

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 13530
Folder ID Number: 13530-001

Folder Title:
Oklahoma State University Commencement Address 5/4/90 [OA 4729] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	3	1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

30 April 1990

NOTE TO: Governor Sununu

FROM: Bob Gates

John

Attached is a copy of the proposed speech for the President's use at Oklahoma State on May 4th. Please hold very tightly as once the speech is ready, we will need to communicate with our Allies and the NATO Secretary General. Therefore, the substance is very sensitive.

Many thanks.

Bob.

cc: Dave Demarest

(Our staff will work closely with the speechwriter.)

Determined To Be an Administrative
Marking Per E.O. 12356 Sec. 1.1 (a)

DM 9/29/04

4/30/90

[intro para for audience/venue]

You have all probably already heard that, as you graduate from college, you are turning a page in your lives and making important choices about your future. I suppose that is true. But I would like you to join me in reflecting on other choices we all must make. These are not decisions about careers. They are decisions we must make -- as Americans -- about our country's future, and our role in the world.

Revolutionary change is transforming Europe. The Old World is being renewed, as old divisions disappear and old fears fade. Great upheavals in Europe have always forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about what part we will have in European affairs. From the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order, Americans have made these choices. I believe that, now, we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic. That is what I want to talk to you about today.

The Age of Freedom: A Time of Uncertainty

Europe, and the world, has entered a new era -- the age of freedom. The revolutionaries of 1989 in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and East Germany cast aside the dictators. The people of these nations have taken back

control of their societies from the Communist officials who ruled in their name but without their consent. The Berlin Wall, for decades a grotesque symbol of an effort to imprison an entire country, now lies broken and in ruins.

About a year ago, I spoke in Germany about the goal of my Administration: a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach. The heart of divided Europe has been a divided Germany. Now, the unification of Germany, which we and our Allies have supported for more than forty years, is finally coming to pass, in peace and freedom.

This new age of freedom is a time of uncertainty and hope in Eastern Europe. These new democracies have undergone a social, political, and economic convulsion, shaking loose institutions that have smothered initiative and free choice for generations. Many of the people in these countries are fearful about the future. That is understandable. But these anxieties are mixed with a liberating sense of opportunity, of new possibilities that are opening for growth, prosperity, and personal freedom.

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe will diminish the military threat from the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders are preoccupied with remaking their own society, the process of perestroika. They have shown real statesmanship in accepting, even encouraging, the free expression of popular desires for change in Eastern Europe.

Yet we are still living through a period of transition,

moving from the postwar era, beyond containment, into the age of freedom. We do not know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change in the Soviet Union is still unfinished -- and we do not know where it will lead. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union.

President Gorbachev has made profound changes in his country. There is no doubt in my mind that these reforms are so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned back. Yet, unfortunately for us, we cannot turn the clock ahead, cannot see what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come. It will certainly be different -- this we know. Here is what we also know: the Soviet Union will remain, even after all planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed and implemented, the strongest military power on the Eurasian landmass, armed with thousands of nuclear weapons, dwarfing all other European states in size, population, and armed strength.

I believe that our policies now must be appropriate to a period of transition, displaying a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new. But as Europe evolves, our policies must also prepare for a new era in European history. If the promise of peaceful political change and Soviet

military adjustment is fulfilled, we will be ready.

America In Europe

The United States has global responsibilities. We face many kinds of challenges around the world, and there is no pat formula that is good for all places, or all occasions. But, in looking across the Atlantic, America's place in the new Europe should continue to be based on the North Atlantic Alliance and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization -- NATO. My European colleagues want the United States to be part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. I believe, in short, that the United States should be a European power in the broadest sense of that term -- politically, militarily, and economically. The starting point for America's engagement in Europe is NATO.

NATO is not now, and has never been, just a military alliance. From the start, the North Atlantic Treaty was a basic political statement about America and Europe. Through this treaty we said, in effect, for the first time in our country's history that: 'The fate of the United States cannot be separated from the fate of Europe. We are going to recognize this fact and do something about it.'

Nations, like people, can learn from mistakes. We thought we could stay clear of Europe's quarrels in World War I. In 1916, President Wilson said "we are not concerned" with the causes of the war and "we are not interested" in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." A

year later America had been swept along by the torrent and our soldiers were on their way to the battlefields of France.

Yet after the war we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, we sponsored a treaty to outlaw war. And then, as the outlaws gained strength, the United States declared its neutrality. As the Western democracies quailed in the face of the totalitarian powers, we passed new neutrality laws. When war finally came, the most devastating conflict in human history, America could not avoid its terrible consequences. We paid an awful price for our isolation. When that war ended, America's statesmen believed a new, and different, approach was needed to keep the peace.

We chose to join with the free nations of Europe and form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact, recognizing in peace what we had learned from war. Military arrangements to assist in the common defense flowed naturally from this underlying political covenant. When the NATO Treaty was being negotiated in 1948, the head of our team, Robert Lovett, put it this way: "After many heartbreaks," America had "reversed its policy and was seeking to deter aggression by proof of determination. The only question was how its determination should be implemented."

The result of our giving this "proof of determination," has been decades of peace in Europe. There has not been a war anywhere on the continent of Europe in 45 years. This fact

should be viewed with the perspective of history: the whole of Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in the recorded history of the continent, stretching back over the centuries.

We should reflect carefully on the cause of this extraordinary 'long peace.' What has been different? There is abundant evidence around the world that we have not yet witnessed a transformation of human nature -- indeed, we are only now emerging from many years of sustained political hostility and global polarization between East and West. Our political compact with the free nations of Europe, backed by the tangible presence of our troops and the deterrent potential of nuclear weapons, has made a difference.

Our help is not a charitable donation. It is for our protection. It is in our interest. Our engagement in Europe has helped the democracies enjoy unprecedented stability and prosperity, but it has also meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not just in defense matters; it must be a well-balanced mix of political, economic, and military involvement in European affairs. I have concluded, as we enter this age of freedom, we must retain the vital American contribution to the peace of Europe, and the peace of the United States of America.

NATO will remain vital to America's place in Europe. The

exceptional solidarity the Alliance has fostered among its members over the year and the institutions it has built for collective defense provide a proven structure to help resist any relapse into narrow nationalism and the pursuit of individual dominance. The Alliance today enjoys wide popular support. I am pleased that the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic have both declared their belief that a united Germany should retain its membership in the North Atlantic Alliance.

Article Two of the NATO Treaty pledges the members to build their free institutions, promote the ideals of democracy, and cooperate to promote conditions of stability and well-being. The last year has shown us just how far we have come in accomplishing these goals. Politically, and militarily, the Alliance is now ready to take on new challenges, to build on the achievements of the past forty years, sustain the triumph of democratic values, and define the objectives and agenda that we, and our Allies, should pursue for the remainder of this century and beyond.

Four Goals for A NATO Summit

Now is the time for the Alliance to act, to set a new Western strategy for these new times. I have consulted with my Allied colleagues, and with the Secretary General of NATO, Manfred Woerner. **Based on these discussions, I am calling for a June Summit meeting of all NATO leaders.**

This Summit should, in my view, launch a wide-ranging review

of Alliance policy for the transformed Europe of the 1990s. Yesterday, the dictators were swept away. Today, we can consolidate freedom's gains. Tomorrow, we want a Europe whole and free. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit prepare the Alliance for the future by answering four key questions:

] GUT
(NSC)

One, what political role can NATO play in the new Europe?

Two, what conventional forces will the Alliance need in years to come and what should be NATO's goals in future negotiations on conventional arms control?

Three, what should be the place of nuclear weapons based in Europe in the Alliance's future military strategy and what are the Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union?

Four, how can the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the CSCE, be strengthened to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values in a Europe whole and free?

NATO's Future Political Role

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As the military threat fades, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. Some familiar features of the European landscape are gone forever, wrenched into radically new forms by a massive political earthquake. Since the 1940s, it has never been so important for the Atlantic nations to come together

] GUT
(NSC)

and consider the **uncertainties** that lie ahead, and -- most of all -- the magnificent opportunities.

} out
NSC

At the NATO Summit, we should discuss how to help our German friends achieve their long-sought goal -- **freedom and unity** -- and **reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany fully committed to NATO**. **The Alliance** needs to find ways to work more closely **with a vigorous European Community**, a Community that is quite rightly asserting its own distinct views in foreign affairs as well as economics. We must also talk together about how to encourage further democratic change in Eastern Europe. The governments of **Eastern Europe, once military adversaries, are now our partners** in building a new continent. And we should further consider how to interpret anew the developments in the Soviet Union which can be unsettling but, at times, so full of promise.

NATO should be a place for **Western democracies** to join in **managing this transformation of Europe**. The **NATO Summit should chart the political course** for this new era.

} out
NSC

NATO and Conventional Defense

Even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its **guarantee of European stability must remain secure**. These are turbulent times. No one predicted the events of the past year -- we will surely find surprises in the future. NATO deters aggression by taking the steps to make it clear that its members are ready to unite in the common defense. **Even as the military threat to Europe recedes, military balance needs to be**

out
CNSC

maintained. That is best achieved by the NATO countries acting together, rather than each of us just taking care of our own security needs. The enemy is uncertainty, and instability. As we seek to end the confrontation of armies in the center of Europe, the Alliance will need to maintain a sound collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.



This brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses for the period ahead. Forty years ago, after the experience of the Berlin blockade and the outbreak of war in Korea, NATO began a massive buildup of its conventional forces in Europe to deal with the constant danger of an attack that could be launched with little warning, capable of overwhelming Western Europe, and spearheaded by powerful Soviet mechanized forces deployed in the center of Europe.

out

As I said earlier, we are in a time of transition. While we need to recognize that it will take several years at a minimum before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides under a CFE agreement can be implemented, we need to begin now to develop our strategy for that world.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, we will profoundly turn that postwar buildup around. We will build down forces in a transformed

Europe. In this situation, we would face an entirely different kind of threat. To meet it, we should plan for a different kind of military presence, one focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war and more on how to promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating, relying on reduced forces that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

Conventional arms control can help. The CFE treaty we have proposed would be the most ambitious arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on a CFE treaty soon and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit last fall. We have made great progress since last May, when the Alliance called for the Treaty to be ready within a year. I believe now that the major issues in CFE can and should be resolved by the time of the NATO Summit in June.

At the Summit, however, we need to look ahead further into the future. We need to prepare for follow-on negotiations, after conclusion of a CFE treaty. We should use the arms control process in a coordinated, stabilizing way to adjust to the new requirements of European security. The NATO Summit should present the Alliance's objectives for these future talks.

As we think about a builddown in NATO's conventional forces, we must consider what kind of U.S. military presence should be maintained in Europe. Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even if all Soviet armed forces return to the

USSR, and conventional arms control moves forward, the Soviet military will have forces many times larger than any other single European state.

I therefore believe that militarily significant U.S. conventional forces should remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as they are wanted. As they help to guard against potential instability within Europe, our troop presence demonstrates -- as no words can -- the strength of the enduring political compact that binds our fate with that of the democracies of Europe.

U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence in Europe

The NATO Summit should also examine the future of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe. As the threat of immediate and overwhelming aggression recedes, the nuclear forces needed to deter aggression will change. As democracy blooms in Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet tanks and troops return home, there is a reduced need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should accelerate the ongoing work within the Alliance, to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly, and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I have reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system we now have in place in Europe. Although we have

substantially completed the research and development work for these new missiles, I have decided, after consulting with our Allies, to terminate the Follow-On To Lance program and to withdraw the funding request now before the Congress. I have also decided to cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe.

There are still many short-range US -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems now deployed in Europe. We have said we are prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit I will call upon my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and kick off the preparations within the Alliance for these talks.

Moreover, I would like to suggest, today, that the startup of these negotiations might be advanced, so these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks would begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed.

In taking these steps, the United States is not going to allow Europe to become safe for conventional war. There are few lessons so apparent in history as that reliance on conventional deterrence alone often has not worked. Reliance by NATO on a mix of nuclear and conventional forces has.

