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Threats and Challenges to Hemispheric Maritime Security 2010 - 2020

Ocean Environment

Maritime Activities

Quick Look

Sep 1998

Hemispheric Changes

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THREATS AND CHALLENGES TO HEMISPHERIC MARITIME SECURITY 2010-2020

QUICK LOOK
SEPTEMBER 1998

FOREWORD

Threats and Challenges to Hemispheric Maritime Security 2010-2020 will provide a strategic assessment of the threats and challenges Coast Guard assets operating in the Deepwater environment will face through the year 2020 and is being developed to support the US Coast Guard Deepwater Project. This "Quick Look" provides an overview of research to date, and outlines man-ocean interrelations in 2020 at three different levels: the ocean environment, maritime activities, and instability produced by nation-states and non-state actors. *Threats and Challenges to Hemispheric Maritime Security 2010-2020* has been produced at the request of the Commandant, US Coast Guard (G-OC).

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CHAPTER I

OCEAN ENVIRONMENT

A. CLIMATE. The world's climate or weather system influences all facets of military operations. Extensive studies indicate that the Earth is experiencing a warming trend which in turn will affect maritime operations.

1. Global Warming. Climate change models project an increase in global mean surface air temperature by 2020 ranging from 0.25 to 0.9 degrees centigrade. The mean global air surface temperature has increased by 0.3 to 0.6 degrees centigrade since the late 19th century, and by 0.2 to 0.3 degrees centigrade over the last 40 years. Warming is evident in air surface temperatures over both land and sea, but has not been globally uniform. The recent warmth has been greatest over the continents between 40 and 70 degrees north.

2. Sea Surface Temperature. No significant increase in sea surface temperature is anticipated in the next 20 years. Unlike the global air surface temperature, the global sea surface temperature has not experienced a significant rise. This is primarily because of the oceans' large heat capacity which causes a non-uniform delay in warming.

3. Sea Level Rising. Climate change models project a rise in global mean sea level by 2020 ranging from 2.5 to 15 cm. Global sea level has risen between 10 and 25 cm over the past 100 years, much of which may be related to the increase in global mean temperature. Of concern is the relative sea level rise which is the net effect of landmass uplifting or subsidence combined with sea level rise.

4. Storm Trends. There is little agreement on the severity of storminess that might occur in a warmer world. The formation of tropical cyclones (hurricanes) depends not only on sea surface temperature, but also on a number of atmospheric factors and the state of current science does not allow assessment of future trends. However, there is the possibility of enhanced precipitation associated with El Nino-Southern Oscillation, especially over the tropical continents. The coastal flooding power of storms will

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increase due to the sea level rise making more coastal plains vulnerable.

B. OCEANOGRAPHY. The effects of oceanographic conditions affect every maritime activity from ship design to employment practices. In the next century, several oceanographic conditions will be in a state of flux as a result of global warming.

1. Surface Conditions. One likely effect of temperature rise is an increase in surface wind speed which will cause greater evaporation and a subsequent increase in the amount of water vapor present in the atmosphere. A larger supply of atmospheric water vapor (6 percent more for each degree centigrade increase) will result in the formation of more clouds and rainfall. Other effects of increased surface wind speed will include higher wave heights and the presence of more airborne dust particles.

2. Ice Formations. As a result of climate warming being concentrated between 40 and 70 degrees north, the production of icebergs from the Greenland glaciers is expected to increase. However, the warmer air and sea surface temperatures will deteriorate the bergs quicker, reducing the risk to the shipping lanes in the lower latitudes.

3. Coastal Ecosystems. A 0.5 cm/year rise in sea level is expected to place stress on coastal ecosystems. Mostly as a result of this rise, river deltas, estuaries, beaches, wetlands, coral reefs, mangrove forests and seagrass beds may face degradation or eradication as new sea levels affect substrate, wave energy and bottom slope.

C. MARINE LIFE. The overall health of marine life will improve by 2020. Governments will continue to increase their efforts to protect their nations' natural resources, and international cooperation regarding the environment will be unprecedented. Non-governmental organizations will expand their roles as quasi-enforcement agencies where governments do not have the wherewithal or desire to enforce environmental regulations.

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1. Fishing Stocks.

a. International. International fishing stocks are expected to recover with the implementation of the U.N. Agreement on Conservation and Management of Straddling Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish. Many high seas fisheries which heretofore have been protected only by voluntary agreements will be protected by international law. More nations will endeavor to aggressively control their exclusive economic zones, and will develop enforcement agreements with other states to prevent overfishing in areas of mutual concern.

b. Domestic. Current and future emphasis on domestic fisheries regulation and enforcement, and a consequent reduction in the size of the American fishing fleet, will spur a rise in fish stocks through 2020. Tools such as Vessel Monitoring Systems, Tailored Fishing Quotas (TFQs) and vessel buybacks will reduce the U.S. fishing fleet to the point where viable fisheries maintenance is feasible. Incursions by Mexican fishing vessels off Texas and Canadian vessels along the Hague Line will likely increase.

2. **Endangered Species.** The rate of marine species becoming endangered will decrease, and may reverse itself altogether, by 2020. Marine management is looking more and more to preserving ecosystems rather than individual species, broadening the scope and improving the efficiency of marine protection measures. Changes in abundance and distribution of one species affect the distribution of other species as well, and single species approaches are no longer adequate for modern fisheries management. Of the 174 stocks of marine mammals and sea turtles, 42 are on the endangered species list or considered depleted over a significant portion of their range. By 2020, the number of endangered or depleted species will not appreciably increase, and may likely decrease.

3. **Alien Species.** The introduction of alien species into the marine environment through 2020 will likely decrease. Currently, an alien species is introduced to the United States through ballast discharge every 14 weeks. The Coast Guard proposed changes to the National Invasive Species Act of 1996 would require reporting and ballast sampling procedures for nearly all vessels entering U.S. waters after voyages from foreign ports. However, another

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potential source of alien species, aquaculture, is the fastest growing segment of American agriculture. Domesticated species have the potential to weaken wild fish stocks and farming of foreign species may overwhelm native inhabitants.

4. Marine Mammals. Marine mammal populations within the U.S. exclusive economic zone are expected to remain at present levels or increase through 2020. Their success will depend in large part on how well the U.S. succeeds in preserving ecosystems and managing fisheries (maintaining food sources, enforcing no-trawl zones in vicinity of stellar sea lion rookeries, etc.).

5. Marine Sanctuaries. Given the rising demand for marine nature preservation, the trend of increasing marine protected areas will continue, but likely at a slower pace, through 2020.

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CHAPTER II

MARITIME ACTIVITIES

A. COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES.**1. Legal Maritime Trade.**

a. Cargo. Cargo moving through U.S. ports should triple by the year 2020 with the container, petroleum, and bulk shipping industries all experiencing growth. The globalization of the U.S. sea trade will lead to the emergence of new trading partners, with most trade growth concentrated in the Middle East, Latin America, and Far East routes. There will be enormous growth in the size of container ships and a significant increase in container shipping, particularly at the major load centers. Tank ship transits in the Gulf of Mexico along with supertanker transits from the Middle East and elsewhere will rise in an effort to meet the increasing demand for oil imports. Over the next 20 years, the shipping industry will continue to capitalize on technical advances in order to move larger amounts of cargo quickly and more efficiently.

b. People. The most significant changes in the passenger industry over the next 20 years will be the growth in cruise line passengers and the emergence of 80-100 knot ferries. By 2020, the number of cruise line passengers is expected to triple from five to 15 million. Although new cruise ships will force older ships to move to new areas, cruise line traffic will stay roughly the same, with approximately 60 percent of such traffic in the Caribbean. As for the ferry industry, vessels will increase speed to 80 or even 100 knots as they strive to compete with other forms of transportation. These ferries will draw increased attention by authorities focusing on safety and environmental issues.

c. Navigation. Technological advances will significantly influence future maritime navigation by providing more accurate, reliable, and accessible information. By 2020, more vessels will be able to receive up-to-date information about water levels, currents, and obstructions. This will allow new, deeper draft container ships to operate more efficiently and safely in U.S. ports. Mariners will rely more heavily on real-time information coupled with integrated systems to aid their navigation. Almost every mariner will use the

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Global Positioning System (GPS) for primary navigation and Loran-C will continue to serve as a back-up system.

2. Illegal Maritime Trade.

a. Drugs/Narcotics. The growing complexity of drug production, trafficking, and consumption intertwined with spreading political corruption will continue to plague the United States through 2020. In the next 20 years, drug abusers in the United States will continue to use marijuana, cocaine, and heroin, with synthetic drugs playing an ever increasing role. Drug traffickers will continue to take advantage of technology and growing commercial trade to elude law enforcement assets. Counterdrug pressure from law enforcement operations will force traffickers to regularly shift operations to places that pose a lower threat. Moreover, criminal syndicates will increasingly exacerbate the world drug problem as their corruption and influence permeate weak governments.

b. Arms. Illegal trade in small arms and light weapons will become an even more important issue in the next 20 years. These illicit weapons will continue to arm terrorists, drug traffickers, and other criminals throughout the world. Criminal organizations will continue to smuggle arms and drugs in close connection. The United States will continue to be a major source of illegal small arms destined for the black market. Recent trends indicate a growing international awareness of illicit arms trafficking and the associated violence. As a result, illicit arms trafficking will become an increasingly important international issue over the next 20 years.

c. People. Illegal alien smuggling into the United States will continue well into the future. By the year 2020, the population of the world is expected to grow by at least two billion people. A large percentage of these people will be born in developing countries with economic problems. The areas where people will experience the worst of the economic strife are South Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Poor economic conditions will create the desire for people to depart their homeland illegally. Illegal aliens from Africa will be smuggled primarily to Europe, while Asians and Latin Americans will pay smugglers to transport them to the United States. These smugglers will use both maritime and air routes to transport aliens to the United States. Primary source countries for illegal alien smuggling to the United States will include Haiti, Cuba,

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the Dominican Republic, India, Pakistan, and the People's Republic of China.

d. Foreign Species. With seaborne trade expected to triple by 2020, the threat of foreign species entering the United States through maritime trade will increase significantly. These foreign species, primarily insects, will pose a serious threat to U.S. agriculture and could potentially cause millions of dollars in damage. The insects frequently originate from Far Eastern or European countries and are often difficult to detect. Insects such as the Asian longhorn beetle, the bark beetle, and the Asian gypsy moth usually enter U.S. ports in the untreated wooden packaging used to transport cargo. As trade routes increase between the United States and the Far East, the potential for alien insects to infiltrate U.S. agriculture will rise substantially.

3. Natural Resource Exploitation

a. Commercial Fishing. Commercial fishing will be effectively managed within the U.S. exclusive economic zone in 2020. Vessel Monitoring Systems (VMS) are on the rise and provide law enforcement agencies long range capabilities without having to be actually on scene. Tailored fishing quotas (TFQs) and vessel buy backs will reduce overcapitalization of the domestic fishing fleet. Developing nations' demand for animal protein, however, will result in larger, more efficient fleets deploying far from home. Although illegal driftnet fishing in 2020 will remain a high profile conservation issue, only a small number of vessels will engage in the activity. These few driftnet vessels, however, will remain difficult to detect as they continue to operate far from law enforcement assets.

b. Recreational Fishing. There will be as many as two million more US anglers by 2020. Despite this increase, recreational fishermen will be more active in preserving and rebuilding fish stocks than their commercial counterparts for two reasons. One, their numbers are much larger (which in turn supports a larger infrastructure: boat builders and gear manufacturers). Two, recreational fishermen can afford to take a longer view and make more short-term sacrifices for long-term conservation benefits.

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c. Ocean minerals. The marine mining industry is currently undergoing an active phase of exploration and offers the potential for significant development in the future. Before submarines, deep-sea drilling ships, and robots can begin exploiting ocean minerals, certain economic, environmental, and legal challenges must be overcome. In the short term, industry development beyond exploration doesn't appear significant because of the prohibitive costs. However, deep water oil exploration and production will eventually spur technological advances and decrease the start up costs of mining for other minerals. Regulations will likely increase as countries recognize and expand authority over their exclusive economic zones.

d. Oil and natural gas exploitation. Oil and natural gas exploitation from within the U.S. exclusive economic zone will continue but at different levels through 2020. Overall, U.S. oil production will decline at an average annual rate of 1.1 percent. Offshore oil production, however, will increase through 2006 and then decline to current levels through 2020. The resulting gap between declining production and increased demand will be met with increased foreign oil imports. Natural gas production, on the other hand, will increase significantly within the next 20 years in order to meet the increased demand for electricity and offset the decline in nuclear power. Natural gas production is projected to increase 1.5 percent per year through 2020.

B. CONSTRUCTION OF PERMANENT AND SEMI-PERMANENT STRUCTURES.

1. **Port Infrastructure.** U.S. ports will face increased pressure to broaden infrastructure and deepen navigation channels through the next two decades. As global shipping links spread and competitiveness in the shipping industry escalates, port modernization will become a necessity in order to ensure the economic survival of the United States. Environmental regulations will continue to inhibit the necessary growth of U.S. ports, thereby increasing the competitive challenges from foreign ports in Canada, the Caribbean, and potentially Mexico. The combination of larger container ships and an expanding intermodal freight industry will force U.S. ports into one of two categories. The first group will be an elite tier of large transshipment ports or load centers with deep harbors and excellent inland infrastructure. The second group will

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include the smaller ports which will be used to off-load the feeder ships. Although the new and larger container vessels will operate closer to draft constraints in U.S. ports, new technologies will provide real time information about water levels, currents, and obstructions resulting in safer navigation.

2. Energy Infrastructure. Offshore platform and pipeline construction will continue to increase during the next 20 years to meet rising energy demands. U.S. crude oil and natural gas wells will increase an average of 0.7 to 2.2 percent a year depending on oil prices. Although near-term platform construction and expansion is currently limited by inadequate undersea exploration and technological restraints, future construction and offshore expansion will be bolstered by innovative cost-saving technology. In addition, pipeline capacity is expected to expand substantially through 2020 with the greatest growth projected in the corridors that move Canadian and Gulf Coast resources to markets in the United States.

