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# FOIA MARKER

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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13569  
**Folder ID Number:** 13569-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Air Force Academy Commencement 5/29/91 [OA 6033]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>

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West Point  
file

# THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

FAX (313) 747-4133

Today's Date: 5-28-91

TO: MR. Jim Shaffer LOCATION: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: MR. YEECHANG HANG DEPT: MINORITY STUDENT SERVICES  
ADDRESS: 2304 MICHIGAN UNION  
PHONE NUMBER: 763-9044

Total number of pages, including cover sheet: 4

Comments: YEECHANG'S BIO & LETTER TO MR. SICKSW SJU

\*If all pages are not received, please notify sender immediately.



# The University of Michigan

OFFICE OF MINORITY STUDENT SERVICES

2104 MICHIGAN UNION  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1349

(313) 763-9044

May 28, 1991

Mr. Jim Shaffer  
Office of the President for Public Liaisons  
Room 128 Old Executive Office Building  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Shaffer:

Per our conversation, enclosed is Yee Chang's bio and the letter, which I mailed to Mr. Sichan Siv a few weeks ago. Further information regarding Yee Chang, he is the third child of eight children, and he along with the whole family emigrated to the United States in September of 1976. Again, Yee Chang is the first of six million Hmong in the world to graduate from this most prestigious institution.

I hope that this will be some help to you. Please feel free to contact me if you have further questions.

Sincerely,

Yee Leng Hang  
Asian American Representative

Enc.

P.S. I will be in D.C. from Saturday to Monday, June 8-10, 1991 and would very much like to meet Mr. Siv for either lunch or dinner if his calendar permits. I would like to discuss with him regarding the issues and developments in the countries of Southeast Asia.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Letter	YeeLeng Hang to Sichan Siv, re: request for letter from POTUS in recognition of YeeChang Hang's (writer's brother) graduation from West Point; redaction of address. (1 pp.)	04/24/91	P-6, (b)(6)	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Drafts  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** Air Force Academy Commencement 5/29/91

<b>Date Closed:</b> 9/20/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 06033
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b>	
<b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2004-2249-S	
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	

<b>MR Case #:</b>	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>MR Disposition:</b>	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>Disposition Date:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

<p><b>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</b></p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p><b>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</b></p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
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Wednesday, April 24, 1991



P-6, (b)(6)

Mr. Sichan Siv  
Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaisons  
Room 128 Old Executive Office Building  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Siv:

Greetings! I hope that this letter finds you in good and fine health.

In the Fall of 1987, my younger brother, YeeChang Hang entered the United States Military Academy at West Point. This June 1st, he will be the first Hmong American from Laos to graduate from this most prestigious military academy.

He will be making history, and will be a source of inspiration and leadership to the Hmong American community in this country. My people have demonstrated exemplary loyalty and patriotism to the United States of America in our close association with the Central Intelligence Agency during the Vietnam 'Struggle' in Laos. My father faithfully served in that struggle as a Major in the Office of Intelligence.

My father is very pleased and filled with pride that one of his sons has followed him into the army and will faithfully serve this new found country as he did the old country. It is with such pride that I write on my father's behalf to request of your assistance. My father's heart's desire is to have a photo session with the President, but knowing that such request is nearly impossible, he would appreciate a personal letter of congratulation and a photo from the President of the United States to commemorate my brother's graduation from West Point. It would be a token that the United States has not forgotten her old allies, and it would mean very much to him, the family, and to the Hmong American community.

Enclosed please find YeeChang's bio. I thank you for your time and look forward to hearing from you. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

YeeLeng Hang

Enclosure

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Resume	Resume of YeeChang Hang; redaction of address. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records.  
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**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

\*\*\*\*\*Yee Chang Hang\*\*\*\*\*  
P-6, (b)(6)

P.O. Box 2937  
West Point, New York 10997  
(914) 938-4633



**Education:**

Unites States Military Academy(USMA)  
West Point, New York

01 June 1991

Reese High School  
Reese, Michigan

07 June 1987

**Leadership Experience:**

*Unites States Military Academy, West Point*  
Platoon Leader, 1991  
Squad Leader, 1990  
Team Leader, 1989

*Reese High School*  
President, Student Council, 1986-87  
Vice President, National Honors Society, 1986-87  
Vice President, German Club, 1986-87  
Treasurer, German Club, 1984-86

**Honors:**

Salutatorian, Reese High School, 1987  
National Honors Society, 1986, '87  
National Scholar/Athlete Award, 1987  
Michigan Thumb Academic All-Conference, 1987

References Available upon request

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST <sup>TD</sup>  
TONY SNOW <sup>TS</sup>

FROM: MARK LANGE <sup>ML</sup>

SUBJECT: AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, May 29, at 11:25 a.m., you will address the U.S. Air Force Academy's Class of 1991 in Falcon Stadium in Colorado Springs. The audience will be 20,000 or more.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (16 minutes, on teleprompter) discuss your defense program in the context of "lessons learned" from the Gulf war. There is specific criticism of the House action cutting funds for the B-2 and G-PALS, in addition to a veto threat for "any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs."

\* \* \* We've just received word of a possible Middle East arms control insert to come from NSC. We reminded the NSC that your preference -- per our May 23 meeting with Gen. Scowcroft -- was not to treat a Middle East arms initiative as an insert.

A NOTE ON HUMOR: The "altitude" joke at the beginning is a standard line that any cadet must repeat on demand. Regarding the joke at the bottom of page 7, cadets must fill out a form rating every meal in the dining hall. Everyone fills it out the same way, answering questions 1-6 with "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." This litany is so well known to every cadet that it is sometimes used as a code to recognize fellow graduates.

(Lange/Simon)  
May 24, 1991  
4:30 P.M.  
DRAFT FIVE  
[USAF.FTS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

[[ Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team. \\

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead.

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned --

but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous -- to defend our interests and our principles.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Aspen on the day Iraq invaded Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me that day -- she said, "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined

forces to liberate a tiny land. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

Make no mistake: our changing world will continue to pose enormous and often unforeseen challenges. Look to the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. Look to the economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of communism and corruption. Ancient rivalries have revived in the Balkans, in the Soviet Union. Many well-armed nations of the Developing World stare at one another in defiance and suspicion.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

We've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It has deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, the military component of the Warsaw pact has withered away, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on smaller, more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions.

We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Our military must evolve and change with this changing world. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; away from fixed garrisons and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those forces. \ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates the most important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\

The Gulf war taught us that we must retain superiority and credibility in the skies. We must deploy systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must. \\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for

a stealth bomber, the B-2. From the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

Such was our approach as we completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, and strategic stability, G-PALS greatly advances the Strategic Defense Initiative. It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the

smaller-scale strikes of international renegades. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf -- and the Patriot was spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America and its friends from renegade or accidental ballistic missile attacks. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and to kill its most promising technologies. We hope the Senate will restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ [[ You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\ ]]

Although we will have to cut troop levels by 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to

respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

So I say to the Congress: Don't waste taxpayer money on unneeded and unwanted hardware. Don't prevent needed changes in the Guard and Reserve. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future. \\  
 \

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs -- any bill without G-PALS and the B-2. \\  
 \

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \\  
 \ Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- and no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. [Let me be the first.]

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # # #

Returned to speechwriters  
17<sup>15</sup>  
May 28

(Lange/Simon)  
May 28, 1991  
2:10 P.M.  
DRAFT FIVE  
[USAF.2TS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

[[ Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team. \\

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, <sup>we have just shown the world that</sup> we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead. There is a new sense of pride and patriotism in our land. It is good for our nation's soul.

(No)

✓

The beltway cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous to defend our interests and our principles -- in short, to do what's just and right.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. When a carrier on the way home after months in the Gulf was diverted to Bangladesh, a crewman was asked, "Aren't you disappointed?" He replied, "Not at all. We're saving lives. We're doing what we ought to do."

