

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 Files, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13563
Folder ID Number: 13563-001

Folder Title:
Air University, Maxwell Airforce Base 4/13/91 [OA 6031]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	16	7	6

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 APR 12 P6:10

DATE: 4/12/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIV., MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☐	☒
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	ROGICH	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	TREFRY	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☐	☒		☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

91 APR 12 PM 5:25

McGroarty/Dooley
April 12, 1991
5:15 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

General Boyd, I know full well the roots of your historical institution. I know that it is the values and ideas generated here that lead to victory:

Ideas about the true strength of joint operations: not the notion that each service must participate in equal parts in every operation in every war -- but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the decisive tool -- was airpower. Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's armed forces into a strategic death spiral.

Our technology and training ensured minimal losses. Our precision spared the lives of innocent civilians. As the F-117 dominated the skies over Baghdad, they carried a revolution in warfare on their wings. The B-2 is the next step forward in that revolution. With its unique combination of stealth, range and payload -- it has the potential to render all other air forces in the world obsolete.

But the Gulf war also showed that technology alone is insufficient. A warrior's heart must burn with the will to

fight. If he fights but does not believe -- no technology in the world can save him.

We and our allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win.

This will is personified by the man who leads you. I know that General Boyd often speaks about what he calls the "unlimited liability" of the military profession. He knows, because he's put it all on the line. As a veteran of Vietnam, he flew 105 combat missions -- before being shot down over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged -- brave, unbroken. He kept his faith -- to himself, and to his nation.

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility. For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism.

That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world in two has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

Twice this century, we approached the dream of a world in which major powers work together to ensure peace, and settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation. Twice this century, this dream died on the battlefields of Europe.

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

At the same time we and our European allies have moved beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer riven by Cold War tensions and animosities.//

As the Cold War drew to an end, we saw the beginnings of what I have called "a new world order." I would like to talk for a moment about what that concept means.

In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is **at least as old** as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing **commonwealth of freedom**. //

When we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict did not serve as a proxy for a superpower confrontation. For the first time, the United Nations -- free from the clash of Cold War ideologies -- functioned as a force for conflict resolution and collective security. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. By joining forces to **defend one small nation** -- we showed that we can work together in **defense of principle**. //

We also recognized that the Cold War's end hasn't delivered us into an era of **perpetual peace**. As old threats recede, new

threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Renegade regimes will continue to threaten the prospects for peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. And we will have to work with our allies to prevent the kinds of aggression we saw in Kuwait.

X In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate **civilians** from **combatants** -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime --

and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Instead, we must build on the successes of Desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free -- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its continent.

This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European allies is most evident -- most critical -- in Europe's eastern half. The nations of Eastern Europe -- for so long the "other Europe" -- must take their place alongside their neighbors to the West. Just as we have overcome Europe's political division -- we must help the East cross over from poverty into prosperity.

The United States will do its part -- as we have in reducing Poland's official debt burden by 70%, and increasing our assistance this year to Eastern Europe by 50%. But the key to helping these new democracies develop is trade and investment. The new entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary aren't looking to government -- their own or others -- to shower them with riches. They're looking for new opportunities -- new outlets for the productive genius strangled by forty years of state control.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to

forge a European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

And we look to Europe to follow its own precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can maintain membership in good standing in the global family without contributing its fair share to global security.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, **true progress becomes possible.** //

If the new world order we speak has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests.

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

Yet, the course of change within the Soviet Union is far less clear. Economic and political reform is under severe challenge. Soviet citizens -- facing the collapse of the old order while the new still struggles to be born -- confront

desperate economic conditions -- their hard-won freedoms in peril. From the Baltics in the north to Georgia in the south, to the far reaches of the Russian republic, ancient enmities -- conflict between republics, and between republics and the central government -- further complicate the already fragile program of reform.

America's policy toward the Soviet Union in this new "time of trouble" is -- first and foremost -- to continue our efforts to build the cooperative relationship that has allowed our nations and so many others to strengthen international peace and stability. At the same time, we will continue to support a reform process within the USSR aimed at political and economic freedom: a process we believe must be built on peaceful dialogue and negotiation {-- a process that would be advanced greatly by discussions leading to the independence of the Baltic States.} This is a policy we will advocate both in our discussions with the central Soviet government and with all elements active in Soviet political life.

Let there be no mistake: the path ahead for the Soviet Union will be difficult -- and at times painful. History weighs heavily on all the peoples of the USSR. Liberation from 70 years of communism, and 1000 years of autocracy, will be slow. There will be setbacks. But this internal liberation -- this transformation from within -- must proceed, if external cooperation, and our progress toward true international peace, is to endure.

Only when this transformation is complete can we claim a final and complete end to the Cold War, and only then will we be able to take full measure of the opportunities presented by this new, and evolving, world order. //

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict.

Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. ///

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores - - if we strive to engage in the world that beckons us -- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

SPEECH SYNOPSIS:

Blank lined area for notes or transcription.

SPEECH SYNOPSIS:

NAME OF RESEARCHER:

NAME OF WRITER :

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH

4/12/91

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH Eid Al-Fitna Message

NAME OF WRITER : Lange

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Simon

SPEECH SYNOPSIS: _____

POTUS offers best wishes to all American Muslims. This nation is proud of its diverse religious heritage. POTUS acknowledges that too many people in the world are persecuted and oppressed for their beliefs. A prayer for freedom and harmony.

4/12/91

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH Air Univ., Maxwell AFB.

NAME OF WRITER : McGroarty

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Dooley

SPEECH SYNOPSIS:

Lined area for the speech synopsis.

Continue

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH _____

NAME OF WRITER : _____

NAME OF RESEARCHER: _____

SPEECH SYNOPSIS: _____

→ United Way's Volunteer Leaders Conference.

POTUS thanks volunteers for their time in helping people in need.

POTUS accepts 1991 Alexis de Tocqueville Society award, & congratulates fellow award-winners, Jim Rouse.

→ Bob Tisch Birthday Message

POTUS thanks Bob for his many accomplishments: corporate giant, organizer econ. summit, ran DVC, & purchased controlling interest in the N.Y. Giants.

