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Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13625
Folder ID Number: 13625-003

Folder Title:
Naval Academy Commencement 5/27/92 [OA 6102] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	18	2	5

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

SUBJECT: ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>MCGROARTY</u>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

GAUGHAN

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: The National Security Council staff has reviewed the Presidential remarks and concurs with recommended changes.

William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary

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

2 MAY 21 P12: 25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

SECRETARY GARRETT, ADMIRAL KELSO, OFFICERS,
[Acknowledgements.] ^ Members of the [Navy] faculty, families,

friends, the Brigade -- and of course the Class of 1992: thank
you all for this warm welcome. //

[[Since I took office, I've given the commencement speech at
the Coast Guard Academy, at ^{THE} Air ^{ACADEMY} Force and West Point. I know
some will say, "He saved the best for last." // Actually, I
just wanted to salute the Class that finally captured the Army
mules.]]

I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola
for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola
myself, and toured ^{ITS} [that] marvelous museum of ^{NAVAL} aviation. In fact, I
was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection
of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger,
hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the
record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the
Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. //]]

Needs
TRANSITION
SENTENCE →

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three
legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern
Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the
opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my
focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character
^{ARE} [that] learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

^{TASKS}
 [mission] you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom ^{AND} []
 keeping the peace.

^{BEGIN YOUR NAVAL CAREERS}
 You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago. [for world] Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. We are working now with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

This triumph means new opportunities for global prosperity - a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise. From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- and nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

[CONFIDENTIAL] For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

THEMATIC

SMALL = ECONOMIC REALITIES

[FOR CONTINUITY]

NOTRE DAME = FAMILY VALUE/MORALS

USNA = NATIONAL SECURITY

SHOULD HAVE PARAGRAPH ON NEED FOR STRONG MORAL FOUNDATION (DRAWN FROM NOTRE DAME SPEECH) USNA HAS UNDERTAKEN MAJOR EFFORT IN THIS REGARDS

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. //

AND PERHAPS EVEN SOME OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, [as] many [as ^{MORE} xx] nations [will] possess [both] weapons of mass destruction, [and the ballistic missiles to deliver them] Many of these [^{COUNTRIES} regimes] will be ruled by leaders more rash than rational. ^{THEY WILL NOT} [less likely to] be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence, ^{BUT} [than] by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

"TONGUE TWISTER"

And with the end of East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ^{ETHNIC RIVALRIES} ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. / Ancient hatreds -- [ethnic rivalries] frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the

[THIS IS WHERE YOU INTRODUCE THE NEED FOR "DEMOCRATIC PEACE"]

5

captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. //

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we have established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act. //

We will face a challenge that takes us beyond containment -- to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the question of aid to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home -- for all that we must and will do to open new opportunities to every American -- we cannot fail in this critical mission. //

[When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, ^{will} no single factor shapes their future] more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy -- or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will effect everything: from the amount ^{of RESOURCES} government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

Yes the aid I've requested from Congress is significant -- ^u but it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this

nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began this task -- as well as those who will come after -- to finish the great work we've begun. //

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. Yes, our nuclear forces [can and] will ^{AND SHOULD} be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress Iraq had made toward building a nuclear weapon of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action. We cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack. //

Second, even in our new world, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change: security means forward deployment. From the forty years of Cold War to the forty days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have helped America keep danger from its shores. The future will be no different.

Third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on ^{our ABILITY TO} rapid response ^{to CRISES}. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few -- when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to

win the war. There is no substitute for forces that are trained, equipped and ready.

Fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute ^{SUFFICIENT} our forces to meet any future threat that may arise. Production lines for planes, tanks, ships and subs can't be turned on and off like a water faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons you'll need to succeed.

I want to turn now to a final challenge -- one that will be familiar to you after four years of study. It begins with this fundamental fact: the crucial connection in any democracy between military strength and moral support. We've seen the power of this connection in Desert Storm; we've felt its lack in Vietnam. The message must be clear: America is safest at home when we stand ^{together} as a force for stability in the world.

In many respects, this may be the greatest challenge of all. Because the history of this century reveals the deep isolationist urge in the American character -- a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done. //

Such an urge is not unusual in democracies. It's a trait found in nations more interested in the comforts of home than conquests abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers -- that still poses threats to our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point in the subtitle to the last volume in his epic history of World War Two. He called it:

"How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their lives."

More than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict -- and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again: we can win the war. Now we must wage the peace.

And we will do it with your help.

I began today by speaking about the great victory of freedom in the world as vindication of the American ideal. I know there are some who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- something boastful. But it is not^{presumptuous} -- for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- democracy is our inheritance. / We can't take credit for democracy, but we can take the precious gift of freedom / preserve it / and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, ^{ARE HEREBY CHARGED TO} [will] do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities now open to us -- we can secure the new world of freedom that has always been our aim. //

Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome. Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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Remarks by
The Honorable H. Lawrence Garrett, III
Secretary of the Navy
United States Naval Academy Graduation
Annapolis, Maryland
27 May 1992

Thank you very much, []...Mr. President...Mrs. Bush,
distinguished flag officers...honored guests...midshipmen...and
soon-to-be ensigns and second lieutenants...

It is a rare privilege to introduce the President of the
United States at an event such as this. It occurred to me, in
fact, that it might be wise to do a little research...to get an
idea of how other people over the years have handled this
pleasant duty.

The example that came to my attention was that of Edward
Everett, who spoke immediately before President Abraham Lincoln
on the day of the Gettysburg Address. Everett, I learned, talked
for two hours that afternoon. In fact, he earned himself some
fame in the process. So, if you all will just make yourselves
comfortable, I'll get started...[laughter]

On second thought, if I did that, the Class of '92 might
decide to mistake me for an Army mule, and I'd wake up tomorrow
morning in some other state...[laughter]

Actually, ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely proud to

welcome these young graduates--these smart, motivated, and professional young men and women--into the service of their country.