The Soviet Union is and will remain a nuclear superpower. Most of our allies have no nuclear weapons of their own and do

only
WISC

about CSCE

not now wish to acquire them. We will keep U.S. nuclear forces deployed in Europe, with the support of our friends, to assure our Allies that we stand together -- sharing the risk -- to prevent a return to the ways of war.

An Expanding Role for the CSCE

The various aspects of American engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must complement each other. One place where they come together is in the CSCE, an organization of 35 states of Europe, including the United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. The CSCE is already a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. Now, it should take on a broader role.

The fourth task for a NATO Summit is to arrive at common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE, ones that use the CSCE to build on current institutions, such as NATO and the EC. CSCE can help the victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions. These new governments must know that, as they join the commonwealth of free nations, they will have a place -- and a voice -- in the new Europe.

The NATO Summit should consider a much more ambitious agenda for the CSCE to give it a more active part in shaping Europe's future. The CSCE can offer guidelines for building free societies. As it continues to promote respect for personal liberties, we think the CSCE should set standards for the conduct of truly free elections; adopt measures to strengthen the rule of

law; and point the way for necessary but painful transition from command economies to free markets.

CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those leaders who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives from the CSCE countries. We should also examine whether new mechanisms within the CSCE can help mediate and peacefully settle disputes in Europe, and look for other steps that would reassure and reduce tensions among all European states. My Allied colleagues and I should agree to take up these ideas at a subsequent CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

America as A European Power

My main message today is not only about the details of military strategy or the institutions of a new Europe. I am again asking for your support in a historic decision for our country to continue active engagement in the future of Europe. I am convinced that our involvement and influence in Europe is the best way to secure our own peace and prosperity.

The United States has always been a leader within the Atlantic Community, from the day the NATO Treaty was signed on a spring day in Washington, forty-one years ago. It has been the most successful international alliance of modern times. We will go on, with our Allies, to show together how free peoples, sharing a common purpose, can shape the future of the world.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1990 MAY -3 PM 4:24

May 3, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

CHRISS WINSTON *cu*

FROM:

MARK LANGE *ML*

RE:

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

I. Summary

Attached are draft remarks (teleprompted, 20 minutes) for the Centennial commencement of Oklahoma State University, tomorrow, May 4, at 2:00 p.m.

II. Discussion

Your remarks discuss America's new engagement in a changing Europe. You outline specific proposals for a June Summit of all NATO leaders, to address NATO's future political role; the new shape of conventional and nuclear forces; and an expanded role for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Thatcher

Note to Brent page 5.

(Lange/Cawley)
May 3, 1990
3:20 P.M.
[NATO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
LEWIS STADIUM
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990
2:00 P.M.

[[Thank you, Governor Bellmon. President Campbell, Senator Don Nickles; Congressmen Wes Watkins; Chief Mankiller, Mr. Donnelly; Regents and administrators, faculty, parents, but most of all -- O.S.U.'s Centennial graduating Class of 1990 ! \\
\\

I'm sorry Barbara couldn't be here. But she did tell me to get a beer and some cheese fries over at Eskimo Joe's... \\
Hope they have enough T-shirts for all the grandkids... \\
\\

You know, when graduates of my vintage were sitting through ceremonies like this, right after the Second World War, we faced a world of changes -- full of potential and new possibilities.

Barbara and I got into a red two-door Studebaker -- you still drive those, right? -- in the summer of 1948. Drove down ^{west} to Texas. [[Of course, who knows how far we could've gone in life if we'd made it ^{on up} to Oklahoma...]]

Post-war America was ready for peace and prosperity. But while the free world was recovering, the nations of Eastern Europe were being "consolidated" behind an Iron Curtain. So began four decades of division in Europe -- and 40 long years of suspicion between superpowers.

Today, you also graduate at the end of an era of conflict

-- but a contest of a different kind -- a cold and abstract war of words and walls. Now Europe, and the world, have entered a new era -- the Age of Freedom.

I use this great forum at your great University to treat with subject matter of a very serious nature

I'll be reflecting on the power and potential of democratic change in each of the commencement addresses I make this year.

I begin today with America's place in the new Europe.

A few of you may be wondering what a continent 4000 miles away has to do with you. Throughout our history, great upheavals in Europe have forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about the part we should play in European affairs. This has been true from the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order. I believe that, now, we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic.

Many of the graduates of America's class of 1916 may have wondered why the faraway war making headlines in their newspapers would have anything to do with them. They might have agreed with President Wilson, who that year said "we are not interested" in the causes of the war, in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." But a year later those classmates, and their country, were swept up in the torrent, carrying them to the horror of the trenches in France.

Yet after the war, we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, we sponsored a treaty

to outlaw war and then, as the outlaws gained strength, United States passed new neutrality laws. Another generation of Americans sat in the bright sun of commencement ceremonies at colleges across the country, thinking war in Europe would pass them by. But when war came, they paid an awful price for America's isolation.

When that war ended, those students no longer questioned our role in the future of Europe. They no longer asked what Europe had to do with them, because they knew the answer // everything.

✓ About a year ago, in Germany, I defined the kind of Europe ^{our Country} ~~this Administration~~ is committed to: a peaceful, stable Europe -- a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach.

We are entering a new age of freedom in a time of uncertainty, but great hope. Emerging democracies in Eastern Europe are going through social, political, and economic transformations shaking loose stagnant, centralized bureaucracies that have smothered initiative for generations.

In this time of transition, moving away from the postwar era and beyond containment, we cannot know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change in the Soviet Union is also still unfinished. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union.

President Gorbachev has made profound progress in his country. Reforms so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned

back. Yet neither can we turn the clock ahead, to know ^{for sure} what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come.

For the sake of the future we share with Europe, our policies and presence must be appropriate for this period of transition -- with a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new.

My European colleagues want the United States to be a part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. The United States should remain a European power in the broadest sense -- politically, militarily, and economically. And as part of our global responsibilities the foundation for America's peaceful engagement in Europe has been, and will continue to be, NATO.

Recognizing in peace what we had learned from war, we joined with the free nations of Europe to form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact. Our engagement in Europe has meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not just in defense; it must be a well-balanced mix of involvement in all dimensions of European affairs.

Because of our political commitment to peace in Europe, there hasn't been a war on that continent in 45 years. This "long peace" should be viewed through the long lens of history: Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in the recorded history of that continent. The Alliance is now ready to build on the historic achievement and define its objectives for the next century. So the Alliance

~~Brent~~
9.

I wish we could find a sentence to build up Margaret a little more -

must join together to craft a new Western strategy for new and changing times.

Having consulted ^{intensively w/ PM Thatcher in Bermuda, Pres. Mitterrand in Florida, Chancellor Kohl at Camp David, and by telephone or cable with NATI} ~~with my Allied colleagues, and with the~~ Secretary General ~~of NATO, Manfred Woerner,~~ ^{and all of my other Allied colleagues,} I am calling for an early Summit meeting of all NATO leaders. The time is right for the Alliance to act.

The fundamental purpose of this Summit should be to launch a wide-ranging NATO Strategy Review for the transformed Europe of the 1990's. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit direct this Review by addressing four critical points:

One, the political role NATO can play in the new Europe.

Two, the conventional forces the Alliance will need in the time ahead, and NATO's goals for conventional arms control.

Three, the role of nuclear weapons based in Europe -- and Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Four, strengthening the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the CSCE -- to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values, in a Europe whole and free.

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As military threats fade, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. So at the NATO Summit we should look for ways to help our German friends sustain **freedom** and achieve **unity** -- something which we and our Allies have

supported for over 40 years. And we should reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany a full member of NATO.

The Alliance needs to find ways to work more closely with a vigorous European Community that is rightly asserting its own distinct views. And in Eastern Europe, governments once our adversaries are now our partners in building a new continent. So we must also talk about how to encourage further peaceful democratic change in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

But even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its guarantee of European security must remain firm. Our enemy today is uncertainty, and instability. So the Alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.

Which brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses. While we need to recognize that it will take some time before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe -- and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides can be implemented -- we need to develop our strategy for that world now.

Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even after all the planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed to and implemented, the Soviet military will still field forces dwarfing those of any other single European state -- armed with thousands of nuclear

weapons. Militarily significant U.S. forces must remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as our Allies want and need them. These forces demonstrate, as no words can, the enduring political compact that binds America's fate with Europe's democracies.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, we must plan for a different kind of military presence focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war. We must promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating by relying on reduced forces that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, we have proposed, would be the most ambitious conventional arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on this treaty soon, and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit this fall. But at the Summit we need to look further ahead, preparing for follow-on negotiations after the conclusion of a CFE treaty. The NATO Summit should develop the Alliance's objectives for these talks. Third, the NATO Summit should also assess the future of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe. As democracy blooms in Eastern Europe, as Soviet troops return home and tanks are dismantled, there is less need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should **accelerate** ongoing work within the Alliance to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I've reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system now in Europe. We've almost finished the research and development work for these new missiles. But I've decided, after consulting with our Allies, to terminate the Follow-On To Lance program. I have also decided to cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe.

There are still short-range U.S. -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems deployed in Europe. We're prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit, I will urge my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future U.S.-Soviet negotiations and begin preparations within the Alliance for these talks. I would also like to suggest that these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed.

In taking these steps, the United States is not going to allow Europe to become "safe for conventional war." There are few lessons so clear in history as this: Only the combination of conventional forces and nuclear forces have ensured peace in Europe.

But every aspect of America's engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must be complementary. And one place where they all come together is in the Conference on

Security and Cooperation in Europe -- an organization of 35 states of Europe and North America. The CSC is already a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. Now, it must take on a broader role.

So the fourth task for a NATO Summit is to reach common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE. It can help the victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions, and -- as they join the commonwealth of free nations -- be assured a voice in the new Europe.

The CSCE should offer new guidelines for building free societies -- including setting standards for truly free elections, adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law, and pointing the way in the needed but painful transition from centralized, command economies to free markets.

The CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives of the CSCE countries. We should consider whether new CSCE mechanisms can help mediate and settle disputes in Europe. I believe my Allied colleagues and I should agree to take up these new ideas at a CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

In Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere, the triumph of democracy has cast its warm light on the face of the world like a miraculous dawn. But the outcome of this struggle for freedom is not ordained, and it will not be the work of miracles.

All of you who graduate here today are part of a historic decision for America engagement in the future of Europe. I am convinced that our work to protect freedom, to build free societies, will safeguard our own peace, and prosperity.

The security of Europe and the world has become very complex in this century. But America's commitment to stability and peace is profoundly clear. Its motivation derives from the strength of our forefathers -- from the blood of those who have died for freedom -- and for the sake of all who would live in peace.

Every voice, every heart's commitment to freedom, is important. There's a story, about a man trying to convince his son that in the struggle for freedom, every voice counts.

They stood in a valley, watching the snow fall on a distant mountain. "Tell me the weight of a snowflake," the man said.

"Almost nothing," answered the boy.

As the snow swirled around them, they heard an avalanche whose thunder shook the earth. "Do you know which snowflake caused that?" the old man asked. "I don't," answered the boy.

"Maybe," said the man, "like the last snowflake that moves a mountain, in the struggle for freedom a single voice can make a world of difference."

The thunderous cry for freedom -- in Eastern Europe, in South Africa, in this hemisphere -- was heard around the world in the Revolution of '89. So understand how America's mission in Europe, like millions of individual decisions made for freedom,

can make a world of difference. Today, in this new age of freedom, add your voice to the thundering chorus.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

#

COMMENCEMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
LEWIS STADIUM
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990
2:00 P.M.

