taking sides. // And patting my old dog, Millie. // And my new dog, Middie.)) //~~

Nearly a-half-century ago, of course, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides in very different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

An old Indian proverb says: "No one can really know a man until he's walked in his moccasins." Well, I was your age when Malta was under assault. I'm an old Navy man. Flew a plane ~~a torpedo bomber called the Avenger. One of 34 planes assigned to an aircraft carrier.~~ I've walked in your moccasins. I know what the Navy means to you. And even more, what you mean to the United States of America.

For more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like

OK
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Midway and Leyte Gulf. ~~Think of guys I flew with. Leo Nadeau, my rear gunner. My radioman, John Delaney. And of guys you work with. Young Americans. Heroes all.~~

Now, it's true, of course. Certain things haven't changed since I enlisted in the Navy as a seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." // You know, I love this Navy jargon. In fact, I'm sometimes tempted to use it at the White House. It's just that some Congressmen might be a little leary if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats." //

explain ?

((Then, there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours: That, too, hasn't changed. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance you showed when you finally hit town. // Don't worry: Our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

Standing in line for drinks waiting for the ship to set off

((And the rivalry between attack pilots and fighter pilots -- that also endures. ~~Now, I was an attack pilot.~~ So I'm sure you'll understand why I say: You're in good hands with your captain, Tim "Buzzard" Thomassy. // And as far as the rivalry goes, I have no comment. Except to note that when they drink beer, one side yells "less filling" and the other yells "tastes great."))

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is

~~N₂-H₂ gas~~
ure

charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Lasting peace takes planning, patience, and personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

JK

Those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

OK

You know, there is a painting in the White House which captures this promise. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

JK

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? -- **The Peacemakers.**

OK

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union to join us in building it. And that's why I'm meeting with Chairman Gorbachev tomorrow. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why.

One of them is that forty years ago, the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.

And the Alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a champion of liberty. And because of that, this meeting is taking place.

There are other reasons, too, why freedom's victory is in our grasp. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square in Prague as they felt the first precious moments of real hope for freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and sailor kissing in Times Square. Because of them, this meeting is taking place.

Finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your duty. You have kept us strong. And helped the horizons of democracy eclipse Nation and race. Because of you, freedom is

*Kohl
thanked the
USA for standing
firm etc*

sweeping the globe. Our meeting here ^{off of} ~~in~~ Malta will last two days. But the freedom we seek must last for generations. //

Let me close, then, with a moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade . . . The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere." As the Navy has been in wartime -- and in peacetime. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you and our "great and noble undertaking." And God bless the United States of America.

#

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Six
November 30, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989
1:53 P.M.

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS Forrestal -- and the sons of the Sixth Fleet. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe, Vice Admiral Williams, Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen, friends.

((First, let me say that I'm really pleased to be here. Just goes to prove there's no body of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch a fish.)) //

Second, I want to promise you: My remarks will be brief. // I say that because I know your jobs don't leave much time for speeches. After all, on a ship you can't afford to stand still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted. //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((In fact, I'd like Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like. // On second thought, forget it. We want to ease tensions.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready -- as America is -- for a certain football event next Saturday. // Just this morning I was talking with a "B.B. Stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never

again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" //

Well, I'm not. And I know that next Saturday, Americans will be rooting for both sides. Just like nearly half-a-century ago, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides in different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

For more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of that freedom. Proclaiming the inevitability of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like Midway and Leyte Gulf. And of America's enlisted men and women who expressed our deepest values, and our character as a people.

Now, as you know, I am also a Navy man. And I must confess it: Certain things haven't changed since I joined up as a seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." // You know, I love this Navy jargon. In fact, I'm sometimes tempted to use it at the White House. It's just that some Congressmen might be a little leary if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats." //

((Then, there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours: That, too, endures. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting

off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance you showed when you finally hit town.

// Don't worry: Our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Lasting peace takes planning, patience, and personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which captures this promise. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals,

meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? -- The Peacemakers.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union to join us in building it. And that's why I'm meeting with Chairman Gorbachev tomorrow. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why.

One of them is that forty years ago, the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.

And the Alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a champion of liberty. And because of that, this meeting is taking place.

There are other reasons, too, why freedom's victory is in our grasp. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square in Prague as they felt the first precious moments of real hope for freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and

sailor kissing in Times Square. Because of them, this meeting is taking place.

Finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your duty. You have kept us strong. And helped the horizons of democracy eclipse Nation and race. Because of you, freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here in Malta will last two days. But the freedoms we seek must last for generations. //

You know, with the recent -- and extraordinary -- changes in Eastern Europe, I've been thinking of those freedoms. And at no time more than when the Berlin Wall began to open. I remember how shortly afterward West German Chancellor Kohl telephoned the White House. He asked me to thank each American. And said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be occurring without the steadfast support of the United States.

Warm praise from a good friend. Praise which belongs to you. I recalled that conversation when last week Foreign Minister Genscher of West Germany visited the White House. He also praised America's devotion to freedom. And he gave me a gift for the American people. It is a piece of the Berlin Wall. And it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom to bring down the walls between people.

Fellow Navy men, I treasure that momento. It shows what can happen when Americans stick to their principles. And we will not yield on those principles. Yet we also recognize a dynamic new Soviet leader willing, as Lincoln said, to think anew. And we want him to succeed. For we admire the Soviet people. And we

know that ours is a priceless opportunity to foster peace. So I thought I would bring to the Sixth Fleet a symbol of that peace. It, too, comes from the Berlin Wall. And embodies this weekend's spirit of cooperation. It shows how we can be "peacemakers." And on behalf of each American, let me say: It now belongs to you. //

Let me close, then, with a moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade . . . The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere." As the Navy has been in wartime -- and in peacetime. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you and our "great and noble undertaking." And God bless the United States of America.

Blessey's Aes

1989 NOV 27 PM 7:16

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 27, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS
Forrestal. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind
introduction. ^{Vice Admiral Williams} Admiral Howe, ^{"Sweet Pea"} Real Admiral Alden, friends. X

((First, I want to say: As you may have noticed, I
helicoptered here today. // I was going to try a new athletic
activity on my visit to the Forrestal, but I'll confess it:
Barbara convinced me to leave my water skis at home.)) //

((Second, let me add: I'm glad I did. Just as I'm pleased
to be here. I just happened to be in the neighborhood and
thought I'd drop in. // It just goes to prove there's no body
of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch
fish.)) //

((It is indeed wonderful to be among America's sailors of
the sea -- among my Naval family. // In fact, I haven't made a
speech to five thousand people since the last Bush family
reunion. // And I promise: My remarks will be brief. //
Because I know you work 18-hour days. // So don't worry: I don't
mind people falling asleep during one of my speeches as long as
they have an excuse.)) //

I know, for example, that your jobs don't leave much time
for speeches. After all, you can't afford to remain stationary

for long. ((In that context, I was warned not to stand too long in one place aboard ship. Anything that doesn't move gets painted.)) //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((So let me say: Because I want President Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like, I was wondering if it's possible to get some "sliders" to go.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready for a certain football event next Saturday. // As evidence, consider what a "Bee Bee Stacker" ~~X~~ said when I noted that my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev moves us closer to the day when fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. "I hope you don't mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game." //

Well, you have my word as Commander-in-Chief. I'm not. And let me assure you: As President, I have to remain perfectly neutral in word and deed. ((So when Army and Navy play, I'll be watching it on television. // Not taking sides. // And patting my old dog, Millie. // And my new dog, Middie.)) //

Nearly a-half-century ago, of course, in this very part of the Mediterranean, America -- thank goodness -- was taking sides. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, ~~they were aided by~~ ^{they were fighting for the same cause as} the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

most bombing on Malta occurred in 411-412

Malta was under British rule

An old Indian proverb says: "No one can really know a man until he's walked in his moccasins." Well, I was your age when Malta was under assault. I'm an old Navy man. Flew a plane -- a Torpedo avenger. One of 3⁵ planes assigned to an aircraft carrier. // Like today's F-14, they were called a "Turkey" ^S plane. I hope no pun intended. // I've walked in your moccasins. I know what the Navy means to you. And even more, what you mean to the United States of America.

For more than 220 years now, the Navy has been a defender of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like Inchon and Leyte Gulf. Think of guys I flew with. Leo Nadeau, my rear gunner. My radioman, John Delaney. And of guys you work with. Young Americans. Heroes all.

