

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):  
2009-0166-S

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# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an  
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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Office of the President  
**Series:** Daily Files  
**Subseries:**

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**OA/ID Number:** 90680  
**Folder ID Number:** 90680-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Saturday, May 16, 1992

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| Stack: | Row: | Section: | Shelf: | Position: |
|--------|------|----------|--------|-----------|
| V      | 0    | 0        | 0      | 0         |

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Doc. No. / Type | Subject/Title                                       | Date | Restriction | Classification |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|----------------|
| 01. Note        | Handwritten note, Re: Secret Service agent. (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(7)(c)   |                |

Page 1 of 1

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records

**Office:** Office of the President

**Series:** Daily Files

**Subseries:**

**WHORM Cat.:**

**File Location:** Saturday, May 16, 1992

**Pinksheet Number:** RML15904

**OA/ID Number:** 90680-003

**Date Closed:** 9/6/2024

**FOIA/Sys Case #:** 2009-0166-S

**Re-review Case #:**

**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

**Processed by:** Matt Lee

**Processed by:**

**Processed by:**

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

R

DATE: 5/15/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: - - -

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SMU COMMENCEMENT

SUBJECT: DALLAS, TEXAS  
MAY 16, 1992

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

## REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

## RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1992

02 MAY 14 P6:14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST *HA*  
FROM: ANDY FERGUSON *af*  
SUBJECT: SMU COMMENCEMENT

On Saturday, May 16th, at 10:42 a.m., at the Southern Methodist University's Moody Coliseum, you will deliver the commencement address (18 minutes/teleprompted) to an audience of 7,500 graduating students, family, and faculty.

Your remarks are positive in outlook -- refuting conventional myths about an America in decline. You highlight several aspects of your reform agenda as agents of positive change in keeping our country on the right track.

Note on local humor: SMU's Annual Literary Festival is a longstanding university tradition which attracts major literary figures. Charley's is a late night student facility next to the campus's main library.

(Ferguson/Grossman)  
May 14, 1992  
Draft Four  
SMU

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SMU COMMENCEMENT  
DALLAS, TEXAS  
MAY 16, 1992

[Acknowledgments]

It's good to be home in Texas. ((I'm honored by this degree -- even if I haven't put in all those long hours hitting the books at "Charlie's" -- pause -- I mean the library.))

((My dog's jealous about this degree. Yesterday, I wanted to take Millie for a walk. She told me to call her agent.))

((Actually, Millie's sulking at home right now. She heard about your Annual Literary Festival, and she's still waiting for her invitation.))

I know this is an exciting day for you and your parents, the close of one important chapter in your lives and the beginning of many more. Right after my own commencement, I lit out for Odessa in our '47 Studebaker, to try my hand at the oil business.

I had many reasons for coming west, but the advice from one family friend tipped the balance. "What you need to do is head out to Texas," he told me. "That's the place for ambitious young people these days."

This was a few years after World War II -- what seems like a lifetime ago. My friend's advice was some of the best I've ever had. I believe that what he said then still holds true, not only for Texas but for all of America. Members of your graduation class hail from as far away as Czechoslovakia and as near as University Park, and all points in between. But for each of you,

America is the place where ambition, energy, enthusiasm and hard work are still rewarded, where young people can still feel confidence in their dreams.

Most of us in that class of 1948 had been through the war; many of us had lost friends and loved ones. But even so, the opportunities America offered on that commencement day seemed limitless. I think many of you wonder whether that holds true for you. This morning I want to make the case that today's America is still a rising nation -- that the country you are inheriting offers the same limitless opportunities it held for Barbara and me, and for your parents and your grandparents.

We all are working to preserve for ourselves and the generations to come three precious legacies: rewarding jobs for all who seek them; strong families; and a world at peace. Tomorrow, at Notre Dame, I will discuss the things we can do to strengthen our families. Next week, at the Naval Academy, I will explore the great issues of war and peace. For now, I want to focus on the first of those legacies -- our economic future.

In making the case that America's best days lie before us, I realize that I might not be taking the fashionable view. Much of the conventional wisdom these days portrays an America in decline, its energy dissipated, its possibilities exhausted -- a country overrun by economic predators abroad and crippled by insurmountable problems at home.

These declinists, as they're called, will hate to hear it, but they're saying nothing new. Flip through the history books.

You'll hear the gloomy predictions sounding again and again. As our western frontier filled in the late 19th century, even that great America-booster Walt Whitman worried that soon his country might "prove the most tremendous failure in history." A few years later the "American century" dawned.