We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Colorado on the day Iraq invaded

AND IT SAW OUR  
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Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me [that day -- she said] "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined forces to liberate a <sup>small country</sup> ~~tiny~~ land. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

too abrupt x-ition > A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values." <sup>Since then,</sup> We've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It will have the largest land force in Europe for the foreseeable future. With perhaps five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, ~~the military component of the~~ <sup>(ND)</sup> ~~Warsaw pact has withered away, and~~ <sup>(OK)</sup> Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions. We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass

destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Nowhere are the dangers of weapons proliferation more urgent than in the Middle East. So, in consultation with governments both within and beyond the region, we must work to halt the proliferation of conventional, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in the Middle East. We understand it won't be easy -- ~~but the path to peace never is.~~

Replace

OK

As the world changes, our military [~~here at home~~] must evolve and change with it. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; [~~away from fixed garrisons~~] and ~~toward~~ a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

OK

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The Gulf war taught us that we must retain combat superiority in the skies. [~~And we must deploy the airlift that enables us to move freely and swiftly where we must.~~] \\\

OK

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of Stealth. Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

(The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

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~~a stealth bomber, the B-2. Not only for its revolutionary~~  
 contribution to nuclear deterrence, but also from the standpoint of conventional cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It

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OK

carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict. And it replaces B-52 aircraft <sup>approach, ~~as~~</sup> twice <sup>the age of</sup> ~~as old as~~ you graduates. (ND) ✓

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 [stealth] -- redirecting <sup>those</sup> funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

That's one reason we've refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the missile attacks of international renegades. While <sup>The Patriot</sup> ~~our ground-~~ based systems worked well in the Gulf, ~~and the Patriot was~~ spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past. (ND) ✓

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses. [~~defenses to protect America, its forces, and its friends.~~] Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut (ND)

nearly \$2 billion from G-PALS and to kill its most promising technologies. I call on the Senate to restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \ \

Gulf Lesson Four, <sup>the</sup> ~~the final and~~ most fundamental, is the <sup>OK</sup> value of people. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \ \ '[[ You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \ \ ]]

Although we will cut troop levels by 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they are totally integrated, taking full advantage of the kinds of joint operations so powerfully demonstrated in the Gulf. We must ensure that they have weapons that emerge from military necessity -- not pork barrel politics. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unneeded programs and bases.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my

greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto  
any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense  
needs. (OK)  
↳ support and sustain my defense program.

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \\ Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no other combat force you encounter will have your skills, your technology or support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no lack of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted.

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # # #

MIDDLE EAST

Nowhere are the dangers of weapons proliferation more urgent than in the Middle East. After consulting with governments inside the region and elsewhere about how to slow and then reverse the buildup of unnecessary and destabilizing weapons, I am today proposing a <sup>the</sup> ~~Mid~~east arms control initiative. It features supplier guidelines on conventional arms exports, barriers to exports that contribute to weapons of mass destruction, a freeze <sup>now and a later ban</sup> on surface-to-surface missiles in the region, and a ban on production of nuclear-weapons material. Halting the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons in the Middle East -- while supporting the legitimate need of every state to defend itself -- will require the cooperation of many states, in the region and around the world. It won't be easy -- but the path to peace never is.

(Lange/Simon)  
May 28, 1991  
6:10 P.M.  
DRAFT SIX  
[USAF.2TS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

[[ Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ]]

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team. \\

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead. There is a new sense of pride and patriotism in our land. It is good for our nation's soul.

The beltway cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous to defend our interests and our principles -- in short, to do what's just and right.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. When a carrier on the way home after months in the Gulf was diverted to Bangladesh, a crewman was asked, "Aren't you disappointed?" He replied, "Not at all. We're saving lives. We're doing what we ought to do."

We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Colorado on the day Iraq invaded

Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined forces to liberate a small country. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Since then, we've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It will have the largest land force in Europe for the foreseeable future. With perhaps five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions. We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by

the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Nowhere are the dangers of weapons proliferation more urgent than in the Middle East. After consulting with governments inside the region and elsewhere, about how to slow and then reverse the buildup of unnecessary and destabilizing weapons, I am today proposing a Middle East arms control initiative.

It features supplier guidelines on conventional arms exports; barriers to exports that contribute to weapons of mass destruction; a freeze now and a later ban on surface-to-surface missiles in the region; and a ban on production of nuclear-weapons material. Halting the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons in the Middle East -- while supporting the legitimate need of every state to defend itself -- will require the cooperation of many states, in the region and around the world. It won't be easy -- but the path to peace never is.

As the world changes, our military must evolve and change with it. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come. We need a more agile, flexible military force, that we can put where they are needed, when they are needed. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those

forces. \\ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package to the Congress that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\

The Gulf war taught us that we must retain combat superiority in the skies.

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of Stealth. Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

The F-117 proved itself by doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It

flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings. The next step in that revolution is the Stealth bomber, the B-2. Not only for its contribution to nuclear deterrence, but also from the standpoint of conventional cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict. And it replaces B-52 aircraft approaching twice the age of you graduates.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 -- redirecting those funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

That's one reason we've refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the missile attacks of international renegades. While the Patriot

worked well in the Gulf, we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. We can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America, its forces, and its friends. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from G-PALS and to kill its most promising technologies. I call on the Senate to restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the most fundamental, is **the value of people**. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ [[ You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\ ]]

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operations so powerfully demonstrated in the Gulf. We must ensure that they have weapons that emerge from military necessity -- not pork barrel politics. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unneeded programs and bases.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't support and sustain my defense program.

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \ Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no other combat force you encounter will have your skills, your technology or support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no lack of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted.

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # # #

(Lange/Simon)  
May 24, 1991  
4:30 P.M.  
DRAFT FIVE  
[USAF.FTS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

[[ Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ]]

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For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead.

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned --

but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous -- to defend our interests and our principles.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Aspen on the day Iraq invaded Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me that day -- she said, "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined

forces to liberate a tiny land. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

Make no mistake: our changing world will continue to pose enormous and often unforeseen challenges. Look to the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. Look to the economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of communism and corruption. Ancient rivalries have revived in the Balkans, in the Soviet Union. Many well-armed nations of the Developing World stare at one another in defiance and suspicion.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

We've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It has deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, the military component of the Warsaw pact has withered away, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on smaller, more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions.

We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Our military must evolve and change with this changing world. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; away from fixed garrisons and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those forces. \ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates the most important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- a former political science professor here at the Academy -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\

The Gulf war taught us that we must retain superiority and credibility in the skies. We must deploy systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must. \\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic principle of warfare -- and it depends on sound intelligence work. But stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane, in the history of warfare.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for

a stealth bomber, the B-2. From the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

Such was our approach as we completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, and strategic stability, G-PALS greatly advances the Strategic Defense Initiative. It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the

smaller-scale strikes of international renegades. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf -- and the Patriot was spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America and its friends from renegade or accidental ballistic missile attacks. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and to kill its most promising technologies. We hope the Senate will restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\ [[ You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\ ]]

Although we will have to cut troop levels by 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to

respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

So I say to the Congress: Don't waste taxpayer money on unneeded and unwanted hardware. Don't prevent needed changes in the Guard and Reserve. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future. \\

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs -- any bill without G-PALS and the B-2. \\

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \\  
Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- and no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. [Let me be the first.]

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # # #

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 240133

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/24/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT (05/24 4:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>TREFRY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CLOSE HOLD

91 MAY 24 PM 5:19

May 24, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST <sup>AD</sup>  
TONY SNOW <sup>TS</sup>

FROM: MARK LANGE <sup>ML</sup>

SUBJECT: AIR FORCE ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, May 29, at 11:25 a.m., you will address the U.S. Air Force Academy's Class of 1991 in Falcon Stadium in Colorado Springs. The audience will be 20,000 or more.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (16 minutes, on teleprompter) discuss your defense program in the context of "lessons learned" from the Gulf war. There is specific criticism of the House action cutting funds for the B-2 and G-PALS, in addition to a veto threat for "any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs."