Now, it's true, of course. Certain things haven't changed since I enlisted in the Navy as a seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." And ~~dinner is still called~~ ^{you still eat chow} on the mess^{decks}. I'm sometimes tempted to use Navy jargon at the White House, but there are some Congressmen who would be a little leary if I called up and asked them to join me for "mid'rats."

((Then, there's the zest for off-duty hours: That, too, is constant. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. I'm not going to say anything about the exuberance you showed when you finally hit

X
X
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bottle
how
about
Midway

town, but I want to assure you that our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

((And the rivalry between attack pilots and fighter pilots -- that, too, endures. Even though you're still in good hands with an attack pilot -- your captain, Tim "Buzzard" Thomassy. // Now, I was a fighter pilot. But as far as the rivalry goes, I have no comment. Except to note that when they drink beer, one side yells "less filling" and the other yells "tastes great."))

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Real peace takes planning, patience, and at times, personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Real peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from Nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Fellow sailors, those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe President Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which embodies this promise. It's called The Peacemakers. It hangs on

the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm.

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours will be a future bereft of tyranny and fear. I believe President Gorbachev wants such a future. As do our allies. And all those who believe mankind's deepest impulse is to create a more secure and peaceful world.

For evidence, look to the present -- and to the extraordinary changes of the past few months. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square as they felt the first precious moments of freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and sailor kissing in Times Square.

And, yes, look to tomorrow -- and to yourselves. For you, too, know that the horizons of democracy are like the Mediterranean -- boundless and beautiful, eclipsing Nation and race. Because of you -- and so many like you in Hungary, Poland,

Germany, Czechoslovakia -- this meeting is taking place. And
 freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here ^{off of} in Malta will
 last two days. But the freedom we seek must last forever. //

Let me close with a story, then, about the freedom -- and
 respect for dignity -- that can make each one of us a
 "peacemaker." A moment you're too young to remember -- but
 which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on
 D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Franklin Roosevelt
 spoke a moving prayer.

"Our sons," he said, "pride of our Nation. Lead them
 straight and true. Give strength to their arms, stoutness to
 their hearts, steadfastness to their faith."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the "pride of our
 Nation." As the Navy has been in wartime -- from the Battle of
 Lake Erie to the Atlantic Conference. And in peacetime --
 spurring the space program which points us toward the stars.
 Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding.
 Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can
 sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of
 what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for
 that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and
 her Navy. God bless you. And ^o may He protect the Nation that you
 are keeping "straight and true" -- the United States of America.

And like "Buzzerd" # # # # always says, "Have a fine
 Navy day."

Navy men
 there?

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA

SUBJECT: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1989

1989 NOV 29 PM 7:22

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: REMARKS ON THE USS FORRESTAL

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, December 1, at 1:53 p.m., you will address about five thousand sailors aboard the USS Forrestal. Captain Tim "Buzzard" Thomassey will introduce you. Admiral Howe, Vice Admiral Williams, and Rear Admiral "Sweet Pea" Allen will also attend. You will address the crew in the hangar bay after you view the launch and recovery of aircraft.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (12 minutes, speechcards) discuss the Navy's role in keeping America strong and the world at peace -- with special emphasis on the global movement toward democracy. In particular, the text focuses on the historic importance of your meeting with President Gorbachev.

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Five
November 29, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989
1:53 P.M.

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS
Forrestal. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind
introduction. Admiral Howe, Real Admiral Allen, friends.

((I'm really pleased to be here. Would you believe that I
just happened to be in the neighborhood and thought I'd drop in?
// No? // How about this just goes to prove there's no body of
water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch a
fish?)) //

((It is indeed wonderful to be among America's sailors of
the sea -- among my Naval family. // In fact, I haven't made a
speech to five thousand people since the last Bush family
reunion. // And I promise you: My remarks will be brief.)) //

I say that because I know your jobs don't leave much time
for speeches. After all, on a ship you can't afford to stand
still for long. Anything that doesn't move gets painted. //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((In fact, I'd
like Chairman Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is
like. // On second thought, forget it. We want to ease
tensions.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other
priorities. Like getting ready for a certain football event next

Saturday. // Just this morning I was talking with a "B.B. Stacker." And I told him I hope my meeting with Chairman Gorbachev means that fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. He said, "You mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game?" //