And I am proud and honored, as well, to present a leader who is no stranger to the unique traditions of the naval profession...a leader who has devoted a rich and tireless career to public service...a leader who has earned garlands of respect, not only in this country, but in capitals around the world.

The men and women who wear the uniforms of this nation serve--every day--with confidence that their commander-in-chief will lead them wisely...that he will provide them the means to do their duty...that he cares not only about the future of America but also the well-being of those individuals who have sworn to defend her. When I visited our Sailors and Marines in Southwest Asia during Desert Shield, it occurred to me that never had American service people gone into harm's way with more confidence in the nation's leadership.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to present the man who inspired that confidence, your Commander in Chief, President George Bush...

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 92 MAY 22 P3:10
5/21/92

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Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*Please see
 Comments.
 Thank you.*

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

2 MAY 21 P12: 25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
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[NAVY]

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mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, /
keeping the peace.

You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place ^{in the world} since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, ~~for world.~~ Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

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many of my predecessors ~~must have~~ longed to do: ~~to~~ give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

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But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

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captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. //

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we have established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act. //

We will face a challenge that takes us beyond containment -- to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the question of aid to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home -- for all that we must and will do to open new opportunities to every American -- we cannot fail in this critical mission. //

When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, no single factor shapes their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy -- or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will effect everything: from the amount government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

Yes the aid I've requested from Congress is significant -- ~~but~~ it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this

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Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome. Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DANIEL MCGROARTY

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

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Naval Academy Commencement

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

Attachment

cc: Phillip D. Brady

5

captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. //

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Duggan
Memorandum for Speechwriting Staff

From: Dan McGroarty

Regarding: *Naval Academy*

**Please return your comments to
Room 122 by:**

2pm tomorrow

Today's Date: MAY 21 1992

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

[Acknowledgements.] Members of the Navy faculty, families, friends, the Brigade -- and of course the Class of 1992: thank you all for this warm welcome. //

[[Since I took office, I've given the commencement speech at the Coast Guard Academy, at Air force and West Point. I know some will say, "He saved the best for last." // Actually, I just wanted to salute the Class that finally captured the Army mules.]]

I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola myself, and toured that marvelous museum of aviation. In fact, I was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger, hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. //]]

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character that learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, /
keeping the peace.

You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old
order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken
place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for
world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From
Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and
Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history ^{what about}
had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's ^{Granada}
direction. ^{1983?}

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire --
even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the
most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every
individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An ^e
Vindication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a
victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because
this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just
fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of
that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant
than at any time in the past four decades. We are working now
with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and
Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great
promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As
Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

This triumph means new opportunities for global prosperity - a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise. From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- an nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. //

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, as many as [xx] nations may possess both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will be ruled by leaders more rash than rational -- less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

And with the end of East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. / Ancient hatreds -- ethnic rivalries frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the

captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. //

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we have established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act. //

We will face a challenge that takes us beyond containment - - to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the question of aid to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home -- for all that we must and will do to open new opportunities to every American -- we cannot fail in this critical mission. //

When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, no single factor shapes their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy -- or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will effect everything: from the amount government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

Yes the aid I've requested from Congress is significant -- bit it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this

nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began this task -- as well as those who will come after -- to finish the great work we've begun. //

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. Yes, our nuclear forces can and will be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress Iraq had made toward building a nuclear weapon of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action. We cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack. //

Second, even in our new world, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change: security means forward deployment. From the forty years of Cold War to the forty days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have helped America keep danger from its shores. The future will be no different.

Third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on rapid response. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few -- when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to

win the war. There is no substitute for forces that are trained, equipped and ready.

Fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute our forces to meet any future threat that may arise. Production lines for planes, tanks, ships and subs can't be turned on and off like a water faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons you'll need to succeed.

I want to turn now to a final challenge -- one that will be familiar to you after four years of study. It begins with this fundamental fact: the crucial connection in any democracy between military strength and moral support. We've seen the power of this connection in Desert Storm; we've felt its lack in Vietnam. The message must be clear: America is safest at home when we stand as a force for stability in the world.

In many respects, this may be the greatest challenge of all. Because the history of this century reveals the deep isolationist urge in the American character -- a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done. //

Such an urge is not unusual in democracies. It's a trait found in nations more interested in the comforts of home than conquests abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers -- that still poses threats to our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point in the subtitle to the last volume in his epic history of World War Two. He called it:

"How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their lives."

More than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict -- and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again: we can win the war. Now we must wage the peace.

And we will do it with your help.

I began today by speaking about the great victory of freedom in the world as vindication of the American ideal. I know there are some who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- something boastful. But it is not -- for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- democracy is our inheritance. / We can't take credit for democracy, but we can take the precious gift of freedom / preserve it / and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities now open to us -- we can secure the new world of freedom that has always been our aim. //

Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome.

Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/22

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

92 MAY 22 PM: 29

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

GAUGHAN

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments

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

12 MAY 21 P12: 25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

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I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola myself, and toured that marvelous museum of aviation. In fact, I was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger, hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. //]]

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x5873

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You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes ^{in the world} that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

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Howard
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Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

*Vindication?
(Howard)
(4657)* →

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. We are working now with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

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Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome. Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 MAY 22 P4:09

May 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Naval Academy Commencement

We have reviewed the attached remarks and have noted a few suggested changes on the draft.