REFLECTIONS ON DEMOCRATIC CHANGE:
THE UNITED STATES AND NATO IN A NEW AGE OF FREEDOM

[[THANK YOU, GOVERNOR BELLMON. PRESIDENT CAMPBELL,
SENATOR DON NICKLES; CONGRESSMEN WES WATKINS; CHIEF
MANKILLER, MR. DONNELLY; REGENTS AND ADMINISTRATORS,
FACULTY, PARENTS, AND MOST OF ALL -- O.S.U.'S
CENTENNIAL GRADUATING CLASS OF 1990 ! \\
\\

I'M SORRY BARBARA COULDN'T BE HERE. BUT SHE DID
TELL ME TO GET A BEER AND SOME CHEESE FRIES OVER AT
ESKIMO JOE'S... \\
\\

HOPE THEY HAVE ENOUGH T-SHIRTS FOR ALL THE GRANDKIDS...
\\

YOU KNOW, WHEN GRADUATES OF MY VINTAGE WERE
SITTING THROUGH CEREMONIES LIKE THIS, RIGHT AFTER THE
SECOND WORLD WAR, WE FACED A WORLD OF CHANGES -- FULL
OF POTENTIAL AND NEW POSSIBILITIES.

BARBARA AND I GOT INTO A RED TWO-DOOR STUDEBAKER
-- YOU STILL DRIVE THOSE, RIGHT? -- IN THE SUMMER OF
1948. DROVE DOWN TO WEST TEXAS. [[OF COURSE, WHO
KNOWS HOW FAR WE COULD'VE GONE IN LIFE IF WE'D MADE IT
ON UP TO OKLAHOMA...]]

POST-WAR AMERICA WAS READY FOR PEACE AND
PROSPERITY. BUT WHILE THE FREE WORLD WAS RECOVERING,
THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE WERE BEING "CONSOLIDATED"
BEHIND AN IRON CURTAIN. SO BEGAN FOUR DECADES OF
DIVISION IN EUROPE -- AND 40 LONG YEARS OF SUSPICION
BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS.

TODAY, YOU ALSO GRADUATE AT THE END OF AN ERA OF
CONFLICT -- BUT A CONTEST OF A DIFFERENT KIND -- A COLD
AND ABSTRACT WAR OF WORDS AND WALLS. NOW EUROPE, AND
THE WORLD, HAVE ENTERED A NEW ERA -- THE AGE OF
FREEDOM. \ \

I HOPE YOU'LL FORGIVE ME IF I USE THIS GREAT FORUM, AT YOUR GREAT UNIVERSITY, TO HANDLE A SUBJECT OF A VERY SERIOUS NATURE.

I'LL BE REFLECTING ON THE POWER AND POTENTIAL OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN EACH OF THE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES I MAKE THIS YEAR.

I BEGIN TODAY WITH AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE NEW EUROPE.

A FEW OF YOU MAY BE WONDERING WHAT A CONTINENT 4000 MILES AWAY HAS TO DO WITH YOU. THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, GREAT UPHEAVALS IN EUROPE HAVE FORCED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO RESPOND, TO MAKE DEEP JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE PART WE SHOULD PLAY IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. THIS HAS BEEN TRUE FROM THE TIME OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WARS WHICH FOLLOWED IT, TO WORLD WAR I AND THE FLAWED PEACE WHICH ENDED IT, TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE CREATION OF THE POSTWAR ORDER. I BELIEVE THAT, NOW, WE ARE POISED AT ANOTHER SUCH MOMENT -- A CRITICAL TIME IN OUR STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR NEIGHBORS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

MANY OF THE GRADUATES OF AMERICA'S CLASS OF 1916 MAY HAVE WONDERED WHY THE FARAWAY WAR MAKING HEADLINES IN THEIR NEWSPAPERS WOULD HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THEM. THEY MIGHT HAVE AGREED WITH PRESIDENT WILSON, WHO THAT YEAR SAID "WE ARE NOT INTERESTED" IN THE CAUSES OF THE WAR, IN "THE OBSCURE FOUNDATIONS FROM WHICH ITS STUPENDOUS FLOOD HAS BURST FORTH." BUT A YEAR LATER THOSE CLASSMATES, AND THEIR COUNTRY, WERE SWEEPED UP IN THE TORRENT, CARRYING THEM TO THE HORROR OF THE TRENCHES IN FRANCE.

YET AFTER THE WAR, WE AGAIN TURNED AWAY FROM ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. INSTEAD, WE SPONSORED A TREATY TO OUTLAW WAR AND THEN, AS THE OUTLAWS GAINED STRENGTH, THE UNITED STATES PASSED NEW NEUTRALITY LAWS. ANOTHER GENERATION OF AMERICANS SAT IN THE BRIGHT SUN OF COMMENCEMENT CEREMONIES AT COLLEGES ACROSS THE COUNTRY, THINKING WAR IN EUROPE WOULD PASS THEM BY. BUT WHEN WAR CAME, THEY PAID AN AWFUL PRICE FOR AMERICA'S ISOLATION.

WHEN THAT WAR ENDED, THOSE STUDENTS NO LONGER QUESTIONED OUR ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. THEY NO LONGER ASKED WHAT EUROPE HAD TO DO WITH THEM, BECAUSE THEY KNEW THE ANSWER // EVERYTHING. ABOUT A YEAR AGO, IN GERMANY, I DEFINED THE KIND OF EUROPE OUR COUNTRY IS COMMITTED TO: A PEACEFUL, STABLE EUROPE -- A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. TODAY THAT GOAL IS WITHIN OUR REACH.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW AGE OF FREEDOM IN A TIME OF UNCERTAINTY, BUT GREAT HOPE. EMERGING DEMOCRACIES IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE GOING THROUGH SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS SHAKING LOOSE STAGNANT, CENTRALIZED BUREAUCRACIES THAT HAVE SMOTHERED INITIATIVE FOR GENERATIONS.

IN THIS TIME OF TRANSITION, MOVING AWAY FROM THE POSTWAR ERA AND BEYOND CONTAINMENT, WE CANNOT KNOW WHAT CHOICES THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL MAKE FOR THEIR FUTURE. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION IS ALSO STILL UNFINISHED. IT WILL BE CRUCIAL TO SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER MOSCOW CHOOSES COERCION OR PEACEFUL DIALOGUE IN RESPONDING TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE, AND NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. THE ONLY NOBLE ANSWER LIES IN A DIALOGUE THAT RESULTS IN UNENCUMBERED SELF-DETERMINATION FOR LITHUANIA.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS MADE PROFOUND PROGRESS IN HIS COUNTRY. REFORMS SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT THE CLOCK CANNOT BE TURNED BACK. YET NEITHER CAN WE TURN THE CLOCK AHEAD, TO KNOW FOR SURE WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE IN YEARS TO COME.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE FUTURE WE SHARE WITH EUROPE, OUR POLICIES AND PRESENCE MUST BE APPROPRIATE FOR THIS PERIOD OF TRANSITION -- WITH A CONSTANCY AND RELIABILITY THAT WILL REASSURE OUR FRIENDS, BOTH OLD AND NEW.

MY EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES WANT THE UNITED STATES TO BE A PART OF EUROPE'S FUTURE. I BELIEVE THEY ARE RIGHT. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REMAIN A EUROPEAN POWER IN THE BROADEST SENSE -- POLITICALLY, MILITARILY, AND ECONOMICALLY. AND AS PART OF OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, THE FOUNDATION FOR AMERICA'S PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE HAS BEEN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, NATO.

RECOGNIZING IN PEACE WHAT WE HAD LEARNED FROM WAR, WE JOINED WITH THE FREE NATIONS OF EUROPE TO FORM AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, AN ENDURING POLITICAL COMPACT. OUR ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE HAS MEANT THAT THE EUROPEANS ACCEPT AMERICA AS PART OF THEIR CONTINENT'S FUTURE, TAKING OUR INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT ACROSS THE BOARD. OUR COMMITMENT IS NOT JUST IN DEFENSE; IT MUST BE A WELL-BALANCED MIX OF INVOLVEMENT IN ALL DIMENSIONS OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

BECAUSE OF OUR POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE IN EUROPE, THERE HASN'T BEEN A WAR ON THAT CONTINENT IN 45 YEARS. THIS "LONG PEACE" SHOULD BE VIEWED THROUGH THE LONG LENS OF HISTORY: EUROPE HAS NOW EXPERIENCED THE LONGEST UNINTERRUPTED PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE IN THE RECORDED HISTORY OF THAT CONTINENT. THE ALLIANCE IS NOW READY TO BUILD ON THAT HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT AND DEFINE ITS OBJECTIVES FOR THE NEXT CENTURY. SO THE ALLIANCE MUST JOIN TOGETHER TO CRAFT A NEW WESTERN STRATEGY FOR NEW AND CHANGING TIMES.

HAVING CONSULTED INTENSIVELY WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER IN BERMUDA, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND IN FLORIDA, CHANCELLOR KOHL AT CAMP DAVID, AND BY TELEPHONE OR CABLE WITH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL WOERNER AND ALL OF MY OTHER ALLIED COLLEAGUES, I AM CALLING FOR AN EARLY SUMMIT MEETING OF ALL NATO LEADERS. MARGARET THATCHER, ONE OF FREEDOM'S GREATEST CHAMPIONS OF THE LAST DECADE, TOLD ME THAT WHILE NATO HAS BEEN FANTASTICALLY SUCCESSFUL, WE SHOULD BE READY NOW TO FACE NEW CHALLENGES. THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR THE ALLIANCE TO ACT.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF THIS SUMMIT SHOULD BE TO LAUNCH A WIDE-RANGING NATO STRATEGY REVIEW FOR THE TRANSFORMED EUROPE OF THE 1990'S. TO MY NATO COLLEAGUES, I SUGGEST THAT OUR SUMMIT DIRECT THIS REVIEW BY ADDRESSING FOUR CRITICAL POINTS:

ONE, THE POLITICAL ROLE NATO CAN PLAY IN THE NEW EUROPE.

TWO, THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES THE ALLIANCE WILL NEED IN THE TIME AHEAD, AND NATO'S GOALS FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL.

THREE, THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED IN EUROPE -- AND WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN NEW NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION.

FOUR, STRENGTHENING THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- THE CSCE -- TO REINFORCE NATO AND HELP PROTECT DEMOCRATIC VALUES, IN A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

THE FIRST TASK THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD CONSIDER IS THE FUTURE POLITICAL MISSION OF THE ALLIANCE. AS MILITARY THREATS FADE, THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF NATO'S WORK -- ALWAYS THERE BUT SELDOM NOTICED -- BECOMES MORE PROMINENT. SO AT THE NATO SUMMIT WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO HELP OUR GERMAN FRIENDS SUSTAIN FREEDOM AND ACHIEVE UNITY -- SOMETHING WHICH WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE SUPPORTED FOR OVER 40 YEARS. AND WE SHOULD REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING A UNITED GERMANY A FULL MEMBER OF NATO.

THE ALLIANCE NEEDS TO FIND WAYS TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH A VIGOROUS EUROPEAN COMMUNITY THAT IS RIGHTLY ASSERTING ITS OWN DISTINCT VIEWS. AND IN EASTERN EUROPE, GOVERNMENTS ONCE OUR ADVERSARIES ARE NOW OUR PARTNERS IN BUILDING A NEW CONTINENT. SO WE MUST ALSO TALK ABOUT HOW TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND IN THE SOVIET UNION.

BUT EVEN AS NATO GIVES MORE EMPHASIS TO ITS POLITICAL MISSION, ITS GUARANTEE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY MUST REMAIN FIRM. OUR ENEMY TODAY IS UNCERTAINTY, AND INSTABILITY. SO THE ALLIANCE WILL NEED TO MAINTAIN A SOUND, COLLECTIVE MILITARY STRUCTURE WITH FORCES IN THE FIELD, BACKED BY LARGER FORCES THAT CAN BE CALLED UPON IN A CRISIS.

WHICH BRINGS ME TO THE SECOND TASK FOR THE NATO SUMMIT -- A REVIEW OF HOW THE ALLIANCE SHOULD PLAN ITS CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES. WHILE WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME BEFORE THE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IS GONE FROM EASTERN EUROPE -- AND BEFORE THE MAJOR REDUCTIONS CONTEMPLATED BY BOTH SIDES CAN BE IMPLEMENTED -- WE NEED TO DEVELOP OUR STRATEGY FOR THAT WORLD NOW.