Well, you have my word as Commander-in-Chief. I'm not. And let me assure you: As President, I have to remain perfectly neutral in word and deed. ((So when Army and Navy play, I'll be watching it on television. // Not taking sides. // And patting my old dog, Millie. // And my new dog, Middie.)) //

Nearly a-half-century ago, of course, in this very part of the Mediterranean, young sailors like yourselves were taking sides in very different circumstances. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

An old Indian proverb says: "No one can really know a man until he's walked in his moccasins." Well, I was your age when Malta was under assault. I'm an old Navy man. Flew a plane -- a torpedo bomber called the Avenger. One of 34 planes assigned to an aircraft carrier. I've walked in your moccasins. I know what the Navy means to you. And even more, what you mean to the United States of America.

For more than two centuries now, the Navy has been a defender of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like

Midway and Leyte Gulf. Think of guys I flew with. Leo Nadeau, my rear gunner. My radioman, John Delaney. And of guys you work with. Young Americans. Heroes all.

Now, it's true, of course. Certain things haven't changed since I enlisted in the Navy as a seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I know you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." // You know, I love this Navy jargon. In fact, I'm sometimes tempted to use it at the White House. It's just that some Congressmen might be a little leary if I asked them to join me for "mid'rats." //

((Then, there's the sailors' zest for off-duty hours: That, too, hasn't changed. I hear you missed a few days of liberty sitting off the coast of France in bad weather. And far be it from me to criticize the exuberance you showed when you finally hit town. // Don't worry: Our good relations with the French are still intact anyway.)) //

((And the rivalry between attack pilots and fighter pilots -- that also endures. Now, I was an attack pilot. So I'm sure you'll understand why I say: You're in good hands with your captain, Tim "Buzzard" Thomassy. // And as far as the rivalry goes, I have no comment. Except to note that when they drink beer, one side yells "less filling" and the other yells "tastes great."))

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is

charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Lasting peace takes planning, patience, and personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Lasting peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe Chairman Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which captures this promise. It hangs on the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name? -- **The Peacemakers.**

For me, this painting is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph. And that ours can be a future free of both tyranny and fear. Our fellow democracies share our hope for such a future. We want the Soviet Union to join us in building it. And that's why I'm meeting with Chairman Gorbachev tomorrow. For the times are on the side of peace. And there are important reasons why.

One of them is that forty years ago, the NATO Alliance was formed in the hope that freedom would one day belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it. **Because NATO remained vigilant, strong, and united, this meeting is taking place.**

And the Alliance has been strengthened by America's enduring commitment to its protection. America has been, and remains, a champion of liberty. **And because of that, this meeting is taking place.**

There are other reasons, too, why freedom's victory is in our grasp. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square in Prague as they felt the first precious moments of real hope for freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and sailor kissing in Times Square. **Because of them, this meeting is taking place.**

Finally, this meeting is taking place because you have done your duty. You have kept us strong. And helped the horizons of democracy eclipse Nation and race. **Because of you, freedom is**

sweeping the globe. Our meeting here in Malta will last two days. But the freedom we seek must last for generations. //

Let me close, then, with a moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Dwight Eisenhower addressed the sailors, soldiers, and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force.

"You are about to embark," he told them, "upon a great crusade . . . The eyes of the world are upon you. The hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you." And then Ike spoke this moving prayer: "Let us all beseech the blessing of Almighty God, upon this great and noble undertaking."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the hope of "liberty-loving people everywhere." As the Navy has been in wartime -- and in peacetime. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you and our "great and noble undertaking." And God bless the United States of America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 PM, TUES., NOV. 28

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA

SUBJECT: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 PM, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

89 OCT 28 4:37

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

1989 NOV 27 PM 7:16

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 27, 1989
NAVY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

Hello, fellow Navy men. Hello, the sons of the USS Forrestal. Captain Thomassy -- and thank you for that kind introduction. Admiral Howe, Real Admiral Alden, friends.