Please let us know if you have any questions or if we may help in any other way.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

JMH
-wm

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAY 22 P2:34

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/22/92

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: GAUGHAN

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: *Comments p. 3 p. 4*

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

22 MAY 21 12:25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

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As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character that learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, / keeping the peace.

You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. We are working now with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

This triumph means new opportunities for global prosperity - - a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise. From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- and nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through ^{the} GATT and ^{TRADE NEGOTIATIONS} the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

ADD A EXPLAINING THAT AS WITH
ECONOMY - SO TOO THE ENVIRONMENT
THAT'S WHY I'M GOING TO DO NEXT WEEK

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Davis out
Sick today
T.

McGroarty/Bunton
May 20, 1992
12:30 p.m.
[NAVY]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

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WASHINGTON

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You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

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Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. //

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, as many as [xx] nations may possess both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Many of these regimes will be ruled by leaders more rash than rational -- less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

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McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

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#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

GAUGHAN

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: The National Security Council staff has reviewed the Presidential remarks and concurs with recommended changes.

1. Needs work, flow, clarity etc.
 2. Need for American leadership in new world.
 3. More appeal to audience and me. personal qualities -> from courage to integrity needed by these future leaders

[Signature]
for Brent Scowcroft

Need to see another draft.
 General Scowcroft must clear.
 PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

12 MAY 21 P12: 25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

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Something better?

President lost
Political

Needs transition sentence →

TASKS
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^{BEGIN YOUR NAVAL CAREERS AS OFFICERS}
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THEMATIC
[FOR CONTINUITY]

SMU = ECONOMIC REALITIES
NOTRE DAME = FAMILY VALUE/MORALS
USNA = NATIONAL SECURITY

SHOULD HAVE PARAGRAPH ON NEED FOR STRONG MORAL FOUNDATION (DRAWN FROM NOTRE DAME SPEECH) USNA HAS UNDERTAKEN MAJOR EFFORT IN THIS REGARDS

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AND PERHAPS EVEN SOME OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, ETC.

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"TONGUE TWISTER"

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[THIS IS WHERE YOU INTRODUCE THE NEED FOR "DEMOCRATIC PEACE"]

5

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win the war. There is no substitute for forces that are trained, equipped and ready.

Fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute ^{SUFFICIENT} our forces to meet any future threat that may arise. Production lines for planes, tanks, ^{in the} ships ~~and subs~~ can't be turned on and off like a water faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons you'll need to succeed.

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In many respects, this may be the greatest challenge of all. Because the history of this century reveals the deep isolationist urge in the American character -- a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done. //

Such an urge is not unusual in democracies. It's a trait found in nations more interested in the comforts of home than conquests abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers -- that still poses threats to our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point in the subtitle to the last volume in his epic history of World War Two. He called it:

"How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their lives."

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And we will do it with your help.

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Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome. Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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The Honorable H. Lawrence Garrett, III
Secretary of the Navy
United States Naval Academy Graduation
Annapolis, Maryland
27 May 1992

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Actually, ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely proud to

welcome these young graduates--these smart, motivated, and professional young men and women--into the service of their country.

And I am proud and honored, as well, to present a leader who is no stranger to the unique traditions of the naval profession...a leader who has devoted a rich and tireless career to public service...a leader who has earned garlands of respect, not only in this country, but in capitals around the world.

The men and women who wear the uniforms of this nation serve--every day--with confidence that their commander-in-chief will lead them wisely...that he will provide them the means to do their duty...that he cares not only about the future of America but also the well-being of those individuals who have sworn to defend her. When I visited our Sailors and Marines in Southwest Asia during Desert Shield, it occurred to me that never had American service people gone into harm's way with more confidence in the nation's leadership.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to present the man who inspired that confidence, your Commander in Chief, President George Bush...

3951

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

*CapHawn
AdmHowe*

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY 5/22/92

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT ANnapolis, Maryland MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: GAUGHAN

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: The National Security Council staff has reviewed the Presidential remarks and concurs with recommended changes.

- Needs work, flow, clarity etc.
- Need for American leadership in new world.
- More appeal to audience and me personally. Qualities - from courage to integrity needed by these future leaders

for Brent Scowcroft

see new P or p.8

Need to see May 22, 1992
another draft.
General Scowcroft must clear.
PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

12 MAY 21 P12: 25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

SECRETARY GARRETT, ADMIRAL KELSO, OFFICERS,

[Acknowledgements.] ^ Members of the [Navy] faculty, families, friends, the Brigade -- and of course the Class of 1992: thank you all for this warm welcome. //

[[Since I took office, I've given the commencement speech at the Coast Guard Academy, at ^{THE} Air Force and ^{ACADEMY} West Point. I know some will say, "He saved the best for last." // Actually, I just wanted to salute the Class that finally captured the Army mules.]]

I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola myself, and toured [that] ^{ITS} marvelous museum of ^{NAVAL} aviation. In fact, I was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger, hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. //]]

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the *promises* opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character ^{ARE} [that] learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

Something better?

President last
Politics

NO NEEDS TRANSITION SENTENCE

TASKS

[mission] you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom ^{AND} [] keeping the peace.

^{BEGIN YOUR NAVAL CAREERS AS OFFICERS}
You ~~{take up your command}~~ ^{WATCH} at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago. [for world] Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. (And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.)

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, ^{the threat of nuclear war is more distant} ~~than at any time in the past four decades.~~ ^{the likelihood that Warsaw Pact Armies will overwhelm Western Europe} We are working now ^{only a recent} ~~with~~ ^{nightmare} with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

Sentence loop

Scowcroft stet

typed

X

only a recent nightmare

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

This triumph means new opportunities for global prosperity - a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise. From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- and nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

THEMATIC
[FOR CONTINUITY]

SMU = ECONOMIC REALITIES
NOTRE DAME = FAMILY VALUE/MORALS
USNA = NATIONAL SECURITY

SHOULD HAVE PARAGRAPH ON NEED FOR STRONG MORAL FOUNDATION (DRAWN FROM NOTRE DAME SPEECH) USNA HAS UNDERTAKEN MAJOR EFFORT IN THIS REGARDS

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. // AND PERHAPS EVEN SOME OTHER ORGANIZATION!