→ ~~Armed~~ Armed Forces Day Message.

POTUS thank the men and woman who has made sacrifices in the name of Liberty, Honor, and Duty.

→ Memorial Day Message

POTUS ~~to~~ congratulates on Gulf War. Support for families who have lost loved ones ~~at~~ during war.

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH

Video Taping Session

4/12/91

NAME OF WRITER :

Grant

NAME OF RESEARCHER:

Cawley

SPEECH SYNOPSIS:

→ Academy of Country Music Awards:

POTUS likes country music for its support of the country, flag, & ideals for which the U.S. was founded. POTUS welcomes back U.S. Troops.

→ M.S. Dinner of Champions

POTUS thanks: Julie Kone, Yogi Berra, Jeff Hostetler, Zoe Koplovitz.

→ Achievement Against the Odds Awards Ceremony.

These citizens come from every place and every walk of life. They represent the most american of all qualities - the ability to overcome adversity, and then help others as ^{they} help themselves.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1991

91 APR 15 10:18

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

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

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Air University, Maxwell Air
Force Base

Pursuant to Phillip Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection, subject to the changes noted on the attached text.

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

91 APR 11 PM 5:37

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
Montgomery ~~HUNTSVILLE~~, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unrelenting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in our new world.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify several lessons on the use of military force.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: Not the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the decisive tool -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, our technology, training and tactics ensured minimal losses to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the moral is to the material as three is to one." // The tools and technology of war may change, but the nature of war remains the same. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit -- a warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win. //

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89.

This human factor at the center of your studies is personified by the man who leads you. General Boyd served in Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, the third lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate civilians from combatants -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, true partnership becomes possible. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- *in Latin America and the Caribbean* ~~in South America~~, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War **we have not made the world safe for trade wars**. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their ^{freedom and} prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

91 APR 12 11:00 AM **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 4/11/91ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY 4/12/91 11:00 amSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u> </u>	☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Room 122, x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., TOMORROW, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, with a copy to this office.

RESPONSE:

See comments

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 APR 11 PM 5:37

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unrelenting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in our new world.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. *//

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify several lessons on the use of military force.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: Not the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the decisive tool -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, our technology, training and tactics ensured minimal losses to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the moral is to the material as three is to one." // The tools and technology of war may change, but the nature of war remains the same. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit -- a warrior's heart must burn with the will to ^{win} ~~fight~~. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the ^{prevail} will to win. //

✓
Dolson

✓
Dolson
X 3554

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89.

This human factor at the center of your studies is personified by the man who leads you. General Boyd served in Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, the third lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate civilians from combatants -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, true partnership becomes possible. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/11/91ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY 4/12/91 11:00 amSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Room 122,x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., TOMORROW, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, with a copy to this office.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 APR 11 PM 5:37

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in our new world.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify several lessons on the use of military force.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: Not the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the decisive tool -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, our technology, training and tactics ensured minimal losses to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the moral is to the material as three is to one." // The tools and technology of war may change, but the nature of war remains the same. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit -- a warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win. //

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89.

This human factor at the center of your studies is personified by the man who leads you. General Boyd served in Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, the third lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate civilians from combatants -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, true partnership becomes possible. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

4/12
11:00AM nancy Benson
XL6218

Document No. 228641 SS

91 APR 12 All: 09

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/11/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY 4/12/91 11:00 am

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Room 122, x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., TOMORROW, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, with a copy to this office.

RESPONSE:

OK - but long in my opinion
S.R.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 APR 12 12:10

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/11/91ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY 4/12/91 11:00 amSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>SNOW</u>	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u> </u>	☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Room 122, x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., TOMORROW, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, with a copy to this office.

RESPONSE:

See comments. Thanks.
Nancy Williamson
4-12-91

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

91 APR 11 PM 5:37

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unrelenting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in our new world.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify **several lessons on the use of military force**.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of joint operations: Not the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the **proper tools at the proper time**. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the **decisive tool** -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, our **technology, training and tactics** ensured **minimal losses** to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the **moral is to the material as three is to one**." // The tools and technology of war may change, but the **nature of war remains the same**. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit -- a warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win. //

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89. ✓ (V.A.)

This human factor at the center of your studies is *the same as* personified by the man who leads you. General Boyd served in Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, the third lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate civilians from combatants -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, true partnership becomes possible. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

Eastern Europe and Central and
 From ~~A~~ South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by ^{appealing to} ~~taking~~ *advantage of* people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

✓
(Treasury)

✓
(Treasury)

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in ^{North America} ~~our own hemisphere~~, as we work ^{Latin America & the Caribbean} ~~South America~~, toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in ~~South America~~, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our ^{worthiest} ~~toughest~~ economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, (us), who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. ^{we are} Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

91 APR 12 11:00
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 4/11/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY 4/12/91 11:00 am

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Room 122,x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., TOMORROW, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, with a copy to this office.

RESPONSE:

April 12, 1991

The attached, substantially rewritten draft conforms to the agreed substance of the speech.


Brent Scowcroft
PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University.

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

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach.

Twice before in this century, following each world war, hopes blossomed for a new security order -- only to be crushed: first, by a failure of leadership and vision in the 1920s and the rise of Nazism in the 1930s; then, after World War II, by the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. The Cold War that ensued not only froze Europe in confrontation but made impotent the new institutions that were meant to foster security throughout the world.

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers --

separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility.

The Cold War is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. Communist East Germany has vanished. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece. Throughout Eastern Europe, gentle but swift revolutions have brought democracy and hope to whole societies -- and dignity to individual human beings.

These achievements -- freedom's victory in Europe -- have created an opportunity to build the foundations of a more secure world. The triumph of our values, our strength, our perseverance encouraged a new and enlightened policy of the Soviet Union. Now, instead of being dead-locked in Central Europe, we, our European allies and, indeed even the Soviet Union, can cooperate to extend the new security beyond Europe's borders.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, it is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world based on a shared commitment, among nations large and small, to a set of principles that undergird our relations: peaceful settlement of disputes, solidarity against aggression, reduced and controlled arsenals, and just treatment of all peoples.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies, our partners, and yes, our former adversaries, to achieve stability and peace.