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((Second, let me add: I'm glad I did. Just as I'm pleased to be here. I just happened to be in the neighborhood and thought I'd drop in. // It just goes to prove there's no body of water in the world I'll leave unexplored in my quest to catch fish.)) //

((It is indeed wonderful to be among America's sailors of the sea -- among my Naval family. // In fact, I haven't made a speech to five thousand people since the last Bush family reunion. // And I promise: My remarks will be brief. // Because I know you work 18-hour days. // So don't worry: I don't mind people falling asleep during one of my speeches as long as they have an excuse.)) //

I know, for example, that your jobs don't leave much time for speeches. After all, you can't afford to remain stationary

for long. ((In that context, I was warned not to stand too long in one place aboard ship. Anything that doesn't move gets painted.)) //

I know, too, that you have meals to eat. ((So let me say: Because I want President Gorbachev to get an idea of what U.S. Navy food is like, I was wondering if it's possible to get some "sliders" to go.)) //

Finally, I'll be brief because I know you have other priorities. Like getting ready for a certain football event next Saturday. // As evidence, consider what a "Bee Bee Stacker" said when I noted that my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev moves us closer to the day when fierce adversaries will never again clash on the field of battle. "I hope you don't mean you're going to negotiate an end to the Army-Navy game." //

Well, you have my word as Commander-in-Chief. I'm not. And let me assure you: As President, I have to remain perfectly neutral in word and deed. ((So when Army and Navy play, I'll be watching it on television. // Not taking sides. // And patting my old dog, Millie. // And my new dog, Middie.)) //

Nearly a-half-century ago, of course, in this very part of the Mediterranean, America -- thank goodness -- was taking sides. For on Malta itself, as a brave people endured savage attack, they were aided by the armed forces of America and her allies -- daring greatly -- fighting valiantly -- so that freedom could prevail.

An old Indian proverb says: "No one can really know a man until he's walked in his moccasins." Well, I was your age when Malta was under assault. I'm an old Navy man. Flew a plane -- a Torpedo avenger. One of 34 planes assigned to an aircraft carrier. // Like today's F-14, they were called a "Turkey" plane. I hope no pun intended. // I've **walked** in your moccasins. I know what the Navy means to you. And even more, **what you mean to the United States of America.**

For more than 220 years now, the Navy has been a defender of democracy. Living on "the tip of the spear." Think of Nimitz, Halsey, and Commodore Perry. And of battles like Inchon and Leyte Gulf. Think of guys I flew with. Leo Nadeau, my rear gunner. My radioman, John Delaney. And of guys **you** work with. Young Americans. Heroes all.

Now, it's true, of course. Certain things **haven't** changed since I enlisted in the Navy as a seaman 2nd Class.

I assume maids still come into your quarters, make your beds, and leave a mint on the pillow. // I **know** you still have a "gator" and "snipes" and "grapes." And dinner is still called the mess. I'm sometimes tempted to use Navy jargon at the White House, but there are some Congressmen who would be a little leary if I called up and asked them to join me for "mid'rats."

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((And the rivalry between attack pilots and fighter pilots -- that, too, endures. Even though you're still in good hands with an attack pilot -- your captain, Tim "Buzzard" Thomassy. // Now, I was a fighter pilot. But as far as the rivalry goes, I have no comment. Except to note that when they drink beer, one side yells "less filling" and the other yells "tastes great."))

As you can see, some things haven't changed. Yes, it's true my generation was charged with winning a war, and yours is charged with preserving the peace. But both want to protect freedom. That hasn't changed. Nor has the knowledge that real peace -- the peace which lasts -- is not an accident.

Real peace takes planning, patience, and at times, personal sacrifice. It takes a partnership with allies who are resolute in defense of liberty. Real peace stems from strength that is moral and intellectual, economic and military. And from Nations who use that strength to make fragile peace strong, and temporary peace permanent.

Fellow sailors, those lessons helped my generation win World War II. And today, they bring me, and I believe President Gorbachev, to our two days of talks. A meeting for your generation -- and all the generations to come.

You know, there is a painting in the White House which embodies this promise. It's called The Peacemakers. It hangs on

the wall of my study. And it portrays the decency -- and humanity -- of one of our greatest leaders.

I've often said that Abraham Lincoln is one of my favorite Presidents. I suppose virtually every American feels that way. This painting shows why. It pictures Lincoln and his generals, meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. Outside, at that moment, a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow -- that symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm.

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For evidence, look to the present -- and to the extraordinary changes of the past few months. Look at the workers of Berlin and Budapest. And that tiny girl in Krakow waving an American flag. Look at the young couple embracing in Wenceslas Square as they felt the first precious moments of freedom -- their pose so reminiscent of the famous World War II photo of that nurse and sailor kissing in Times Square.