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, as many as [xx] nations [may] possess [both] weapons of mass destruction, [and the ballistic missiles to deliver them] Many of these [regimes] will be ruled by leaders more rash than rational, less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence, [than] by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

And with the end of East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. / Ancient hatreds -- [ethnic rivalries] frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the

INGUE TWISTER

[THIS IS WHERE YOU INTRODUCE THE NEED FOR "DEMOCRATIC PEACE"]

5

✓ captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. //

→ We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we have established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act. //

more ✓ We will face a challenge that takes us beyond containment -- to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the question of aid to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home -- for all that we must and will do to open new opportunities to every American -- we cannot fail in this critical mission. //

⊗ [When we think of the world you and your children will inherit,] ^{will} no single factor shapes their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy -- or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will effect everything: from the amount ^{OF RESOURCES} government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

✓ Yes the aid I've requested from Congress is significant -- but it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this

nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began this task -- as well as those who will come after -- to finish the great work we've begun. //

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. Yes, our nuclear forces [can and] will ^{AND SHOULD} be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress Iraq had made toward building a nuclear weapon of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action. We cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack. //

Second, even in our new world, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change: security means forward deployment. From the forty years of Cold War to the forty days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have helped America keep danger from its shores. The future will be no different.

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Secretary of the Navy
United States Naval Academy Graduation
Annapolis, Maryland
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Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to present the man who inspired that confidence, your Commander in Chief, President George Bush...

RUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5-22-92
1:00 pm

TO: DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: GARY R. BLUMENTHAL *GB*
Special Assistant to the President
for Agricultural Trade & Food Assistance
Room 231, OEOB, x6630

Re: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

Under the auspices of the PCG, we have been working on a defense adjustment program to assist workers and communities affected by the build-down. We have a very good existing program, but it is not publicly recognized. We will be ready by sometime next week to announce a few enhancements to the existing program. The California trip was discussed as a possible roll out site, but we were late on that one. Meanwhile, we need to get it out before the Hill marks up a mega bucks adjustment proposal during the first week of June -- i.e. the Naval Academy is perfect timing and perfect venue.

We would like to work with you on a brief passage in the speech that presents the President's policy on adjustment assistance. A fact sheet will be used to add meat to his statement.

Please call me if you have questions.

23 May.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Dear Mr. Goarty

As we discussed - some thoughts that might be helpful.

Susan Lock

Since I'll be in & out during the weekend, maybe you could just leave a new draft in my box & have the Jet Room alert me. Thanks

Proc 9/30/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(CLASSIFICATION)

CIRCLE ONE BELOW:

IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

MODE:

SECURE FAX #

ADMIN FAX #

4

PAGES

9

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231615Z

RELEASER

[Signature]

FROM / LOCATION:

ADM HOWE

ACTION / LOCATION:

1. SCOWCROFT //K-PORT//
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INFORMATION / LOCATION:

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2. _____

REMARKS:

1092 MAY 23 11 19 42

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(CLASSIFICATION)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, 5.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>MCGROARTY</u>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			GAUGHAN		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: 5-23-92 1215 pm

FOR: ADM Howe
 Subj: LATEST Scowcroft Edits to USNA Speech

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

2 MAY 21 P12:25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992**

[Acknowledgements.] Members of the Navy faculty, families, friends, the Brigade -- and of course the Class of 1992: thank you all for this warm welcome. //

[[Since I took office, I've given the commencement speech at the Coast Guard Academy, at Air force and West Point. I know some will say, "He saved the best for last." // Actually, I just wanted to salute the Class that finally captured the ARMY MULES.]]

I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola myself, and toured that marvelous museum of aviation. In fact, I was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger, hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. //]]

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character that ^{all} learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, / keeping the peace.

You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for ^{the} world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

[We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom.] Because ^{BUT} this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. [We are working now with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago.] As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

Few of these achievements would have been possible without a strong America. They are testament to our political, economic, and military strength. They are testament to our strategy of containment and deterrence, to the dedication and sacrifice of the brave men and women of our armed forces, to our foreign assistance programs and our diplomacy, and to the support and spirit of the American people. More than anything else, they are testament to the values that define us as a Nation.

Possible updates needed depends on future results

But make no mistake about it, ~~we~~ we have not seen the end of war.

Our citizens and our interests are threatened today at many levels -- perhaps not to the degree they were before, certainly no longer by a singular monolithic country -- but threatened nonetheless.

- Politically, we are threatened by a potential loss of confidence in America's steadfastness and a fear that we'll turn inward and ignore the lessons of the past and the mandate for our continued leadership.
- Economically, we are threatened by continued excessive dependence on foreign energy resources, by trade barriers, by weakened economic competitiveness, and by environmental decay.
- Militarily, we are threatened by regional instabilities around the globe to which we could be called to respond either to protect our own interests or at the request of our allies or the United Nations; by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the ability to deliver them; by terrorism and by international drug trade.
- Domestically, we are threatened by the burden of a growing budget deficit; by declining savings and investment; by both the supply of and demand for illicit drugs that plague our society and others, that threaten our future as a nation; by an education system that still finds our children behind their international peers; and by a growing lack of confidence of Americans in their government.

But along with these new challenges come new opportunities ... for international stability and for global prosperity ...