OBVIOUSLY, SOVIET ACTIONS WILL BE CRITICAL. YET EVEN AFTER ALL THE PLANNED REDUCTIONS IN ITS FORCES ARE COMPLETE, EVEN IF OUR CURRENT ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS ARE AGREED TO AND IMPLEMENTED, THE SOVIET MILITARY WILL STILL FIELD FORCES DWARFING THOSE OF ANY OTHER SINGLE EUROPEAN STATE -- ARMED WITH THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT U.S. FORCES MUST REMAIN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC FOR AS LONG AS OUR ALLIES WANT AND NEED THEM. THESE FORCES DEMONSTRATE, AS NO WORDS CAN, THE ENDURING POLITICAL COMPACT THAT BINDS AMERICA'S FATE WITH EUROPE'S DEMOCRACIES.

IF THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL CONTINUES AND OUR ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL, WE MUST PLAN FOR A DIFFERENT KIND OF MILITARY PRESENCE FOCUSED LESS ON THE DANGER OF AN IMMEDIATE OUTBREAK OF WAR. WE MUST PROMOTE LONG-TERM STABILITY AND PREVENT CRISES FROM ESCALATING BY RELYING ON REDUCED FORCES THAT SHOW OUR CAPABILITY -- AND READINESS -- TO RESPOND TO WHATEVER MAY ARISE.

THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TREATY, ^{which} WE HAVE PROPOSED, WOULD BE THE MOST AMBITIOUS CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT EVER CONCLUDED. WE MUST FINISH THE WORK ON THIS TREATY SOON, AND PLAN TO SIGN IT AT A CSCE SUMMIT THIS FALL. BUT AT THE NATO SUMMIT WE NEED TO LOOK FURTHER AHEAD, PREPARING FOR FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF A CFE TREATY. THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD DEVELOP THE ALLIANCE'S OBJECTIVES FOR THESE TALKS.

THIRD, THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD ALSO ASSESS THE FUTURE OF U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE. AS DEMOCRACY BLOOMS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AS SOVIET TROOPS RETURN HOME AND TANKS ARE DISMANTLED, THERE IS LESS NEED FOR NUCLEAR SYSTEMS OF THE SHORTEST RANGE. THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD ACCELERATE ONGOING WORK WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO DETERMINE THE MINIMUM NUMBER AND TYPES OF WEAPONS THAT WILL BE NEEDED TO DETER WAR -- CREDIBLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

IN LIGHT OF THESE NEW POLITICAL CONDITIONS, AND THE LIMITED RANGE AND FLEXIBILITY OF SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE FORCES BASED IN EUROPE, I'VE REVIEWED OUR PLAN TO PRODUCE AND DEPLOY NEWER, MORE MODERN, SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES TO REPLACE THE LANCE SYSTEM NOW IN EUROPE. WE'VE ALMOST FINISHED THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT WORK FOR THESE NEW MISSILES. BUT I'VE DECIDED, AFTER CONSULTING WITH OUR ALLIES, TO TERMINATE THE FOLLOW-ON TO LANCE PROGRAM. I HAVE ALSO DECIDED TO CANCEL ANY FURTHER MODERNIZATION OF U.S. NUCLEAR ARTILLERY SHELLS DEPLOYED IN EUROPE.

THERE ARE STILL SHORT-RANGE U.S. -- AND MANY MORE SOVIET -- NUCLEAR MISSILE SYSTEMS DEPLOYED IN EUROPE. WE'RE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THE REDUCTION OF THESE FORCES AS WELL, IN A NEW SET OF ARMS CONTROL TALKS. AT THE NATO SUMMIT, I WILL URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO AGREE ON THE BROAD OBJECTIVES FOR THESE FUTURE U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS AND BEGIN PREPARATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR THESE TALKS. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THESE NEW U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS BEGIN SHORTLY AFTER A CFE TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES HAS BEEN SIGNED.

IN TAKING THESE STEPS, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT GOING TO ALLOW EUROPE TO BECOME "SAFE FOR CONVENTIONAL WAR." THERE ARE FEW LESSONS SO CLEAR IN HISTORY AS THIS: ONLY THE COMBINATION OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND NUCLEAR FORCES HAVE ENSURED PEACE IN EUROPE.

BUT EVERY ASPECT OF AMERICA'S ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE -- MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC -- MUST BE COMPLEMENTARY. AND ONE PLACE WHERE THEY ALL COME TOGETHER IS IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- AN ORGANIZATION OF 35 STATES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. THE CSC IS ALREADY A BEACON FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS. NOW, IT MUST TAKE ON A BROADER ROLE.

SO THE FOURTH TASK FOR A NATO SUMMIT IS TO REACH COMMON ALLIED OBJECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE. IT CAN HELP THE VICTORIOUS FORCES OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE SECURE THEIR REVOLUTIONS, AND -- AS THEY JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS -- BE ASSURED A VOICE IN THE NEW EUROPE.

THE CSCE SHOULD OFFER NEW GUIDELINES FOR BUILDING FREE SOCIETIES -- INCLUDING SETTING STANDARDS FOR TRULY FREE ELECTIONS, ADOPTING MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE RULE OF LAW, AND POINTING THE WAY IN THE NEEDED BUT PAINFUL TRANSITION FROM CENTRALIZED, COMMAND ECONOMIES TO FREE MARKETS.

THE CSCE CAN ALSO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN A MORE UNITED EUROPE. I AGREE WITH THOSE WHO HAVE CALLED FOR REGULAR CONSULTATIONS AMONG SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CSCE COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER NEW CSCE MECHANISMS CAN HELP MEDIATE AND SETTLE DISPUTES IN EUROPE. I BELIEVE MY ALLIED COLLEAGUES AND I SHOULD AGREE TO TAKE UP THESE NEW IDEAS AT A CSCE SUMMIT LATER THIS YEAR, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SIGNING OF A CFE TREATY.

IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN THIS HEMISPHERE, THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY HAS CAST ITS WARM LIGHT ON THE FACE OF THE WORLD LIKE A MIRACULOUS DAWN. BUT THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS NOT ORDAINED, AND IT WILL NOT BE THE WORK OF MIRACLES.

ALL OF YOU WHO GRADUATE HERE TODAY ARE PART OF A HISTORIC DECISION FOR AMERICA'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR WORK TO PROTECT FREEDOM, TO BUILD FREE SOCIETIES, WILL SAFEGUARD OUR OWN PEACE, AND PROSPERITY.

THE SECURITY OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD HAS BECOME VERY COMPLEX IN THIS CENTURY. BUT AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO STABILITY AND PEACE IS PROFOUNDLY CLEAR. ITS MOTIVATION DERIVES FROM THE STRENGTH OF OUR FOREFATHERS -- FROM THE BLOOD OF THOSE WHO HAVE DIED FOR FREEDOM -- AND FOR THE SAKE OF ALL WHO WOULD LIVE IN PEACE.

EVERY VOICE, EVERY HEART'S COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, IS IMPORTANT. THERE'S A STORY, ABOUT A MAN TRYING TO CONVINCHE HIS SON THAT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, EVERY VOICE COUNTS.

THEY STOOD IN A VALLEY, WATCHING THE SNOW FALL ON A DISTANT MOUNTAIN. "TELL ME THE WEIGHT OF A SNOWFLAKE," THE MAN SAID.

"ALMOST NOTHING," ANSWERED THE BOY.

AS THE SNOW SWIRLED AROUND THEM, UP ON THE MOUNTAIN THEY SAW AN AVALANCHE WHOSE THUNDER SHOOK THE EARTH. "DO YOU KNOW WHICH SNOWFLAKE CAUSED THAT?" THE OLD MAN ASKED. "I DON'T," ANSWERED THE BOY.

"MAYBE," SAID THE MAN, "LIKE THE LAST SNOWFLAKE THAT MOVES A MOUNTAIN \ \ IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, A SINGLE VOICE MAKES A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE."

AMERICA'S MISSION IN EUROPE, LIKE MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUAL DECISIONS MADE FOR FREEDOM, CAN MAKE A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE.

THE CRY FOR FREEDOM -- IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN SOUTH AFRICA, IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- WAS HEARD AROUND THE WORLD IN THE REVOLUTION OF '89. TODAY, IN THIS NEW AGE OF FREEDOM, ADD YOUR VOICE TO THE THUNDERING CHORUS.

THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

to RAI.TV

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 2:30 P.M. CDT
3:30 P.M. EDT
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Lewis Stadium
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

May 4, 1990

Post-war America was ready for peace and prosperity. But while the free world was recovering, the nations of Eastern Europe were being "consolidated" behind an Iron Curtain. So began four decades of division in Europe -- and 40 long years of suspicion between superpowers.

Today, you also graduate at the end of an era of conflict -- but a contest of a different kind -- a cold and abstract war of words and walls. Now Europe, and the world, have entered a new era -- the Age of Freedom.

I hope you'll forgive me if I use this great forum, at your great University, to handle a subject of a very serious nature.

I'll be reflecting on the power and potential of democratic change in each of the commencement addresses I make this year. I begin today with America's place in the new Europe.

A few of you may be wondering what a continent 4000 miles away has to do with you. Throughout our history, great upheavals in Europe have forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about the part we should play in European affairs. This has been true from the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order. I believe that, now, we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic.

Many of the graduates of America's class of 1916 may have wondered why the faraway war making headlines in their newspapers would have anything to do with them. They might have agreed with President Wilson, who that year said "we are not interested" in the causes of the war, in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." But a year later those classmates, and their country, were swept up in the torrent, carrying them to the horror of the trenches in France.

Yet after the war, we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, we sponsored a treaty to outlaw war and then, as the outlaws gained strength, the United States passed new neutrality laws. Another generation of Americans sat in the bright sun of commencement ceremonies at colleges across the country, thinking war in Europe would pass them by. But when war came, they paid an awful price for America's isolation.

When that war ended, those students no longer questioned our role in the future of Europe. They no longer asked what Europe had to do with them, because they knew the answer everything.

About a year ago, in Germany, I defined the kind of Europe our country is committed to: A peaceful, stable Europe -- a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach.

We are entering a new Age of Freedom in a time of uncertainty, but great hope. Emerging democracies in Eastern Europe are going through social, political, and economic transformations shaking loose stagnant, centralized bureaucracies that have smothered initiative for generations.

In this time of transition, moving away from the postwar era and beyond containment, we cannot know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change in the Soviet Union is also still unfinished. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union. The only noble answer lies in a dialogue that results in unencumbered self-determination for Lithuania.

President Gorbachev has made profound progress in his country. Reforms so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned back. Yet neither can we turn the clock ahead, to know for sure what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come.

For the sake of the future we share with Europe, our policies and presence must be appropriate for this period of transition -- with a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new.

My European colleagues want the United States to be a part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. The United States should remain a European power in the broadest sense -- politically, militarily, and economically. And as part of our global responsibilities the foundation for America's peaceful engagement in Europe has been, and will continue to be, NATO.

Recognizing in peace what we had learned from war, we joined with the free nations of Europe to form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact. Our engagement in Europe has meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not just in defense; it must be a well-balanced mix of involvement in all dimensions of European affairs.

Because of our political commitment to peace in Europe, there hasn't been a war on that continent in 45 years. This "long peace" should be viewed through the long lens of history: Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in the recorded history of that continent. The Alliance is now ready to build on that historic achievement and define its objectives for the next century. So the Alliance must join together to craft a new Western strategy for new and changing times.

Having consulted intensively with Prime Minister Thatcher in Bermuda, President Mitterrand in Florida, Chancellor Kohl at Camp David, and by telephone or cable with NATO Secretary General Woerner and all of my other Allied colleagues, I am calling for an early Summit meeting of all NATO leaders. Margaret Thatcher, one of freedom's greatest champions of the last decade, told me that while NATO has been fantastically successful, we should be ready now to face new challenges. The time is right for the Alliance to act.