\* \* \* We've just received word of a possible Middle East arms control insert to come from NSC. We reminded the NSC that your preference -- per our May 23 meeting with Gen. Scowcroft -- was not to treat a Middle East arms initiative as an insert.

A NOTE ON HUMOR: The "altitude" joke at the beginning is a standard line that any cadet must repeat on demand. Regarding the joke at the bottom of page 7, cadets must fill out a form rating every meal in the dining hall. Everyone fills it out the same way, answering questions 1-6 with "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." This litany is so well known to every cadet that it is sometimes used as a code to recognize fellow graduates.

(Lange/Simon)  
May 24, 1991  
4:30 P.M.  
DRAFT FIVE  
[USAF.FTS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

[[ Senator Goldwater, Secretary Rice, General McPeak, General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen, graduates: "Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. Barbara gave me 20 demerits. \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ]]

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For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world -- frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do -- and we will. \\

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You have been taught the price and importance of leadership. As you leave the academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom -- to lead.

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned --

but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant -- self-assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's armed forces, to say thanks: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We are ready. We can." \\ You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous -- to defend our interests and our principles.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity -- our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our example reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. Margaret Thatcher stood with me in Aspen on the day Iraq invaded Kuwait. She offered her nation's full support and faith. She expressed confidence in our commitment to principle. You may have heard what she told me that day -- she said, "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries, great and small, joined

forces to liberate a tiny land. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip -- in the cause of freedom.

Make no mistake: our changing world will continue to pose enormous and often unforeseen challenges. Look to the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. Look to the economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of communism and corruption. Ancient rivalries have revived in the Balkans, in the Soviet Union. Many well-armed nations of the Developing World stare at one another in defiance and suspicion.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

We've seen remarkable political change. But the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It has deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, the military component of the Warsaw pact has withered away, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland -- and from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom.

As Superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on smaller, more volatile regimes -- regions packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions.

We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Our military must evolve and change with this changing world. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats -- and toward the dangers that will face us in years to come; away from fixed garrisons and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems.

We must not let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy those forces. \ Nor can we forget that fiscal constraints make it more important than ever to spend less -- and spend smart.

I've proposed a defense package that meets these demands. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below 4 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we propose to spend that money in ways that address the threats we are likely to face in the future. While we developed this budget before the Gulf War, it anticipates the most important lessons of that war -- lessons some in Congress now ignore:

a stealth bomber, the B-2. From the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly five times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance -- without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm -- and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.

Yet last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works, and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. Saddam was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives -- and helped keep the coalition together.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

Such was our approach as we completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, and strategic stability, G-PALS greatly advances the Strategic Defense Initiative. It defends us and our allies from accidental launches, or the

smaller-scale strikes of international renegades. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf -- and the Patriot was spectacular -- we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. As I said, we can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses -- defenses to protect America and its friends from renegade or accidental ballistic missile attacks. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and to kill its most promising technologies. We hope the Senate will restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security. \\  
 \

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. People fight and win wars -- and this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of their merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\  
 \ [ [ You know, I was tempted to ask Gen. Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." \\  
 ] ]

Although we will have to cut troop levels by 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to

respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

So I say to the Congress: Don't waste taxpayer money on unneeded and unwanted hardware. Don't prevent needed changes in the Guard and Reserve. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future. \\  
 \

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs -- any bill without G-PALS and the B-2. \\  
 \

Let's make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. \\  
 \ Don't deny our people the tools they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- and no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. [Let me be the first.]

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # # #

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 MAY 23 All: 50

DATE: 05/21/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

NO COMMENTS. THANKS.

HOLLY WILLIAMSON  
5-23-91

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:25 A.M.

SENATOR GOLDWATER, SECRETARY RICE, GENERAL MCPEAK,  
GENERAL HAMM, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, GRADUATES: "OUR  
ALTITUDE IS 7,250 FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL. \\ FAR, FAR  
ABOVE THAT OF WEST POINT OR ANNAPOLIS." \\ SORRY I'M  
A LITTLE LATE. FLUNKED MY ROOM INSPECTION AT  
KENNEBUNKPORT THIS MORNING. BARBARA GAVE ME 20  
DEMERITS. \\ THEN I HAD TO TALK MY PILOT OUT OF  
DOING AN IMMELMAN OVER THE STADIUM. \\

IT'S AN HONOR TO JOIN YOU, HERE AT "WILD BLUE U"  
-- THE HOME OF THE QUICK AND THE BRAVE. THERE'S NEVER  
BEEN A BETTER DAY TO BE PART OF THIS MAGNIFICENT TEAM.  
\\

FOR 40 YEARS, MY GENERATION STRUGGLED IN THE  
CONFINES OF A DIVIDED WORLD -- FROZEN IN THE ICE OF  
IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT, PREOCCUPIED WITH THE POSSIBILITY  
OF YET ANOTHER WAR IN EUROPE. MORE RECENTLY, MANY HERE  
AND ABROAD WONDERED WHETHER AMERICA STILL POSSESSED THE  
STRENGTH AND WILL TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF WORLD  
LEADERSHIP. MY FELLOW AMERICANS, WE DO -- AND WE  
WILL. \\

THROUGH STRENGTH OF EXAMPLE AND COMMITMENT, WE LEAD. YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT THE PRICE AND IMPORTANCE OF LEADERSHIP. AS YOU LEAVE THE ACADEMY, YOU ANSWER YOUR NATION'S CALL TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM -- TO LEAD. THERE IS A NEW SENSE OF PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM IN OUR LAND. IT IS GOOD FOR OUR NATION'S SOUL.

THE BELTWAY CYNICS MAY CALL THE RENEWAL OF PATRIOTISM OLD FASHIONED -- BUT AMERICANS RARELY MISTAKE CYNICISM FOR SOPHISTICATED. PATRIOTISM BINDS THE REAL AND LASTING FABRIC OF OUR NATION. ASSERTIVE BUT NOT ARROGANT -- SELF-ASSURED, KIND, GENEROUS -- WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO OUR FUNDAMENTAL VALUES.

SO TODAY I SPEAK TO YOU, AND TO EVERY MEMBER OF AMERICA'S ARMED FORCES, TO SAY THANKS: WHEN OTHERS WEREN'T SURE WE WERE UP TO THE TASK -- YOU WERE. \\  
WHEN YOUR COUNTRY ASKED YOU TO SERVE, YOU DID. \\  
OTHERS SAID "NO, WE'RE NOT READY, WE CAN'T" -- YOU SAID, "YES. WE ARE READY. WE CAN." \\  
YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES IN ALL THE SERVICES PROVE THAT AMERICANS CONSIDER NO RISK TOO GREAT, NO BURDEN TOO ONEROUS TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS AND OUR PRINCIPLES -- IN SHORT, TO DO WHAT'S JUST AND RIGHT.

CONSIDER OUR FUNDAMENTAL DECENCY AND HUMANITY -- OUR COMMITMENT TO LIBERTY. OUR SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN IN THE GULF, WEARY FROM MONTHS IN THE DESERT, NOW HELP SUFFERING KURDS AND THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH. WHEN A CARRIER ON THE WAY HOME AFTER MONTHS IN THE GULF WAS DIVERTED TO BANGLADESH, A CREWMAN WAS ASKED, "AREN'T YOU DISAPPOINTED?" HE REPLIED, "NOT AT ALL. WE'RE SAVING LIVES. WE'RE DOING WHAT WE OUGHT TO DO."

WE DO NOT DICTATE THE COURSES NATIONS FOLLOW, BUT NEITHER CAN WE OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT OUR EXAMPLE RESHAPES THE WORLD. WE CANNOT RIGHT ALL WRONGS -- BUT NEITHER CAN ANY NATION LEAD AS WE CAN.