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about some supranational structure or new institution. Nor is this a Pax Americana. The United States cannot and will not impose or police this new order.

Where leadership is needed, the United States -- the American people -- will be ready to lead. But collective responsibility -- sharing the burdens and the sacrifices with partners, old and new -- is as vital to the prospects for a more secure world as is our willingness to lead.

Even as we celebrated the dawning of a new order in Europe, its basic elements -- the principles of civilized conduct among nations, American leadership, shared responsibility -- were put to a test by aggression in the Gulf. What happened there was more than the triumph of superior skill and technology. Our success in winning the Gulf War was built on the foundation we laid in ending the Cold War.

Today, Kuwait is free. But turmoil in that part of the world continues. Saddam Hussein's savagery places his regime outside the international order. We will not intervene in Iraq's civil war. But the international community will see to it that Saddam's ability to cause mass destruction is completely dismantled. And we will not tolerate interference with UN efforts to help the Kurdish people, tragic victims of Saddam's brutality, receive food, shelter safety and the opportunity to go home. Iraq can return to the community of nations when its leaders abandon the very brutality that is destroying their country.

Thus, the new order -- born in Europe -- has prevailed in the Gulf. And now we must assure that a transformed Europe fulfills its free and democratic destiny.

America's commitment is the best guarantee of a secure Europe, and a secure Europe is vital to American interests and world peace. This is the essential logic of the Atlantic Alliance, which anchors America in Europe. The United States will maintain a substantial and effective military capability in Europe. We will preserve that vital transatlantic bond as the primary force for stability in a turbulent world.

Thus, the United States will remain in Europe. This century's history shows that America's destiny and interests cannot be separate from Europe's. This fundamental bond transcends the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe. And Europe's quest for unity makes it no less compelling.

We welcome and support a more united Europe. Europe's unity is a goal we have pursued with our European partners for more than forty years, and we want to work with them toward its full realization.

With increasing unity will come heavier responsibilities for Western Europe. For most of this century, Europe has been a source of insecurity. Now it can become a force for stability.

The transatlantic partnership is more active than ever. The NATO allies who stood side-by-side with us for forty years in Europe, fought side-by-side with us in the Gulf. The massive relief effort underway around and in Iraq is mainly a European-American effort under UN auspices.

This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European partners is most evident -- and most crucial -- in Europe's Eastern half. We must welcome the young democracies of Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom and assure them a secure place in the new Europe. History will not forgive the West if we allow a new fault line to appear between our prosperous societies and a depressed, dependent, unstable Eastern Europe.

Forty years ago, with America's help, Western Europe embarked on a path to prosperity, stability and security -- precisely the hopes of Eastern Europe today. With our West European partners, we can now extend that opportunity and success to these emerging European democracies. Much is being done, but much more is needed.

The United States will do its part, as we have in reducing Poland's official debt burden by 70% and increasing our assistance to Eastern Europe by 50%. We must all rededicate ourselves to the success of these new democracies.

They need not only more assistance but also new trade and investment. And they need new markets for their products. The workers and new entrepreneurs of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia don't want welfare. They want opportunity. They want to use their productive energies, so long buried under a system that discouraged hard work and human genius.

We are therefore opening our markets wide to East European trade. Within the rules of the world trading system, we appeal to the European Community to do likewise.

I am pleased to say that just two days ago the leaders of the European Community and I agreed to do whatever it takes to

enable the new democracies to flourish. My faith in the values that bind America and Europe makes me certain of the success of the brave and free peoples of Eastern Europe.

This success can extend farther east as well. We take no comfort in the problems within the Soviet Union today. Old animosities have given way to trust and understanding. Soviet leaders have chosen the path of cooperation rather than confrontation in world affairs. We hope they will make an equally clear choice in favor of reform, for that is the only road to the prosperity and freedom its people seek.

Such a choice will make the Soviet Union not only a partner in the new world order but a shareholder in the values that underpin it. When the move toward political and economic freedom is as clear in the Soviet Union as it now is in Eastern Europe, the West will be ready to help as we are now helping Eastern Europe.

America's agenda, in Europe and beyond, is a demanding one: helping build a Europe that is truly whole and free; working with the Soviet Union toward a relationship of enduring cooperation; bringing security to the Gulf and peace to the Middle East; expanding the world economy based on a more open trading system; helping the poorer countries share in global prosperity; permitting the weak to be as secure as the strong.

But think of what has been achieved already! In Europe we closed a chapter in our history -- with the end of the Cold War. In the Persian Gulf, a coalition among thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, liberated a nation, and sent a signal to would-be

aggressors everywhere.

We have left behind the era of confrontation between East and West, and we have met the first challenge of the post Cold-War era. We now look with confidence to building a new, more secure world. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence.

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies and former adversaries -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. We are ready to put America's power in the service of America's principles. The promise of this new world animates American policy. The challenge invigorates our proud people.

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for engaging the world beyond our shores -- if we are ready to lead then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us.

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

Counsel's

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
Montgomery ~~HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA~~
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the **thousand hours of DESERT STORM.** //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in our new world.

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify **several lessons on the use of military force**.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of **joint operations**: **Not** the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the **proper tools** at the **proper time**. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the **decisive** tool -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, **our technology, training and tactics** ensured **minimal losses** to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the **moral** is to the **material** as **three** is to **one**." // The tools and technology of war may change, but the **nature of war** remains the **same**. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit -- a warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win. //

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89.