The fundamental purpose of this Summit should be to launch a wide-ranging NATO Strategy Review for the transformed Europe of the 1990's. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit direct this Review by addressing four critical points:

One, the political role NATO can play in the new Europe.

Two, the conventional forces the Alliance will need in the time ahead, and NATO's goals for conventional arms control.

Three, the role of nuclear weapons based in Europe -- and Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Four, strengthening the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the CSCE -- to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values, in a Europe whole and free.

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As military threats fade, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. So at the NATO Summit we should look for ways to help our German friends sustain freedom and achieve unity -- something which we and our Allies have supported for over 40 years. And we should reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany a full member of NATO.

The Alliance needs to find ways to work more closely with a vigorous European Community that is rightly asserting its own distinct views. And in Eastern Europe, governments once our adversaries are now our partners in building a new continent. So we must also talk about how to encourage further peaceful democratic change in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

But even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its guarantee of European security must remain firm. Our enemy today is uncertainty, and instability. So the Alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.

Which brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses. While we need to recognize that it will take some time before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe -- and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides can be implemented -- we need to develop our strategy for that world now.

Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even after all the planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed to and implemented, the Soviet military will still field forces dwarfing those of any other single European State -- armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. Militarily significant U.S. forces must remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as our Allies want and need them. These forces demonstrate, as no words can, the enduring political compact that binds America's fate with Europe's democracies.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, we must plan for a different kind of military presence focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war. We must promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating by relying on reduced forces that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, we have proposed, would be the most ambitious conventional arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on this treaty soon, and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit this fall. But at the NATO Summit we need to look further ahead, preparing for follow-on negotiations after the conclusion of a CFE treaty. The NATO Summit should develop the Alliance's objectives for these talks.

Third, the NATO Summit should also assess the future of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe. As democracy blooms in Eastern Europe, as Soviet troops return home and tanks are dismantled, there is less need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should accelerate ongoing work within the Alliance to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I've reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system now in Europe. We've almost finished the research and development work for these new missiles. But I've decided, after consulting with our Allies, to terminate the Follow-On To Lance program. I have also decided to cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe.

There are still short-range U.S. -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems deployed in Europe. We're prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit, I will urge my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future U.S.-Soviet negotiations and begin preparations within the Alliance for these talks. I would also like to suggest that these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed.

In taking these steps, the United States is not going to allow Europe to become "safe for conventional war." There are few lessons so clear in history as this: Only the combination of conventional forces and nuclear forces have ensured peace in Europe.

But every aspect of America's engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must be complementary. And one place where they all come together is in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- an organization of 35 states of Europe and North America. The CSCE is already a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. Now, it must take on a broader role.

So the fourth task for a NATO Summit is to reach common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE. It can help the victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions, and -- as they join the commonwealth of free nations -- be assured a voice in the new Europe.

The CSCE should offer new guidelines for building free societies -- including setting standards for truly free elections, adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law, and pointing the way in the needed but painful transition from centralized, command economies to free markets.

The CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives of the CSCE countries. We should consider whether new CSCE mechanisms can help mediate and settle disputes in Europe. I believe my Allied colleagues and I should agree to take up these new ideas at a CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

In Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere, the triumph of democracy has cast its warm light on the face of the world like a miraculous dawn. But the outcome of this struggle for freedom is not ordained, and it will not be the work of miracles.

All of you who graduate here today are part of a historic decision for America's engagement in the future of Europe. I am convinced that our work to protect freedom, to build free societies, will safeguard our own peace, and prosperity.

The security of Europe and the world has become very complex in this century. But America's commitment to stability and peace is profoundly clear. Its motivation derives from the strength of our forefathers -- from the blood of those who have died for freedom -- and for the sake of all who would live in peace.

Every voice, every heart's commitment to freedom, is important. There's a story, about a man trying to convince his son that in the struggle for freedom, every voice counts.

They stood in a valley, watching the snow fall on a distant mountain. "Tell me the weight of a snowflake," the man said.

"Almost nothing," answered the boy.

As the snow swirled around them, up on the mountain they saw an avalanche whose thunder shook the earth. "Do you know which snowflake caused that?" the old man asked. "I don't," answered the boy.

"Maybe," said the man, "like the last snowflake that moves a mountain in the struggle for freedom, a single voice makes a world of difference."

America's mission in Europe, like millions of individual decisions made for freedom, can make a world of difference. The cry for freedom -- in Eastern Europe, in South Africa, in this hemisphere -- was heard around the world in the Revolution of '89. Today, in this new Age of Freedom, add your voice to the thundering chorus.

#

May 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK LANGE
FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY
RE: CONVO WITH MEL LUKENS ABOUT OSU SPEECH

Mel Lukens, lead advance in Stillwater, called me yesterday to go over acknowledgments and jokes, so I faxed to him what we were saying.

He called me this morning with the following suggestions:

X 1.) The advance guys battled with the university to have people seated behind the President as he speaks, so as not to have empty spaces for the camera shots. The university didn't want to have those people stare at the back of his head, but finally agreed to have people behind him.

It would be nice if, in the acknowledgements, he gives a nod to those seated behind him.

✓ 2.) Mrs. Bush was to have received the Bennett award for community service; she was invited and accepted but now she won't be there. They'd like to have POTUS say "I'm sorry Barbara couldn't be here..." etc.

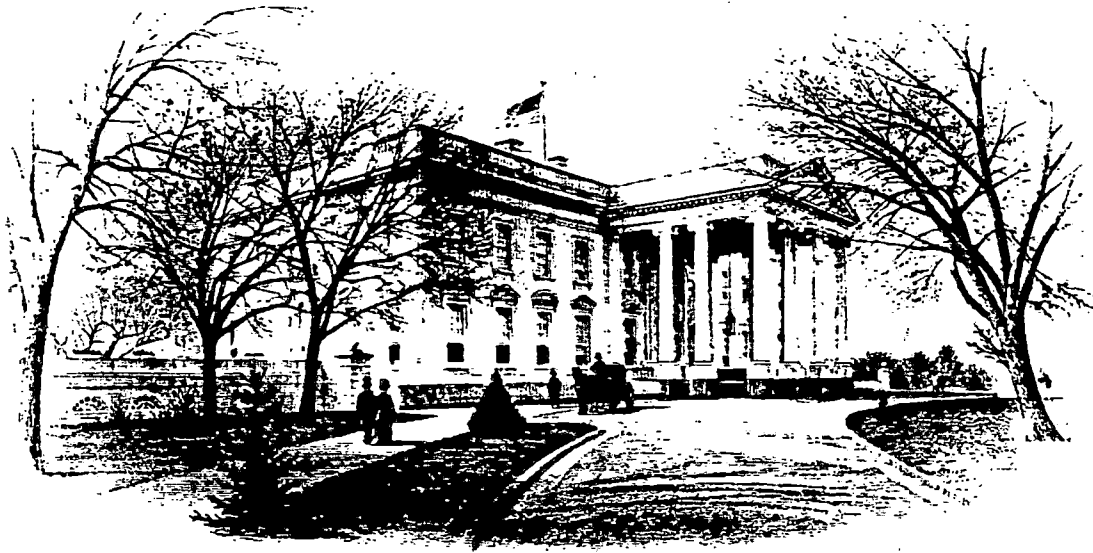
✓ 3.) In acknowledgements, we should put Senator Nickels before the Representatives.

✓ 4.) Make an explicit reference to the Centennial Graduating Class of OSU.

X 5.) In acknowledgements, also mention "administrators and regents".

Again, these are only suggestion from advance on-site. But I think numbers 2, 3, and 4 are important.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 19

DATE 5/4

TO Julie Coleman / WHCA

FAX NUMBER 405/372-2477

OFFICE NUMBER _____

COMMENTS _____

FROM Steph Laudner

OFFICE NUMBER 456-2930

COMMENCEMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
LEWIS STADIUM
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990
2:00 P.M.

REFLECTIONS ON DEMOCRATIC CHANGE:
THE UNITED STATES AND NATO IN A NEW AGE OF FREEDOM

[[THANK YOU, GOVERNOR BELLMON. PRESIDENT CAMPBELL,
SENATOR DON NICKLES; CONGRESSMEN WES WATKINS; CHIEF
MANKILLER, MR. DONNELLY; REGENTS AND ADMINISTRATORS,
FACULTY, PARENTS, AND MOST OF ALL -- O.S.U.'S
CENTENNIAL GRADUATING CLASS OF 1990 ! \\

I'M SORRY BARBARA COULDN'T BE HERE. BUT SHE DID
TELL ME TO GET A BEER AND SOME CHEESE FRIES OVER AT
ESKIMO JOE'S... \\

HOPE THEY HAVE ENOUGH T-SHIRTS FOR ALL THE GRANDKIDS...
\\

YOU KNOW, WHEN GRADUATES OF MY VINTAGE WERE
SITTING THROUGH CEREMONIES LIKE THIS, RIGHT AFTER THE
SECOND WORLD WAR, WE FACED A WORLD OF CHANGES -- FULL
OF POTENTIAL AND NEW POSSIBILITIES.

BARBARA AND I GOT INTO A RED TWO-DOOR STUDEBAKER -- YOU STILL DRIVE THOSE, RIGHT? -- IN THE SUMMER OF 1948. DROVE DOWN TO WEST TEXAS. [[OF COURSE, WHO KNOWS HOW FAR WE COULD'VE GONE IN LIFE IF WE'D MADE IT ON UP TO OKLAHOMA...]]

POST-WAR AMERICA WAS READY FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY. BUT WHILE THE FREE WORLD WAS RECOVERING, THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE WERE BEING "CONSOLIDATED" BEHIND AN IRON CURTAIN. SO BEGAN FOUR DECADES OF DIVISION IN EUROPE -- AND 40 LONG YEARS OF SUSPICION BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS.

TODAY, YOU ALSO GRADUATE AT THE END OF AN ERA OF CONFLICT -- BUT A CONTEST OF A DIFFERENT KIND -- A COLD AND ABSTRACT WAR OF WORDS AND WALLS. NOW EUROPE, AND THE WORLD, HAVE ENTERED A NEW ERA -- THE AGE OF FREEDOM. \\\

I HOPE YOU'LL FORGIVE ME IF I USE THIS GREAT FORUM, AT YOUR GREAT UNIVERSITY, TO HANDLE A SUBJECT OF A VERY SERIOUS NATURE.

I'LL BE REFLECTING ON THE POWER AND POTENTIAL OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN EACH OF THE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES I MAKE THIS YEAR.

I BEGIN TODAY WITH AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE NEW EUROPE.

A FEW OF YOU MAY BE WONDERING WHAT A CONTINENT 4000 MILES AWAY HAS TO DO WITH YOU. THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, GREAT UPHEAVALS IN EUROPE HAVE FORCED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO RESPOND, TO MAKE DEEP JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE PART WE SHOULD PLAY IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. THIS HAS BEEN TRUE FROM THE TIME OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WARS WHICH FOLLOWED IT, TO WORLD WAR I AND THE FLAWED PEACE WHICH ENDED IT, TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE CREATION OF THE POSTWAR ORDER. I BELIEVE THAT, NOW, WE ARE POISED AT ANOTHER SUCH MOMENT -- A CRITICAL TIME IN OUR STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR NEIGHBORS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

MANY OF THE GRADUATES OF AMERICA'S CLASS OF 1916 MAY HAVE WONDERED WHY THE FARAWAY WAR MAKING HEADLINES IN THEIR NEWSPAPERS WOULD HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THEM. THEY MIGHT HAVE AGREED WITH PRESIDENT WILSON, WHO THAT YEAR SAID "WE ARE NOT INTERESTED" IN THE CAUSES OF THE WAR, IN "THE OBSCURE FOUNDATIONS FROM WHICH ITS STUPENDOUS FLOOD HAS BURST FORTH." BUT A YEAR LATER THOSE CLASSMATES, AND THEIR COUNTRY, WERE SWEEPED UP IN THE TORRENT, CARRYING THEM TO THE HORROR OF THE TRENCHES IN FRANCE.