3. Underwater Cables. The undersea cable industry will experience enormous growth during the next 20 years as fiber-optic cables strive to compete against satellite communications. Investments in fiber-optic undersea systems increased by 81 percent between 1997 and 1998 and will continue to grow through 2020. Project Oxygen is just one example of the significant growth in the undersea cable industry. It involves an ambitious initiative to lay 320,000 kilometers of mostly undersea fiber-optic cable and plans to operate 23 cable maintenance ships. As the size and scope of the undersea cable industry rapidly expands, the infrastructure necessary to support cable repair and maintenance will increase accordingly.

C. OCEAN MONITORING. Improvements in earth and space-based sensor technologies will advance ocean monitoring activities and their subsequent application to the maritime environment for the next 20 years. As the need for real-time and synoptic monitoring increases, sensors fixed to buoys, mounted to undersea robots, or attached to satellites will continue to evolve. The remote sensing industry will expand through 2020 as commercial and government organizations recognize the potential applications and the cost efficiencies gained by incorporating sensors into their operations. Potential applications for both

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commercial and government use include the following: vessel traffic management, aquaculture (water quality), fish finding, ocean routing, scientific measurements, search and rescue (ship detection & weather), hazardous spills (ship detection, spill detection, weather) and law enforcement.

D. POLLUTION AND DEGRADATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

1. Ocean Dumping. Both the number of incidences and volume of waste dumped into the marine environment will decline substantially by 2020 as a result of strict laws. Whether vessels wish to transport toxins, dump nuclear and/or industrial waste, or deballast tanks, doing so will remain explicitly prohibited without the possession of a permit. The feasibility of obtaining this permission, however, will simultaneously decrease, as both international and domestic restrictions tighten to encompass new toxic chemicals. Lesser developed nations will continue to accept the industrial waste of developed countries in exchange for needed capital and will improperly implement safety standards regarding toxins.

2. Inadvertent Ocean Pollution. With increased education and heightened restrictions, the threat of marine contamination by human activity will be significantly reduced. While an increased amount of oil will be shipped in the year 2020, the mandatory enforcement of stricter standards will ensure that both the number of devastating oil incidents and the volume of oil spilled will decrease substantially. Agricultural practices, industrial pollution, deforestation, and other human activities which severely degrade coastal areas will also be stringently monitored to prevent any negative repercussions from land runoff.

E. RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES. The recreational boating industry will slowly expand through 2020. Projections indicate the number of recreational boaters will rise 2 to 5 percent per year in the United States. With the recent surge of personal watercraft likely to settle, the growth in boating will probably gravitate toward the lower side (2%). Although there may be a steady rise in the number of registered boats over the next 20 years, the actual frequency of use will depend largely on economic factors, such as disposable income, gas prices, and taxes. In 2020, the boating public will be better educated, resulting in safer maritime practices.

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Technological advances will minimize environmental issues, such as pollution and engine noise, while simultaneously improving safety and navigation. On the other hand, technology will also increase the associated risks with high performance personal watercraft and faster vessels.

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CHAPTER III

HEMISPHERIC CHANGES

A. INCREMENTAL EVENTS. Several long-term trends will substantially impact hemispheric changes at the international, national and sub-national levels. Of primary importance will be demographic growth, international migration, and organized crime.

1. Population Demographics. The world population will increase from roughly 5.9 billion in 1998 to over 8 billion by the year 2025, with developing countries incurring the greatest population growth. By the year 2025, 83 percent of the world's population will live in the less developed regions. In addition to uneven population growth between developed and developing areas, population growth in the developing states will occur at different rates. Africa will be the fastest growing region in the world; by 2010 it will constitute over 15 percent of the world's population. Latin America will be the second fastest growing region. By 2025, the population of Latin America will double to over 865 million people, constituting close to 11 percent of the global population. Population growth in Asia will occur at a comparatively lower rate; in 2020 Asia will have roughly the same proportion of the global population (50 percent) that it had in 1990.

2. Population Migration. The aforementioned population increase in the less developed countries, deteriorating social and economic conditions in troubled states, and the spread of information about the industrialized world will stimulate an increase in migration in the 21st century. In regard to the United States, migration from the Caribbean basin and Mexico will present the greatest challenge to hemispheric security. The large disparity between rich and poor in Latin America will continue to drive many, using both legal and illegal means, to migrate to the United States. Other Caribbean and Latin American countries may follow Cuba's lead and place restrictions on internal migration, thereby increasing the pressure on their citizens to seek a better life outside of national borders, particularly in the United States. While the potential for a mass migration from Cuba will remain into the next decade, the threat will decrease by 2020 since Cuba should be well past the potential turmoil of the post-Castro transition period.

HEMISPHERIC CHANGES

3. Organized Crime. Organized criminal organizations will continue to globalize their operations and expand their illegal activities into the next century. The expected proliferation of communications and transportation technologies, a decrease in government controls over the international flow of goods, services, and money, the establishment of international affiliates among immigrant communities, the estimated population increase, and projected unemployment will be the driving forces behind this phenomenon. Russian crime syndicates, Latin and South American drug cartels, Asian triads, and ethnic gangs will vie with one another for regional superiority and the control of illicit activities, presenting an increasing challenge to law enforcement organizations.

B. CATAclysmic Events. Catastrophic events, including political-military engagements, natural disasters, and humanitarian emergencies, will continue to plague the world through 2020. These events and other potentially cataclysmic changes, such as technological breakthroughs, will profoundly affect societies, states, and international relations.

1. Political-Military Engagements. While the likelihood of global or nuclear war is improbable in the next 20 years, there will be a high incidence of smaller regional conflicts and the steady continuation of lower order military threats. For example, civil wars and violent clashes between ethnic and religious groups will be prevalent in the 21st century as the image of the sovereign state is challenged by group identities. The United States will continue to face conventional security risks and adversaries will constantly attempt to exploit perceived U.S. weaknesses. It is possible that the 21st century will see some type of biological or chemical warfare, but the situation would probably entail a very limited use in a limited type of conflict. Finally, while the United States may choose to enter an armed conflict, chances are good that there will be few incidents where international armed conflicts will be waged against or by the United States.

2. Natural Disasters. The unpredictable nature of natural disasters requires U.S. forces to constantly anticipate humanitarian response scenarios. While forecasts on the number or type of future natural disasters are shaky, it is possible to identify certain populations that have historically been vulnerable to major natural

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disasters, such as tropical hurricanes hitting the Caribbean Islands, earthquakes in Central America, flooding in Southeast Asia, and droughts along the eastern coast of Africa. It is also possible to forecast how certain natural disasters will aggravate incremental changes. For example, regional droughts, floods, storms, heat waves, or global climate change will increase the likelihood of food shortages and famines in developing countries where it is highly unlikely that the output of food in the developing countries will meet the increasing food demands of the projected population growth.

3. Humanitarian Emergencies. Based upon the above projections, governmental and non-governmental humanitarian relief organizations can, with a relatively high degree of certainty, expect to be called upon to assist in organizing and distributing food, water, and medical supplies, providing transportation and evacuation needs, assessing the loss of life and the extent of casualties, and constructing temporary shelters and emergency infrastructure in those regions.

4. Technology. The United States evaluates itself as being on the edge of a major "revolution" in military affairs and projects that it will continue to be able to exploit advanced information systems and intelligence structures in the near future. While the United States will proceed forward with advancements in power sources, space, electronics, and materials, the asymmetrical edge that they have enjoyed through the 20th century will diminish significantly. The global spread of lateral technology will enable other nations to buy or indigenously produce U.S. technology at a fraction of the original price.

a. **Advances in applicable technologies.** The hallmark technologies of the 21st century will be power sources (including propulsion equipment and lasers), space satellites and vehicles, electronics (information technologies, communications equipment, and robotics), and design, construction, and composition materials. Emerging technological advancements include the digitization of all media and data, significant increases in computational capabilities, and global interconnectivity on wide band, high-speed networks. There will also be an accelerated global shift to digital, multimedia, interactive, universal communications and computing.

HEMISPHERIC CHANGES

C. CONSTANT EVENTS. Terrorism and other forms of violence will continue to pose a constant challenge to the security of nations and international organizations. While terrorists will remain unpredictable in the timing and execution of their activities, the scope of options available to the terrorist will increase dramatically. The maritime environment will not be immune to terrorism and other violence.

1. Maritime Violence. Maritime violence encompasses threats to mariners from maritime terrorism, piracy and crime.

a. Maritime Terrorism. From the 1961 seizure of the Portuguese passenger vessel *Santa Maria* to the numerous maritime attacks of the Sri Lankan Tamil Sea Tigers in the 1990s, widely publicized incidents of terrorism in the maritime environment have drawn immediate concern and action. There has been a marked tendency when discussing maritime terrorism to address it as an approaching wave and as a phenomenon somehow different from, and possibly greater than, the broader term of terrorism. This is particularly true whenever some incident grabs public attention. But analysis of maritime terrorism shows that it is not new and that it differs little, if at all, from terrorism ashore or, for that matter, in the skies. In fact, maritime terrorism occurs in the same forms and methods as acts perpetrated ashore. The average number of maritime terrorist incidents will remain within the range of 10 - 15 incidents per year.

b. Crime and Piracy. While the number of piracy incidents will most likely remain constant over the next 20 years, there will be an increase in incident reporting and a possible corollary increase in perpetrator prosecution. Incidents of piracy, defined as the act of boarding any vessel with the intent to commit theft or other crime and with the capability to use force in furtherance of the act, tend to occur in two main regional areas, Southeast Asia and South America. The concentration of piracy incidents is directly related to the instability, lawlessness, and the high volume of commercial shipping that is prevalent in the Southeast Asian and South American littorals.

2. Cyber-terrorism and the Threat to Technology Infrastructure. With the continued consolidation and proliferation of vital information in electronic form, accessible through the

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Internet or private computer networks, the security threat to cyber-information and technology infrastructures will increase exponentially. Despite the current efforts to construct firewalls and to secure networks, vital military and economic data will be more vulnerable than ever to attacks by individual hackers and organized sabotage operations. Given that there is no doubt that "information warfare" will become more prevalent over the next two decades, the debate remains as to whether the United States will be able to protect itself from this threat. Although the United States is strategically placed to benefit from, and perhaps even continue to dominate, information technologies, the ability of the United States to operate without fear of attacks against its information infrastructure will erode as other states choose information over industry as an instrument of national power.

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Doug Lovelace of the Strategic Studies Institute at the Army War College, contributing author to The World View Strategic Assessment.

Donald Schulz of the Strategic Studies Institute at the Army War College, author of the forthcoming National Security Strategy for the 21st Century.

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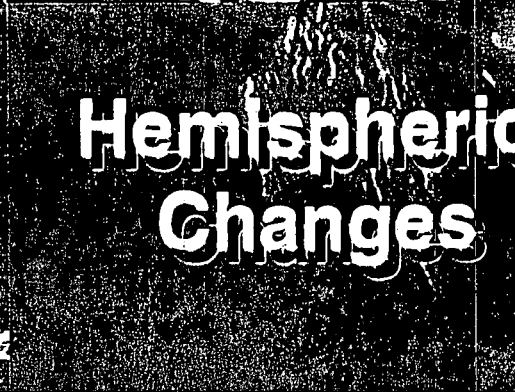
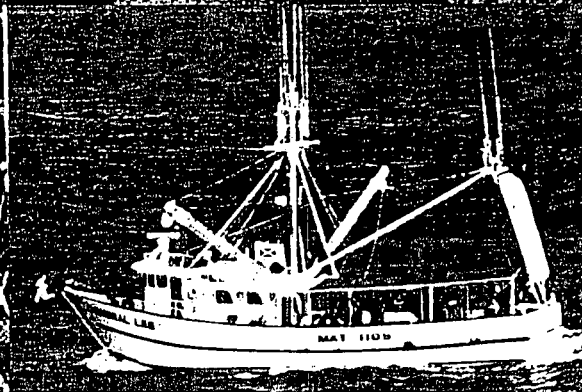
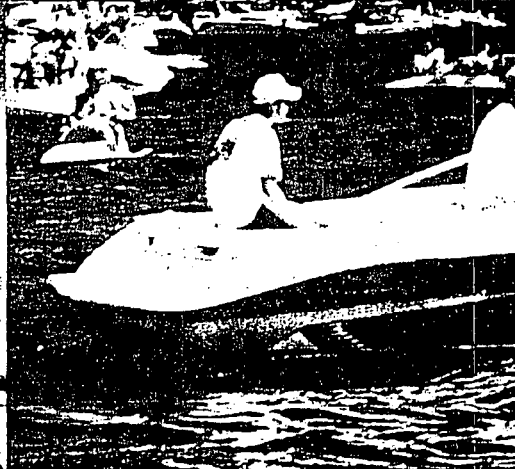
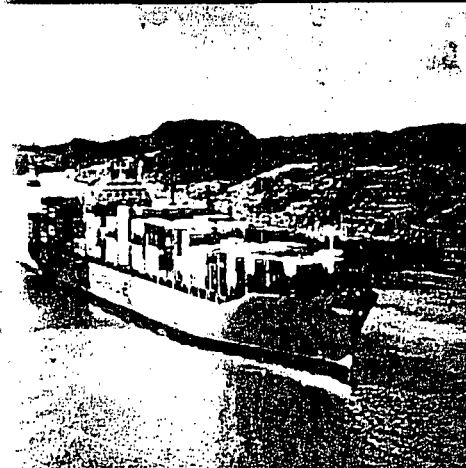
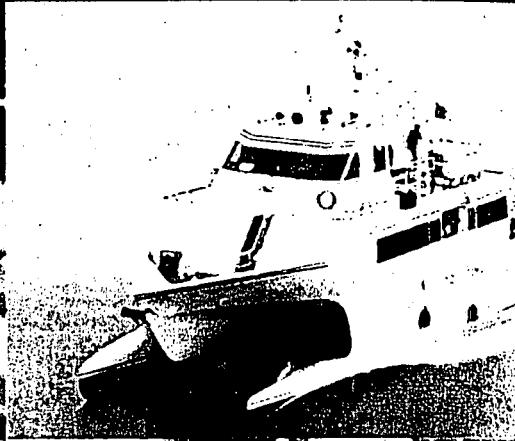
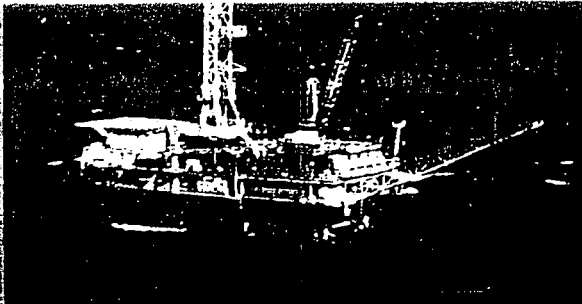
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Ocean Environment



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Academy History and General Information

The U.S. Coast Guard Academy is located on the Thames River in New London, Connecticut. From this campus, the academy annually commissions approximately 175 ensigns during graduation exercises in May. Following graduation, newly commissioned ensigns report for duty aboard cutters home ported nationwide. Graduates of the academy are obligated to serve five years.