This human factor at the center of your studies is personified by the man who leads you. General Boyd served in Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, the third lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate **civilians** from **combatants** -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, **true partnership becomes possible**. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in ^{Latin} ~~South~~ America, ^{+ the Caribbean} through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their ^{freedom +} prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in **what we are** as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will **America** be true to all that is **best in us**. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

For
Mike Hayden

McGroarty/Dooley
April 11, 1991
4:30 pm
[AIR]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

(a little better definition from USN carrier air.)
The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the ^{islands} ~~seas~~ of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility. //

That war is over. Think of the transformations taking place in the last six months alone. East Germany has vanished from the

map. Today in free Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The triumph of freedom swept communism away. Yet the world hardly seemed to notice: The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

What a change: For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism. Now we must move beyond containment -- ^{continuing} ~~to~~ a policy of active engagement, ^{but in a} ~~in our~~ new world. //

Let me focus for a moment on what we mean by this phrase, "the new world order." In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

Yet when we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ///

I would like to talk about three dimensions -- military, political and economic -- of this order. //

Consider making a long & short
3rd. It is long & short
a long time before we
political & economic dimensions.
Also, the military dimension
is a good way to get off
stage with this group.

Begin with military strength. The crisis in the Gulf served as the crucible of this new order. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. We showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

At the same time, we learned that the Cold War's end didn't deliver us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Enmities and ethnic rivalries frozen during the Cold War have re-emerged -- have flared into feuds that could engulf nations, destabilize continents. From the Baltics in the north to Yugoslavia in the south -- across each of the Soviet Union's republics -- nations within nations struggle to assert themselves. //

At the same time, renegade regimes pose new threats to peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will take orders from leaders who are more rash than rational -- who are less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by our real determination to prevent aggression. //

As F-117s dominated the skies over Baghdad, they carried a revolution in warfare on their wings. Stealth is no longer a theory -- it is proven. The B-2 is the next step in this revolution.

With its stealthiness, range and payload, it has the potential to render all other air forces in the world obsolete.

Our Gulf success demands that we think carefully about how best to use our might. Already, we can identify **several lessons on the use of military force**.

The first concerns doctrine and strategy. In DESERT STORM, we demonstrated the true strength of **joint operations**: Not the notion that each service must participate in equal part in every operation of every war -- but that we use the **proper tools** at the **proper time**. In DESERT STORM, the proper tool -- the **decisive tool** -- was airpower. //

Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's Armed Forces into a strategic death spiral. As a result, our ground war lasted only 100 hours. To a remarkable degree, our technology, training and tactics ensured **minimal losses** to allied forces. Our precise air strikes spared the lives of innocent civilians. //

 ~~The second lesson learned in the Gulf War confirms one of the oldest military maxims. In the words of Napoleon: "the moral is to the material as three is to one." //~~ ~~The tools and technology of war may change, but the nature of war remains the same. Whether it's the horseman in the saddle or the pilot in the cockpit --~~ *But the Gulf war also showed that technology alone is insufficient. In war* *A warrior's heart must burn with the will to fight. If his cause is just, his will can turn the war. If he fights, but does not believe -- no technology can save him. //*

In the Gulf War, America and its allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win. //

All good words but trying to compensate for what was added.

You demonstrated that will in Desert Storm. America's highest ranking POW in DESERT STORM -- Lt. Col. David Eberly -- is an alumnus of the War College, class of '89.

This human factor at the center of your studies is personified by the man who leads you. ^{General Boyd often talks of the "unlimited liability" of the} ~~General Boyd~~ ^{He} served in military Vietnam -- 105 combat missions, before he was shot down on a ^{profession.} mission over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel ^{He knows of} days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged, brave and unbroken. He ^{what he} kept the faith -- to himself, and to his nation -- in a war in which this nation too often broke faith with its fighting men. General Boyd knows first-hand what it means when we make the solemn pledge -- there will be "No more Vietnams." //

Thus, ^{another} ~~the third~~ lesson learned in the Gulf concerns the use of American military power:

Whenever American troops go into combat, we must go armed with a clear objective -- one we can meet militarily. Whenever American troops go into combat, we must be sure the cause is right -- one the public can support. Finally, whenever American troops go into combat, we must make the decision to achieve our objectives swiftly, with as little cost in lives as possible. The force we employ must be decisive -- and yet discriminate. //

America and its allies enjoyed each of these crucial advantages in the Gulf War. Our forces -- our cause -- prevailed. Today, Kuwait is free. //

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as

discriminate (??)
//

much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate **civilians** from **combatants** -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime -- and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Let me turn from these "lessons learned" in the Gulf, to the second dimension I want to consider today -- to the political landscape of our new world. //

No continent has experienced more rapid change than Europe. For forty years, Europe stood on the fault line of East-West conflict. Today, a transformed Europe stands closer than ever before to its free and democratic destiny.

We've struggled for 45 years to fulfill that destiny. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe -- whole and free

2

-- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its own continent. And we look to Europe to follow its positive precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can afford to indulge the fantasy that it can maintain membership in good standing in the global economy without contributing its fair share to global security.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are a natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to forge a unified European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold War and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to Western ideals, **true partnership becomes possible**. If the new world order we speak about has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - and Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests. //

Let me turn now to the third dimension -- the economic dimension of this new world now taking shape.

From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than

by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, Marxists predicted that have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. They considered envy a more powerful impulse than creation. They were wrong.

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. //

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

We already have begun the work of reaching out and embracing our opportunities. We have built a strong and flexible military. We are promoting free markets and free trade around the world. We are working with our allies -- throughout the world -- to promote peace and stability. Ready to put America's power in service of principle: The promise of this new world animates American policy. //

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the thrilling world that beckons us -
- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#

May God bless you in your important
work here and ...

✓ Jontness

✓ G. Boyd.

✓ B-2.

fully good my request for
to be done
for B-2.

residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.

The President traveled to Amsterdam, The Netherlands, the following morning.

Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands July 17, 1989

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Your Majesty and Your Royal Highness, Barbara and I thank you and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome that has been given to us. I'm not sure about some of those signs I saw coming in. It reminded me of my own university, however.

I'm glad to be back with my cousins, because we fondly remember Aunt Abigail back there those many years ago. [Laughter] And I want to first thank Mr. DeWolff and that magnificent orchestra and the choir from here, with that superb solo by Ms. Zedelius—an outstanding performance. And Mayor Goekoop, thank you so much for that medallion, which we will treasure forever.