YET AFTER THE WAR, WE AGAIN TURNED AWAY FROM ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. INSTEAD, WE SPONSORED A TREATY TO OUTLAW WAR AND THEN, AS THE OUTLAWS GAINED STRENGTH, THE UNITED STATES PASSED NEW NEUTRALITY LAWS. ANOTHER GENERATION OF AMERICANS SAT IN THE BRIGHT SUN OF COMMENCEMENT CEREMONIES AT COLLEGES ACROSS THE COUNTRY, THINKING WAR IN EUROPE WOULD PASS THEM BY. BUT WHEN WAR CAME, THEY PAID AN AWFUL PRICE FOR AMERICA'S ISOLATION.

WHEN THAT WAR ENDED, THOSE STUDENTS NO LONGER QUESTIONED OUR ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. THEY NO LONGER ASKED WHAT EUROPE HAD TO DO WITH THEM, BECAUSE THEY KNEW THE ANSWER // EVERYTHING. ABOUT A YEAR AGO, IN GERMANY, I DEFINED THE KIND OF EUROPE OUR COUNTRY IS COMMITTED TO: A PEACEFUL, STABLE EUROPE -- A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. TODAY THAT GOAL IS WITHIN OUR REACH.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW AGE OF FREEDOM IN A TIME OF UNCERTAINTY, BUT GREAT HOPE. EMERGING DEMOCRACIES IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE GOING THROUGH SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS SHAKING LOOSE STAGNANT, CENTRALIZED BUREAUCRACIES THAT HAVE SMOTHERED INITIATIVE FOR GENERATIONS.

IN THIS TIME OF TRANSITION, MOVING AWAY FROM THE POSTWAR ERA AND BEYOND CONTAINMENT, WE CANNOT KNOW WHAT CHOICES THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL MAKE FOR THEIR FUTURE. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION IS ALSO STILL UNFINISHED. IT WILL BE CRUCIAL TO SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER MOSCOW CHOOSES COERCION OR PEACEFUL DIALOGUE IN RESPONDING TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE, AND NATIONALITIES WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. THE ONLY NOBLE ANSWER LIES IN A DIALOGUE THAT RESULTS IN UNENCUMBERED SELF-DETERMINATION FOR LITHUANIA.

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS MADE PROFOUND PROGRESS IN HIS COUNTRY. REFORMS SO FUNDAMENTAL THAT THE CLOCK CANNOT BE TURNED BACK. YET NEITHER CAN WE TURN THE CLOCK AHEAD, TO KNOW FOR SURE WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE IN YEARS TO COME.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE FUTURE WE SHARE WITH EUROPE, OUR POLICIES AND PRESENCE MUST BE APPROPRIATE FOR THIS PERIOD OF TRANSITION -- WITH A CONSTANCY AND RELIABILITY THAT WILL REASSURE OUR FRIENDS, BOTH OLD AND NEW.

MY EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES WANT THE UNITED STATES TO BE A PART OF EUROPE'S FUTURE. I BELIEVE THEY ARE RIGHT. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REMAIN A EUROPEAN POWER IN THE BROADEST SENSE -- POLITICALLY, MILITARILY, AND ECONOMICALLY. AND AS PART OF OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, THE FOUNDATION FOR AMERICA'S PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE HAS BEEN, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, NATO.

RECOGNIZING IN PEACE WHAT WE HAD LEARNED FROM WAR, WE JOINED WITH THE FREE NATIONS OF EUROPE TO FORM AN ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, AN ENDURING POLITICAL COMPACT. OUR ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE HAS MEANT THAT THE EUROPEANS ACCEPT AMERICA AS PART OF THEIR CONTINENT'S FUTURE, TAKING OUR INTERESTS INTO ACCOUNT ACROSS THE BOARD. OUR COMMITMENT IS NOT JUST IN DEFENSE; IT MUST BE A WELL-BALANCED MIX OF INVOLVEMENT IN ALL DIMENSIONS OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

BECAUSE OF OUR POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE IN EUROPE, THERE HASN'T BEEN A WAR ON THAT CONTINENT IN 45 YEARS. THIS "LONG PEACE" SHOULD BE VIEWED THROUGH THE LONG LENS OF HISTORY: EUROPE HAS NOW EXPERIENCED THE LONGEST UNINTERRUPTED PERIOD OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE IN THE RECORDED HISTORY OF THAT CONTINENT. THE ALLIANCE IS NOW READY TO BUILD ON THAT HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT AND DEFINE ITS OBJECTIVES FOR THE NEXT CENTURY. SO THE ALLIANCE MUST JOIN TOGETHER TO CRAFT A NEW WESTERN STRATEGY FOR NEW AND CHANGING TIMES.

HAVING CONSULTED INTENSIVELY WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER IN BERMUDA, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND IN FLORIDA, CHANCELLOR KOHL AT CAMP DAVID, AND BY TELEPHONE OR CABLE WITH NATO SECRETARY GENERAL WOERNER AND ALL OF MY OTHER ALLIED COLLEAGUES, I AM CALLING FOR AN EARLY SUMMIT MEETING OF ALL NATO LEADERS. MARGARET THATCHER, ONE OF FREEDOM'S GREATEST CHAMPIONS OF THE LAST DECADE, TOLD ME THAT WHILE NATO HAS BEEN FANTASTICALLY SUCCESSFUL, WE SHOULD BE READY NOW TO FACE NEW CHALLENGES. THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR THE ALLIANCE TO ACT.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSE OF THIS SUMMIT SHOULD BE TO LAUNCH A WIDE-RANGING NATO STRATEGY REVIEW FOR THE TRANSFORMED EUROPE OF THE 1990'S. TO MY NATO COLLEAGUES, I SUGGEST THAT OUR SUMMIT DIRECT THIS REVIEW BY ADDRESSING FOUR CRITICAL POINTS:

ONE, THE POLITICAL ROLE NATO CAN PLAY IN THE NEW EUROPE.

TWO, THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES THE ALLIANCE WILL NEED IN THE TIME AHEAD, AND NATO'S GOALS FOR CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL.

THREE, THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BASED IN EUROPE -- AND WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN NEW NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION.

FOUR, STRENGTHENING THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- THE CSCE -- TO REINFORCE NATO AND HELP PROTECT DEMOCRATIC VALUES, IN A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

THE FIRST TASK THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD CONSIDER IS THE FUTURE POLITICAL MISSION OF THE ALLIANCE. AS MILITARY THREATS FADE, THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF NATO'S WORK -- ALWAYS THERE BUT SELDOM NOTICED -- BECOMES MORE PROMINENT. SO AT THE NATO SUMMIT WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO HELP OUR GERMAN FRIENDS SUSTAIN FREEDOM AND ACHIEVE UNITY -- SOMETHING WHICH WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE SUPPORTED FOR OVER 40 YEARS. AND WE SHOULD REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING A UNITED GERMANY A FULL MEMBER OF NATO.

THE ALLIANCE NEEDS TO FIND WAYS TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH A VIGOROUS EUROPEAN COMMUNITY THAT IS RIGHTLY ASSERTING ITS OWN DISTINCT VIEWS. AND IN EASTERN EUROPE, GOVERNMENTS ONCE OUR ADVERSARIES ARE NOW OUR PARTNERS IN BUILDING A NEW CONTINENT. SO WE MUST ALSO TALK ABOUT HOW TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND IN THE SOVIET UNION.

BUT EVEN AS NATO GIVES MORE EMPHASIS TO ITS POLITICAL MISSION, ITS GUARANTEE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY MUST REMAIN FIRM. OUR ENEMY TODAY IS UNCERTAINTY, AND INSTABILITY. SO THE ALLIANCE WILL NEED TO MAINTAIN A SOUND, COLLECTIVE MILITARY STRUCTURE WITH FORCES IN THE FIELD, BACKED BY LARGER FORCES THAT CAN BE CALLED UPON IN A CRISIS.

WHICH BRINGS ME TO THE SECOND TASK FOR THE NATO SUMMIT -- A REVIEW OF HOW THE ALLIANCE SHOULD PLAN ITS CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES. WHILE WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME BEFORE THE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IS GONE FROM EASTERN EUROPE -- AND BEFORE THE MAJOR REDUCTIONS CONTEMPLATED BY BOTH SIDES CAN BE IMPLEMENTED -- WE NEED TO DEVELOP OUR STRATEGY FOR THAT WORLD NOW.

OBVIOUSLY, SOVIET ACTIONS WILL BE CRITICAL. YET EVEN AFTER ALL THE PLANNED REDUCTIONS IN ITS FORCES ARE COMPLETE, EVEN IF OUR CURRENT ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS ARE AGREED TO AND IMPLEMENTED, THE SOVIET MILITARY WILL STILL FIELD FORCES DWARFING THOSE OF ANY OTHER SINGLE EUROPEAN STATE -- ARMED WITH THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT U.S. FORCES MUST REMAIN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC FOR AS LONG AS OUR ALLIES WANT AND NEED THEM. THESE FORCES DEMONSTRATE, AS NO WORDS CAN, THE ENDURING POLITICAL COMPACT THAT BINDS AMERICA'S FATE WITH EUROPE'S DEMOCRACIES.

IF THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL CONTINUES AND OUR ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL, WE MUST PLAN FOR A DIFFERENT KIND OF MILITARY PRESENCE FOCUSED LESS ON THE DANGER OF AN IMMEDIATE OUTBREAK OF WAR. WE MUST PROMOTE LONG-TERM STABILITY AND PREVENT CRISES FROM ESCALATING BY RELYING ON REDUCED FORCES THAT SHOW OUR CAPABILITY -- AND READINESS -- TO RESPOND TO WHATEVER MAY ARISE.

THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TREATY, WE HAVE PROPOSED, WOULD BE THE MOST AMBITIOUS CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT EVER CONCLUDED. WE MUST FINISH THE WORK ON THIS TREATY SOON, AND PLAN TO SIGN IT AT A CSCE SUMMIT THIS FALL. BUT AT THE NATO SUMMIT WE NEED TO LOOK FURTHER AHEAD, PREPARING FOR FOLLOW-ON NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF A CFE TREATY. THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD DEVELOP THE ALLIANCE'S OBJECTIVES FOR THESE TALKS.

THIRD, THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD ALSO ASSESS THE FUTURE OF U.S. NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE. AS DEMOCRACY BLOOMS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AS SOVIET TROOPS RETURN HOME AND TANKS ARE DISMANTLED, THERE IS LESS NEED FOR NUCLEAR SYSTEMS OF THE SHORTEST RANGE. THE NATO SUMMIT SHOULD ACCELERATE ONGOING WORK WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO DETERMINE THE MINIMUM NUMBER AND TYPES OF WEAPONS THAT WILL BE NEEDED TO DETER WAR -- CREDIBLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

IN LIGHT OF THESE NEW POLITICAL CONDITIONS, AND THE LIMITED RANGE AND FLEXIBILITY OF SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE FORCES BASED IN EUROPE, I'VE REVIEWED OUR PLAN TO PRODUCE AND DEPLOY NEWER, MORE MODERN, SHORT-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES TO REPLACE THE LANCE SYSTEM NOW IN EUROPE. WE'VE ALMOST FINISHED THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT WORK FOR THESE NEW MISSILES. BUT I'VE DECIDED, AFTER CONSULTING WITH OUR ALLIES, TO TERMINATE THE FOLLOW-ON TO LANCE PROGRAM. I HAVE ALSO DECIDED TO CANCEL ANY FURTHER MODERNIZATION OF U.S. NUCLEAR ARTILLERY SHELLS DEPLOYED IN EUROPE.