The modern academy began with the School of Instruction for the Revenue Marine in 1876. Nine cadets began their training aboard the schooner *Dobbin* which operated out of Fisher Island near New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The 106-foot barque *Chase* replaced the *Dobbin* in 1878. The *Chase* was permanently home ported in Arundel Cove, Maryland in 1900 where shore side classroom instruction was added to supplement shipboard training programs.

The *Chase* was decommissioned in 1907 after 30 years of service and was replaced by the cutter *Itasca*. In 1910 the cutter *Itasca* and the winter quarters were moved to Fort Trumbull, an Army coastal defense installation located in New London, Connecticut.

The *Itasca* was replaced by the cutter *Hamilton* in 1914 and the academy's name was changed to the Revenue Cutter School of Instruction.

Today's academy was born with the 1915 merger of the Life Saving Service and Revenue Cutter Service. The academy was moved to its present location in New London in 1932.

The barque *Eagle* was acquired as a war reparation from Germany in 1947 and continues to serve as an important sea-going training platform for cadets.

More than 5,000 applicants interested in becoming Coast Guard officers seek appointments to the academy each year. Many of those applications come from the service's enlisted ranks. Acceptance to the academy is based on an annual nationwide competition. There are no Congressional appointments, state quotas or special categories.

Approximately 275 men and women arrive at the gates of the academy each July to begin "Swab Summer" - the first step of a four-year education in becoming a commissioned officer. Cadets undergo a year-round regimen that ties together education, training and adjustment to military life.

All cadets complete a core curriculum oriented toward engineering, the sciences and professional studies. The curriculum is partnered with training and experience in Coast Guard operations and leadership studies. The development program is focused on the maritime humanitarian and safety aspects of the service.

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U.S. Coast Guard Homepage

Send EMAIL

Updated: July 1998

John F. Kennedy, 1961

Aug. 4 [312]

ommendations which could be made to the next session of Congress on this subject. These recommendations should include both long range and short range actions necessary to achieve and maintain healthy and efficient transportation systems.

Since the Department of Commerce has the statutory authority for the development of a national transportation policy, I am placing the primary responsibility for this task in the Department. Under your direc-

tion, I will expect full cooperation and participation of all other Federal agencies with functions and interests in the transportation area. Copies of this letter are being transmitted to these agencies.

It is my desire that you complete this task and have your recommendations in my hands by November 1, 1961.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

311 Message to Admiral Richmond on the Occasion of the 171st Anniversary of the U.S. Coast Guard. *August 4, 1961*

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend my warmest congratulations to the United States Coast Guard on the occasion of its 171st birthday.

Throughout its long history the Coast Guard has served our Nation in peace and war with valor and distinction. Both as a military force and as our chief agency for promoting maritime safety it is making a vital contribution to our economic well-being and our national security.

As one who is personally familiar with

the work of your fine service, I should like to express my admiration for an outstanding record of performance that has not been surpassed in the annals of our country. May you have many additional years of service to our country and to humanity.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Admiral Alfred C. Richmond, Commandant, United States Coast Guard, 1300 E Street NW., Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: The message was released at Hyannis, Mass.

312 Telegrams of Commendation Following the Capture of High-Jackers of a Jet Airliner in El Paso, Texas. *August 4, 1961*

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

I would like to commend the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its key role in helping to bring about the capture of the two high-jackers of the Continental Airlines 707 jet in El Paso, Texas, effecting the safe rescue of the passengers and crew. Your Special-Agent-in-Charge Francis Crosby is especially to be commended for the level-

headed and courageous manner in which he led the rescue operation.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

General J. M. Swing
Commissioner, Immigration and Natural-
ization Service
Washington, D.C.

I would like to commend Leonard Walter Gilman, Assistant Regional Commissioner for Enforcement of your Service in San

evening or tomorrow, and to give them long thought. Three questions—these questions, these four questions help define the differences between my administration and the other side. They help define what the issues this year are about. You can come to some hard truths as you answer these questions.

And if you have any doubt—and I don't think you do—about where we stand: We are for life and against abortion. We are for prayer in the schools. We are for tuition tax credits. And in Central America, we're rather more inclined to listen to the testimony of His Holiness the Pope than the claims of Communist Sandinistas.

But I don't wish to leave you on a somber and serious note. There's much to be happy about this evening, much to be joyous about in our country.

And I'll let you in on something else I've been thinking about. I want to serve another 4 years as your President. I make no bones about it. And there's some very serious reasons for it, but there's one I haven't talked about. I've been thinking about it now and then at night, or in a spare moment, when I'm summing up a day or thinking about the next one.

I've been thinking that I feel something in common with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the much-admired President of my youth—I cast my first vote for President in

1932 for him—and John Kennedy, that bright spirit, and Teddy Roosevelt and Harry Truman. They all loved the Presidency, loved the bully pulpit of the office, loved looking out for the interests of our country. So do I, and so would I for the next 4½ years. And I have no reservations about throwing my candidacy on the mercies of the good people of St. Ann's Church in Hoboken, New Jersey, and asking them to give the kid a chance. [Laughter]

And I do want to say if they'd have played one more chorus of "The Spirit of Notre Dame," I was going to do a broken-field run through the tables there. [Laughter] Do some table-hopping. I told the Archbishop and was surprised he didn't know. Maybe you'd be interested to know: I was extremely proud when I found out recently that every year they run that picture at Notre Dame for the incoming freshman class, as that's student indoctrination. [Laughter]

Well, anyway, thank you all. God bless you. And now I have to work for my supper. I have to pull, I understand it, the winning raffle ticket.

Note: The President spoke at 6:55 p.m. at St. Ann's Catholic Church. He was introduced by Archbishop Peter Gerety.

Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5225—Coast Guard Day, 1984 July 27, 1984

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

On August 4, 1790, the oldest continuous seagoing service of this Nation was formed. The United States Coast Guard was originally organized as "a fleet of cutters" to stop illegal smuggling from the sea and collect revenue due on goods coming to the young Nation. Later called the Revenue Cutter Service, this small organization combined with the Life Saving Service in 1915 and

assumed its now famous name—the United States Coast Guard.

Today, Coast Guard contributions to our Nation in the areas of national defense, maritime law enforcement, search and rescue, aids to navigation, merchant marine safety, environmental protection, ports and waterway safety, and boating safety have become a benchmark by which professional maritime excellence is judged.

This Nation relies heavily on the readiness of the Coast Guard's active duty, reserve, and civilian employees and the vol-

untary contribution of the 40,000 members of the Coast Guard Auxiliary to rescue victims, protect our environment, and defend this Nation, as the Coast Guard has done in every major conflict in which the United States has been involved.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 150, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation, designating August 4, 1984, as "Coast Guard Day."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 4, 1984, as Coast Guard Day in recognition of the profound importance of the missions and responsibilities entrusted to the Coast Guard. I invite all the Armed Forces—the Army, Navy,

Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard—the Departments of Defense and Transportation, other Federal departments and agencies, the Governors of the States, the chief officials of local governments, and the people of the United States to observe this day in an appropriate manner.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:44 a.m., July 27, 1984]

Proclamation 5226—National Volunteer Firefighters Recognition Day, 1984

July 27, 1984

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Throughout our history, the American spirit has been distinguished by the ready willingness of neighbors to join together and help one another. The tradition of voluntary community service is as important today as it was in the founding years of our country.

Our Nation's volunteer firefighters carry on this truly American tradition of citizen response for the common good. Like the Minutemen of our early years, these volunteers are ready to respond on short notice to help fellow citizens in need. Volunteer firefighters protect our lives, our families, and the economic life of our communities from the threat of destructive fire, often at great personal sacrifice. But these volunteers are more than firefighters. In many communities, they respond to a wide range of natural and technological emergencies.

These trained and organized volunteers, our neighbors, are a valuable national resource. It is fitting and proper that a grateful Nation should recognize the vital contri-

butions of the one million men and women who serve in our Nation's volunteer fire and rescue companies and departments.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 136, has designated August 18, 1984, as "National Volunteer Firefighters Recognition Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue an appropriate proclamation.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Saturday, August 18, 1984, as National Volunteer Firefighters Recognition Day, and I call upon all Americans to join in appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities to recognize the valuable contributions of these public-spirited volunteers.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:45 a.m., July 27, 1984]

President Clinton : Addresses at Colleges and Universities

1993

*** = Commencement Address**

Feb. 26 Remarks at the American University Centennial Celebration, Washington, DC.

Mar. 1 Remarks on National Service at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.

April 1 Remarks to Midshipmen, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.

May 18 Remarks and question-and-answer session, Los Angeles Valley State College, Van Nuys, CA.

***May 22 New Hampshire Technical College, Stratham, NH.**

✓ ***May 29 United States Military Academy, West Point, NY.**

***June 19 Northeastern University, Boston, MA.**

July 7 Remarks and question-and-answer session at Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

Oct. 9 Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Oct. 12 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC (Bicentennial)

Oct. 28 Remarks to the medical community, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.

1994

***May 13 Gallaudet University, Washington, DC.**

***May 20 University of California, Los Angeles, Westwood, CA (*convocation*).**

✓ ***May 25 United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.**

June 7 On Receiving a Doctorate in Civil Law from Oxford University, Oxford, England.

Nov. 1 University of Michigan, Dearborn, MI.
Nov. 3 State University of New York, Albany, NY.
Nov. 10 Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service,
Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

1995

Jan. 10 Carl Sandburg Community College, Galesburg, IL.
Jan. 17 California State University, Northridge, CA.
Jan. 25 Kutztown University, Kutztown, PA.
Feb. 14 San Bernardino Valley College, San Bernardino, CA.
March 29 Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
March 30 Hillsborough Community College, Tampa, FL.
April 3 At Dedication of Dean B. Ellis Library at Arkansas State University,
Jonesboro, AR.
April 25 Iowa State University, Ames, IA.
***May 5 Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.**
May 10 Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia.
May 12 Shevchenko University, Kiev, Ukraine.
✓ ***May 31 United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs,
CO.**
***June 11 Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.**
June 27 Portland State University, Portland, OR.
Sept. 4 At Dedication of former Fort Ord as California State University,
Monterey, CA.
Sept. 11 Southern Illinois University Community, Carbondale, IL.
(also: In Discussion with College Students)

Sept. 20 Pueblo Community College, Pueblo, CO.
Oct. 15 University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.
Oct. 16 University of Texas, Austin, TX.
Oct. 20 Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
Nov. 30 Ulster University, Londonderry, No. Ireland.
(Dedication of Thomas O'Neill Chair)

1996

Feb. 16 To the Community in Wilkes-Barre at King's
College, Wilkes-Barre, PA.
Feb. 17 To the Community in Manchester at New Hampshire
College, Manchester, NH.
Mar. 23 To Xavier University and Cincinnati Communities,
Cincinnati, OH.
April 5 University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, OK.
***May 10 Pennsylvania State University Graduate School,
State College, PA.**
May 16 Remarks during Panel I and Panel II at White House
Conference on Corporate Citizenship, Georgetown
University, Washington, DC.

✓ ***May 22 U.S. Coast Guard Academy, Groton, CT.**

***June 4 Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.**

June 11 Glendale Community College, Glendale, CA.

July 10 Central Piedmont Community College, Charlotte, NC.

Aug. 5 Remarks on "American Security in a Changing World" at The George
Washington University, Washington, DC.

Aug. 27 Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.

Aug. 29 University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

Sept. 6 Gulf Coast Community College, Panama City, FL.

Sept. 6 Valencia Community College, Orlando, FL.

Sept. 25 Robert Morris College, Coraopolis, PA.

Oct. 21 Cuyahoga Community College, Parma, OH.

Oct. 22 Miami-Dade Community College, Miami, FL.

Oct. 27 Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Oct. 29 Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.

Oct. 29 University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Oct. 30 Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.

Oct. 31 Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.

Nov. 26 Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

1997

Feb. 5 Augusta State University, Augusta, GA.

Feb. 19 University of Massachusetts, Boston, MA.

***May 18 Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD.**

✓ ***May 31 U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY.**

June 11 Juvenile Justice Conference, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

***June 14 University of California San Diego, La Jolla, CA.**

1998

Jan. 28 University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

Jan. 29 National Defense University, Washington DC.

Feb. 9 Georgetown University, Washington DC.

Mar. 10 Housatonic Community-Technical College,
Bridgeport, CT.

✓ *May 22 United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD.

*June 5 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge,
MA.

*June 13 Portland State University, Portland, OR.

June 29 Beijing University, Beijing China.

1999

Feb. 10 "AmeriCorps Call to Service" in Richie Coliseum,
University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

*May 23 Grambling State University, Grambling, LA.

✓ *June 2 United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, CO.

*June 12 University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

July 22 Remarks in a Conversation on Medicare, Lansing Community College,
Lansing, MI.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 25, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY GRADUATION CEREMONY

U.S. Naval Academy
Annapolis, Maryland

10:28 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Secretary Dalton, for those fine remarks. Admiral Lynch, thank you for your comments and your leadership here at the Academy. Admiral Owens, Admiral Boorda, General Mundy, proud parents and family members, faculty and staff of the Academy, brigade of the midshipmen: It's a great honor for me to join you at this moment of celebration. I'm delighted to be back here on the eve of the Academy's 150th year.

Since 1845, the U.S. Naval Academy has provided superb leadership for our Navy, for our Marine Corps, and for our entire nation. And I cannot imagine a more valuable contribution.

The last time I was here, I joined some of you for lunch at King Hall. And ever since then, whenever people have asked me what I liked best about my visit to the Naval Academy I try to think of elevated things to say, but part of my answer is always pan pizza and chicken tenders. (Laughter.)

In memory of that luxurious meal -- (laughter) -- I have today a small graduation present. In keeping with longstanding tradition I hereby grant amnesty to all midshipmen who received demerits for minor conduct offenses. (Laughter and applause.) See, today the interest group is in the stands, not on the field. (Laughter.)