The Netherlands is an old friend, an honored ally of the United States. And the friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution, and the United Provinces were one of the models that our founders looked to in creating a nation from 13 sovereign States.

And it's a pleasure to visit Leiden, a city whose very name has symbolized for centuries Dutch determination and the struggle for freedom against the forces of occupation. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins. So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. And it was here that Hugo de Groot, known to the world as Grotius, the father of modern international law, studied in the Nation that is today the home of the International Court of Justice. And it was here that Rembrandt lived and worked and created a world of beauty that moves us still today. And it was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution—to live, work, and worship in peace. In the shadow of Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God openly and without fear. And here, under the an-

cient stones of the Pieterskerk, the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a New World. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. And the Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage; but carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. And on the rocky coast of New England, at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent, they planted the seeds of a New World, a world that became America.

And today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach. Our time is a time of great hope and a time of enormous challenges. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea, an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force, and that idea is democracy. The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere—in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." And, ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We, the people of the United States and the people of the Netherlands, are fortunate. The freedoms that others are struggling for are freedoms that we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle, and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know that the cost of freedom is high. And that's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean that the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents, unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values, rooted in a shared history and heritage. It's a common kinship and culture, as well.

We are part of the commonwealth of free

nations. Almost 2 months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity, and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding, amid the airlift to besieged Berlin, few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands and elsewhere, some people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace that Europe has known in the modern age. And let me assure you, Americans know that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

And today the Atlantic alliance, formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism, is creating new opportunities to ease tensions, to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. And thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment—to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms that has long cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on Earth.

And seizing these opportunities, reaching that new world, depends on the unity and strength of the entire alliance, not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union, in which the Netherlands played a vital role; the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear forces—each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our postwar experience is this: Strength has kept us safe and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace. Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe, a more united Europe, is good for my country; it's good for the United States of America. And it's a development we welcome, a natural evolution within our alliance, the product of true partnership 40 years in the making.

This trend toward closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around

the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation—no nation—can prosper in economic isolation. And that's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

And our progress at this recently concluded economic summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action: bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment—global warming, acid rain, and pollution of the world's oceans: these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. And pollution crosses continents and oceans, and it's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. The United States of America will do its part. A little over a month ago, in the United States, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act, changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air. And shortly after I get back to the United States, after I return home, we will send our clean air legislation to Congress. And last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. And the next step is clear: We must work together, take concerted action to combat this common problem—clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and the developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it's more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty, just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity that we know today. Economic and democratic develop-

are now recognizing
ation—can prosper in
id that's why we look
European market and
European Community.
Industrial democracies
ain an open trading
sustained economic

this recently conclud-
in Paris brought us
inated and common
e spectrum of critical
is concerted action:
strength of the West
1 concerns.

environment—global
and pollution of the
are problems that
no line on a map has
nd pollution crosses
and it's time for na-
common defense of
e United States of
art. A little over a
United States, I an-
weeping changes to
iges meant to ensure
in the space of one
he clean air. And
to the United States,
e will send our clean
ess. And last week in
I announced initia-
se two countries to
problems. And the
must work together,
n to combat this
an up our environ-
for our children.

iderscored the fact
he next step in solv-
to encourage condi-
that will benefit the
and the developing
ake progress on this
a matter of econom-
ocracy is at stake.
e barren soil of pov-
landed upon a des-
foundations of the
ty that we know
lemocratic develop-

ment go hand in hand. And the steps we've
taken towards a common strategy on debt
will sustain a favorable climate for growth
and for the flourishing of democracy in the
developing world.

And there's Eastern Europe. Let me ex-
plain the approach that I take towards
reform in Eastern Europe. We will never
compromise our principles. We will always
speak out for freedom, but we understand
as well how vital a carefully calibrated ap-
proach is in this time of dynamic change.
The Soviet Union has nothing—nothing—to
fear from the reforms that are now unfold-
ing in some of the nations of Eastern
Europe. We support reform in Eastern
Europe and in the Soviet Union, and we're
seeing dramatic changes. General Secretary
Gorbachev's recent letter 2 days ago to the
economic summit is only the latest example
of the Soviets moving in our direction,
coming our way. I've said it many times—
that I want to see *perestroika* succeed. I
want to see the Soviet Union chart a course
that brings itself into the community of na-
tions.

And my visits these last 2 months demon-
strate how closely the United States is
linked to Europe. For half a century, Amer-
ica has been deeply involved in the future
of this continent. And U.S. involvement will
be a strategic fact the next century, as it has
been for this one. We will play a construc-
tive role in Eastern Europe's economic de-
velopment, in the development of political
pluralism, and in creating an international
climate in which reform can succeed. And
that is why America's relations with the
Soviet Union are so important. Improved
relations with the U.S.S.R. reduce pressure
on the nations of Eastern Europe, especially
those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a common-
wealth of free nations working in concert, a
world where more and more nations enter
a widening circle of freedom. In the pulpit
here at the Pieterskerk, 1 year after peace
was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill
spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies
had triumphed over tyranny. The occupa-
tion was over. After 6 years of war and
devastation, Churchill said: "The great
wheel has swung full circle." And Europe
then stood at the threshold of a new era, an

era whose hope Churchill expressed in a
single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

And we all know what followed. Half of
Europe entered that new era, and half of
Europe found its path blocked, walled off
by barriers of brick and barbed wire. The
half of Europe that was free dug out from
the rubble, recovered from the war, and
laid the foundations of free government and
free enterprise that brought unparalleled
prosperity and a life in peace and freedom.
And the other Europe, the Europe behind
the wall, endured four decades of privation
and hardship and persecution and fear.