IN THE GULF, WE TOOK A STAND. AND SO DID OTHERS. MARGARET THATCHER STOOD WITH ME IN COLORADO ON THE DAY IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT. SHE OFFERED HER NATION'S FULL SUPPORT AND FAITH. SHE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE IN OUR COMMITMENT TO PRINCIPLE. YOU MAY HAVE HEARD WHAT SHE TOLD ME -- "DON'T GO WOBBLY." WELL, WE DIDN'T. JOINED BY THE WORLD'S LEADING NATIONS, WE WORKED TO CREATE A COALITION IN WHICH COUNTRIES, GREAT AND SMALL, JOINED FORCES TO LIBERATE A SMALL COUNTRY. THAT COALITION SAW SOLDIERS FROM DOZENS OF LANDS FIGHT SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER, FLY WINGTIP-TO-WINGTIP -- IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

A YEAR BEFORE YOU CAME TO COLORADO SPRINGS, I TOLD THE CLASS OF '86, "THERE'S NO DOUBT THE SOVIETS REMAIN OUR MAJOR ADVERSARY. OUR TWO SYSTEMS REPRESENT FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VALUES."

SINCE THEN, WE'VE SEEN REMARKABLE POLITICAL CHANGE. BUT THE SOVIET UNION RETAINS ENORMOUS MILITARY STRENGTH. IT WILL HAVE THE LARGEST LAND FORCE IN EUROPE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. WITH PERHAPS FIVE NEW STRATEGIC MISSILE SYSTEMS IN DEVELOPMENT, THEY'LL BE READY FOR YET ANOTHER ROUND OF STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION BY THE MID-1990'S.

AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, SOVIET TROOPS HAVE EMBARKED ON THE LONG TREK HOME FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, POLAND -- AND FROM A REUNIFIED GERMANY. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARD FREEDOM.

AS SUPERPOWER POLARIZATION AND CONFLICT MELT, MILITARY THINKERS MUST FOCUS ON MORE VOLATILE REGIMES -- REGIONS PACKED WITH MODERN WEAPONS AND SEETHING WITH ANCIENT AMBITIONS. WE ARE COMMITTED TO STOPPING THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. BUT THERE IS DANGER THAT DESPITE OUR EFFORTS, BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY NEARLY TWO DOZEN DEVELOPING NATIONS COULD HAVE BALLISTIC MISSILES. MANY ALREADY HAVE NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAMS.

NOWHERE ARE THE DANGERS OF WEAPONS PROLIFERATION MORE URGENT THAN IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AFTER CONSULTING WITH GOVERNMENTS INSIDE THE REGION AND ELSEWHERE, ABOUT HOW TO SLOW AND THEN REVERSE THE BUILDUP OF UNNECESSARY AND DESTABILIZING WEAPONS, I AM TODAY PROPOSING A MIDDLE EAST ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE.

IT FEATURES SUPPLIER GUIDELINES ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS EXPORTS; BARRIERS TO EXPORTS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION; A FREEZE NOW AND A LATER BAN ON SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES IN THE REGION; AND A BAN ON PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPONS MATERIAL. HALTING THE PROLIFERATION OF CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL WEAPONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- WHILE SUPPORTING THE LEGITIMATE NEED OF EVERY STATE TO DEFEND ITSELF -- WILL REQUIRE THE COOPERATION OF MANY STATES, IN THE REGION AND AROUND THE WORLD. IT WON'T BE EASY -- BUT THE PATH TO PEACE NEVER IS.

AS THE WORLD CHANGES, OUR MILITARY MUST EVOLVE AND CHANGE WITH IT. LAST YEAR, I ANNOUNCED A SHIFT IN OUR DEFENSE FOCUS: AWAY FROM OLD THREATS -- AND TOWARD THE DANGERS THAT WILL FACE US IN YEARS TO COME. WE NEED A MORE AGILE, FLEXIBLE MILITARY FORCE, THAT WE CAN PUT WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED, WHEN THEY ARE NEEDED. I ALSO CALLED FOR NEW TECHNOLOGY IN OUR DEFENSE SYSTEMS.

WE MUST NOT LET THE 100-HOUR SUCCESS OF THE GROUND WAR OBSCURE THE FACT THAT WE NEEDED SIX MONTHS TO DEPLOY THOSE FORCES. \ \ NOR CAN WE FORGET THAT FISCAL CONSTRAINTS MAKE IT MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER TO SPEND LESS -- AND SPEND SMART.

I'VE PROPOSED A DEFENSE PACKAGE TO THE CONGRESS THAT MEETS THESE DEMANDS. IN THE YEARS AHEAD, DEFENSE SPENDING WILL DROP TO BELOW 4 PERCENT OF G.N.P. -- THE LOWEST LEVEL IN OVER 50 YEARS. BUT WE PROPOSE TO SPEND THAT MONEY IN WAYS THAT ADDRESS THE THREATS WE ARE LIKELY TO FACE IN THE FUTURE. WHILE WE DEVELOPED THIS BUDGET BEFORE THE GULF WAR, IT ANTICIPATES IMPORTANT LESSONS OF THAT WAR -- LESSONS SOME IN CONGRESS NOW IGNORE:

GULF LESSON ONE IS THE VALUE OF AIR POWER. I REMEMBER MEETING EARLY ON WITH GENERAL MCPEAK, UP AT CAMP DAVID. IN HIS MODEST WAY, HE TOLD ME EXACTLY WHAT HE FELT AIR POWER COULD DO. AFTER HE LEFT, I TURNED TO MY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR -- A FORMER POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR HERE AT THE ACADEMY -- AND SAID, "BRENT, DOES THIS GUY REALLY KNOW WHAT HE'S TALKING ABOUT?" GENERAL SCOWCROFT ASSURED ME HE DID -- AND GENERAL MCPEAK, LIKE THE ENTIRE AIR FORCE, WAS RIGHT ON TARGET. \ \

THE GULF WAR TAUGHT US THAT WE MUST RETAIN COMBAT SUPERIORITY IN THE SKIES.

THEN THERE'S GULF LESSON TWO: THE VALUE OF STEALTH. SURPRISE IS A CLASSIC PRINCIPLE OF WARFARE -- AND IT DEPENDS ON SOUND INTELLIGENCE WORK. BUT STEALTH ADDS A NEW DIMENSION OF SURPRISE. OUR AIR STRIKES WERE THE MOST EFFECTIVE, YET HUMANE, IN THE HISTORY OF WARFARE.

THE F-117 PROVED ITSELF BY DOING MORE, DOING IT BETTER, AND DOING IT FOR LESS, AND TARGETING SOLDIERS, NOT CIVILIANS. IT FLEW HUNDREDS OF SORTIES INTO THE MOST HEAVILY DEFENDED AREAS WITHOUT A SCRATCH.

THE F-117 CARRIED A REVOLUTION IN WARFARE ON ITS WINGS. THE NEXT STEP IN THAT REVOLUTION IS THE STEALTH BOMBER, THE B-2. NOT ONLY FOR ITS CONTRIBUTION TO NUCLEAR DETERRENCE, BUT ALSO FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CONVENTIONAL COST-EFFECTIVENESS, THE B-2 HAS NO PEER. IT CARRIES OVER TEN TIMES THE CONVENTIONAL LOAD OF AN F-117 AND CAN FLY FIVE TIMES FURTHER BETWEEN REFUELINGS. IT GETS TO THE JOB FASTER, WITH MORE TONS OF ORDNANCE -- WITHOUT THE FORCE BUILD-UP AND TIME WE NEEDED PRIOR TO DESERT STORM -- AND WITHOUT NEEDING FOREIGN AIRFIELDS IN THE IMMEDIATE PROXIMITY OF A CONFLICT. AND IT REPLACES B-52 AIRCRAFT APPROACHING TWICE THE AGE OF YOU GRADUATES.