Next week I will have the proud responsibility to represent our nation in Europe in the ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of D-Day, the invasion of Italy and World War II. That war marked the turning point of our century, when we joined with our allies to stem a dark tide of dictatorship, aggression, and terror; and to start a flow of democracy and freedom that continues to sweep the world down to the present day.

That war also marked an era of sacrifice almost unequalled in our entire history. Some 400,000 of our fellow countrymen and women lost their lives. Over half a million more were wounded.

Today we have among us many who took part at Normandy and the other great battles of World War II, such as retired Commander Alfred McKowan, Academy class of 1942, who served aboard the U.S.S. Quincy off Utah Beach on D-Day. They're a great reminder of what our armed services have done for America. And I would ask all the veterans of that war to stand now so that the rest of us might honor them. (Applause.)

To the members of the class of 1994, my parents'

generation and your grandparents' generation did not end their work with the liberation of Europe and victory in the Pacific. They came back to work wonders at home. They created the G.I. Bill so that freedom's heroes could reenter civilian life and succeed and build strong families and strong communities. They built our interstate highway system. They turned our economy into a global wonder. They forged the tools of international security and trade that helped to rebuild our former allies and our former enemies so that we could ultimately win the Cold War. It brought us decades of peace and prosperity.

Today we have come to celebrate your graduation from this Academy and your commission as officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps. As we do, the question which hangs over your head is the question of what your generation will accomplish, as the generation of World War II accomplished so much.

Lately, there have been a number of books written, not about you, of course, but about your generation that says that so many people your age are afflicted with a sense of fatalism and cynicism, a sort of Generation X that believes America's greatest days are behind us and there are no great deeds left to be done. Well, this class, this very class is a rebuke to those cynics of any age.

Look at the extraordinary effort you have made to become leaders in service to America -- formation at dawn, classes at 8:00 a.m., rigorous mandatory PT, parading on Worden Field, summers spent aboard ship or down at Quantico. Most college students never go through anything like it. It's a routine that turns young men and women into officers, and that has taken your basketball team to the NCAA Tournament. (Applause.)

I deeply respect your decision to serve our nation. Your service may take many forms in the years ahead -- commanding ships in combat, training aviators for flight, running a business, perhaps one day even sitting in the Oval Office. Your career, regardless of its past, will require sacrifices, time away from loved ones, and potentially service in the face of danger. But regardless of where your careers take you, you clearly understand the imperative of civic duty. There's no brighter badge of citizenship than the path you have chosen and the oath you are about to take.

You just heard Secretary Dalton speak of President Kennedy's wonderful speech here at the Naval Academy when he was here. I read that speech carefully before I came here. And among other things, President Kennedy said, along the lines that Secretary Dalton quoted, that if someone asked you what you did with your life, there's not a better answer than to say, I served as an officer in the United States Navy. (Applause.)

The challenge for your generation is to remember the deeds of those who have served before you, and now to build on their work in a new and very different world. The world wars are over, the Cold War has been won. Now it is our job to win the peace.

For the first time in history, we have the chance to expand the reach a democracy and economic progress across the whole of Europe and to the far reaches of the world. The first step on the mission is to keep our own nation secure. And your very graduation today helps ensure that. Today the American people have 874 new leaders, 874 new plates of battle armor on our ship of state, 874 reasons to sleep better at night.

The past four years have been a time of challenge and

exertion for each of you, a time of challenge and exertion, too, for the U.S. Navy and for this Academy. The Navy has had to confront the difficulty of the Tailhook scandal. And this year the Academy had to confront improper conduct regarding an academic examination. These are troubling events, to be sure, because our military rests on honor and leadership. But, ultimately, the test of leadership is not constant flawlessness. Rather it is marked by a commitment to continue always to strive for the highest standards, to learn honestly when one falls short, and to do the right thing when it happens.

I came here today because I want America to know there remains no finer Navy in the world than the United States Navy, and no finer training ground for naval leadership than the United States Naval Academy. (Applause.) You have my confidence. You have America's confidence.

These are challenging times to be in the Navy because it's a new era in world affairs. When this class entered the Academy in June of 1990, think of this -- Israel and the PLO were sworn enemies; South Africa lived under apartheid; Moscow, Kiev and Riga all were still part of the Soviet Union; and the United States and the Soviet Union still pointed their nuclear weapons in massive numbers at each other. But now Nelson Mandela is the President of his nation. (Applause.) There is genuine progress toward peace in the Middle East between Israel and the PLO and the other parties. (Applause.) Where the Kremlin once imposed its will, a score of new free states now grapples with the burden of freedom. And the United States and Russia at last no longer aim their nuclear weapons at each other. (Applause.)

These amazing transformations make our nation more secure. They also enable us to devote more resources to the profound challenges we face here at home -- from providing jobs for our people to advancing education and training for all of them, to making our streets safer, to ensuring health care for all of our citizens, and in the end, building an economy that can compete and win well into the 21st century.

But the world's changes also can create uncertainty for those who have committed their careers to military service. Indeed, they create uncertainty for the United States. And in this time of uncertainty they tempt some to cut our defenses too far.

At the end of the Cold War it was right to reduce our defense spending. But let us not forget that this new era has many dangers. We have replaced a Cold War threat of a world of nuclear gridlock with a new world threatened with instability, even abject chaos, rooted in the economic dislocations that are inherent in the change from communism to market economics; rooted in religious and ethnic battles long covered over by authoritarian regimes now gone; rooted in tribal slaughters, aggravated by environmental disasters, by abject hunger, by mass migration across tenuous national borders. And with three of the Soviet Union's successor states now becoming non-nuclear and the tension between the U.S. and Russia over nuclear matters declining, we still must not forget that the threat of weapons of mass destruction remain in the continuing disputes we have over North Korea, and elsewhere with countries who seek either to develop or to sell or to buy such weapons.

So we must -- we must do better. For this generation to expand freedom's reach, we must always keep America out of danger's reach.

Last year I ordered a sweeping review -- we called it

the Bottom-Up Review -- to ensure that in this new era we have a right-sized Navy, Marine Corps, Army and Air Force for the post-Cold War era. That is especially important for our naval forces. For even with all the changes in the world, some basic facts endure: We are a maritime nation. Over 60 percent of our border is sea coast. Over 70 percent of the world is covered by water. And over 90 percent of the human race lives within our Navy's reach from the sea. Now, as long as these facts remain true, we need naval forces that can dominate the sea, project our power and protect our interests.

We've known that lesson for over 200 years now, since the time Admiral John Paul Jones proclaimed, "Without a respectable Navy, alas, America."

The right-size defense costs less, but still costs quite a bit. That is why this year I have resisted attempts to impose further cuts on our defense budget. (Applause.)

I want you to understand this clearly. It is important for your generation and your children to bring down this terrible debt we accumulated in recent years. And I have asked the Congress to eliminate outright over 100 programs, to cut over 200 others. We've presented a budget that cuts discretionary domestic spending for the first time since 1969. That will give us three years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President of the United States right after World War II. But we should not cut defense further. And I thank the Congress this week for resisting the calls to do so. (Applause.)

That enables us to answer John Paul Jones's cry. Today you can see the importance of our naval forces all around the world. Right now, at this very moment as you sit here, the USS Saratoga and her battle group are steaming in the Adriatic to help enforce the no-fly zone and to protect the safe havens in Bosnia. At this very moment, the USS Carl Vinson is in the Persian Gulf to help enforce sanctions on Iraq. Right now, the USS Independence is patrolling the waters of Northeast Asia to protect our allies and interests in Japan, Korea and throughout the Asian-Pacific region.

As we adjust our forces to a new era, our motto should still be: Reduce where we should, but strengthen as we must. That's why we're investing in new weapons, such as the next carrier, CVN-76; our new Sea Wolf attack submarine; new AEGIS ships, like the DDG-51; new air capabilities, like F-18 upgrades and the Joint Advanced Strike Technology. It's why we're improving our weapons systems, and making the technology that won Operation Desert Storm even better -- Tomahawk missiles with increased accuracy and target area; and better night-fighting capabilities for our Harrier jump jets and other aircraft, so we can not only own the night today, but dominate the night tomorrow.

We have been able to afford a right-sized military at lower cost, but this year we must continue to fight any deeper cuts to defense. I want to emphasize how important it is that the House of Representatives and the Senate do that. I want to thank Congressman Gilchrest who is here; and Congressman Machtley from Rhode Island, a graduate of the Naval Academy, also here; and their colleagues for their support for the C-17 vote and for their continuing support for an adequate military. This is a bipartisan issue, it knows no party. We have done all we should do, and we now must support and adequate defense.

We are working to safeguard the quality of the most important defense asset of all -- you; and the more than one million other men and women in uniform, who stand sentry over our security.

Today our armed forces are clearly and without dispute the best trained, the best equipped, the best prepared and the best motivated military on the face of the Earth. As long as I am President, that will continue to be the truth. (Applause.)

The question of our security in this era still ultimately depends upon our decisions about where to bring our military power to bear. That is what makes it possible for our enormous economic strength to assert itself at home and around the world. And there is no decision any President takes more seriously than the decision to send Americans into harm's way.

History teaches us that there is no magic formula, nor should a President ever try to draw the line so carefully that we would completely rule out the use of our military in circumstances where it might later become important. After all, the mere possibility of American force is itself a potent weapon all around the world. But this is clear: We must be willing to fight to defend our land and our people, first and foremost. That's why we responded forcefully when we discovered an Iraqi plot to assassinate former President Bush. And the Tomahawks we fired that day were fired by the Navy.

We must be willing to fight to protect our vital interests. And that's why we've adopted a defense strategy for winning any two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously. We must be willing to fight to protect our allies. That's why we deployed Patriot missiles to South Korea, and working with others -- working with others -- we must be willing to use force when other American interests are threatened. And that's why we sought a stronger role for NATO in Bosnia.

The hardest cases involve the many ethnic and religious conflicts that have erupted in our era. The end of the superpower standoff lifted the lid from a cauldron of long-simmering hatreds. Now the entire global terrain is bloody with such conflicts, from Rwanda to Georgia. We cannot solve every such outburst of civil strife or militant nationalism simply by sending in our forces. We cannot turn away from them. But our interests are not sufficiently at stake in so many of them to justify a commitment of our folks.

Nonetheless, as the world's greatest power, we have an obligation to lead and, at times when our interests and our values are sufficiently at stake, to act.

Look at the example of the former Yugoslavia. For centuries, that land marked a tense and often violent fault line between empires and religions. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of that country into so many new republics surfaced all those ancient tensions again, triggering Serb aggression, ethnic cleansing, and the most brutal European conflict since the second world war.

Whether we get involved in any of the world's ethnic conflicts in the end must depend on the cumulative weight of the American interests at stake. Now, in Bosnia, we clearly have an interest in preventing the spread of the fighting into a broader European war; in providing that NATO can still be a credible force for peace in the post-Cold War era, in this first ever involvement of NATO outside a NATO country; in stemming the incredibly destabilizing flow of refugees from the conflict and in helping to stop the slaughter of innocents.

These interests do not warrant our unilateral involvement, but they do demand that they help to lead a way to a

workable peace agreement if one can be achieved; and that, if one can be achieved, we help to enforce it. Our administration is committed to help achieve such a resolution, working with others such as NATO, the United Nations and Russia.

Those efforts have not been easy or smooth, but we have produced results. By securing NATO enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, we kept the war from escalating into the air. We inherit -- initiated humanitarian air drops, and have now participated in the longest humanitarian air lift in history. We secured NATO enforcement of the exclusion zones around Sarajevo and Garazde, and as a result, the people of Sarajevo have experienced over three months of relative calm and Garazde is no longer being shelled. And by stepping up diplomatic engagement, we have worked with others to foster a breakthrough agreement between the Croats and the Bosnians, signed here in Washington, which I believe eventually will lead to a broader settlement.

One of the dreams of World War II was that after the war, through the United Nations and in other ways, the United States might be able to cooperate with others to help resolve the most difficult problems of our age -- not always to have its own way, not always to be able to prescribe every move, but in order to help resolve the problems of the world without having to commit the lives of our own soldiers where they should not be committed, and still being able to play a positive role. That is what we are attempting to work out in Bosnia. And if it can be done -- if it can be done -- we'll be on the way to managing some of this incredible chaos that has threatened to engulf the world in which you will raise your children.

Today I want to acknowledge the outstanding contributions of Admiral Mike Boorda which were made to our efforts in Bosnia. His stunning leadership there, his clarity of thought and resolve of purpose is one of the key reasons I named him to be our new Chief of Naval Operations. Thank you, Admiral Boorda. (Applause.)

At every turn, we have worked to move the parties there toward a workable political solution. This is one of those conflicts that can only end at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. They can fight for another 100 years and not resolve it there. At every turn we have rejected the easy out of simplistic ideas that sound good on bumper stickers but that would have tragic consequences. The newest of these is that we should simply unilaterally break the United Nations arms embargo on Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav states.

I do not support that arms embargo, and I never have. We worked with our allies and tried to persuade all them that we should end it. Now some say we should simply violate the embargo on our own because it was a bad idea to impose it in the first place. Well, if we did that, it would kill the peace process; it would sour our relationships with our European allies in NATO and in the U.N.; it would undermine the partnership we are trying to build with Russia across a whole broad range of areas; it would undermine our efforts to enforce U.N. embargoes that we like such as those against Sadaam Hussein, Colonel Gadhafi and General Cedras in Haiti.

We simply must not opt for options and action that sound simple and painless and good, but which will not work in this era of interdependence where it is important that we leverage American influence and leadership by proving that we can work with others, especially when others have greater and more immediate stakes and are willing to put their soldiers in harm's way.

Our administration will not walk away from this Bosnian conflict. But we will not embrace solutions that are wrong. We plan to continue the course we have chosen -- raising the price on those who pursue aggression, helping to provide relief to the suffering, and working with our partners in Europe to move the parties to a workable agreement. It is not quick; it is not neat; it is not comfortable. But I am convinced in a world of interdependence where we must lead by working with others, it is the right path. It is the one that preserves our leadership, preserves our treasure and commits our forces in the proper way.

The world's most tearing conflicts in Bosnia and elsewhere are not made in a day. And one of the most frustrating things that you may have to live with throughout your life is that many of these conflicts will rarely submit to instant solutions. But remember this: It took years after D-Day to not only end the war, but to build a lasting peace. It took decades of patience and strength and resolve to prevail in the Cold War.