In the 1930s, the declinists told us the great depression had made capitalism outmoded; our victory in World War II put an end to that talk. In the 1950s, the Soviets launched the first satellite, and the pessimists said America had lost the space race -- twelve years before Neil Armstrong, an American, walked on the moon. Still more recently, while many of you were still in grade school, some of our national leaders spoke of an "era of limits" and "malaise" -- right before Americans began the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history.

So the pessimists were wrong. Pessimists always are -- when they talk about America. The optimists have the safer bet; but there's a difference between optimism and self-satisfaction. Americans should never be satisfied with the way things are. "I'm an idealist," said Woodrow Wilson. "That's how I know I'm an American." We still dream big dreams and hold the highest hopes; our restlessness, our refusal to settle for anything less, is what propels us to make those dreams real.

There's something particularly ironic about the pessimism we're seeing today, for it comes at a moment of triumph that few countries in history have been privileged to enjoy. Over the past year we have seen the collapse of a seemingly implacable

adversary, an empire deeply hostile to all that Americans cherish. And we have seen emerge from the totalitarian darkness a host of new nations, each struggling with a free and democratic future, each looking to us for leadership.

In light of this, pessimism isn't just ungracious; it is also inaccurate. The fact is, America is more than the world's sole military superpower -- though it is that. It is more than the world's political leader -- though it is that, too. It is also the greatest economic power the world has ever seen, a country uniquely able to provide each of you unparalleled opportunity. And it is certain to remain so -- if we refuse to settle for anything less.

First we must see our situation clearly. That means debunking a few myths -- for myths harm our ability to distinguish our real problems from false ones.

Perhaps you've heard the American worker is unproductive. That is a myth. The American worker is the most productive in the industrial world -- 30 percent more productive than his Japanese counterpart. That's why, with one-twentieth of the world's population, we produce one-fourth of the world's goods and services.

Maybe you've heard the American worker is unskilled. This audience here, about to enter the American workforce, puts the lie to that claim. In fact, more than one out of every four American workers has a college degree; another 20 percent have

one-to-three years of college education. In Japan, only one-third of the population goes on to higher education.

Maybe you've heard that our standard of living -- the average American's ability to buy goods and services -- has fallen behind. Again: not true. Measured in purchasing power, our standard of living is far above other industrialized nations.

Here's another myth: that America has fallen behind in science, technology and innovation. Maybe the pessimists should come here to SMU, talk to the grad students who will be working on the Superconducting supercollider next fall. Or they could ask those companies from Switzerland, Germany, Japan, Korea -- the list goes on -- who open research labs in the U.S., simply to be close to American science.

If not science, say the pessimists, then how about industry? You might have heard that American industry is on the decline. Wrong again. Manufacturing has grown faster than the rest of our economy. In fact, in the last decade, American manufacturing grew faster than the rest of the world combined. From one industry to another, the United States is more progressive and efficient than its major trading partners: in mining, oil and gas drilling, utilities, transportation, communication, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, construction, scientific instruments, paper, stone, clay, glass products, textiles....

This list too goes on, but I don't want to overdo it. ((One poor guy over there looked terrified I might give a pop quiz.)) ((Or: You know that old joke: you've gone through four years of

college, and now comes the hard part: sitting through the commencement address.)) I don't recite these statistics so we can all pat ourselves on the back. I want to make a point: America is a strong nation getting stronger. And we can learn from our success.

But the pessimists ignore the lessons of America's leadership. Instead they push protection and isolation -- a strategy based on the misguided fear that America can't rise to the challenges of a global economy. The danger is that, for all our undeniable strengths, fear of the future could prove a self-fulfilling prophesy. If America turned inward, insulated itself in a cocoon of defeatism, the result would be stagnation, fewer jobs with lower pay, and a diminished standard of living for all.

Our astounding economic success is increasingly dependent on a basic fact: If we are to be prosperous at home, we must lead economically abroad. In a word, that means trade. America is the world's leading exporter -- \$422 billion worth last year alone. Over the past five years, our merchandise exports have grown almost 90 percent, supporting more than 7 million jobs.

The defeatists pretend that trade is zero-sum game, where one partner's gain must be offset by another's loss. But once again they're wrong -- demonstrably wrong -- and I refuse to squander the gains of the last generation, and the hopes of coming generations, in this crabbed misreading of America's place in the world. For three years my administration has pursued a policy of open and free trade -- because it creates jobs and

opportunity for Americans. Right now, with the support of the people of Texas, we are on the verge of concluding a historic North American Free Trade Agreement, which will create a \$6 trillion free trade area from the Yukon to the Yucatan.