And, yes, look to tomorrow -- and to yourselves. For you, too, know that the horizons of democracy are like the Mediterranean -- boundless and beautiful, eclipsing Nation and race. Because of you -- and so many like you in Hungary, Poland,

Germany, Czechoslovakia -- this meeting is taking place. And freedom is sweeping the globe. Our meeting here in Malta will last two days. But the freedom we seek must last forever. //

Let me close with a story, then, about the freedom -- and respect for dignity -- that can make each one of us a "peacemaker." A moment you're too young to remember -- but which wrote a glorious page in American history. It occurred on D-Day, over a nationwide radio network, as Franklin Roosevelt spoke a moving prayer.

"Our sons," he said, "pride of our Nation. Lead them straight and true. Give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness to their faith."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the "pride of our Nation." As the Navy has been in wartime -- from the Battle of Lake Erie to the Atlantic Conference. And in peacetime -- spurring the space program which points us toward the stars. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you. And may He protect the Nation that you are keeping "straight and true" -- the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton *J.P. 11/27/89*

Subject: Draft Speech: USS Forrestal -- Malta

A good draft. While it does have a rather high ratio of jokes to substance, the language gets particularly good starting on the third page. We have suggested a few minor changes and, needless to add, caution that the inside jokes involving the Navy need to be double-checked for accuracy, currency, and pertinence.

pg. 1, para. 2, line 2 "I helicoptered here today. I was going to try a new athletic activity...."

It's unclear what the helicopter has to do with "a new athletic activity" or water skiing -- apparently a non sequitur.

3,1,5 "Like today's F-14, they were called a 'Turkey' plane."

This is asking for a headline: "President calls F-14 'Turkey'" Even if "Turkey" is meant as jargon and not an epithet, we suggest omitting the line.

3,2 We particularly like this graf. The speech hits stride here.

3,4,2 The mint on the pillow joke we found especially funny. We suggest making a transition to the next sentence to make clear (to the press and non-Navy types) that the President is shifting from a humorous to a more serious tone, e.g., "Seriously, I know you still have a 'gator,'...."

4,2,4 "Now, I was a fighter pilot."

This fact has no doubt already been confirmed, but if not, we need to doublecheck that the President was not, in fact, considered an attack pilot.

4,6,1 The image of the painting starting in this graf is particularly powerful and appropriate.

(more)

2-2-2

5,5,4 "Because of you -- and so many like you in Hungary, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia -- this meeting is taking place."

While this is presumably intended to mean the East Europeans agitating for freedom, the effect is to suggest that the "so many like you" are the Warsaw Pact counterparts to our fighting men.

6,3-4 "'Our sons....' Like the men of D-Day.... [emphasis added]

Even if it difficult to mention the women of the Navy in these historical contexts, we should be sure to do so in the context of today's Navy, e.g., perhaps in the next sentence: "Men and women, keeping our heart aflight...." Indeed, as long as the President is contrasting his days in the service with today's Navy, he could make this point along the lines of, e.g., "But despite all the things that have continued to make the Navy great since my days in her service, many things have changed for the better..."

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 PM, TUES., NOV. 28

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: USS FORRESTAL
MALTA

SUBJECT: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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RESPONSE:

OK Bruce Zarin for Dig Rogesh

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

1989 NOV 27 PM 7:16

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 27, 1989
NAVY

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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: USS FORRESTAL -- Malta

Pursuant to James Cicconi's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the Presidential Remarks as drafted.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 OCT 28 All: 16

Staffed

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 27, 1989
NAVY

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MALTA
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1989

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"Our sons," he said, "pride of our Nation. Lead them straight and true. Give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness to their faith."

Like the men of D-Day, you, too, are the "pride of our Nation." As the Navy has been in wartime -- from the Battle of Lake Erie to the Atlantic Conference. And in peacetime -- spurring the space program which points us toward the stars. Keeping our hearts aflight -- and our faith unyielding. Sacrificing time away from your homes so that other Americans can sleep safely in theirs.

Today, the walls of oppression are tumbling down because of what you have done to keep America's defenses up. Thank you for that -- for writing still-new pages in the history of America and her Navy. God bless you. And may He protect the Nation that you are keeping "straight and true" -- the United States of America.

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