And as with generations going before, we must often be willing to pay the price of time, sometimes the most painful price of all. There is no better source of the courage and constancy of our nation that we will lead in this era than this Academy and our armed forces. This Academy has prepared you to lead those armed forces. As you take your place in the Navy and the Marine Corps, always bear in mind the heroism, the sacrifice, the leadership of those who have served before you.

I think, in particular, of one of the stories that comes out of D-Day, June 6th, 1944. On that gray dawn, as U.S. Rangers approached Pointe du Hoc, they were raked by German fire from the cliff above. One landing craft was sunk, others were endangered. But then, an American destroyer, the USS Satterlee, along with a British destroyer, came to the rescue. They came in perilously close to the shore, and opened fire with all their guns at the Germans who were raining fire down on the Rangers. By its actions, the Satterlee saved American lives and enabled the Rangers to carry out their now-famous mission. Forty-eight years later, a Ranger platoon leader said, "Someday I'd love to meet up with somebody from Satterlee so I can shake his hand and thank him."

The valor of those who proceeded you is the stuff of inspiration. A great country must always remember the sacrifices of those who went before and made our freedom possible. But even greater accomplishments lie ahead if you can make them happen. For remember this: When our memories exceed our dreams, we have begun to grow old. It is the destiny of America to remain forever young.

As the guardians of your generation's freedom and our future, may you never know directly whose lives you have saved -- you may not -- whose future you have improved. You may never hear their thanks, or get to shake their hands. But they'll be out there. We'll all be out there, aware of your courage, impressed by your dedication, grateful for your service to God and country. You can keep America forever young.

Good luck and God bless you. (Applause.)

END10:28 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1995

Remarks by the President at U.S. Air Force Academy
Graduation Ceremony

Falcon Stadium
U.S. Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, Colorado

11:13 A.M. MDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, General Stein.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Sooo-ey! (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's my home state cheer, for those of you unused to foreign languages being spoken here in Falcon Stadium. (Laughter.) Thank you very much.

General Stein, thank you. Secretary Widnall, General Fogleman, Governor Romer, Congressman Ramstad; to the distinguished faculty and staff; to the proud parents, family, and friends; to the members of the Cadet Wing; we gather here to celebrate this very important moment in your life, and in the life of our nation.

Gentlemen and gentleladies of this class, the Pride of '95, this is your day. And you are only one speech -- one pretty short speech -- (laughter) -- away from being second Lieutenants. (Applause.)

I am honored to share this day with some exceptionally accomplished alumni of the Air Force Academy: General Fogleman, the first of your graduates to be the Air Force Chief of Staff; General Hopper, the first African American graduate of the Academy to serve as the Commandant of Cadets; and a member of my staff, Robert Bell, who is the first graduate of the Air Force Academy to be the Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control at the National Security Council.

As I look out at all of you, I imagine it won't be too long before there's a graduate of the Air Force Academy in the Oval Office. (Applause.) If it's all the same to you, I'd like to delay it for just a few years. (Laughter.)

I also want to congratulate the Air Force Academy on extending its lock on the Commander in Chief's Trophy here. I'm in your stadium; I think I ought to mention that -- your winning squad came to see me in the White House not very long ago, and I said that before I became President I didn't understand that when I heard that the Commander in Chief's Trophy was a traveling trophy, that meant it was supposed to go back and forth between Washington and Colorado Springs every year. (Applause.)

I want to do my part in another longstanding tradition. By the power vested in me as Commander in Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to cadets who are marching tours or serving restrictions or confinements for minor misconduct. (Applause.) Now, General Stein, I have to leave it to you to define which offenses are minor -- (laughter) -- but on this day, even in this conservative age, I trust you will be fairly liberal in your interpretation of the term. (Laughter.)

Members of the Class of 1995, you are about to become officers in the United States Air Force. You should be very proud of what you have already accomplished. But you should be sobered by the important responsibilities you are about to assume. From this day forward, every day you must defend our nation, protect the lives of the men and women under your command, and represent the best of America.

I want to say here as an aside, I have seen something of the debate in the last few days on the question of whether in this time of necessity to cut budgets, we ought to close one of the service academies. And I just want to say I think that's one of the worst ideas I ever heard of. (Applause.)

It was General Eisenhower who, as President, along with the Congress, so long ago now recognized that national defense required a national commitment to education. But our commitment through the service academies to the education and preparation of the finest military officers in the world must never wane. And I hope your commitment to the cause of education as an important element in what makes our country great and strong and safe will never wane.

As President, my first responsibility is to protect and enhance the safety of the American people and to strengthen our country. It is a responsibility that you now have chosen to share. So, today, I thought what we ought to do is talk about the steps that we will have to take together to make the world safer for America in the 21st century.

Our security objectives over the last 50 years have been dictated by straightforward events often beyond our control. But at least they were straightforward and clear. In World War II, the objective was simple: Win the war. In the cold war, the objective was clear: contain communism and prevent nuclear war. In the post-Cold War world, the objectives are often more complex, and it is clear that American security in the 21st century will be determined by forces that are operating both beyond and within our own borders.

While the world you will face is far from free of danger, you must know that you are entering active service in a moment of enormous hope. We are dramatically reducing the nuclear threat. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there are no Russian missiles pointed at the people of the United States. (Applause.)

From the Middle East to South Africa to Northern Ireland, Americans are helping former adversaries turn from conflict to cooperation. We are supporting democracies and market economies like Haiti and Mexico in our own region, and others throughout the world. We are expanding trade. We are working for a Europe allied with the United States, but unified economically and politically for the first time since nation states appeared on the European continent.

Just yesterday, Russia's decision to actively participate in NATO's Partnership for Peace helped to lay the groundwork for yet another important step in establishing a secure, stable and unified European continent for the next century.

Clearly there are powerful historical forces pulling us together -- a worldwide thirst for freedom and democracy, a growing commitment to market economics; a technological revolution that moves information, ideas, money and people around the globe at record speed. All these things are bringing us together and helping to make our future more secure.

But these same forces have a dark underside which can also lead to more insecurity. We understand now that the openness and

freedom of society make us even more vulnerable to the organized forces of destruction, the forces of terror and organized crime and drug trafficking. The technological revolution that is bringing our world closer together can also bring more and more problems to our shores. The end of communism has opened the door to the spread of weapons of mass destruction and lifted the lid on age-old conflicts rooted in ethnic, racial and religious hatreds. These forces can be all the more destructive today because they have access to modern technology.

Nowhere are the forces of disintegration more obvious today than in Bosnia. For the past two and a half years, the United States has sought to contain and end the conflict to help to preserve the Bosnian nation as a multistate entity, multiethnic entity; to keep faith with our NATO allies and to relieve human suffering.

To these ends, we have led the NATO military responses to calls by the United Nations for assistance in the protection of its forces and safe areas for the people of Bosnia, led efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement, deployed peacekeeping troops to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to contain the conflict within the present borders of Bosnia, and conducted the longest humanitarian airlift to the people there in history.

Two weeks ago, the Bosnian Serbs unleashed 1,400 shells on the civilians of Sarajevo. The United Nations called this attack a return to medieval barbarism. They asked for a NATO air response, which we supported. Now we have joined our allies to develop a coordinated response to the Serbs' continued refusal to make peace and their illegal capturing of United Nations personnel as hostages.

We believe still that a strengthened United Nations operation is the best insurance against an even worse humanitarian disaster should they leave. We have a longstanding commitment to help our NATO allies, some of whom have troops in the U.N. operation in Bosnia, to take part in a NATO operation to assist them in a withdrawal if that should ever become necessary. And so, if necessary, and after consultation with Congress, I believe we should be prepared to assist NATO if it decides to meet a request from the United Nations troops for help in a withdrawal or a reconfiguration and a strengthening of its forces.

We have received no such request for any such assistance, and we have made no such decision. But, in any event, we must know that we must continue to work for peace there. And I still believe that we have made the right decision in not committing our own troops to become embroiled in this conflict in Europe, nor to join the United Nations operations. (Applause.)

I want to say to you, we have obligations to our NATO allies, and I do not believe we can leave them in the lurch. So I must carefully review any requests for an operation involving a temporary use of our ground forces. But we have made the right decision in what we have done and what we have not done in Bosnia.

I believe we must look at all of these problems and all these opportunities in new and different ways. For example, we see today that the clear boundaries between threats to our nation's security from beyond our borders and the challenges to our security from within our borders are being blurred. One once was clearly the province of the Armed Services; the other clearly the province of local law enforcement. Today, we see people from overseas coming to our country for terrorist purposes, blurring what is our national security. We must see the threats for what they are and fashion our response based on their true nature, not just where they occur.

In these new and different times, we must pursue three priorities to enhance our security. First, we have to combat those who would destroy democratic societies, including ours, through terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking. Secondly, we have to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction, whether they're nuclear, chemical or biological. Third, we have to provide our military -- you and people like you -- with the resources, training and strategic direction necessary to protect the American people and our interests around the world.

The struggle against the forces of terror, organized crime and drug trafficking is now uppermost on our minds because of what we have endured as a nation. The World Trade Center bombing, the terrible incident in Oklahoma City, and what we have seen elsewhere -- the nerve gas attack in Tokyo, the slaughter of innocent civilians by those who would destroy the peace in the Middle East, the organized crime now plaguing the former Soviet Union, so much that one of the first requests we get in every one of those countries is, send in the FBI, we need help; the drug cartels in Latin America and Asia that threaten the open societies and fragile democracies there -- all these things we know can emerge from without our borders and from within our borders. Free and open societies are inherently more vulnerable to these kinds of forces. Therefore, we must remain vigilant, reduce our vulnerability, and constantly renew our efforts to defeat them.

We work closely with foreign governments. We share intelligence. We provide military support. We initiate anticorruption and money-laundering programs to stop drug trafficking at its source. We've opened an FBI office in Moscow, a training center in Hungary to help combat international organized crime. Over the past two years, we've waged a tough counterterrorism campaign, strengthening our laws, increasing manpower and training for the CIA and the FBI, imposing sanctions on states that sponsor terrorism.

Many of these efforts have paid off. We were able to arrest and quickly convict those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing, to stop another terrible planned attack in New York, as well as a plan to blow up American civilian airliners over the Pacific, and helped to bring to justice terrorists around the world.

In the aftermath of Oklahoma City, our top law enforcement officers told us they needed new tools to fight terrorism, and I proposed legislation to provide those tools: More than a 1,000 new law enforcement personnel solely working on terrorism; a domestic antiterrorism center; tough new punishment for trafficking in stolen explosives; for attacking the members of the uniform services of federal workers; the enabling of law enforcement officials to mark explosive materials so they can be more easily traced; the empowering of law enforcement officials with authority to move legal -- and I emphasize legal -- wiretaps when terrorists quickly move their bases of operation without having to go back for a new court order; and finally, in a very limited way, the authority to use the unique capacity of our military where chemical or biological weapons are involved here at home, just as we now can call on those capabilities to fight nuclear threats.

I'm sure every graduate of this Academy knows of the Posse Comitatus Rule -- the clear line that says members of the uniform military will not be involved in domestic law enforcement. That is a good rule. We should honor that rule. The only narrow exception for it that I know of today is the ability of law enforcement in America to call upon the unique expertise of the military when there is a potential threat of a nuclear weapon in the hands of the wrong people. All we are asking for in the aftermath of the terrible incident in the Tokyo subway is the same access to the same expertise should chemical and biological weapons be involved.

The congressional leadership pledged its best efforts to put this bill on my desk by Memorial Day, but Memorial Day has come and gone, and only the Senate has taken the bill up. And even there, in my judgment, there are too many amendments that threaten too much delay.

Congress has a full agenda of important issues, including passing a responsible budget. But all this will take time. When it comes to terrorism, time is a luxury we don't have. Some are even now saying we should just go slow on this legislation. Well, Congress has a right to review this legislation to make sure the civil liberties of American citizens are not infringed, and I encourage them to do that. But they should not go slow. Terrorists do not go slow, my fellow Americans. Their agenda is death and destruction on their own timetable. And we need to make sure that we can do everything possible to stop them from succeeding.

Six weeks after Oklahoma City, months before -- after the first antiterrorism legislation was sent by the White House to Congress, there is no further excuse for delay. Fighting terrorism is a big part of our national security today, and it will be well into the 21st century. And I ask Congress to act, and act now. (Applause.)

Our obligations to fight these forces of terror is closely related to our efforts to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. All of us, I'm sure, ached and wept with the people of Japan when we saw what a small vial of chemical gas could do when unleashed in the subway station. And we breathed a sigh of relief when the alert officers there prevented the two chemicals from uniting and forming poison which could have killed hundreds and hundreds of people just a few days after that.

The breakup of the Soviet union left nuclear material scattered throughout the Newly Independent States and increased the potential for the theft of those materials, and for organized criminals to enter the nuclear smuggling business.

As horrible as the tragedies in Oklahoma City and the World Trade Center were, imagine the destruction that could have resulted had there been a small-scale nuclear device exploded there.

The United States will retain as long as necessary an arsenal of nuclear forces to deter any future hostile action by any regime that has nuclear weapons. But I will also continue to pursue the most ambitious agenda to dismantle and fight the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction since the dawn of the nuclear age.

This effort is succeeding and we should support it. No Russian missiles are pointed at America. No American missiles are aimed at Russia. Because we put the START I Treaty into force, Russia is helping us and joining us in dismantling thousands of nuclear weapons. Our patient, determined diplomacy convinced Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus to give up their weapons when the Soviet Union fell apart. We are cooperating with these nations and others to safeguard nuclear materials and stop their spread.

And just last month, we got the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nonproliferation Treaty, which will benefit not only this generation of Americans, but future generations as well by preventing scores of countries from developing and acquiring nuclear weapons. More than 170 nations have signed on to this treaty. They vow they will either never acquire nuclear weapons, or if they have them, that they won't help others obtain them, and they will pursue arms control and disarmament.

We have to now go even further. There is no excuse for the Senate to go slow on approving two other vital measures -- the START II Treaty and the Chemical Weapons Convention, START II will enable us to reduce by two-thirds the number of strategic warheads deployed at the height of the Cold War.