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

The triumph doesn't mean this →

~~This triumph means~~ new opportunities for global prosperity -

- a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise. From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

ⓐ

100% separation, redistribution, a separate time from free market.

[For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth.] The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Too big for national toward the south

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

*Why free trade?
What doesn't mean to Americans?*

*On economics, we should
make clear why we are in favor of
an open world trading system - eg, the
importance of export incentives, how lower
tariffs multiply trade volume, creating
jobs. Just
extending
free
markets
lowest
dist.*

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. //

*Self
Scamper*

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, as many as [xx] ^{several} nations may possess both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. ^{Some} [Many] of these regimes ^{may} (will) be ruled by leaders more rash than rational - less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

*No -
not
nationalist
pass.*

And with the end of ^{the} East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to nationalism as a key factor for conflict. / Ancient hatreds -- ethnic rivalries frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the

The critical challenge section is very weak. We need to make a case for improvement - why what goes on in the world is of significance to US citizens. nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began this task -- as well as those who will come after -- to finish the great work we've begun. //

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. Yes, our nuclear forces can and will be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress Iraq had made toward building a nuclear weapon of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action. We cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack. //

Second, even in our new world, the fundamental facts of geo-
and effective coalitions with other peace-loving states politics don't change: security means forward deployment from

the forty years of Cold War to the forty days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have helped America keep danger from its shores. The future will be no different.

Third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on rapid response. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few -- when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to

The world will not of itself become a benign place - at least it hasn't for 5000 years - it will take hard work to make it a better place.

This is an assertion not an argument.

These forces have supported and been supported by effective coalitions that have been critical to peace & stability in our long-standing alliances, such as NATO, and through the UN Security Council.

The security picture leaves out
the need for coalition support -
why we need the USMC and
Coalition in the Gulf

win the war. There is no substitute for forces that are trained,
equipped and ready.

Fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain
the capability to reconstitute our forces to meet any future
threat that may arise. ~~Production lines for planes, tanks, ships
and subs can't be turned on and off like a water faucet.~~ We've
got to keep our technological edge ~~-- keep our R&D focused on the
next generation of weapons you'll need to succeed.~~

are we doing this?
if so don't
waste money
about it
this cost
big bucks

also
1

I want to turn now to a final challenge -- one that will be
familiar to you after four years of study. It begins with this
fundamental fact: the crucial connection in any democracy
between military strength and moral support. We've seen the
power of this connection in Desert Storm; we've felt its lack in
Vietnam. The message must be clear: America is safest at home
when we stand as a force for stability in the world.

is that
the message
Vietnam
wasn't

In many respects, this may be the greatest challenge of all.
Because the history of this century reveals the deep isolationist
urge in the American character -- a desire to see in every hard-
won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done.

is that
isn't
11

Such an urge is not unusual in democracies. It's a trait
found in nations more interested in the comforts of home than
conquests abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that
still holds dangers -- that still poses threats to our interests
and ideals.

is that
isn't
let's
+ drag

Winston Churchill made this point in the subtitle to the
last volume in his epic history of World War Two. He called it:

"How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their lives."

More than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict -- and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again: we can win the war. Now we must wage the peace. *and we have not yet secured the peace.*

And we will do it with your help.

I began today by speaking about the great victory of freedom in the world as vindication of the American ideal. I know there are some who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- something boastful. But it is not -- for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- democracy is our inheritance. / We can't take credit for democracy, but we can take the precious gift of freedom / preserve it / and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities now open to us -- we can secure the new world of freedom that has always been our aim. //

Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome.

Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.

###

Collective Response

Why coalition

Sam - these sections are from the draft National Security Strategy - which we hope to publish shortly. it would be ideal if we could "infuse" it w/ speech w/ its themes.

The United States has neither the aspiration nor the resources to be the world's policemen. The growing strength of our allies enables them to assume a greater share of the responsibility for mutual security interests. As long as key interests of nations -- promoting stability and economic freedom -- coincide, multilateral cooperation is the most effective way to achieve these goals. We will, therefore, remain an active participant in the community of nations and in collective efforts to further democracy, economic freedom, peace and stability. We will

continue to channel many of our efforts through a strengthened United Nations, through our alliances, and through a host of other multilateral organizations. The UN Charter founders' dreams of a genuine system of collective security now look more realistic than ever.

With its newfound influence, the United Nations now should engage in preventive diplomacy and potentially preventive peacekeeping. Traditional United Nations peacemaking and peacekeeping that established conditions for peace between or among warring factions, United Nations also can include ensuring legitimate and fair elections, human rights monitoring, and other civil functions that further the United Nations goal of peace and security. United Nations peacekeeping over the next several years will be expensive as Cold War conflicts are settled and new conflicts rise to the surface. The United States will support these operations, in principle and financially, while working within the UN to ensure that they are efficient and effective. Where peacekeeping fails, the cost to us and to the world could be much higher over the long run.

However, the United States cannot and will not abrogate its unilateral responsibility to protect and defend its citizens and its interests. There is a continuing mandate for military strength.

America must continue to be strong -- politically, economically, militarily, domestically, morally. The price for military weakness is one we cannot afford, for it will surely be paid for by our sons and daughters if not by ourselves. The price for political and economic isolationism and retreat will be paid for by our Nation and by those who look to us for hope for a peaceful and free tomorrow. This does not mean that the United States must be the world's policeman, that we must attack every international problem as our own, or that we must postpone addressing our own domestic imperatives while we commit the

the price of weakness + isolationism

*The draft
President's
1992
National Security Strategy
Report.
There should be some
useful themes in
here. For continuity's
sake, it would be
great to infuse the
speech with
some of these
themes.*

PREFACE

Towards the Age of Democracy

Our great Nation is now at a crossroads in history. For the first time in this century -- perhaps for the first time in history -- the world finds itself at the doorstep of a new Age of Democracy, an age with hope for the triumph of the rule of law over violence and anarchy; an age that offers unparalleled international stability and security. But as history has taught us over and over again, the future is never assured. While never before have there been so many positive signs for democracy, without perseverance and a dedicated, collective effort, those trends could be reversed. Much still hangs in the balance. America, in particular, has a fateful choice to make. We can choose to lead the world into this most historic of transformations, or we can choose to let the world risk a course of its own and accept the consequences.