YET LAST WEEK, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES VOTED TO TERMINATE THE B-2 -- REDIRECTING THOSE FUNDS TO UNNECESSARY WEAPONS. ANYONE WHO TELLS YOU THE B-2 IS "TOO EXPENSIVE" HASN'T SEEN FLAK UP CLOSE LATELY. \\ AMERICA NEEDS THE B-2 BOMBER. \\

GULF LESSON THREE: WE LEARNED THAT MISSILE DEFENSE WORKS, AND THAT IT PROMOTES PEACE AND SECURITY. IN THE GULF, WE HAD TECHNOLOGIES OF DEFENSE TO PICK UP WHERE THEORIES OF DETERRENCE LEFT OFF. SADDAM WAS NOT DETERRED, BUT THE PATRIOT SAVED LIVES -- AND HELPED KEEP THE COALITION TOGETHER.

THAT'S ONE REASON WE'VE REFOCUSED STRATEGIC DEFENSE TOWARD GLOBAL PROTECTION AGAINST LIMITED STRIKES, OR "G-PALS." IT DEFENDS US AND OUR ALLIES FROM ACCIDENTAL LAUNCHES, OR THE MISSILE ATTACKS OF INTERNATIONAL RENEGADES. WHILE THE PATRIOT WORKED WELL IN THE GULF, WE MUST PREPARE FOR THE MISSILES MORE LIKELY TO BE USED BY FUTURE AGGRESSORS. WE CAN'T BUILD A DEFENSE SYSTEM THAT SIMPLY RESPONDS TO THE THREATS OF THE PAST.

YET SOME IN CONGRESS WANT TO GUT OUR ABILITY TO DEVELOP STRATEGIC DEFENSES -- DEFENSES TO PROTECT AMERICA, ITS FORCES, AND ITS FRIENDS. LAST WEEK THE HOUSE IRRESPONSIBLY VOTED TO CUT NEARLY \$2 BILLION FROM G-PALS AND TO KILL ITS MOST PROMISING TECHNOLOGIES. I CALL ON THE SENATE TO RESTORE OUR MISSILE DEFENSE PROGRAMS, TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN AND ALLIED LIVES, AND TO PROMOTE SECURITY. \ \

GULF LESSON FOUR, THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL, IS THE VALUE OF PEOPLE. PEOPLE FIGHT AND WIN WARS -- AND THIS NATION NEVER HAS FIELDDED BETTER FIGHTING MEN AND WOMEN THAN IT DOES TODAY. IN 1980, 68 PERCENT OF THOSE ENLISTING IN THE MILITARY HAD HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMAS -- NOW IT'S 95 PERCENT AND CLIMBING. THE MILITARY HAS BECOME OUR GREATEST EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER. IT OFFERS EVERYONE A CHANCE AND IT PROMOTES PEOPLE SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THEIR MERIT. THE MEN AND WOMEN YOU WILL SOON BE LEADING ARE THE BEST EDUCATED AND MOST MOTIVATED ANYWHERE, ANY TIME, EVER. \\ [[ YOU KNOW, I WAS TEMPTED TO ASK GEN. SCOWCROFT HOW HE THOUGHT I WAS PERFORMING DURING THE WAR, BUT I WAS AFRAID HE'D SAY, "FAST, NEAT, AVERAGE, FRIENDLY, GOOD, GOOD." \\ ]]

ALTHOUGH WE WILL CUT TROOP LEVELS 25 PERCENT BY MID-DECADE, WE MUST ENSURE THAT THEY REMAIN FULLY PREPARED TO RESPOND QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY TO CRISES. WE MUST ENSURE THAT THEY ARE TOTALLY INTEGRATED, TAKING FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE KINDS OF JOINT OPERATIONS SO POWERFULLY DEMONSTRATED IN THE GULF. WE MUST ENSURE THAT THEY HAVE WEAPONS THAT EMERGE FROM MILITARY NECESSITY -- NOT PORK BARREL POLITICS. WE MUST NOT COMPROMISE OUR READINESS JUST TO PROTECT UNNEEDED PROGRAMS AND BASES.

NO PRESIDENT COULD DENY CONGRESS ITS RIGHT TO APPROVE BUDGETS OR CONDUCT OVERSIGHT. BUT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, MY GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY IS NATIONAL DEFENSE -- AND I WILL VETO ANY BILL THAT DOESN'T SUPPORT AND SUSTAIN MY DEFENSE PROGRAM.

LET'S MAKE OUR FORCES LEANER AND MORE EFFECTIVE. DON'T WEIGH THEM DOWN WITH PORK. \ \ DON'T DENY OUR PEOPLE THE TOOLS THEY WILL NEED TO DO THEIR JOBS IN THE NEXT CENTURY.

YOU GRADUATES WILL FIND THAT NO OTHER COMBAT FORCE:  
YOU ENCOUNTER WILL HAVE YOUR SKILLS, YOUR TECHNOLOGY OR  
SUPPORT. YOU'LL FIND THAT IN WORLD LEADERSHIP WE HAVE  
NO CHALLENGERS -- BUT NO LACK OF CHALLENGES.

SO TO ALL OF AMERICA'S SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN -- AND  
TO THE 1991 GRADUATING CLASS OF THE UNITED STATES AIR  
FORCE ACADEMY: YOU HAVE EARNED THE RIGHT TO BE  
SALUTED. GOD BLESS YOU ALL -- AND GOOD LUCK.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

91 MAY 22 P 5:28  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

TO: *Tony / Mark*

FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**  
**Special Assistant to the President**  
**and Assistant Staff Secretary**

- Information
- Action
- Let's Discuss

*Pls. see comments on the USAPA  
speech - good work!*

*Thank you, J.S.*

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

*John,  
PP note  
comment on P. 3*

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

[[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost  
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe <sup>and with wars in East Asia.</sup> More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we are -- and we will.  
\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

\* Others are aiding Bangladeshis to recover from a  
devastating cyclone. [These Marines were  
stationed in the Gulf.]

2

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. \* You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to dismiss threats to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including ~~the~~ our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

↳ Mention the French? They did send ground troops.

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, <sup>southern</sup> East Germany, Poland.

Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]

World  
appear  
need  
smoothly  
in  
1990  
terms  
of  
transition

her-  
we say  
Soviet still  
powerful but  
not worry is  
regional  
conflict  
by?

*in the developing world*

4

~~Third World~~ nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must design new systems, provide different equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics. We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

*Doesn't this need a better transition?*

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

Unfortunately, Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\ [[ I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\\]]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes were the most effective and humane in the history of warfare. Our smart bombs and stealth technologies helped us target hostile forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor without the Iraqi people.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. From an the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the SCUD. As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for newer -- more menacing -- threats.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[ To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked. ]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\  
God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

M.F.

**CLOSE HOLD**

3817

Document No.

240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**



DATE: 05/21/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:** The National Security Council staff has reviewed and recommends the attached changes.

Brent Scowcroft

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

[[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost  
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ <sup>[Sammy]</sup> Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\ ?

It's an honor to join you, [here at "Wild Blue U"] -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be [a flyer] ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we <sup>do</sup> are -- and we will.  
\\ And we will preserve that strength and continue to exercise that leadership  
because of the talents and dedication of young Americans like yourselves.  
Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

✓  
(many will not be flyers)

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \ \ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \ \ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \ \

And ~~even~~ in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know ~~we've~~ <sup>that America will not use</sup> ~~never used~~ force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. ~~And~~ <sup>Our</sup> soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, <sup>protect</sup> ~~new help~~ <sup>from cold, hunger and the savagery</sup> ~~Kurds achieve~~ <sup>a freedom that has</sup> ~~been denied them for years.~~ You and your colleagues in <sup>all</sup> the

services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to <sup>deal with</sup> ~~dismiss~~ threats to our interests <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ our principles. \ \

~~Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of~~ <sup>Bangladesh.</sup> leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. <sup>Joined by the</sup> ~~Nor did our allies,~~ <sup>world's leading nations,</sup> ~~including the our steadfast British friends.~~ We worked to create a coalition in which <sup>countries</sup> ~~nations~~, great and small, <sup>came together</sup> ~~joined~~ to liberate a tiny land -- in which <sup>soldiers</sup> ~~fighters~~ from dozens of lands ~~stood~~ <sup>fought</sup>

(The flow seems both the way + the reference to Bangladesh in timing.)

now help the Kurds and the people of Bangladesh in their valiant struggle to survive

(The commitment (implied) to Kurdish freedom, may be

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the <sup>task of bringing peace to the</sup> ~~desperate struggle of the~~ <sup>Middle East.</sup> ~~Kurds in Iraq.~~ The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the <sup>developing</sup> ~~Third~~ World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland. <sup>And we are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue to move toward freedom</sup>

And we ~~still~~ <sup>must remember that</sup> the Soviets <sup>will still</sup> retain massive military power. They <sup>also</sup> deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be <sup>ready for a new round of strategic modernization</sup> ~~fully modernized~~ by the mid 1990's.