The Chemical Weapons convention requires the destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles around the world, and provides severe penalties for those who sell materials to build these weapons to terrorists or to criminals. It would make a chemical terror, like the tragic attack in the Tokyo subway, much, much more difficult. Both START II and the Chemical Weapons Convention will make every American safer, and we need them now. (Applause.)

There is more to do. We are working to complete negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty, to implement the agreement we reached with North Korea to freeze and dismantle that country's nuclear program, to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention. It is an ambitious agenda, but it is worthy of this moment, and it will make your future as officers in the United States Air Force, American citizens, and win -- your parents and grandparents more secure.

Finally, let me say that none of this will work unless we also are faithful to our obligation to support a strong and adaptable military for the 21st century. The men and women of our Armed Forces remain the foundation, the fundamental foundation of our security. You put the steel into our diplomacy. You get the job done when all means short of force have been tried and failed.

We saw your strength on display in Haiti, where a brutal military regime agreed to step down peacefully only -- and I emphasize only -- when it learned that more than sixty C-130s and C-141s loaded with paratroopers were in the air and on the way. Now the Haitian people have a second chance to rebuild their nation.

We then saw your speed in the Persian Gulf when Iraq massed its troops on the Kuwaiti border and threatened regional instability. I ordered our planes, ships and troops into the Gulf. You got there in such a hurry that Iraq got out of the way in a hurry.

We saw your compassion in Rwanda where you flew tons of supplies, medicines and foods into a nation torn apart by violence and saved countless lives.

All over the world, you have met your responsibilities with skill and professionalism -- keeping peace, making peace, saving lives, protecting American interests. In turn, your country has a responsibility to make sure you have the resources, the flexibility, the tools you need to do the job. We have sought to make good on that obligation by crafting a defense strategy for our time.

And I'd like to say here today that one of the principal architects of that strategy was our recently-deceased former Defense Secretary, Les Aspin. During his many years in the Congress as head of the Armed Services Committee, as Secretary of Defense and as head of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, he devoted a lifetime to this country's defense. And we will miss him terribly. And we are very grateful for the legacy he left -- a blueprint for reshaping our military to the demands of the 21st century; a blueprint that calls on us to make sure that any force reductions we began at the end of the Cold War do not jeopardize our strength over the long run; that calls on us to provide you with the resources you need to meet the challenges of a world plagued by ancient conflicts and new instabilities.

All of you know here that after World War II a major drawdown left us at a major disadvantage when war broke out in Korea. And just five years after the post-Vietnam drawdown, in 1980, the Army Chief of staff declared that we had a hollow Army, a view shared by most experts. We have been determined not to repeat those mistakes.

Even as we draw down troops, we know we have to be prepared to engage and prevail in two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts. Some argued that this scenario was unrealistic and excessively demanding. Recent events have proved that they were wrong; and shown that we are pursuing the right strategy and the right force levels for these times.

Last summer, just before the North Koreans finally agreed to dismantle their nuclear program, we were poised to send substantial air, naval and ground reinforcements to defend South Korea. Just a few months later, we deployed tens of thousands of troops to the Gulf and placed thousands more on alert. And in between those crises, I gave the go-ahead to the 25,000 troops engaged in operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti.

In Haiti, the operation was especially historic because it was the most fully-integrated military plan ever carried out in our history. The four services worked together, drawing on each other's special abilities more than ever before. And for the first time, we were ready to launch Army infantry and an air assault from a Navy aircraft carrier. When we decided to send our troops in peacefully, we did it in hours, not days. That kind of innovation and the ability to do that is what your country owes you as you walk out of this stadium today as officers in the United States Air Force. (Applause.)

This, then, will be our common security mission -- yours and mine and all Americans -- to take on terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking; to reduce the nuclear threat and the threat of biological and chemical weapons; to keep our military flexible and strong. These must be the cornerstones of our program to build a safer America at a time when threats to our security have no respect for boundaries, and when the boundaries between those threats are disappearing.

Abroad, as at home, we must measure the success of our efforts by one simple standard: Have we made the lives of the American people safer; have we made the future for our children more secure.

Let me say to this class, I know that the rewards of serving on the front lines of our foreign policy may seem distant and uncertain at times. Thirty-four years ago, President Kennedy said, "When there is a visible enemy to fight, the tide of patriotism runs high. But when there is a long, slow struggle with no immediate visible foe, your choice will seem hard, indeed." Your choice. Your choice, ladies and gentlemen, to take on the problems and possibilities of this time, to engage the world, not to run from it, is the right choice.

As you have learned here at the Academy, it demands sacrifice. In the years ahead, you will be asked to travel a long way from home, to be away from your loved ones for long stretches of time, to face dangers we perhaps cannot yet even imagine. These are the burdens you have willingly agreed to bear for your country, its safety and its long-term security.

Go forth, knowing that the American people support you; that they admire your dedication. They are grateful for your service. They are counting on you, the class of '95, to lead us into the 21st century, and they believe you truly do represent the best of America. Good luck, and Godspeed. (Applause.)

END 11:41 A.M.. MDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(West Point, New York)

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
COMMENCEMENT

Michie Stadium
West Point, New York

10:20 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Please be seated, relax. Thank you, General Christman, for those kind introductory remarks and for your truly extraordinary service to your nation throughout your military career. Here at West Point, and before, when we had more opportunities to work together on a daily basis, I have constantly admired your dedication and your ability.

General Reimer, Secretary West, Senator Reed, Chairman Gilman, Congressman Shimkus, Congresswoman Kelly, Congressman Sessions, former Congressman Bilbray, parents and families and friends of the cadets, and especially, to the Class of 1997, I extend my heartfelt congratulations.

This has been a truly remarkable class. As General Christman said, you wrote an unparalleled record of academic achievement in the classroom. I congratulate you all, and particularly your number one honor graduate and valedictorian, Adam Ake. Congratulations to all of you on your accomplishments. (Applause.)

Now, General Christman also outlined the extraordinary accomplishments of your athletic teams, and he mentioned that I had the privilege of seeing Army win its first 10-win season in football and reclaim the Commander in Chief's Trophy in Philadelphia. And he thanked me for that. But, actually, as a lifelong football fan, I deserve no thanks. It was a terrific game, and I'm quite sure it was the first time in the field of any endeavor of conflict where the Army defeated the Navy not on land, but on water. (Laughter and applause.)

I know that in spite of all of your achievements as a class and in teams, a few of you also upheld West Point's enduring tradition of independence. It began in 1796 when President Adams' War Department ordered the first classes in fortification. And the troops here thought they already knew all about that, so they burned the classroom to the ground, postponing the start of instruction by five years. (Laughter.)

Today, I am reliably informed that though your spirits are equably high, your infractions are more modest. Therefore, I hereby exercise my prerogative to grant amnesty for minor offenses to the Corps of Cadets. (Applause.) The cheering was a little disconcerting -- now, the operative word there was "minor." (Laughter.)

Men and women of the Class of '97, today you join the Long Gray Line, the Long Gray Line that stretches across two centuries of

unstinting devotion to America and the freedom that is our greatest treasure. From the defense of Fort Erie in the War of 1812 to the fury of Antietam, from the trenches of Argonne to the Anzio and Okinawa, to Heartbreak Ridge, the Mekong Delta, the fiery dessert of the Gulf War, the officers of West Point have served and sacrificed for our nation.

In just the four years since I last spoke here, your graduates have helped to restore democracy to Haiti, to save hundreds of thousands of lives from genocide and famine in Rwanda, to end the bloodshed in Bosnia. Throughout our history, whenever duty called, the men and women of West Point have never failed us. And I speak for all Americans when I say, I know you never will.

I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to West Point and a special word of congratulations to the students in this class from other countries. We welcome you here; we are proud to have you as a part of our military service tradition. And we wish you well as you go back home. We hope you, too, can advance freedom's cause, for in the 21st century that is something we must do together.

Two days ago I returned from Europe on a mission to look back to one of the proudest chapters in America's history and to look forward to the history we all will seek to shape for our children and grandchildren. This week is the 50th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, what Winston Churchill described as the most unsordid act in all history.

In 1947, Americans, exhausted by war and anxious to get on with their lives at home, were summoned to embrace another leadership role by a generation of remarkable leaders -- General George Marshall, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, President Harry Truman -- leaders who knew there could be no lasting peace and security for an America that withdrew behind its borders and withdrew from the world and its responsibilities. They provided the indispensable leadership to create the Marshall Plan, NATO, and the first global financial institutions. They, in effect, organized America and our allies to meet the challenges of their time -- to build unparalleled prosperity, to stand firm against Soviet expansionism until the light of freedom shown all across Europe.

The second purpose of my journey was inextricably tied to the first. It was to look to the future, to the possibility of achieving what Marshall's generation could only dream of -- a democratic, peaceful and undivided Europe for the first time in all of history; and to the necessity of America and its allies once again organizing ourselves to meet the challenges of our time, to secure peace and prosperity for the next 50 years and beyond.

To build and secure a new Europe, peaceful, democratic and undivided at last, there must be a new NATO, with new missions, new members and new partners. We have been building that kind of NATO for the last three years with new partners in the Partnership for Peace and NATO's first out-of-area mission in Bosnia. In Paris last week, we took another giant stride forward when Russia entered a new partnership with NATO, choosing cooperation over confrontation, as both sides affirmed that the world is different now. European security is no longer a zero-sum contest between Russia and NATO; but a cherished, common goal.

In a little more than a month, I will join with other NATO leaders in Madrid to invite the first of Europe's new democracies in Central Europe to join our Alliance, with the consent of the Senate, by 1999 -- the 50th anniversary of NATO's founding.

I firmly believe NATO enlargement is in our national interests. But because it is not without cost and risk, it is appropriate to have an open, full, national discussion before

proceeding. I want to further that discussion here today in no small measure because it is especially important to those of you in this class. For, after all, as the sentinels of our security in the years ahead, your work will be easier and safer if we do the right thing -- and riskier and much more difficult if we do not.

Europe's fate and America's future are joined. Twice in half a century, Americans have given their lives to defend liberty and peace in world wars that began in Europe. And we have stayed in Europe in very large numbers for a long time throughout the Cold War. Taking wise steps now to strengthen our common security when we have the opportunity to do so will help to build a future without the mistakes and the divisions of the past, and will enable us to organize ourselves to meet the new security challenges of the new century. In this task, NATO should be our sharpest sword and strongest shield.

Some say we no longer need NATO because there is no powerful threat to our security now. I say there is no powerful threat in part because NATO is there. And enlargement will help make it stronger.

I believe we should take in new members to NATO for four reasons. First, it will strengthen our Alliance in meeting the security challenges of the 21st century, addressing conflicts that threaten the common peace of all.

Consider Bosnia -- already the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, the Baltic nations and other Central European countries are contributing troops and bases to NATO's peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. We in the United States could not have deployed our troops to Bosnia as safely, smoothly and swiftly as we did without the help of Hungary and our staging ground at Taszar, which I personally visited. The new democracies we invite to join NATO are ready and able to share the burdens of defending freedom in no small measure because they know the cost of losing freedom.

Second, NATO enlargement will help to secure the historic gains of democracy in Europe. NATO can do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West at the end of World War II -- provide a secure climate where freedom, democracy and prosperity can flourish. Joining NATO once helped Italy, Germany and Spain to consolidate their democracies. Now the opening of NATO's doors has led the Central European nations already -- already -- to deepen democratic reform, to strengthen civilian control of their military, to open their economies. Membership and its future prospect will give them the confidence to stay the course.

Third, enlarging NATO will encourage prospective members to resolve their differences peacefully. We see all over the world the terrible curse of people who are imprisoned by their own ethnic, regional and nationalist hatreds, who rob themselves and their children of the lives they might have because of their primitive, destructive impulses that they cannot control.

When he signed the NATO Treaty in 1949, President Truman said that if NATO had simply existed in 1914 or 1939, it would have prevented the world wars that tore the world apart. The experience of the last 50 years supports that view. NATO helped to reconcile age-old adversaries like France and Germany, now fast friends and allies; and clearly has reduced tensions between Greece and Turkey over all these decades. Already the very prospect of NATO membership has helped to convince countries in Central Europe to settle more than half a dozen border and ethnic disputes, any one of which could have led to future conflicts. That, in turn, makes it less likely that you will ever be called to fight in another war across the Atlantic. (Applause.)

Fourth, enlarging NATO, along with its Partnership for Peace with many other nations and its special agreement with Russia and its soon-to-be-signed partnership with Ukraine, will erase the artificial line in Europe that Stalin drew, and bring Europe together in security, not keep it apart in instability.

NATO expansion does not mean a differently divided Europe. It is part of unifying Europe. NATO's first members should not be its last. NATO's doors will remain open to all those willing and able to shoulder the responsibilities of membership, and we must continue to strengthen our partnerships with non-members.

Now, let me be clear to all of you, these benefits are not cost- or risk-free. Enlargement will require the United States to pay an estimated \$200 million a year for the next decade. Our allies in Canada and Western Europe are prepared to do their part; so are NATO's new members. So must we.

More important, enlargement requires that we extend to new members our Alliance's most solemn security pledge, to treat an attack against one as an attack against all. We have always made the pledge credible through the deployment of our troops and the deterrence of our nuclear weapons. In the years ahead, it means that you could be asked to put your lives on the line for a new NATO member, just as today you can be called upon to defend the freedom of our allies in Western Europe.

In leading NATO over the past three years to open its doors to Europe's new democracies, I weighed these costs very carefully. I concluded that the benefits of enlargement, strengthening NATO for the future, locking in democracy's gains in Central Europe, building stability across the Atlantic, uniting Europe, not dividing it -- these gains decisively outweigh the burdens. The bottom line to me is clear: Expanding NATO will enhance our security. It is the right thing to do. We must not fail history's challenge at this moment to build a Europe peaceful, democratic, and undivided, allied with us to face the new security threats of the new century. A Europe that will avoid repeating the darkest moments of the 20th century and fulfill the brilliant possibilities of the 21st.

This vision for a new Europe is central to our larger security strategy, which you will be called upon to implement and enforce. But our agenda must go beyond it because, with all of our power and wealth, we are living in a world in which increasingly our influence depends upon our recognizing that our future is interdependent with other nations, and we must work with them all across the globe; because we see the threats we face tomorrow will cross national boundaries. They are amplified by modern technology, communication, and travel. They must be faced by like-minded nations, working together. Whether we're talking about terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or environmental degradation.