America has always meant freedom, justice, opportunity and hope, not just for Americans, but for millions around the globe. The impoverished, the oppressed, the fearful, the weak have looked to us to be strong, to be capable, to care. Perhaps more than anything else, they have depended on us to lead. And we have.

The world has been radically transformed from the way we have known it in our lifetime. The Cold War is won. The threat of thermonuclear war is rapidly becoming a relic of the past. We and our coalition allies achieved an unprecedented victory in the Gulf War, proving that the world will respond to aggression. Democracy is spreading around the world. An historic dialogue on peace has begun in the Middle East. The United Nations has been revitalized, resurgent in its efforts around the globe, helping to broker peace from El Salvador to Namibia, from Angola and Afghanistan to Cambodia. The West has joined together to help our former adversaries consolidate economic and political change. It is a world of unprecedented progress and of unprecedented hope.

Few of these achievements would have been possible without a strong America. They are testament to our political, economic and military strength. They are testament to our strategy of containment and deterrence, to the dedication and sacrifice of the brave men and women of our armed forces, to our foreign assistance programs and our diplomacy, and to the support and spirit of the American people. More than anything else, they are testament to the values that define us as a Nation. We should all take pride in what we have accomplished. Yet we have not

achieved, nor will we ever, permanent peace. We simply do not and cannot know the challenges that will arise in the future. No one is clairvoyant -- history has underscored that reality. No matter how much we want to believe otherwise, there will always be strong countries who want to bully the weak. There will always be those with the means and desire to make war. There will always be ethnic, religious and economic rivalries. Our citizens and our interests will continue to be threatened and we must be strong enough to protect and defend them. But we can also chart a course to help achieve and promote peace -- a democratic peace -- that is what our national security strategy is all about.

The deterrence we so successfully achieved for forty years would have failed without visible strength. Nor would it have been successful without forward presence. We still need deterrence -- nuclear and conventional. We also must ensure we have the capability to respond to crises around the globe if deterrence and dissuasion fail and, importantly, we need to create and nurture the conditions for peace by furthering democracy and by reducing the sources of instability.

Just as we continue to be challenged, so too does today's world offer us unprecedented opportunities -- thus the mandate for a strategy of engagement, for it is an investment in our future security. We must remain engaged abroad in order to reap the dividends that have resulted from our global achievements, and to shape the future our children will inherit.

What you will read in the ensuing pages is our strategy for the future. It is a strategy that builds on past successes, yet acknowledges the fundamental changes that have occurred in the international environment -- in large part because of those successes. It offers a strategy of political, economic, and military engagement to shape the future. It underscores the reality that economic solvency at home and competitiveness abroad are every bit as important as our political and military strength have been in the past. It identifies the domestic challenges to our national security. It recognizes the reality that time waits for no one, that some problems require immediate engagement while others will be less tractable and take longer to resolve. But we have to begin. Finally, it is neither a panacea nor a dogma. It will have to be flexible and creative to accommodate the unknown future. This Report is meant to encourage dialogue and debate, for that too is what democracy is all about.

What we seek, what all peoples seek and deserve, is peace -- but a peace that is much more than just the absence of war. We seek a world in which free peoples work together to promote their mutual well-being and prosperity. We seek stability, not as an end in itself, but rather as a bridge to the realization of human aspirations. Let us cross that bridge together -- as individuals

and as one of an ever broadening community of free and independent nations. Let us do everything we can to ensure that in the distant future, historians will be able to look back on the 21st Century and refer to it as "the Age of Democracy." Let our children and grandchildren take pride that we as a Nation played the lead role in making that age a reality.

George Bush

CHAPTER I - THE CURRENT DEBATE

The Lessons of History

Twice before in this century, the end of a great struggle brought not just peace but the end of an old order. Twice, America stood victorious, unrivaled in power, its principles prevailing. For the third time, with the end of the Cold War, America must decide what course to follow, now that its "wartime" mission has been accomplished. What should be America's role in the world today? Do we promote our national interests and our values by remaining engaged in the world around us or retreat home to America and simply protect them? Do we contend the job is finished, let other nations take the lead, convincing ourselves that if we do, we'll be better off here at home, that our domestic economy will be unaffected by our foreign involvement and that our security interests will not otherwise be threatened? Do we no longer seek to advance democracy or relieve inhumanity, tyranny and suffering that still exist?

A year ago, this Nation was celebrating an unprecedented victory in the Gulf War. We learned many lessons from our experience -- that our enemies may not be those on whom we have focused our strategy; that international coalitions can be forged, but not without American leadership; that the proliferation of advanced weaponry represents a clear, present, and widespread danger; that continued American strength must be political, economic, and military; that the United States remains the leader among nations to whom the world turns for strength, for reason, for compassion.

The lessons of the Cold War are just as compelling. That victory would have been impossible without long-term American strength, strategy, commitment, and leadership. It was a victory for democracy and for those values Americans have believed in so strongly since our birth as a Nation. Now, because of that victory, we can redirect some resources to other needs. But the lessons of history argue against going too far, too fast, in ushering in this change. Weakness and retreat in the short term lead inevitably to our having to pay a horrible, and often avoidable, price in the long term. Perhaps most important, history teaches us that by being engaged in peacetime -- politically, economically, militarily -- we can prolong and bolster the peace and lessen the probability of conflict that our sons and daughters would have to fight.