~~So~~ <sup>As</sup> the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, ~~[24]~~

The theme should be that the Soviets will remain a deadly threat, but that the more likely threats are now in the 3rd world.

(reference to Kurds on page 2 is sufficient)

This class will not

4  
nearly two dozen developing nations could  
~~Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least~~ many already  
~~have nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.~~  
~~[8] of them will have nuclear weapons.~~ ← [Insert: President's Mid East Arms Control Initiative]

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how ~~we~~ will we develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead ~~the world~~ and, <sup>to</sup> build the ~~[kinds of]~~ consensus we will need ~~[to build]~~ <sup>for</sup> a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from ~~[the last war]~~ <sup>old threats</sup> -- and toward the ~~[threats]~~ <sup>dangers</sup> that will face us in years to come; away from ~~[large, stationary troops and hardware]~~ <sup>fixed garrisons</sup> and toward a more agile, <sup>mobile</sup> flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

~~We must not, for example, let the 100-hour success of the ground war obscure the fact that we needed six months to deploy these forces. We must design new systems, provide different equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. The demands of defense in a new age will stretch our imaginations and challenge our creativity every bit as much as did the demands of in logistics. We also must become better schooled in an earlier era. understanding the societies we may fight with or against.~~

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. <sup>within these constraints</sup> But we've put forward a defense

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need <sup>for</sup> in the future.

Unfortunately, <sup>some in</sup> Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air <sup>power</sup> superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- <sup>a former</sup> ~~that's~~ <sup>Political science professor here at the Academy --</sup> ~~Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft~~ and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \ \ [ [ I was <sup>also</sup> tempted to ask ~~him~~ <sup>Brent</sup> how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\ \ ] ]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\ \

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

(Good line about McPeak is not an Academy grad and never served there. People would notice.)

Principle<sup>6</sup>  
Surprise is a classic ~~tactic~~ of warfare -- but stealth  
<sup>gives</sup> ~~technology gave~~ it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes  
were the most effective and humane in the history of warfare.  
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forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we  
pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in  
theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings:  
doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It <sup>allowed</sup> spared us  
to avoid the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor  
while sparing ~~without~~ the Iraqi people. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily  
defended areas without a single scratch.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for  
a stealth bomber, the B-2. From ~~an~~ the standpoint of cost-  
effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times  
the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It  
gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the  
force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee  
voted to terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary ~~or~~  
~~obsolete conventional~~ weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is  
"too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\  
America -- The Air Force -- no,  
America's  
Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\  
America's

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works and  
that it can be stabilizing.  
In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had  
technologies of defense. ~~Like the Patriot missile.~~ Saddam  
was not deterred but the Patriot saved lives and  
helped keep the coalition together.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrence<sup>ce</sup> cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

Based on such rapid change, ~~That's why~~ we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance <sup>For</sup> ~~(on)~~ SDI -- protecting us <sup>accidental launches or</sup> and our allies from the smaller-scale strikes ~~more~~ <sup>of an international renegade.</sup> ~~likely from a Third World regime.~~ While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the <sup>Model-T</sup> ~~the last~~ SCUD. As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon ~~the last~~ <sup>old threats:</sup> ~~war:~~ We must prepare ourselves for newer -- more menacing -- ~~threats~~ dangers.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans <sup>and its friends</sup> ~~from renegade~~ ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \ \

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from SDI and kill its most promising technologies.

climbing rising

In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. <sup>The men and women you will soon be leading</sup> ~~Our volunteer servicemen~~

~~and women~~ are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. <sup>The incredible professionalism and dedication they displayed in the Gulf will affect the calculations of would-be aggressors for</sup>

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. ~~we~~ <sup>decade to</sup> ~~decades to~~

But we must ensure that they <sup>can and</sup> ~~are~~ <sup>remain</sup> fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that

respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We

<sup>must</sup> ~~should~~ not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[ To pick just one <sup>example,</sup> ~~at random~~, every year, <sup>For the last several years Congress has required</sup> ~~Congress requires~~ the Navy to <sup>assign</sup> ~~keep~~ the same number of people <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ a base in Tennessee --

the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of <sup>I ~~didn't~~ didn't know the Tennessee coast was so vulnerable !!</sup> naval personnel, ~~and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked.~~ ]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't <sup>micro manage</sup> ~~deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces.~~ Don't prevent needed <sup>changes</sup> ~~reductions~~ in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\  
\\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\  
God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, DC

May 22, 1991

TO: TONY SNOW

FM: JOE DESUTTER, EXT. 4223



**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

*1 MAY 23 4:08 PM '91*

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

*oVP comments provided by Joe DeSutter; 4223*

**RESPONSE:**

*(Note: AF Acad faculty; SDI specialist for VP, and Middle East AO for VP)*

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

[[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
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doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we are -- and we will.

\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

\* Many are not "flyers"; many  
who thought they were flyers have  
recently been told the AF can't use  
them as flyers

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

*emph  
are*

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, (now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years.) You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to dismiss threats to our interests and our principles. \\

*Kurds!  
national  
autonomy  
not ambiguity  
our  
objectives  
pre or post  
Desert Storm*

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

wingtip to wingtip ?

spectator to spectator ?  
sneaker to sneaker ?

3

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]

\* Already have missiles more modern than ours; "By mid 1990s they'll have yet another new generation of an already formidable, modern force"

Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must design new systems, provide different <sup>kind of</sup> equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics. We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

*It is tailored very carefully to carry out our most urgent national security needs during these years of reduced spending*

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

Unfortunately, Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do.

After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the

*USAF Retired ← a former member of your faculty*

entire Air Force, was right on target. \ \ [ I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good."

*I knew he once served on your faculty*

(cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\ \ ] ]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\ \

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes were the most effective, and <sup>yet</sup> humane, in the history of warfare. Our smart bombs and stealth technologies helped us target hostile forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor without <sup>endangering</sup> the Iraqi people.

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. From ~~an~~ the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times <sup>conventional</sup> the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the

force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm, <sup>and without even needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict.</sup>

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee <sup>\*</sup>terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

\* Committee can't "terminate." HASC "voted" to terminate" (so did entire house). We're fighting hard to prevent it.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS."

In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- *not only from accidental or unauthorized Soviet missile launches, but also* protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the SCUD. As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for newer -- *and more diversified* -- threats.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[ [ To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked. ] ]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we <sup>haven't</sup> never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy:

You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. //

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

inappropriate

✓ M.F.

FOR MAJOR MIKE GOULD  
PLEASE REVIEW + FAX BACK TO  
CHRISTINA MARTIN

FAX 452-6218  
X 2930

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

[[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
*(not a title)* *and the graduates:*  
~~Superintendent~~ General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. *Flunked my room*  
*inspection at the White House this morning; Barbara made me straighten things up...* ~~Almost~~  
~~didn't pass my "SAMI."~~ \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we are -- and we will.  
\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

\* Gen. Trefery says we should only acknowledge one, which  
one and why? — Use both Rice + Hamm. T.