THERE ARE STILL SHORT-RANGE U.S. -- AND MANY MORE SOVIET -- NUCLEAR MISSILE SYSTEMS DEPLOYED IN EUROPE. WE'RE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THE REDUCTION OF THESE FORCES AS WELL, IN A NEW SET OF ARMS CONTROL TALKS. AT THE NATO SUMMIT, I WILL URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO AGREE ON THE BROAD OBJECTIVES FOR THESE FUTURE U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS AND BEGIN PREPARATIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR THESE TALKS. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THESE NEW U.S.-SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS BEGIN SHORTLY AFTER A CFE TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES HAS BEEN SIGNED.

IN TAKING THESE STEPS, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT GOING TO ALLOW EUROPE TO BECOME "SAFE FOR CONVENTIONAL WAR." THERE ARE FEW LESSONS SO CLEAR IN HISTORY AS THIS: ONLY THE COMBINATION OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND NUCLEAR FORCES HAVE ENSURED PEACE IN EUROPE.

BUT EVERY ASPECT OF AMERICA'S ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE -- MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC -- MUST BE COMPLEMENTARY. AND ONE PLACE WHERE THEY ALL COME TOGETHER IS IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE -- AN ORGANIZATION OF 35 STATES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. THE CSC IS ALREADY A BEACON FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS. NOW, IT MUST TAKE ON A BROADER ROLE.

SO THE FOURTH TASK FOR A NATO SUMMIT IS TO REACH COMMON ALLIED OBJECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE OF THE CSCE. IT CAN HELP THE VICTORIOUS FORCES OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE SECURE THEIR REVOLUTIONS, AND -- AS THEY JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS -- BE ASSURED A VOICE IN THE NEW EUROPE.

THE CSCE SHOULD OFFER NEW GUIDELINES FOR BUILDING FREE SOCIETIES -- INCLUDING SETTING STANDARDS FOR TRULY FREE ELECTIONS, ADOPTING MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE RULE OF LAW, AND POINTING THE WAY IN THE NEEDED BUT PAINFUL TRANSITION FROM CENTRALIZED, COMMAND ECONOMIES TO FREE MARKETS.

THE CSCE CAN ALSO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN A MORE UNITED EUROPE. I AGREE WITH THOSE WHO HAVE CALLED FOR REGULAR CONSULTATIONS AMONG SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CSCE COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER NEW CSCE MECHANISMS CAN HELP MEDIATE AND SETTLE DISPUTES IN EUROPE. I BELIEVE MY ALLIED COLLEAGUES AND I SHOULD AGREE TO TAKE UP THESE NEW IDEAS AT A CSCE SUMMIT LATER THIS YEAR, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SIGNING OF A CFE TREATY.

IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN THIS HEMISPHERE, THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY HAS CAST ITS WARM LIGHT ON THE FACE OF THE WORLD LIKE A MIRACULOUS DAWN. BUT THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS NOT ORDAINED, AND IT WILL NOT BE THE WORK OF MIRACLES.

ALL OF YOU WHO GRADUATE HERE TODAY ARE PART OF A HISTORIC DECISION FOR AMERICA'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR WORK TO PROTECT FREEDOM, TO BUILD FREE SOCIETIES, WILL SAFEGUARD OUR OWN PEACE, AND PROSPERITY.

THE SECURITY OF EUROPE AND THE WORLD HAS BECOME VERY COMPLEX IN THIS CENTURY. BUT AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO STABILITY AND PEACE IS PROFOUNDLY CLEAR. ITS MOTIVATION DERIVES FROM THE STRENGTH OF OUR FOREFATHERS -- FROM THE BLOOD OF THOSE WHO HAVE DIED FOR FREEDOM -- AND FOR THE SAKE OF ALL WHO WOULD LIVE IN PEACE.

EVERY VOICE, EVERY HEART'S COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, IS IMPORTANT. THERE'S A STORY, ABOUT A MAN TRYING TO CONVINCHE HIS SON THAT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, EVERY VOICE COUNTS.

THEY STOOD IN A VALLEY, WATCHING THE SNOW FALL ON A DISTANT MOUNTAIN. "TELL ME THE WEIGHT OF A SNOWFLAKE," THE MAN SAID.

"ALMOST NOTHING," ANSWERED THE BOY.

AS THE SNOW SWIRLED AROUND THEM, UP ON THE MOUNTAIN THEY SAW AN AVALANCHE WHOSE THUNDER SHOOK THE EARTH. "DO YOU KNOW WHICH SNOWFLAKE CAUSED THAT?" THE OLD MAN ASKED. "I DON'T," ANSWERED THE BOY.

"MAYBE," SAID THE MAN, "LIKE THE LAST SNOWFLAKE THAT MOVES A MOUNTAIN \ \ IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, A SINGLE VOICE MAKES A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE."

AMERICA'S MISSION IN EUROPE, LIKE MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUAL DECISIONS MADE FOR FREEDOM, CAN MAKE A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE.

THE CRY FOR FREEDOM -- IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN SOUTH AFRICA, IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- WAS HEARD AROUND THE WORLD IN THE REVOLUTION OF '89. TODAY, IN THIS NEW AGE OF FREEDOM, ADD YOUR VOICE TO THE THUNDERING CHORUS.

THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

(Lange/Cawley)
May 3, 1990
7:20 P.M.
[NATO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
 LEWIS STADIUM
 FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990
 2:00 P.M.

Reflections on Democratic Change:
The United States and NATO in a New Age of Freedom

[[Thank you, Governor Bellmon. President Campbell, Senator Don Nickles; Congressmen Wes Watkins; Chief Mankiller, Mr. Donnelly; Regents and administrators, faculty, parents, and **most of all -- O.S.U.'s Centennial graduating Class of 1990 !** \\

I'm sorry Barbara couldn't be here. But she did tell me to get a beer and some cheese fries over at Eskimo Joe's... \\
Hope they have enough T-shirts for all the grandkids... \\

You know, when graduates of my vintage were sitting through ceremonies like this, right after the Second World War, we faced a world of changes -- full of potential and new possibilities.

Barbara and I got into a red two-door Studebaker -- you still drive those, right? -- in the summer of 1948. Drove down to West Texas. [[Of course, who knows how far we could've gone in life if we'd made it on up to Oklahoma...]]

Post-war America was ready for peace and prosperity. But while the free world was recovering, the nations of Eastern Europe were being "consolidated" behind an Iron Curtain. So began four decades of division in Europe -- and 40 long years of suspicion between superpowers.

Today, you also graduate at the end of an era of conflict

-- but a contest of a different kind -- a cold and abstract war of words and walls. Now Europe, and the world, have entered a new era -- the Age of Freedom. \\

I hope you'll forgive me if I use this great forum, at your great University, to handle a subject of a very serious nature.

I'll be reflecting on the power and potential of democratic change in each of the commencement addresses I make this year.
I begin today with America's place in the new Europe.

A few of you may be wondering what a continent 4000 miles away has to do with you. Throughout our history, great upheavals in Europe have forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about the part we should play in European affairs. This has been true from the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order. I believe that, now, we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic.

Many of the graduates of America's class of 1916 may have wondered why the faraway war making headlines in their newspapers would have anything to do with them. They might have agreed with President Wilson, who that year said "we are not interested" in the causes of the war, in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." But a year later those classmates, and their country, were swept up in the torrent, carrying them to the horror of the trenches in France.

Yet after the war, we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, we sponsored a treaty to outlaw war and then, as the outlaws gained strength, the United States passed new neutrality laws. Another generation of Americans sat in the bright sun of commencement ceremonies at colleges across the country, thinking war in Europe would pass them by. But when war came, they paid an awful price for America's isolation.

When that war ended, those students no longer questioned our role in the future of Europe. They no longer asked what Europe had to do with them, because they knew the answer // everything.

About a year ago, in Germany, I defined the kind of Europe our country is committed to: a peaceful, stable Europe -- a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach.

We are entering a new Age of Freedom in a time of uncertainty, but great hope. Emerging democracies in Eastern Europe are going through social, political, and economic transformations shaking loose stagnant, centralized bureaucracies that have smothered initiative for generations.

In this time of transition, moving away from the postwar era and beyond containment, we cannot know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change in the Soviet Union is also still unfinished. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union.

President Gorbachev has made profound progress in his country. Reforms so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned back. Yet neither can we turn the clock ahead, to know for sure what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come.

For the sake of the future we share with Europe, our policies and presence must be appropriate for this period of transition -- with a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new.

My European colleagues want the United States to be a part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. The United States should remain a European power in the broadest sense -- politically, militarily, and economically. And as part of our global responsibilities the foundation for America's peaceful engagement in Europe has been, and will continue to be, NATO.

Recognizing in peace what we had learned from war, we joined with the free nations of Europe to form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact. Our engagement in Europe has meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not just in defense; it must be a well-balanced mix of involvement in all dimensions of European affairs.

Because of our political commitment to peace in Europe, there hasn't been a war on that continent in 45 years. This "long peace" should be viewed through the long lens of history: Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in the recorded history of that continent.

The Alliance is now ready to build on that historic achievement and define its objectives for the next century. So the Alliance must join together to craft a new Western strategy for new and changing times.

Having consulted intensively with Prime Minister Thatcher in Bermuda, President Mitterrand in Florida, Chancellor Kohl at Camp David, and by telephone or cable with NATO Secretary General Woerner and all of my other Allied colleagues, I am calling for an early Summit meeting of all NATO leaders. Margaret Thatcher, one of freedom's greatest champions of the last decade, told me that while NATO has been fantastically successful, we should be ready now to face new challenges. The time is right for the Alliance to act.

The fundamental purpose of this Summit should be to launch a wide-ranging NATO Strategy Review for the transformed Europe of the 1990's. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit direct this Review by addressing four critical points:

One, the political role NATO can play in the new Europe.

Two, the conventional forces the Alliance will need in the time ahead, and NATO's goals for conventional arms control.

Three, the role of nuclear weapons based in Europe -- and Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Four, strengthening the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the CSCE -- to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values, in a Europe whole and free.

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As military threats fade, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. So at the NATO Summit we should look for ways to help our German friends sustain freedom and achieve unity -- something which we and our Allies have supported for over 40 years. And we should reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany a full member of NATO.

The Alliance needs to find ways to work more closely with a vigorous European Community that is rightly asserting its own distinct views. And in Eastern Europe, governments once our adversaries are now our partners in building a new continent. So we must also talk about how to encourage further peaceful democratic change in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

But even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its guarantee of European security must remain firm. Our enemy today is uncertainty, and instability. So the Alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.

Which brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses. While we need to recognize that it will take some time before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe -- and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides can be

implemented -- we need to develop our strategy for that world now.

Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even after all the planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed to and implemented, the Soviet military will still field forces dwarfing those of any other single European state -- armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. Militarily significant U.S. forces must remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as our Allies want and need them. These forces demonstrate, as no words can, the enduring political compact that binds America's fate with Europe's democracies.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, we must plan for a different kind of military presence focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war. We must promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating by relying on reduced forces that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, we have proposed, would be the most ambitious conventional arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on this treaty soon, and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit this fall. But at the Summit we need to look further ahead, preparing for follow-on negotiations after the conclusion of a CFE treaty. The NATO Summit should develop the Alliance's objectives for these talks. Third, the NATO Summit should also assess the future of U.S. nuclear forces

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

in Europe. As democracy blooms in Eastern Europe, as Soviet troops return home and tanks are dismantled, there is less need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should **accelerate** ongoing work within the Alliance to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I've reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system now in Europe. We've almost finished the research and development work for these new missiles. But I've decided, after consulting with our Allies, to terminate the **Follow-On To Lance program**. I have also decided to **cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe**.

There are still short-range U.S. -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems deployed in Europe. We're prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit, I will **urge my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future U.S.-Soviet negotiations and begin preparations within the Alliance for these talks**. I would also like to suggest that these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks **begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed**.

In taking these steps, **the United States is not going to allow Europe to become "safe for conventional war."** There are

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

few lessons so clear in history as this: Only the combination of conventional forces and nuclear forces have ensured peace in Europe.