Therefore, we must pursue five other objectives. First, we must build a community of Asia Pacific nations bound by a common commitment to stability and prosperity. We fought three wars in Asia in half a century; Asia's stability affects our peace, and Asia's explosive growth affects our prosperity. That's why we've strengthened our security ties to Japan and Korea, why we now meet every year with the Asian Pacific leaders, why we must work with and not isolate ourselves from China.

One of the great questions that will define the future for your generation of Americans is how China will define its own greatness as a nation. We have worked with China because we believe it is important to cooperate in ways that will shape the definition of that

great nation in positive, not negative, ways. We need not agree with China on all issues to maintain normal trade relations, but we do need normal trade relations to have a chance of eventually reaching agreement with China on matters of vital importance to America and the world.

Second, we are building coalitions across the world to confront these new security threats that know no borders: weapons proliferation, terrorism, drug trafficking, environmental degradation. We have to lead in constructing global arrangements that provide us the tools to deal with these common threats: the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nonproliferation Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and our efforts to further reduce nuclear weapons with Russia.

Now our great task is also to build these kinds of arrangements fighting terrorism, drug traffickers and organized crime. Three weeks from now in Denver I will use the summit of the eight leading nations to press this agenda.

The third thing we have to do is to build an open trading system. Our security is tied to the stake other nations have in the prosperity of staying free and open and working with others, not working against them. In no small measure because of the trade agreements we have negotiated, we have not only regained our position as the world's number one exporter, we have increased our influence in ways that are good for our security. To continue that progress it is important that I have the authority to conclude smart, new market-opening agreements that every President in 20 years has had.

Some of our fellow Americans do not believe that the President should have this authority anymore; they believe that somehow the global economy presents a threat to us -- but I believe it's here to stay, and I think the evidence is that Americans, just as we can have the world's strongest and best military, we have the strongest and best economy in the world -- the American people can out-work and out-compete anyone given a free and fair chance. (Applause.)

Not only that, but this is about more than money and jobs. This is about security. The world, especially our democratic neighbors to the south of us, are looking to us. If we don't build economic bridges to them, someone else will. We must make it clear that America supports free people and fair, open trade.

Fourth, we have to embrace our role as the decisive force for peace. You cannot and you should not go everywhere. But when our values and interests are at stake, our mission is crystal clear and achievable -- America should stand with our allies around the world who seek to bring peace and prevent slaughter. From the Middle East to Bosnia, from Haiti to Northern Ireland, we have worked to contain conflict, to support peace, to give children a brighter future, and it has enhanced our security.

Finally, we have to have the tools to do these jobs. Those are the most powerful and best-trained military in the world and a fully funded diplomacy to minimize the chances that military force will be necessary.

The long-term defense plan we have just completed will increase your readiness, capabilities, and technological edge. In a world of persistent dangers, you must and you will be able to dominate the conflicts of the future as you did the battlefields of the past.

Fifty-five years ago, in the early days of World War II, General George Marshall, the man we honored this week, spoke here at your commencement about the need to organize our nation for the ordeal of war. He said, we are determined that before the sun sets on this

terrible struggle, our flag will be recognized as a symbol of freedom on the one hand and of overwhelming power on the other.

Today, our flag of freedom and power flies higher than ever, but because our nation stands at the pinnacle of its power, it also stands at the pinnacle of its responsibility. Therefore, as you carry our flag into this new era, we must organize ourselves to meet the challenges of the next 50 years. We must shape the peace for a new and better century about to dawn so that you can give your children and your grandchildren the America and the world they deserve.

God bless you and God bless America. (Applause.)

END

10:43 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Colorado Springs, Colorado)

For Immediate Release

June 2, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY
COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

United States Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, Colorado

11:28 A.M. MDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. General Oelstrom, Mrs. Oelstrom; General and Mrs. Ryan; General and Mrs. Myers; General Lorenz, Mrs. Lorenz; General and Mrs. Wagie; Colonel Halbren; Cadet Friedman; Acting Secretary Peters, who I intend to nominate as Secretary of the Air Force; ladies and gentlemen.

I'd like to also acknowledge particularly four graduates of the Air Force Academy that I brought to this ceremony today because they are serving our country ably in the White House -- Bob Bell, class of 1969, my Senior Counsel for Defense Policy and Arms Control, who is soon to become the Assistant Secretary General of NATO. Colonel Ed Rice, class of 1978; Lt. Colonel Betsy Pimentel, class of 1980; and my White House physician, Lt. Colonel Richard Tubb, class of 1981. The Air Force Academy has been good to our administration and to the White House. (Applause.)

To the families and friends of the graduating class, and especially to you, the members of the class of 1999, I extend heartfelt congratulations. It's been a long road from Doolie Summer to graduation. But you have achieved, as General Oelstrom told me, an unparalleled record of academic achievement, athletic success, and excellence in your military endeavors. From here on out, the sky is the limit for you.

I want to offer special congratulations to the graduates from other nations who are part of this class. We wish you well as you return home, and hope you will forever cherish your bonds with the Academy and your classmates.

Now, before I go any further, I want to carry out a venerable tradition. By the power vested in me as Commander in Chief, I hereby grant amnesty to cadets who are marching tours or serving restrictions, or confinements for minor misconduct. (Applause.)

One of the cadets suggested I also raise everyone's grades. (Laughter.) But I'm told that even the Commander in Chief can't do that.

Just a moment ago, I participated in another traditional ceremony I've been part of every year but one since I became President -- it's now up there almost as routine and sacrosanct as giving the State of the Union address, lighting the White House Christmas tree, or pardoning the Thanksgiving turkey. For the sixth time in seven years, I've presented the Commander in Chief's Trophy to the Air Force Academy Falcons. (Applause.)

Many believe it was the best team in the Academy's history, with a 12-1 record, a top 10 ranking, victory in the conference, in the bowl game, over Army and Navy. In the last two seasons, second in the nation in scoring defense to Ohio State -- where the linebackers are the size of C-130s. (Laughter.) And the team did all this in spite of an incredibly sportsman-like decision never to deploy a "Stealth" running back or throw a single, laser-guided pass. I appreciate that, and I congratulate you. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, the class of 1999 represents -- and today you rededicate yourselves -- to the same remarkable combination of accomplishment, grit and self-sacrifice our servicemen and women have embodied for more than two centuries now. You can be reminded by that just by looking over at Sijan Hall, named for a Medal of Honor winner tortured and killed in Vietnam, to be reminded of the finest example of courage and honor in terrible and terrifying circumstances.

Those qualities are on display today when Air Force men and women serve at home and abroad, from Iraq to Korea, to helping hurricane victims in Central America, and now in the historic effort to reverse the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and restore the people of that shattered land to their homes.

A month ago I went to our airbases at Spangdahlem and Ramstein, Germany, to visit the pilots and support crews who are flying our missions over Kosovo, and the young people in uniform bringing aid to the refugees there. I wish every American could have been with me to see the courage, the intensity, the skill it takes for our pilots to fly these aircraft at high speeds through enemy defenses, putting ordinance on target, putting their own lives in greater danger to avoid civilian casualties on the ground, coordinating with air crews from more than a dozen other countries, then coming home to debrief, rest and do it all over again.

These young Americans know they're doing the right thing. They're determined to prevail. It is impossible to see them and talk to them and come away with the slightest iota of cynicism about our nation and our role and responsibilities in the world.

We are joined today here by two of these brave American airmen. I cannot mention their names, under our procedures, for they are still flying missions in Kosovo. But the first is a pilot of a B-2 bomber who graduated from the Academy in 1986, and who has flown his craft from Whiteman Air Force Base on strike missions over heavily defended areas in Serbia. The second graduated from the Academy in 1980, and now flies a C-130, ferrying life-saving supplies to the refugees fleeing Kosovo.

I would like to ask them to stand and ask you to recognize them for their courage and for their service. (Applause.)

I am very proud of them, and very proud of you for following in their tradition.

America became a great nation not just because our land was generous to those who settled it; not just because our forbears who came here were clever and worked hard; but also because whenever our beliefs and ideals have been threatened, Americans have always stepped forward to defend them.

Kosovo is a small province in a small country -- but it's a big test of what we believe in and stand for: Our commitment to leave to our children a world where people are not uprooted and slaughtered en masse because of their racial or ethnic heritage, or their religious faith; our fundamental interest in building a lasting peace in an undivided, free Europe so that young Americans never have to go there

again to fight and perish in large numbers; our interest in preserving our alliance for freedom and peace with our 19 NATO allies.

There are also differences, however, between this conflict and those we have waged in the past. Kosovo is a communications age conflict, as General Oelstrom and I were just discussing. It is waged at a time when footage of air strikes is beamed to homes across the world even before our pilots have returned to their bases; a time when every accidental civilian casualty is highlighted, but also when the victims of terrible war crimes can give testimony to the whole world within days of those crimes being committed.

In World War II, Americans knew they were fighting to end a great horror. But what news we had then about Nazi atrocities came to us delayed and piecemeal -- from the few refugees and couriers who managed to escape occupied Europe. It was only in victory, when our soldiers liberated the concentration camps, that Americans truly saw the face of the evil we had defeated.

Today, our pilots over Kosovo see the smoke of burning villages beneath them, the tanks and artillery that set them ablaze. When they turn to base, they watch the news, they see the faces of the fleeing refugees marching so many miles over mountains with only the belongings they can carry on their backs, pushing their elderly along in wheelbarrows. They hear the voices of victims telling stories of young men singled out and shot along the road, young women raped and children torn from their parents. They also hear the voices of those who say all is not lost because the nations of NATO are with us and will not let us down.

Our servicemen and women can see today what we are fighting against and what we are fighting for. So can the American people and the entire world.

Now, Mr. Milosevic has been indicted by the U.N. War Crimes Tribunal -- the first time a sitting leader of a nation has been held responsible by an international body for ordering war crimes and crimes against humanity.

There are still some who assert that our bombing is somehow responsible for the atrocities his forces have committed against the Kosovar people. That reminds me of the old story of the young boy who came running home to his mother with a bloody nose. When his mother asked him what happened, he replied, it all started when the other kid hit me back.

We know that by the time our air strikes began the Serb campaign of executions and expulsions had already started. In fact, Mr. Milosevic has been indicted in part for a massacre that took place in January. Tens of thousands of refugees already had been pushed from their homes in carefully pre-planned attacks. Serbian forces were already positioned for the offensive we have seen unfold.

Mr. Milosevic already had unleashed in Kosovo the same paramilitary warlords who spent four years ethnically cleansing Bosnia and Croatia, where 2.5 million people were driven from their homes and a quarter million were killed before NATO bombing and the resistance of Bosnians and Croats brought us to the Dayton peace agreement.

Ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was not a response to bombing. It is the 10-year method of Mr. Milosevic's madness. Had we done nothing, the tragedy would have been permanent, accepted and, in effect, condoned by the world community.

Now, Mr. Milosevic had 40,000 and nearly 300 tanks in and around

Kosovo before he rejected the peace agreement the Kosovars accepted. He could not be prevented, therefore, from driving the Kosovars from their land. But he can be prevented from keeping them out of their land. His 10-year cleansing campaign will end once and for all. (Applause.)

This time the world did not wait, as we did in Bosnia, for four more years of fruitless appeals to reason in the face of evil. We have acted quickly to end this horror, and that is exactly what we will do.

Let me be clear about why we have done this and how we intend to meet our goals. As members of the United States Air Force, the members of this class especially are entitled to know.

Our reasons are both moral and strategic. There is a moral imperative because what we're facing in Kosovo is not just ethnic and religious hatred, discrimination and conflict, which are, unfortunately, too abundant in this world. America and NATO's military power cannot be deployed just because people don't like each other, or even because they fight each other.

What is going on in Kosovo is something much worse and, thankfully, more rare -- an effort by a political leader to systematically destroy or displace an entire people because of their ethnicity and their religious faith; an effort to erase the culture and history and presence of a people from their land. Where we have the ability to do so, we as a nation and our democratic allies must take a stand against this. We do have the ability to do so at NATO's doorstep in Europe.

But there is also a clear strategic imperative. Since I took office, I've worked hard to build for you and your future a Europe that, for the first time in history, is undivided, democratic and at peace. Because if there is anything we have learned from the bloody 20th century with its two world wars, it is that peace and stability in Europe is vital to our own security and freedom.

Now, think what the United States has helped to accomplish in the last few years. Many thought the NATO Alliance would wither and die after the Cold War. But it is strong and vital, with new partnerships with 25 nations, stretching all the way from the Baltic Sea to Central Asia. Three new democracies -- Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic -- which spent the last half century struggling for their own freedom in the Cold War, are now our NATO allies defending the freedom of Europeans.

We've helped Russia deal with the difficult challenges it faces on the road to democracy and stability, the road to being a part of and a partner in Europe. We also helped immeasurably to end the war in Bosnia, and now we're keeping the peace there with a coalition that unites every former adversary in all of European history -- France and Germany, Germany and Poland, Poland and Russia, Russia and the United States.

We have made clear that NATO membership will remain open to other responsible democracies from Central and Southeastern Europe. And through our efforts in the Balkans we have also helped to bridge the gulf between Europe and the Islamic world, the source of so much trouble over the last millennium, and the source of troubling tensions still today.

The killing Mr. Milosevic unleashed in the former Yugoslavia a decade ago is now the last major barrier to a Europe whole, free and at peace; the last gasp of an aggressive nationalism that has shattered the lives of so many Europeans in this century and drawn so many Americans to fight there in wars. It threatens all the progress made in Europe

since the end of the Cold War.

Imagine what would have happened had we let the violence in Kosovo escalate without taking a stand. NATO would have been discredited for doing nothing about ethnic conflict and cleansing on its doorstep. The refugees would have ended up a people without any prospect of going home -- overwhelming, perhaps even destabilizing the new, fragile democracies of Southeastern Europe with their permanent presence and bitter grievances. Tensions with Russia over the Balkans would not have disappeared, they would have increased. And the fighting might very well have spread to other countries.

Letting Mr. Milosevic succeed would have sent a clear message to other unscrupulous leaders: If you have ethnic or religious problems, just kill the minorities or drive them out. No one will stop you, you won't pay a significant price. In a way, the world will make your job easier by feeding the refugees and finding them permanent homes without pressing for their return.

Slobodan Milosevic would then have become a model of success for 21st century rulers trying to obliterate multi-ethnic societies, instead of the symbol of the bankrupt policies based on hate that we want to confine to the dustbin of history.