So today I speak to you, and <sup>not necessary</sup> (through you), to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers<sup>sailors and airmen</sup> in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to dismiss threats to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

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We must design new systems, provide different equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. ~~But~~ <sup>↑</sup> we will need <sup>not only</sup> greater sophistication ~~not only~~ in logistics, <sup>but</sup> ~~↓~~ We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

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We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

principle

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So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\

God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

CLASSIFICATION

IMMEDIATE

PAGES \_\_\_\_\_

PRIORITY

RELEASER \_\_\_\_\_

ROUTINE

DTG \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

TO: 1. Christina Martin

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_

INFO: 1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Hope this helps. I'll be at 1747 all nite.

Cheers - MCQ



for the files

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

*Placed 5/23  
SB*

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

*Major Mike could read this*

**RESPONSE:**

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

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home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

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a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, <sup>do</sup> we are -- and we will.

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Like no other nation in the world, we bear the <sup>mantle</sup> ~~burden~~ of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. <sup>standing with me</sup> ~~As I~~ <sup>she</sup> ~~stood~~ <sup>Colorado</sup> in Aspen, <sup>was</sup> the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher, <sup>she</sup> offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she <sup>told me that day,</sup> said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land, <sup>That coalition saw</sup> ~~in which~~ fighters from dozens of lands <sup>and</sup> stood

shoulder-to-shoulder, ~~fly~~ wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of <sup>instability</sup> (~~aggression~~) in the Third World.

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The obvious answer is: Our military must change <sup>as the world changes</sup> ~~in the changing world~~. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

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Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

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program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

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The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us *and* the horror of carpet bombing and let us *defeat the* ~~push back an~~ aggressor *and his army.* ~~without the Iraqi people.~~

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Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to ~~think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the SCUD.~~ <sup>based</sup> As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for newer -- more menacing -- threats.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

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No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\  
God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

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

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: United States Air Force  
Academy

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no legal objection to the draft remarks. We have some editorial suggestions, however, which are indicated on the attached copy of the remarks.

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

[[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost  
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we <sup>do</sup> are -- and we will. ✓

\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to <sup>confront</sup> ~~dismiss~~ threats to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

*But it is also true that*  
~~now~~ the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

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CLOSE HOLD

Document No.

240133

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/21/91 *91 MAY 23 All: 22* ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<del>ROGICH</del>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

*OK S.R.*

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133 ✓

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 MAY 22 P4:10

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(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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*all small comments on p. 2*

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(Lange/Simon)  
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Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

That's why we've completely refocused Strategic Defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS." In terms of cost, feasibility, strategic stability, and our relations with the Soviets, G-PALS is a real advance on SDI -- protecting us and our allies from the smaller-scale strike more likely from a Third World regime. While our ground-based systems worked well in the Gulf, it would be foolish for us to think that all future aggressors would use weapons as clumsy as the SCUD. As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for newer -- more menacing -- threats.

Yet Congress is gutting our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and promote stability. \\  
\\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is the value of people. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[ To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked. ]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\  
God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

91 MAY 23 12:55

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

*See comment*  
*Richard D. Tughey*  
*L76 USA-Ret*  
*1100P*

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

*either or  
not both*

[[ Secretary <sup>delete</sup> of the Air Force Donald ] Rice, General McPeak,  
Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost  
didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we are -- and we will.  
\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
? *"Not genuine"* sophistication.? They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
values.

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of <sup>freedom</sup> (liberty and democracy.) And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no <sup>attributed</sup> risk too great, to dismiss threats to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the burden of <sup>why is leadership always a burden. I'm always thankful it was a joy.</sup> leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. As I stood in Aspen the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land -- in which fighters from dozens of lands stood

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]

Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must design new systems, provide different equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics. We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

Unfortunately, Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \\ [[ I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\\]]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must.\\

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

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The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. From an the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

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# # #



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

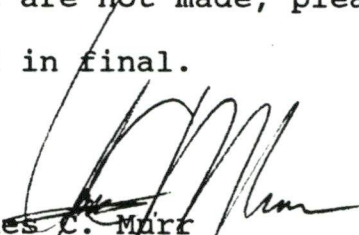
91 MAY 23 P2: 12

May 23, 1991

**NOTICE:**

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

If our proposed substantive changes are not made, please let us know before the material is prepared in final.

  
James C. Merritt  
Associate Director for  
Legislative Reference  
and Administration

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. 240133

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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**RESPONSE:**

*See comments*

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

(Lange/Simon)  
May 21, 1991  
5:30 P.M.  
DRAFT TWO  
[USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
11:20 A.M.

Howard  
44657  
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conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
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\\

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sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
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Howard  
4657

✓

shoulder-to-shoulder, flew wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of aggression in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed <sup>seven</sup> ~~six~~ new strategic missile systems and <sup>a</sup> ~~two~~ new strategic bombers in the past few years. With <sup>at least</sup> five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's. *assuming they continue to pursue these systems.*

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. *We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but there is danger that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]*

*That despite our efforts ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons could be in the hands of many third world countries by the end of the century.*

*Howard  
x4657*

*Howard  
4657*

*Sheid  
x4800*

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A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change in the changing world. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; ~~away from large, stationary troops and hardware~~ and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes *with increased speed, decisiveness and staying power.*

We must design new systems, <sup>and</sup> ~~provide different equipment;~~ train and ~~deploy~~ forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. ~~But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics.~~ We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must <sup>arm</sup> ~~reform~~ ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

Not clear  
NOT complementary

Howard  
4/6/67

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Howard  
X 4657

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Don't say we were to carpet bomb otherwise Howard 4/6/57

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us ~~the horror of carpet bombing and let us push back an aggressor without the Iraqi people.~~ *It allowed us to make a stunning response to an aggressor that discriminated between*

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Combatants and innocent civilians. Howard 4/6/57

Yet earlier this month, the House ~~Armed Services Committee~~ *of Representatives* ~~voted to~~ terminate the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Howard 4/6/57 Taylor 3/19/2

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As I said before, we can't build a defense system upon the last war: We must prepare ourselves for ~~newer -- more menacing~~ *the threats of the future.*

Yet *some in wish to* Congress ~~is gutting~~ our ability to develop and deploy strategic defenses to protect Americans from renegade ballistic missile attacks. We've learned that missile defense works -- now we need Congress to fund our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and <sup>to</sup> promote stability. \\

Gulf Lesson Four, the final and most fundamental, is **the value of people**. No war is won without them -- and ours have never been better. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas -- now it's 95 percent and

*Howard  
x4657*

*?*  
*Soviets  
and Iraq  
out of it*  
*Howard*

Q: MILLINGTON NAVAL AIR BASE  
FLIGHT TRAINING FACILITY - DO WE WANT TO

HIT THIS - Taylor #3192

rising. In fact, the military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer of excellence. Our volunteer servicemen and women are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, any time, ever. \\  
\\

Our forces will be 25 percent smaller by mid-decade. We must ensure that they are fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they have weapons that respond to military necessity -- not political convenience. We should not compromise our readiness just to protect unnecessary programs and unneeded bases.

[[ To pick just one at random, every year Congress requires the Navy to keep the same number of people on a base in Tennessee -- the only state in the Union with a legislated minimum number of naval personnel -- and Tennessee, of course, is land-locked. ]]

So I say to the Congress: Don't deny vital air and sealift support for special operations forces. Don't prevent needed reductions in the Guard and Reserve. Don't force the purchase of expensive and unneeded aircraft and weapons we never requested, and the Pentagon doesn't even want. Let's learn from the Gulf war -- and look to the future.

Not clear paragraph is about cuts  
Howard 4/657

No President could deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander-in-Chief, my greatest responsibility is national security, and national defense -- and I will veto any bill that doesn't meet this nation's legitimate defense needs. \\  
\\

Let us make smart decisions on defense, by making our forces leaner and more effective -- not by denying our people the tools they need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates, when you take to the skies, will find that no one who engages you will have your skills, your technology, and your support. And as you rise, you'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers -- but no end of challenges.