And today that other Europe is changing.
The great wheel is moving once more. And
our time, the exciting time in which we
live, is a time of new hope—the hope that
all of Europe can now know the freedom
that the Netherlands has known, that Amer-
ica has known, and that the West has
known. Our hope is that the unnatural divi-
sion of Europe will now come to an end,
that the Europe behind the wall will join its
neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Poland and Hungary are on the cutting
edge; they're on the forefront of this
reform. And they've traveled far these past
12 months, farther than any of us once
would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I
spoke to the new Polish Parliament that
includes 100 new freely elected Senators,
elected to office in Eastern Europe's first
truly free election in the postwar era. And
in Hungary, I addressed the students and
faculty of Karl Marx University, a university
where the lessons of the free market are
replacing the old teachings of "Das Kapi-
tal." At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the
statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth,
tens of thousands of people—literally tens of
thousands filled the streets—new voices, full
of new hope. And theirs were the faces of
pilgrims on a journey, fixed on the horizon,
on the new world coming into view.

And they know, as we do, that ultimately,
whatever the odds, freedom will succeed.
It's a lesson the world has learned several
times this century, a lesson that you know
so well, that the Dutch know so well. The
Netherlands will never—I was talking at
this lunch today with your able Prime Min-
ister [Ruud Lubbers]—the Netherlands will

never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those long years.

And even then freedom endured. Pieterskerk—behind these walls, above the rafters—resistance fighters, university students took refuge from the forces of occupation and found safe haven in this church. Daily acts of heroism—the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps—kept them alive, kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive throughout the Netherlands dark night.

And why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise." Freedom can never be extinguished—not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and, yes, across the Soviet Union.

So, the challenge that we face is a very clear one. We must work together toward the day when all of Europe, East and West, is free of discord, free of division; a day when people in every city and every town across this continent knows the freedoms that we enjoy. And here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their New World, let us pledge our effort to create a new world in Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you, God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America and the friends of freedom everywhere in the world. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 3:46 p.m. at the Pieterskerk. He was introduced by Cornelis H. Goekoop, mayor of Leiden. In his remarks, the President referred to Queen Beatrix; Prince Claus; Abigail Jenney, an ancestor of the President who was born in Leiden; Charles DeWolff, conductor of Amsterdam's Kamer Orkest; and Maria Zedelius, choir soloist.

Nomination of Lannon Walker To Be United States Ambassador to Nigeria

July 17, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lannon Walker to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He would succeed Princeton Nathan Lyman.

Mr. Walker is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor. He entered the Department of State in 1961 and attended Western Arabic Language School in 1962. From 1962 to 1964, he served as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rabat, Morocco. In 1964 he became principal officer at the American consulate in Constantine, Algeria. He returned to the Department of State in 1966 as a staff officer in the Executive Secretariat, and then became Deputy Director. In 1969 Mr. Walker took economic training at

the Foreign Service Institute. From 1970 to 1971, he was economic counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli, Libya. He then became deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Yaounde, Cameroon, 1971-1973; and served as administrative counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, Vietnam, 1973-1974. In 1974 he went to the U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa, Zaire; first as economic counselor and then deputy chief of mission, where he served until 1977. He returned to the Department of State as Office Director for Central Africa and later became Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs, 1977-1982. He took a leave of absence from the Department of State, 1982-1983, and then became the president of Joint Services Group in Washington, DC. He returned to the De-

AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

GENERAL BOYD, FRIENDS -- AND FELLOW AIRMEN: IT IS
MY GREAT PLEASURE TO LOOK OUT ACROSS THIS SEA OF BLUE
-- TO MEET THIS MORNING WITH THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AIR
UNIVERSITY. //

THE HISTORY OF AVIATION HAS BEEN SHAPED HERE SINCE
THE WRIGHT BROTHERS BROUGHT THEIR STRANGE NEW
"MECHANICAL BIRD" TO MONTGOMERY, AND HOUSED IT IN A
HANGAR NOT FAR FROM WHERE WE NOW STAND. THIS
INSTITUTION, FROM ITS EARLY DAYS AS THE AIR CORPS
TACTICAL SCHOOL, HAS DEFINED THE NATION'S AIR STRATEGY
AND TACTICS THAT HAVE GUIDED OUR OPERATIONS OVER THE
FIELDS OF EUROPE AND THE SEAS OF THE PACIFIC -- FROM
THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO THE THOUSAND HOURS OF DESERT
STORM. //

threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Today, Kuwait is free. But turmoil in that tormented region of the world continues. Saddam's continued savagery has placed his regime outside the international order. We will not interfere in Iraq's civil war. The Iraqi people must decide their own political future. But the international community will see to it that Saddam's ability to threaten his neighbors is completely eliminated by destroying Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. We also will continue to help the Iraqi refugees -- the hundreds of thousands of tragic victims of Saddam's brutality -- receive food, shelter and safety, and the opportunity to return unharmed to their homes. And we will not tolerate any interference in this massive international relief effort. Iraq can return to the community of nations when its leaders abandon the brutality and repression that is destroying their country.

an increasing share of the burden of leadership.

~~and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war.~~ ///

Instead, we must build on the successes of Desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order. Today, we look to an increasingly united Europe ~~-- whole and free --~~ to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its continent. *

This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European allies is most evident -- ^{and} most critical -- in Europe's eastern half. The nations of Eastern Europe -- for so long the "other Europe" -- must take their place alongside their neighbors to the West. Just as we have overcome Europe's political division -- we must help the East cross over from poverty into prosperity.

The United States will do its part -- as we have in reducing Poland's official debt burden by 70%, and increasing our assistance this year to Eastern Europe by 50%. But the key to helping these new democracies develop is trade and investment. The new entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary aren't looking to government -- their own or others -- to shower them with riches. They're looking for new opportunities -- new outlets for the productive genius strangled by forty years of state control.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE, ~~or other forms of closer European integration~~ the U.S. supports all efforts to

X

forge a European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond.

And we look to Europe ~~to follow its own precedent in the Gulf~~ to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can maintain membership in good standing in the global family without contributing its fair share to global security.

But even in the face of such welcome change -- ~~the American~~ *will remain in* ~~commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold and~~

America's commitment is the best guarantee of a secure Europe, and a secure Europe is vital to American interests and world peace. This is the essential logic of the Atlantic Alliance, which anchors America in Europe. ~~real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests.~~

Furth

-- wounded. Much

The path of international cooperation fostered by President Gorbachev -- and manifested most clearly in the Persian Gulf -- marks a radical change in Soviet behavior.