Why engagement.

see other side as well.

America's Role in the World

American leadership in the world has benefitted individual Americans in ways that are too often taken for granted. Most fundamentally, our leadership during the Cold War meant that we didn't have to fight a global war with the Soviets. Our leadership in the Gulf War meant that we didn't have to assume the burden of standing up to aggression alone. What would our economy and security look like if Saddam had been able to get a stronghold over the world's energy lifeline and develop nuclear weapons? Our prosperity has depended fundamentally on our security.

Similarly, our foreign policy helps ensure our well-being. Our successful negotiations with Canada and Mexico will create large and important new markets for American products. In Europe, as a consequence of the U.S. role in helping bring an end to that continent's division, American companies are finding profitable trade and investment in the new market economies of Central and Eastern Europe. In the former Soviet Union, despite the present economic difficulties, the potential for mutually beneficial trade is enormous. These new opportunities for American business will invigorate the U.S. economy -- 20,000 new jobs for every \$1 billion in new exports. More than ever, American jobs depend upon foreign markets, overseas investments, and access to foreign products and raw materials. In tangible ways -- economic prosperity and freedom from foreign dangers -- we all gain from the success of our global leadership.

The success we have achieved will only be at risk, however, if we lose the spirit that got us here, if we neglect our long-term national interests, and if we fail to invest in our future. America will be able to ensure its future domestic security and prosperity only to the extent that it can shape and influence international events. Increasing global interdependence has now inextricably linked our domestic and foreign policies and will force an adjustment of the relative priority of America's political, economic, and defense agendas. But America is still uniquely at the forefront of the movement towards a global community of shared values: democracy, economic freedom, and the rule of law. The example we set at home and abroad, the support we have given to friends and allies, as well as former enemies, have encouraged and led the way for others to follow. The building blocks for a new world order are at hand.

National Security Redefined

Our citizens and our interests are threatened today at many levels -- perhaps not to the degree they were before, certainly no longer by a singular monolithic country -- but threatened nonetheless. In this age, our security must be viewed more broadly:

the domestic benefits of engagement.

Why engagement?

*Maybe some
thoughts for
"closure".*

CHAPTER VI - TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY

As we approach the 21st Century, the fundamental values that have guided this Nation for over two centuries have not changed, nor have our national interests and objectives. But our strategy has changed to better position us to lead in a world of intriguing contradictions, enduring uncertainty, and opportunity. Power among nations is increasingly diffuse, yet nations are more interdependent than ever; ancient rivalries are being played out by small and medium powers, yet with all the destructive potential of modern weaponry.

While it is no longer an era of single, defining threat, the challenges that face America today, and that will confront us in the future are more complex than ever before. They are both foreign and domestic; political, economic and military; unilateral and multilateral; short and long-term; resource-constrained, yet dependent upon our national will. But just as these challenges are broad, so too are the opportunities for America. With over two centuries of determination, example, and sacrifice, no other nation has our moral, diplomatic, and military standing. No other has won such confidence, respect, and trust. And none can substitute for our leadership or the military capability we can marshal in defense of the free world.

America has always stood for much more than the sum of its economic wants and needs. We do care about the world around us -- our contributions are written in the history books for all to see. We have inspired many because of what we have achieved and because of what we represent. We live in a country replete with freedoms where people of all religious, races, creeds, and colors live in peace in harmony; where success and achievement are bounded only by one's initiative, ingenuity, and imagination; where there is an unbounded belief in human dignity and faith in human potential; where there is always hope for a better tomorrow. We must continue to share our hopes and dreams with the world.

The New World Order is not yet here. But we have before us, more clearly than ever before, the opportunity to influence and shape the future. That is what our new national security strategy is all about. And, despite what some would say, we have a vision for that future. We seek a world characterized by cooperation, not containment or confrontation; a world no longer divided, but a community of interdependent nations joined together by shared values -- freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law; a world in which the United States role is defined by what we as a country stand for, rather than what we stand against. To succeed, our strategy will have to be more than words on a piece of paper. It will take faith, courage, hard work, dialogue, and inspiration. It will take the very best we have to offer -- as individuals, as institutions, as a Nation. Let us work together to lead the world towards the 21st Century, the Age of Democratic Peace -- there is no more important goal to which we could aspire.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, 5.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

SUBJECT: MAY 27, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAEST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>MCGROARTY</u>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			GAUGHAN		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm 122, Ext. 2930, NO LATER THAN 3:00 P.M. FRIDAY, MAY 22, with a copy to this office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE: 5-23-92 12:15 pm

FOR: Adm Howe
Subj: LATEST Scowcroft Edits to USNA Speech

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

2 MAY 21 12:25

McGroarty/Bunton
May 21, 1992
11:15 a.m.
[NAVY]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
MAY 27, 1992

[Acknowledgements.] Members of the Navy faculty, families, friends, the Brigade -- and of course the Class of 1992: thank you all for this warm welcome. //

[[Since I took office, I've given the commencement speech at the Coast Guard Academy, at Air force and West Point. I know some will say, "He saved the best for last." // Actually, I just wanted to salute the Class that finally captured the ARMY MULES.]]

I understand many of you will go on from here to Pensacola for flight training. Not too long ago, I visited Pensacola myself, and toured that marvelous museum of aviation. In fact, I was told the museum was making plans to add to their collection of "vintage" planes one of the ones I flew: an old Avenger, hauled up from the bottom of Lake Michigan. [[Let me say for the record: I'm not the one who put it there. // I left two in the Pacific -- but none in the Great Lakes. ///]]

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke at Southern Methodist about the new economic realities -- about the opportunities we'll have in the century ahead. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- the first lessons in faith and character that learned at home. Today, I want to speak about the great

mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, / keeping the peace.