But every aspect of America's engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must be complementary. And one place where they all come together is in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- an organization of 35 states of Europe and North America. The CSC is already a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. Now, it must take on a broader role.

So the fourth task for a NATO Summit is to reach common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE. It can help the victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions, and -- as they join the commonwealth of free nations -- be assured a voice in the new Europe.

The CSCE should offer new guidelines for building free societies -- including setting standards for truly free elections, adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law, and pointing the way in the needed but painful transition from centralized, command economies to free markets.

The CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives of the CSCE countries. We should consider whether new CSCE mechanisms can help mediate and settle disputes in Europe. I believe my Allied colleagues and I should **agree to take up these new ideas at a**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

In Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere, the triumph of democracy has cast its warm light on the face of the world like a miraculous dawn. But the outcome of this struggle for freedom is not ordained, and it will not be the work of miracles.

All of you who graduate here today are part of a historic decision for America engagement in the future of Europe. I am convinced that our work to protect freedom, to build free societies, will safeguard our own peace, and prosperity.

The security of Europe and the world has become very complex in this century. But America's commitment to stability and peace is profoundly clear. Its motivation derives from the strength of our forefathers -- from the blood of those who have died for freedom -- and for the sake of all who would live in peace.

Every voice, every heart's commitment to freedom, is important. There's a story, about a man trying to convince his son that in the struggle for freedom, every voice counts.

They stood in a valley, watching the snow fall on a distant mountain. "Tell me the weight of a snowflake," the man said.

"Almost nothing," answered the boy.

As the snow swirled around them, up on the mountain they saw an avalanche whose thunder shook the earth. "Do you know which snowflake caused that?" the old man asked. "I don't," answered the boy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

"Maybe," said the man, "like the last snowflake that moves a mountain \\ in the struggle for freedom, a single voice makes a world of difference."

America's mission in Europe, like millions of individual decisions made for freedom, can make a world of difference. The cry for freedom -- in Eastern Europe, in South Africa, in this hemisphere -- was heard around the world in the Revolution of '89. Today, in this new Age of Freedom, add your voice to the thundering chorus.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

#

Margaret Thatcher, one of freedom's greatest champions
~~for~~ the last decade, told me that NATO has been
fantastically successful -- but that we should be ready
now to face new challenges. The time is right ~~or~~

(Lange/Cawley)
May 3, 1990
11:25 A.M.
[NATO.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
 LEWIS STADIUM
 FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990
 2:00 P.M.

[[Thank you, Governor Bellmon. President Campbell, Senator Don Nickles; Congressmen Jim Inhofe and Wes Watkins; Chief Mankiller, Mr. Donnelly; faculty, parents, but most of all -- O.S.U.'s Centennial graduating Class of 1990 ! \\

I'm sorry Barbara couldn't be here. But she did tell me to get a beer and some cheese fries over at Eskimo Joe's... \\
Hope they have enough T-shirts for all the grandkids... \\

You know, when graduates of my vintage were sitting through ceremonies like this, right after the Second World War, we faced a world of changes -- full of potential and new possibilities.

Barbara and I got into an old two-door Studebaker -- you still drive those, right? -- in the summer of 1948. Drove down to Texas. [[Of course, who knows how far we could've gone in life if we'd made it to Oklahoma...]]

Post-war America was ready for peace and prosperity. But while the free world was recovering, the nations of Eastern Europe were being "consolidated" behind an Iron Curtain. So began four decades of division in Europe -- and 40 long years of

suspicion between superpowers.

Today, you also graduate at the end of an era of conflict -- but a contest of a different kind -- a cold and abstract war of words and walls. Now Europe, and the world, have entered a new era -- the age of freedom. \\
 ✓

I'll be reflecting on the power and potential of democratic change in each of the commencement addresses I make this year.

I begin today with America's place in the new Europe.

A few of you may be wondering what a continent 4000 miles away has to do with you. Revolutionary change is transforming Europe. ^{from the French Revolution to the Second World War,} Throughout our history, great upheavals in Europe have forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about the part we should ^{play} have in European affairs. ~~This has been true from the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order. I believe that, now,~~ ^{Today,} we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic.

BACK

Many of the graduates of America's class of 1916 may have wondered why the faraway war ^{making headlines} they read about in ^{their} the newspapers ^w should have anything to do with them. They might have agreed with President Wilson, who that year said "we are not interested" in the causes of the war, in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." But a year later those

classmates, and their country, were swept up in the torrent, carrying them to the horror of the trenches in France.

Yet after the war, ^{we} we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, ~~we sponsored a treaty to outlaw war. And then, as the outlaws gained strength, the United States declared its neutrality. As the Western democracies trembled in the face of the totalitarian powers, we~~ passed new neutrality laws. Another generation of Americans sat in the bright sun of commencement ceremonies at colleges across the country, thinking war in Europe would pass them by. But when war came, they paid an awful price for America's isolation.

When that war ended, those students no longer questioned our role in the future of Europe. They no longer asked what Europe had to do with them, because they knew the answer: everything.

About a year ago, in Germany, I defined the kind of Europe this Administration is committed to: a peaceful, stable Europe -- a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach.

We are entering a new age of freedom in a time of uncertainty, but great hope. Emerging democracies in Eastern Europe are going through social, political, and economic transformations ~~X~~ shaking loose stagnant, centralized bureaucracies that have smothered initiative ~~and choice~~ for generations.

In this time of transition, moving away from the postwar era and beyond containment, we cannot know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change

in the Soviet Union is also still unfinished. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union.

President Gorbachev has made profound progress in his country. Reforms so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned back. Yet neither can we turn the clock ahead, to know what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come.

For the sake of the future we share with Europe, our policies and presence must be appropriate for this period of transition -- with a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new.

~~We have global responsibilities. We face many challenges around the world, and there is no pat formula for success. But~~

✓ my European colleagues want the United States to be part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. ~~I believe that the United States should remain a European power in the broadest sense of that idea -- politically, militarily, and economically. And the foundation for America's peaceful engagement in Europe has been, and will continue to be, NATO.~~

→ We chose to join with the free nations of Europe ^{ed} and form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact, recognizing in peace what we had learned from war. ~~Our help is not a charitable donation.~~ Our engagement in Europe ^{to} has meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not

just in defense; it must be a well-balanced mix of involvement in all dimensions of European affairs. ^{That} Our political commitment, ^{along} with our troops and the deterrent potential of our nuclear weapons ^{demonstrating} ~~standing as the proof~~ of our determination, ~~has~~ made a difference.

Because of our ^{political} commitment to peace in Europe, there hasn't been a war on that continent in 45 years. ^{is} The "long peace" ~~now enjoyed by Europe is a fact we should~~ ^{be} ^{ed} view through the long lens of history: ⁰ Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in centuries -- ~~in fact, in the recorded history of that continent.~~ The Alliance is now ready to build on ^{this ~~success~~ historic achievement} ~~the achievements of the last forty years~~ and define its objectives for the next century. So the Alliance must join together to craft a new Western strategy for new and changing times.

^{Having} ~~I have~~ consulted with my Allied colleagues, and with the Secretary General of NATO, Manfred Woerner, ~~Based on these~~ ^{no B.F.} ~~discussions,~~ I am calling for an early Summit meeting of all NATO leaders. The time is right for the Alliance to act.

~~I believe~~ the fundamental purpose of this Summit should be to launch a wide-ranging NATO Strategy Review for the transformed Europe of the 1990's. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit ^{it} ^{direct this Review on} ~~provide direction for this Review by addressing~~ four critical points:

One, the political role NATO can play in the new Europe.

Two, the conventional forces the Alliance will need in the time ahead, and NATO's goals for conventional arms control.

Three, the role of nuclear weapons based in Europe -- and Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Four, strengthening the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the CSCE -- to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values, in a Europe whole and free.

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As military threats fade, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. So at the NATO Summit we should look for ways to help our German friends sustain freedom and achieve unity -- something which we and our Allies have supported for over 40 years. And we should reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany a full member of NATO.

The Alliance needs to find ways to work more closely with a vigorous European Community that is rightly asserting its own distinct views. And in Eastern Europe, governments ~~that were~~ once ^{our} ~~military~~ adversaries are now our partners in building a new continent. So we must also talk about how to encourage further peaceful democratic change in Eastern Europe and ~~in~~ the Soviet Union.

But even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its guarantee of European security must remain firm. Our enemy today is uncertainty, and instability. So the Alliance

will need to maintain a sound, collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.

Which brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses. While we need to recognize that it will take ~~some~~ time before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe -- and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides can be implemented -- we need to develop our strategy for that world now.

Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even after all the planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed to and implemented, the Soviet military will still field forces dwarfing those of any other single European state -- armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. Militarily significant U.S. forces must remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as our Allies want and need them. These forces demonstrate, as no words can, the enduring political compact that binds America's fate with Europe's democracies.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, ~~we would face an entirely different kind of threat.~~ To meet it, ^{we must} we should plan for a different kind of military presence, ~~one~~ focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war, ^{by} ~~and more on how to~~ promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating, ^{by} relying on reduced forces

that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

The CFE treaty we have proposed would be the most ambitious conventional arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on ~~a Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty~~ soon, and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit this fall. But at the Summit we need to look further ahead, preparing for **follow-on negotiations** after the conclusion of a CFE treaty. The NATO Summit should develop the Alliance's objectives for these talks.

Third, the NATO Summit should also assess the future of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe. As democracy blooms in ~~Central and~~ Eastern Europe, as Soviet troops return home and tanks are dismantled, there is less need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should **accelerate** ~~the~~ ongoing work within the Alliance to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I've reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system now ~~in place~~ in Europe. We've ^{almost} ~~just about~~ finished the research and development work for these new missiles. But I've decided, after consulting with our Allies, to **terminate the Follow-On To Lance program** ~~and to withdraw the funding request now before Congress.~~ I have also decided to **cancel any further**

modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe.

There are still short-range U.S. -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems ~~now~~ deployed in Europe. We've ~~said~~ we're prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit, I will ^{urge} ~~call~~ ~~upon~~ my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future ^{U.S. - Soviet} negotiations ~~between the U.S. and the Soviet Union~~, and ^{begin} ~~kick off~~ the preparations within the Alliance for these talks. I would also like to suggest that these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed.

In taking these steps, the United States is not going to allow Europe to become "safe for conventional war." There are few lessons so clear in history as this: ^{Only the combination} ~~deterrence by~~ ^{of conventional forces and nuclear forces have ensured} ~~conventional forces alone often has not worked.~~ NATO's ^{still in Europe} reliance on both nuclear and conventional forces has.

But every aspect of America's engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must be complementary. And one place where they all come together is in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- an organization of 35 states of Europe and North America. ^{Now, it} The CSCE must take on a broader role. ^{It must become} a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. ^{MSC is already}

So the fourth task for a NATO Summit is to reach common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE. It can help the

victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions, and -- as they join the commonwealth of free nations -- be assured a voice in the new Europe.

The CSCE should ~~expand its ability to offer~~ ^{new} guidelines for building free societies -- including setting standards for truly free elections, adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law, and pointing the way in the needed but painful transition from centralized, command economies to free markets.

The CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those ~~leaders~~ who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives ^{of} from the CSCE countries. We should consider whether ^{CSCE} new mechanisms ~~within the CSCE~~ can help mediate and ~~peacefully settle~~ disputes in Europe, and ~~look for other steps to reduce tensions among European states.~~ I believe my Allied colleagues and I should agree to take up these ^{new} ideas at a CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

In Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere, the triumph of democracy has cast its warm light on the face of the world like a miraculous dawn. But the outcome of this struggle for freedom is not ordained, and it will not be the work of miracles.

All of you who graduate here today are part of a historic decision for America ~~to continue our active engagement in the~~ future of Europe. I am convinced that ^{our} ~~this~~ work to protect freedom, to build free societies, will safeguard our own peace, and prosperity.