So to all of America's servicemen and women -- and to the 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy: You have earned the right to be saluted. Let me be the first. \\  
God bless you all -- and good luck.

# # #

# CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 240133

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

*01:44:23 P3:21*

DATE: 05/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Noon Thursday 05/23

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
(05/21 5:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than Noon on Thursday, 05/23, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

*Major Mike would read this*

RESPONSE:

# CLOSE HOLD

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

(Lange/Simon)  
 May 21, 1991  
 5:30 P.M.  
 DRAFT TWO  
 [USAF.TS]

91 MAY 21 PM 6:42

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY  
 COLORADO SPRINGS, CO  
 WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1991  
 11:20 A.M.

[ Secretary of the Air Force Donald Rice, General McPeak,  
 Superintendent General Hamm, Ladies and Gentlemen: "Our altitude  
 is 7,250 feet above sea level. \\ Far, far above that of West  
 Point or Annapolis." \\ Sorry I'm a little late. Almost  
 didn't pass my "SAMI." \\ Then I had to talk my Pilot out of  
 doing an Immelman over the stadium. \\

It's an honor to join you, here at "Wild Blue U" -- the  
 home of the quick and the brave. For you, and for everyone in  
 the Air Force, there's never been a better day to be a flyer. ]

For forty years, my generation struggled in the confines of  
 a divided world -- a world frozen in the ice of ideological  
 conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in  
 Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether  
 America still possessed the strength and will to bear the burden  
 of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we <sup>do</sup> are -- and we will.

\\

Cynics may call the renewal of patriotism old fashioned, or  
 unsophisticated -- but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for  
 sophistication. They know patriotism forms part of the real and  
 lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant, self-  
 assured, kind, generous -- we remain committed to fundamental  
 values.

2

So today I speak to you, and through you, to every member of America's armed forces: When others weren't sure we were up to the task -- you were. \\ When your country asked you to serve, you did. \\ When others said "No, we're not ready, we can't" -- you said, "Yes. We're ready. We can." \\

Even in the heat of war and its aftermath, you never lost sight of your fundamental decency and humanity. You know we've never used force for conquest, but only to serve the causes of liberty and democracy. And our soldiers in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help Kurds achieve a freedom that has been denied them for years. You and your colleagues in the services prove that Americans consider no burden too heavy, no risk too great, to ~~dismiss threats~~ <sup>defend</sup> to our interests and our principles. \\

Like no other nation in the world, we bear the <sup>mantle</sup> ~~burden~~ of leadership. We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our own example constantly reshapes the world. We cannot right all wrongs -- but neither can any nation lead as we can.

In the Gulf, we took a stand. And so did others. ~~As I~~ <sup>standing with me</sup> ~~stood~~ <sup>Colorado</sup> in Aspen, <sup>was</sup> the day of the invasion, Margaret Thatcher, <sup>she</sup> offered her nation's full support and faith. You may have heard what she <sup>told me that day,</sup> said -- "Don't go wobbly." Well, we didn't. Nor did our allies, including the our steadfast British friends. We worked to create a coalition in which nations, great and small, joined to liberate a tiny land, <sup>That coalition saw</sup> in which fighters from dozens of lands <sup>and</sup> stood

3

shoulder-to-shoulder, ~~fly~~ wing-to-wing -- to victory. In the future, that kind of cooperation will hold the key to worldwide prosperity and stability.\\

Make no mistake: the current pace of change around the world poses enormous challenges. Look to the desperate struggle of the Kurds in Iraq. The economies of Eastern Europe, ravaged by years of misrule. The powerful forces now at work in the Balkans -- the uncertainty and ethnic tension in the Soviet Union -- and the risk of <sup>instability</sup> ~~(aggression)~~ in the Third World.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I told the Class of '86, "there's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two systems represent fundamentally different values."

Now the military arm of the Warsaw pact no longer exists, and Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Poland.

Still, the Soviets retain massive military power. They deployed six new strategic missile systems and two new strategic bombers in the past few years. With five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be fully modernized by the mid 1990's.

So as the political picture shifts away from polarization and conflict between two Superpowers, military thinkers must worry about smaller, more volatile regimes, armed with modern weapons and ancient ambitions. To get a sense of the dangers that loom ahead, consider this: By the end of this century, [24]

4

Third World nations will have ballistic missiles -- and at least [8] of them will have nuclear weapons.

A question I'd like you to consider now, is what kind of role our military power should play in this world; how we will develop the necessary flexibility and strength to lead the world and build the kinds of consensus we will need to build a more stable, prosperous world.

The obvious answer is: Our military must change <sup>as the world changes</sup> ~~in the~~ ~~changing world~~. That's why, last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from the last war -- and toward the threats that will face us in years to come; away from large, stationary troops and hardware and toward a more agile, flexible military force. I also called for new technology in our defense systems -- so that we can respond to unpredictable regional crises and renegade regimes.

We must design new systems, <sup>and</sup> ~~provide different~~ equipment; train and deploy forces better able to address changing strategic circumstances. But we will need greater sophistication not only in logistics. We also must become better schooled in understanding the societies we may fight with or against.

Of course, we must reform ourselves frugally -- in keeping with our own fiscal requirements. We must spend less -- and we must spend smart.

Our administration has proposed deep cuts. In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to 3.6 percent of G.N.P. -- the lowest level in over 50 years. But we've put forward a defense

5

program that is reasoned, and reasonable. It also represents the minimum essential for our national security. A sound program, that regards the military neither as a scapegoat nor as a sacred cow -- but looks to the kind of defense we need in the future.

Unfortunately, Congress seems determined to pass a different kind of defense budget, one that ignores some of the most important lessons of the Persian Gulf:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air superiority. I remember meeting early on with General McPeak, up at Camp David. In his modest way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my National Security Advisor -- that's Air Force Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft -- and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did -- and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target. \ \ [[ I was tempted to ask him how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say "Fast, Neat, Average, Friendly, Good, Good." (cadets' traditional rating of their dining hall)\ \ ]]

We must retain credibility in the skies, and build systems that enable us to move freely and swiftly where we must. \ \

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: the value of surprise, and Stealth. Some of you may have heard about the sand-box model of the theater of operations we found in the Iraqi command center in Kuwait. When allied forces arrived, the model remained just as the Iraqis had left it: with all Iraqi units pointed toward the sea, toward an allied amphibious assault that never came.

6

Surprise is a classic tactic of warfare -- but stealth technology gave it an entirely new dimension. Our air strikes were the most effective and humane in the history of warfare. Our smart bombs and stealth technologies helped us target hostile forces and spare innocent civilians. Night after night we pressured vital targets, regardless of defenses, anywhere in theater.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings: doing more, doing it better, and doing it for less. It spared us <sup>and</sup> the horror of carpet bombing and let us <sup>defeat the</sup> ~~push back an~~ aggressor <sup>and his</sup> ~~without the Iraqi people.~~ <sup>army.</sup>

The F-117's success should persuade everyone of the need for a stealth bomber, the B-2. From an the standpoint of cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over ten times the load of an F-117 at over five times the unrefueled range. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance, without the force build-up and time we needed prior to Desert Storm.

Yet earlier this month, the House Armed Services Committee terminated the B-2 Stealth -- redirecting funds to unnecessary or obsolete conventional weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. \\ America's Air Force needs the B-2 bomber. \\

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works. In the Gulf, along with theories of deterrence, we had technologies of defense -- like the Patriot missile.

7

Another American President who spoke to this Academy, John F. Kennedy, told the Class of '63 that "mutual nuclear deterrents cannot be shrugged off as stalemate, for our national security in a period of rapid change will depend on constant reappraisal of our present doctrines, on alertness to new developments, on imagination and resourcefulness, and new ideas."

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