You [take up your command] at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. Think of the changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four short years ago, for world. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. And history had never seen a communist "domino" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall / the Warsaw Pact / the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

We must recognize these events for what they were: An indication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed. //

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. We are working now with the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- with Russia and Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty we signed just a year ago. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so

many of

3

many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. //

(This triumph means new opportunities for global prosperity -

→ - a new commitment to free trade and free enterprise.) From South America to southern Africa to the Far East, free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- an nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual. //

For years, the Western world feared the have-not nations would rally around a scheme called the new international economic order, to redistribute the world's wealth. The trend we see today runs toward the free market -- toward a new world economy based on creating wealth by allowing enterprising individuals to reap the fruits of their labors. //

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or put obstacles in its path. There should be no question what course we must take. The U.S. must remain a forceful advocate for free trade: Here in our own hemisphere, as we work toward a trade agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico -- in South America, through the Enterprise for the Americas initiative -- and in the global economy, through GATT and the Uruguay Round.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the challenges of new economic realities. We must guard against healthy economic competition degenerating into open economic conflict. Many of our key security partners are our toughest

✓ The triumph doesn't mean this *rewritten*

✓

many of

✓

non-sequester redistribution is a separate issue from free market.

Why free trade?
What doesn't mean to Americans?

Why free trade?
What does it mean to Americans?

4
add to previous

On economics, we should make clearer why we are in favor of an open world trading system -- e.g., the importance of export markets, how lower tariffs multiply trade volume creating jobs. Just extolling free markets doesn't do it.

G.06

we should be in favor of system -- e.g. the carbets, how low the multiply trade volume, create jobs. Just extolling free markets doesn't do it.

economic competitors. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism -- to group themselves into warring trade blocs. We did not end the Cold War to make the world safe for trade wars. We must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open. //

Beyond this economic challenge, we must not be blind to the dangers that remain. Yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we've made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace. //

As old threats recede -- new ones emerge. By the year 2000, as many as [xx] nations may possess both weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. Some of these regimes may be ruled by leaders more rash than rational -- less likely to be dissuaded from outlaw acts by theories of deterrence than by nations with the means and will to frustrate their aggressive aims. //

don't be specific
may

And with the end of East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. / Ancient hatreds -- ethnic rivalries frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the

Some

?

captive nations now free: we must stand for the principles that make nationalism a positive force. // *What does this really mean?*

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy:

Where in the past we have established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act. //

We will face a challenge that takes us beyond containment - to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the question of aid to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home -- for all that we must and will do to open new opportunities to every American -- we cannot fail in this critical mission. //

When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, no single factor shapes their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy -- or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will effect everything: from the amount government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

Yes the aid I've requested from Congress is significant -- bit it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this



Fuzzy.
Why coalitions, why not do it alone?
Why not withdraw as having done enough
was as having done enough

What does this really mean?

T1 The political challenge section is very weak.
SE We need to make a case for involvement -- why
M what goes on in the world is of significance
to U.S. citizens.

it
to
citizens.

nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began this task -- as well as those who will come after -- to finish the great work we've begun. //

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. Yes, our nuclear forces can and will be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress Iraq had made toward building a nuclear weapon of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action. We cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack. //

Second, even in our new world, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change: security means forward deployment. From the forty years of Cold War to the forty days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have helped America keep danger from its shores. The future will be no different.

This is an assertion, not an argument.

Why?

Third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on rapid response. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few -- when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to

7 The world will not of itself become a benign place -- at least it hasn't for 5,000 years -- it will take hard US efforts to make and keep it a better place.

5 per
red
the place

The security portion leaves out the need for coalition support -- why we need the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) and a coalition in the Gulf.

win the war. There is no substitute for forces that are trained, equipped and ready.

Fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute our forces to meet any future threat that may arise. Production lines for planes, tanks, ships and subs can't be turned on and off like a water faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons you'll need to succeed.

new
Are we doing this?
If so, I don't know about it
This costs big bucks
on this or big bucks

I want to turn now to a final challenge -- one that will be familiar to you after four years of study. It begins with this fundamental fact: the crucial connection in any democracy between military strength and moral support. We've seen the power of this connection in Desert Storm; we've felt its lack in Vietnam. The message must be clear: America is safest at home when we stand as a force for stability in the world.

Is that the message?
Vietnam wasn't pro stability

In many respects, this may be the greatest challenge of all. Because the history of this century reveals the deep isolationist urge in the American character -- a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done.

reworked

Good para. But it doesn't distinguish between Vietnam and Iraq

Such an urge is not unusual in democracies. It's a trait found in nations more interested in the comforts of home than conquests abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers -- that still poses threats to our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point in the subtitle to the last volume in his epic history of World War Two. He called it:

"How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their lives."

More than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict -- and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again: we can win the war. Now we must wage the peace.

Good
Good

and we have not yet secured the peace.
And we will do it with your help. *and we have not yet secured the peace.*

I began today by speaking about the great victory of freedom in the world as vindication of the American ideal. I know there are some who may think there's something presumptuous about that claim -- something boastful. But it is not -- for one simple reason: Democracy isn't our creation -- democracy is our inheritance. / We can't take credit for democracy, but we can take the precious gift of freedom / preserve it / and pass it on -- as my generation does to you, and you, too, will do one day. And perhaps -- provided we seize the opportunities now open to us -- we can secure the new world of freedom that has always been our aim. //

Once again, thank you all for this warm welcome. Congratulations to the Navy Class of '92 -- and may God bless the United States of America.