Our strategy for reversing Mr. Milosevic's ethnic cleansing begins with clarity about the goals we are fighting to achieve. The refugees must be able to go home with security and self-government. For that to happen, Serbian forces must leave Kosovo. An international security force with NATO at its core must deploy to protect all the people of Kosovo, including the Serb minority there. Our diplomatic effort supports these goals. They will continue to make clear to Mr. Milosevic exactly what he must do to end the conflict. And our military campaign will continue until it does.

We cannot grow weary of this campaign because Mr. Milosevic didn't capitulate when the first bombs fell. We cannot abandon a just cause because an adversary holds out for more than a few news cycles. I reject that. Our allies reject that. I know the vast majority of Americans reject that. We must be willing to pay the price of time and effort to reverse the course of ethnic cleansing. The benefits will be far greater and last much longer than the costs.

And day by day, night by night, our air campaign is succeeding. The pilots are doing a magnificent job. Mr. Milosevic is systematically losing his armed forces. NATO air strikes are destroying ever-increasing numbers of tanks, armored vehicles and artillery. We have eliminated 80 percent of Serbia's modern fighters, most of its ability to produce ammunition, all its capacity to refine fuel, much of the rest of its military economy.

Mr. Milosevic, in turn, has not eliminated the insurgent Kosovar Liberation Army. Their ranks are growing, and the longer he holds out, the more vulnerable he leaves his forces to the KLA's growing attacks.

Meanwhile, there are growing signs of disaffection in Serbia: soldiers abandoning their posts, civilians protesting, young men avoiding conscription, prominent citizens calling on Milosevic to accept NATO's conditions. There is a clear choice before the Serbian leader. He can cut his losses now and accept the basic requirements of a just peace, or he can continue to force military failure and economic ruin on his people. In the end, the outcome will be the same.

This week, we are deploying an additional 68 F-16s and F-15s to join the mission. We now have planes flying at all hours from every direction, from bases in Italy, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, the United

States, and from carriers at sea. If we have the patience and determination to match the courage and skill of our men and women in uniform, we will achieve our goals. (Applause.)

A second reason we have pursued this strategy is that it enables us to pursue our goal in a way that preserves the unity of NATO's 19 democracies. We must maintain the solidarity between the United States, Canada and Europe that has been vital to our past and is vital to our future security. And I am confident we will.

A third important reason is to meet our goals in a way that strengthens, not weakens, our fundamental interest in a long-term positive relationship with Russia. Russia is now working with us on a solution that meets our requirements. We hope Russian troops will participate in the force that keeps the peace in Kosovo, just as they have done so well in our joint efforts in Bosnia.

A fourth element is to prepare now for the difficult task of returning refugees to Kosovo and implementing the peace there. Yesterday, NATO approved the outlines of KFOR, the force that will deploy to Kosovo once the conditions are met. Approximately 50,000 troops will take part in this effort. Our European allies will provide the vast bulk of them, but America will also contribute, and we should.

Today, I am announcing my decision to provide about 7,000 of these troops for Kosovo, about 15 percent of the total force. The leading elements and headquarters are already in Albania and Macedonia, ready to deploy to Kosovo within a few hours to oversee the safe return of the refugees. The additional NATO forces required are beginning to move to the region.

Finally, this strategy will enable us to put in place a plan for lasting peace and stability in the Balkans, when Mr. Milosevic is stopped and the ethnic cleansing is reversed. For that to happen, the European Union and the United States must be far-sighted. We must do for Southeastern Europe what we did for Western Europe after World War II, for Central Europe, for Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and others after the Cold War. We must give them a positive path to a prosperous, shared future; a unifying magnet more powerful than the pull of hatred and destruction which threatens to tear them apart.

It is simply not true, as some have alleged, that the Balkan region has always been and always will be torn apart by ethnic and religious strife and violence; that they are somehow genetically predisposed to that. It isn't true. History does not support that conclusion. And today, the efforts of Romania, Hungary and Slovakia to resolve their minority problems peacefully show that if leaders are responsible, and if people have a positive future to work for, then they can live together and resolve their differences.

Europe and the United States can and should support efforts to increase economic growth, trade and investment, to strengthen democratic governments and institutions, to help the nations of the region join the European Union and NATO. We should also include Serbia in this effort if, but only if, it practices democracy, respects human rights, and has leaders who uphold the basic standards of human conduct.

So I say again, why are we Kosovo? Because we have a moral responsibility to oppose crimes against humanity and mass ethnic and religious killing and cleansing where we can. Because we have a security responsibility to prevent a wider war in Europe, which we know from our two world wars would eventually draw America in at far greater cost in lives, time and treasure.

Why are we pursuing this particular strategy of massive bombing

and diplomacy? Because it gives us the best chance of achieving all our objectives in Kosovo: First, the return of Kosovars with security and self-government, withdrawal of Serb forces and the deployment of the international security force with NATO at its core. Second, to maintain allied unity. Third, to continue cooperation with Russia. Fourth, to maximize our capacity after the conflict is over to build a progressive, democratic, multi-ethnic Balkans region that will contribute to our economic growth as a world society and our security progress, not be a constant drain on our economy and a constant threat to our security.

Why have we refused to close other doors and other options? Because we are determined to prevail. We are in Kosovo for the same reason you are here -- some things are worth fighting for: A future with a great alliance between the United States and Europe standing strong. A future not dominated by massive killing of innocent civilians because of the ethnic or racial heritage they were born with, or the way they worship God. A future in which leaders cannot keep, gain or increase their power by teaching their young people to hate or kill others simply because of their faith or heritage. A future in which young Americans who set out from this academy to serve our country will not have to fight in yet another major European conflict.

That is the future we want you to have. That is the future we want your children to inherit.

I thank you for your willingness to contribute to that future. I thank you for your dedication to your country. Good luck to you all, and Godspeed. (Applause.)

END

11:50 A.M. MDT

Who Wants To Be a POTUS Trivia Whiz?

Monday, April 10, 2000

1. Put the Presidents in order from north to south according to where they were buried.
 - a. Franklin Roosevelt
 - b. John Kennedy
 - c. James Buchanan
 - d. Andrew Jackson

2. Which president had the nickname "*Happy Warrior*"?
 - a. Ulysses Grant
 - b. George Washington
 - c. Dwight Eisenhower
 - d. Theodore Roosevelt

3. Who was the first president not born a British subject?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. Thomas Jefferson
 - c. James Madison
 - d. Martin Van Buren

Answers will be available on Monday, April 17, 2000

in the libraries and at

www.eop.gov/Library_and_Research_Services/index.html

Executive Office of the President Libraries

Room 308 EEOB

Room G-102 NEOB

Room 528 EEOB (Law)

Who Wants To Be a POTUS Trivia Whiz?

Tuesday, April 11, 2000

1. Arrange the following presidents in chronological order from the earliest to the most recent.
 - a. William H. Harrison
 - b. John Tyler
 - c. Chester Arthur
 - d. Millard Fillmore

2. Which president appointed Earl Warren to the Supreme Court?
 - a. John F. Kennedy
 - b. Dwight Eisenhower
 - c. Richard Nixon
 - d. Lyndon Johnson

3. Which president was known as the "*American Tallyrand*"?
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. James Madison
 - c. John Quincy Adams
 - d. Martin Van Buren

Answers will be available on Monday, April 17, 2000

in the libraries and at

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Executive Office of the President Libraries

Room 308 EEOB

Room G-102 NEOB

Room 528 EEOB (Law)

Who Wants To Be a POTUS Trivia Whiz?

Wednesday, April 12, 2000

1. Rank the birthplaces of these presidents from west to east.
 - a. Andrew Jackson
 - b. Ronald Reagan
 - c. Theodore Roosevelt
 - d. Abraham Lincoln

2. Which of these presidents was not a former general?
 - a. Dwight Eisenhower
 - b. Zachary Taylor
 - c. James K. Polk
 - d. William H. Harrison

3. Who was the first president to be depicted on a U.S. coin?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. Abraham Lincoln
 - c. Thomas Jefferson
 - d. James Madison

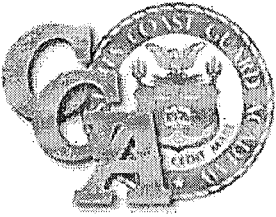
Answers will be available on Monday, April 17, 2000
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Room 528 EEOB (Law)



Graduation Week Schedule

[Home](#) | [Schedule](#) | [Letter to Parents](#) | [Guide to Renting Houses](#) | [Guide to Motels](#)

Note: Most times are not included at this date. They will be included as soon as they are finalized.

Saturday, 13 May 2000

Morning- Practice Review

This practice review takes place on the Washington Parade Field and anyone who wishes to attend is welcome to do so. A sweater or light jacket and comfortable shoes are recommended.

Sunday, 14 May 2000

Morning- Church Services

Services will be held in the Memorial Chapel. Coffee will be served in the Chapel after services.

Late morning - Baccalaureate

The Ecumenical Baccalaureate Service will be held in the Memorial Chapel for all graduates and their guests. This service is held to say farewell and Godspeed to the graduates.

Evening Parade

The most impressive parade of the year. This review includes a formal flag ceremony and the Cadet Corps in Full Dress. If you want to see the Regiment at its finest, don't miss this review! Because it is sometimes cool, a sweater or light coat is appropriate, so are comfortable shoes.

Monday, 15 May 2000

***Early morning - Golf Tournament**

Held at the Pequot Golf Course and includes breakfast. There will be more details on cost when you receive the reservation form. Advance reservations are required.

Early morning - Drill Down Competition

Each company within the Cadet Corps will parade its finest platoon in a precision drill competition. Each marching unit will be judged on various aspects of its routine. Winning this competition is highly coveted within the Cadet Corps.

Morning - Open House

The classrooms and laboratories will be available for your inspection from 9:00 A.M. until 11:00 A.M. The Seamanship/Sailing Center will also be open during this time for inspection. Sailboats may be checked out by cadets to take guests sailing. Comfortable walking shoes are recommended for touring the Academy.

Late morning - Future Spouses' Coffee

Sponsored by the Coast Guard Officers' Spouses' Association of Southeastern Connecticut and hosted by Mrs. Teeson at Quarters One. Spring suit or summer dress is appropriate for this fun and informative chat with officers' spouses. All spouses-to-be from the Class of 2000 are invited and are encouraged to attend.

***Noon - Gradfest (Food line concludes at 2:30 P.M./ other activities conclude at 4:00 P.M.)**

Plans are still underway regarding this event. It should be a great afternoon, for old and young alike. Very casual attire is suggested along with a sweater or jacket and comfortable shoes (sneakers would be a good choice). Be sure your tickets are purchased in advance. Location will be announced.

Late afternoon - Athletic Awards Reception

Cash bar will be available for parents and friends. The

Athletic Department will host the cadet award recipients for their beverages. No advance reservation needed. Attire for the event for cadets is Tropical Blue Long and is casual for civilians.

Evening: Musical Evening

Cadets involved in Glee Club, Idlers, Ice Breakers, and NiteCaps will be performing a variety of musical selections for your enjoyment in Leamy Hall Auditorium. There is no charge for this event. Although the dress is casual (shirts w/collars and no jeans), a coat and tie is also appropriate.

Tuesday, 16 May 2000

Midmorning - Review of the Corps of Cadets

This Review honors the donors of awards for individual excellence that will be presented later this morning. Featured at this drill will be the presentation of the awards for the best-drilled company and platoon. Everyone is invited. Be sure to wear warm and comfortable clothing.

Late Morning - Awards Ceremony

The Awards Ceremony is held in Leamy Hall Auditorium. It will honor individual cadets that have excelled in different aspects of Academy life.

*12:00 - 2:00 P.M. Buffet Lunch - Open House 1:00 - 2:30

A buffet luncheon is provided in Chase Hall Wardroom for Cadets, their dates, and guests who make reservations ahead of time. *Tickets must be purchased in advance* and will be collected at the door. Chase Hall is open for your inspection again at 1:00 P.M. and will remain open until 2:30 P.M. The Seamanship/Sailing Center will also be open at this time.

Midafternoon - Superintendent's Reception for Class of 2000

Rear Admiral and Mrs. Teeson wish to meet and congratulate both cadets and parents for a job well done and extend their best wishes for the year ahead. The Commandant of Cadets, Captain Brooks, and his wife;

Mrs. Bowen, the Director of Social Development; and Lieutenant Eric Kowack, Class of '00 Advisor will also be present to greet cadets, parents and guests. The Class of '00 will be received at 2:00 P.M. in Crown Park. In case of inclement weather (rain), this event will be held indoors. Informal daytime attire is appropriate, i.e. dress or suit for ladies and coat/tie for men.

***7:00 P.M. Commencement Dinner and Ball**

This is the last formal event of the year. It is held for all First Class cadets and their guests. The dinner will be held in the Cadet Wardroom at approximately 7:00 P.M. Tickets must be purchased in advance for the dinner. The Ball is held in Leamy Hall at 9:00 P.M. (No charge for the ball!) Parents may double date with their sons and daughters and may wear either formal attire (tuxedos for gentlemen and evening gowns for ladies) or you may wear your "dressy best." In other words if you own formal wear, it is appropriate to wear it; however, we do not wish to place a financial burden on anyone. Please be assured that you will not be alone if you arrive in a suit/cocktail dress. Like the cadets, parents who are in the military may also wear Dinner Dress White Jacket or its equivalent. The ladies and gentlemen being escorted by cadets are expected to come in formal attire, evening gowns / tuxedos.) This is a lovely affair and is well attended by parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents as well as siblings. It is a most enjoyable evening and we urge you all to attend.

Wednesday, 17 May 2000

9:30 A.M. Commencement Review of the Cadet Regiment

This is the final Review of the year, and it is the last time your son or daughter will march with the Corps of Cadets. If you plan to attend, come early as seating is at a premium.

11:00 A.M. Commencement Exercises

Graduation at last! Commencement begins at 11:00 A.M. In case of rain, graduation will move indoors to Leamy Auditorium. Due to space limitations, only persons with tickets marked, "For Leamy Hall in Case of Rain" will be admitted to the Auditorium. Each graduate will receive four indoor tickets. For those relatives and friends who will

not have seats in the Auditorium, TV monitors will be set up elsewhere on campus at places to be determined.

** Signifies advanced ticket purchase required*

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