Yet, the course of change within the Soviet Union is far less clear. Economic and political reform is under severe challenge. Soviet citizens -- facing the collapse of the old order while the new still struggles to be born -- confront

NSC Gen. Scauroft
Gates

McGroarty/Dooley
April 12, 1991
5:15 pm
[AIR]

91 APR 12 PM 5:25

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR UNIVERSITY, MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA
APRIL 13, 1990
9:00 AM

General Boyd, friends -- and fellow airmen: It is my great pleasure to look out across this sea of blue -- to meet this morning with the men and women of Air University. //

General Boyd, I know full well the roots of your historical institution. I know that it is the values and ideas generated *in our military universities* [here] that lead to victory:

Ideas about the true strength of joint operations: not the notion that each service must participate in equal parts in every operation in every war -- but that we use the proper tools at the proper time. In DESERT STORM, ^{a criticism} ~~the proper tool~~ ~~the decisive tool~~ ^{certainly} was airpower. ~~Just one week into the war, the allied air campaign had plunged Iraq's armed forces into a strategic death spiral.~~ **AND EVERY ONE OF YOU CAN TAKE PRIDE IN THAT**

Our technology and training ensured minimal losses. Our precision spared the lives of innocent civilians. As the F-117 dominated the skies over Baghdad, they carried a revolution in warfare on their wings. The B-2 is the next step forward in that revolution. With its unique combination of stealth, range and payload -- it has the potential to render all other air forces in the world obsolete.

But the Gulf war also showed that technology alone is insufficient. A warrior's heart must burn with the will to

NOT TRUE

NOT TRUE

Fact.

fight. If he fights but does not believe -- no technology in the world can save him.

We and our allies had more than superior weapons -- we had the will to win.

This will is personified by the man who leads you. I know that General Boyd often speaks about what he calls the "unlimited liability" of the military profession. He knows, because he's put it all on the line. As a veteran of Vietnam, he flew 105 combat missions -- before being shot down over Hanoi. He spent almost seven years -- 2500 cruel days -- in captivity. Yet he emerged -- brave, unbroken. He kept his faith -- to himself, and to his nation.

The history of aviation has been shaped here since the Wright brothers brought their strange new "mechanical bird" to Montgomery and housed it in a hangar not far from where we now stand. This institution, from its early days as the Air Corps Tactical School, has defined the nation's air strategy and tactics. It has guided our operations over the fields of Europe and the seas of the Pacific -- from the First World War to the thousand hours of DESERT STORM. //

Here at Air University, it's your business to read the lessons of the past with an eye on the far horizon. That's why I've chosen to speak today about the new world taking shape around us -- about the prospects for a new world order now within our reach. //

For more than four decades, we have lived in a world divided -- East from West. A world locked in a conflict of arms and ideas called the Cold War. Two systems -- two superpowers -- separated by mistrust and unremitting hostility. For more than four decades, America's energies were focused on containing the threat to the free world from the forces of communism.

That war is over. East Germany has vanished from the map. Today in Berlin, the wall that once divided a continent and a world in two has been pulverized, turned into souvenirs. The section that remains standing is but a museum piece.

The Warsaw Pact passed into the pages of history last week, not with a bang but with a whimper -- its demise reported in a story on page A16 of the Washington Post. //

Twice this century, ~~we approached the~~ ^{the} dream of a world in which major powers work together to ensure peace, and settle their disputes through cooperation, not confrontation. ~~Twice~~ ^{died when ~~the~~ after the} this century, ^a ^{born} ~~this~~ dream ~~died~~ on the battlefields of Europe, ^{shooting stopped.}

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

At the same time we and our European allies have moved beyond containment -- to a policy of active engagement in a world no longer riven by Cold War tensions and animosities. //

As the Cold War drew to an end, we saw the ^{possibilities} beginnings of what I have called "a new world order." I would like to talk for a moment about what that concept means.

In one respect, the new world we seek is hardly new at all. It is at least as old as the hopes and dreams of 1919 and 1945 -- hopes for a world blessed with widening democracy -- a growing commonwealth of freedom. //

When we speak of a new order, we're not talking about a blueprint that will govern the conduct of nations. We're not talking about some supranational structure or institution. We're not talking about surrendering our national sovereignty or forfeiting our interests.

We're really describing a responsibility imposed by our successes. We're talking about new ways of working with our ^{other nations} allies to achieve stability, prosperity and peace. ^{defer aggression and to} ///

This order, this ability to work together, got its first real test in the Gulf war. For the first time, a regional conflict did not serve as a proxy for a superpower confrontation. For the first time, the ^{UN Security Council} ~~United Nations~~ -- free from the clash of Cold War ideologies -- functioned as a force for conflict resolution and collective security. Thirty nations -- from Europe and North America, Asia and Africa and the Arab world -- joined forces, stopped aggression and sent a signal to would-be tyrants everywhere in world. By joining forces to defend one ^{against aggressors and} small nation -- we showed that we can work together in defense of principle. //

We also recognized that the Cold War's end hasn't delivered us into an era of perpetual peace. As old threats recede, new

threats emerge. The quest for the new world order is in part a challenge to keep the dangers of disorder at bay.

Renegade regimes will continue to threaten the prospects for peace. Saddam Hussein, unfortunately, is not the world's only international outlaw. By the year 2000, as many as 15 nations may have both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. And we will have to work with our allies to prevent the kinds of aggression we saw in Kuwait.

In Iraq, even now, the agony continues. As much as each fresh proof of the savagery of Saddam Hussein sickens us -- as much as we agonize over the miseries of the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South -- we cannot commit American troops to combat with no clear military aim. We've been urged to do just that -- by people who seem to expect the U.S. to act as some sort of "beat cop" policing every nation's internal conflicts. I ask them to take a look at the realities. To look at the mountainous terrain of northern Iraq -- at the mass migration of millions of refugees -- at the inability to separate civilians from combatants -- and to see the use of American force in these circumstances as an invitation to disaster. We would risk sending our men and women to death, while placing many innocent people at risk.//

I think the American people understand that we can render humanitarian aid. We can work in concert with other nations to ensure a safe haven for the refugees from Saddam's regime --

and to seek an end to this savagery. But we cannot put our young men and women in the middle of Iraq's civil war. ///

Instead, we must build on the successes of Desert Storm to give new shape and momentum to this new world order. Today, we *welcome Europe's willingness to shoulder a larger share of the resp.* look to an increasingly united Europe -- ~~whole and free~~ -- to shoulder a larger share of the security burden on its continent.

This new sense of responsibility on the part of our European allies is most evident -- most critical -- in Europe's eastern half. The nations of Eastern Europe -- for so long the "other Europe" -- must take their place alongside their neighbors to the West. Just as we have overcome Europe's political division -- we must help the East cross over from poverty into prosperity.

The United States will do its part -- as we have in reducing Poland's official debt burden by 70%, and increasing our assistance this year to Eastern Europe by 50%. But the key to helping these new democracies develop is trade and investment. The new entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary aren't looking to government -- their own or others -- to shower them with riches. They're looking for new opportunities -- new outlets for the productive genius strangled by forty years of state control.

We recognize that new roles and even new institutions are natural outgrowth of the new Europe. Whether it is the European Community, or a broadened mandate for the CSCE or other forms of closer European integration -- the U.S. supports all efforts to

forge a European approach to common challenges, on the continent and in the world beyond -- with the understanding that Europe's long-term security is intertwined with America's and that NATO remains the best means to assume such a way that security. And we look to Europe to follow its own precedent in the Gulf, to act as a force for stability outside its own borders. In a world as interdependent as ours, no industrialized nation can maintain membership in good standing in the global family without ^{assuming} contributing its fair share to global security. ^{of respons. b. lity for peace & sec'y}

But even in the face of such welcome change -- the American commitment to Europe remains. Through the long years of Cold and conflict, the United States stood fast for freedom in Europe. Now, as Eastern Europe opens to ^{democratic} Western ideals, true progress becomes possible. //

If the new world order we speak has real meaning, America must remain engaged in Europe - Europe must share the burden of defending our common interests.

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

Yet, the course of change within the Soviet Union is far less clear. Economic and political reform is under severe challenge. Soviet citizens -- facing the collapse of the old order while the new still struggles to be born -- confront

desperate economic conditions -- their hard-won freedoms in peril. [From the Baltics in the north to Georgia in the south, to the far reaches of the Russian republic,] ancient ^{ethnic} enmities, ~~and~~ conflict between republics, and between republics and the central government ~~to~~ [further complicate the already fragile program of reform.] *add to these monumental challenges.* *troubled*

time
America's policy toward the Soviet Union in this new ~~"time~~
of trouble^s" is -- first and foremost -- to continue our efforts to build the cooperative relationship that has allowed our nations and so many others to strengthen international peace and stability. At the same time, we will continue to support a reform process within the USSR aimed at political and economic freedom: a process we believe must be built on peaceful dialogue and negotiation ~~{ a process that would be advanced greatly by discussions leading to the independence of the Baltic States. }~~
steadfastly
This is a policy we will advocate ^{steadfastly} both in our discussions with the central Soviet government and with all elements active in Soviet political life.

Let there be no ^{*misunderstanding:*} ~~mistake~~: the path ahead for the Soviet Union will be difficult -- and at times painful. History weighs heavily on all the peoples of the USSR. Liberation from 70 years of communism, and 1000 years of autocracy, will be slow. There will be setbacks. But this internal liberation -- this transformation from within -- must proceed, if external cooperation, and our progress toward true international peace, is to endure.

Only when this transformation is complete can we claim a ~~final and complete end to the Cold War, and only then~~ will we be able to take full measure of the opportunities presented by this new, and evolving, world order. //

[From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform now sweeps away the dead refuse of state socialism. Capitalism generates prosperity and social progress by taking advantage of people's natural abilities and dreams -- rather than by trying to force human nature to fit some planner's mold. Nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

Today we see a world increasingly committed to the free market -- toward a New World Economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

In the global economy, the U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a tri-lateral trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round. I have asked Congress to extend my fast-track trade authority so that we can take advantage of the opportunities presented by these trade talks. //

Trade holds forth the promise of prosperity and cooperation for all, but only if we guard against the impulse to let healthy economic competition degenerate into open economic conflict.

Many of our key security partners are our toughest economic competitors. We should welcome this challenge, since it will inspire all of us to produce more and better goods, to invent products and processes that help us all.

Human dreams, fueled by the success of capitalism, pulled down the Berlin Wall. It certainly would be strange for Americans, us, who set that market revolution in motion, to erect our own Wall of Protectionism. We must work with our allies to ensure that in striving together to end the Cold War we have not made the world safe for trade wars. ///

As you can see, the new world order really is a world of possibilities. In the midst of this new world stands America, the only nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force borne of its founding ideals. //

Never before has the world looked more to the American example. Never before have so many millions drawn hope from the American idea. //

The reason is simple: America is unlike any other nation in the world. As Americans, we enjoy profound and mysterious bonds of affection and idealism. We feel our deep connections to community, to families, to our faiths. But what defines this nation -- what makes us American -- is not our ties to a piece of territory, or bonds of blood. What makes us American is our allegiance to an idea: that all people -- everywhere -- must be free. //

The new world is a world of discovery, a world devoted to unlocking the promise of freedom. It is no more structured than a dream, no more regimented than an innovator's burst of inspiration. This world is rooted in ideals as old and enduring as this nation itself -- as deeply rooted in what we are as the promise implicit to all the world in the words of our Declaration of Independence. //

[The new world beyond our borders is a world that suddenly has discovered the principles that have shaped our nation for more than 200 years. People see our land, and say: We want to be like them. We want to enjoy their prosperity. We want to share their joy. We want to emulate their goodness.]

If we trust ourselves and our values, if we retain the pioneer's enthusiasm for exploring the world beyond our shores -
- if we strive to engage in the world that beckons us -- then and only then will America be true to all that is best in us. //

May God bless this great nation -- the United States of America.

#