Is our policy optimistic? Well, yes: I plead guilty to being optimistic about this country's ability to compete. Don't misunderstand: America has difficulties ahead. We must deal now with a few alarming trends that endanger our world leadership -- and threaten your future.

I have challenged Congress to join me in a reform agenda based on the same first principles that underlie our prosperity. Our economic success wasn't hatched in some committee room on Capitol Hill or around a conference table in the White House. It was determined on the shop floor, in the board room, in the research lab, where free men and women weighed the options, took the risks, and made their own decisions. America is the most prosperous nation in history because it is also the freest. That same commitment to limited government, personal freedom, and personal responsibility must shape the reforms we urgently need to undertake.

A radical transformation of our education system, for example, is long overdue. That means we must allow communities the freedom to create their own break-the-mold schools, giving maximum flexibility to teachers and principals. And parents must have the freedom to choose their children's schools, public, private or religious.

In the same way, my plan to reform our health care system makes health care more affordable and accessible, while preserving the all-important benefit of consumer choice.

And I have proposed comprehensive steps to restore sanity to our legal system. The explosion in litigation threatens our economic well-being and, worse, weakens the ethic of personal responsibility that lies at the heart of our national character. America would be a better country if we sued each other less and helped each other more.

And for those of us in Washington, it's high time to get our own house in order. The federal government must start living within its means. We need a balanced budget amendment, and we need it now.

Finally, as our country moves forward into the next century, we must resolve that no one is left behind. The riots in Los Angeles reminded us that we have much more work to do in our own backyard. The American dream takes root in families whole and caring, in neighborhoods safe and secure, and in schools unsullied by drugs and violence. Every American deserves the opportunity to pursue this dream, unhindered by the ugliness of racism or the benign neglect of a government bureaucracy.

We are past the time for casting blame or making excuses for the despair in our inner cities. But we must ask ourselves: "Are the old ways, the old assumptions still good enough?" I believe the time has come to try the untried, to build a new approach on the principles of dignity, personal initiative, and opportunity.

Last week I presented to congressional leaders a six-point plan for a New America: First, our "Weed and Seed" anti-crime initiative. Second, our HOPE initiative, to turn public housing into private homes. Third, enterprise zones, to bring jobs and investment to the inner city. Fourth, education reform, to offer every child the chance at a world-class education. Fifth, welfare reform, to replace the handout with the hand-up. And sixth, expanded job training for the young people of our cities.

When I visited Los Angeles a week ago, I came away with a deepened sense of hope for America and her people. We all saw the horrifying acts of violence. But let me tell you another story from Los Angeles. In the heat and chaos of the riots, a pastor named Bennie Newton saw a man being beaten to the ground. Despite the threats and the blows, Rev. Newton walked into the fray and draped his body over the bloody man until the beating stopped. "My heart was crying," said the pastor. He saved the man's life.

America is a nation of Bennie Newtons; you'll find him in every town and city, in every union hall and boy's club and scout troop. You'll find a lot of them here at SMU, with your proud tradition of serving others. Few of us, of course, are ever called to take the risks Rev. Newton did. But every day we face the question posed in the New Testament: "If anyone has the world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?"

On countless small occasions, each of us is called to open our hearts -- each of us is called to lead, to take responsibility, to show the power of faith in action. I have spoken today of our economic future, about free enterprise and personal liberty, but the freedoms we cherish mean nothing unless they are infused with the old virtues, the time-honored values: honesty, thrift, faith, self-discipline, service to others.

I do not pretend to know the shape of the next century. The genius of a free people defies prediction. Certainly Barbara and I, when we loaded up our Studebaker for the trip to Odessa so long ago, could never have imagined the technological marvels our grandchildren take for granted -- fax machines and VCRs, for example -- ((not to mention the most amazing invention of 1992, the supermarket scanner.))

But I do know this: the next century will be your century. If you believe in freedom, if you hold fast to your values, if you remain faithful to our role in the world, it is sure to be yet another American century.

Thank you again. God bless SMU, and the United States of America.

# # # #

#6

TRAVEL POOL "G": THE PRESIDENT GETS RELIGION  
AND FLIES TO SOUTH BEND

Your pool was summoned early to accompany President Bush as he attended the 8 a.m. services at St. Martin's Episcopal Church. He sat off the side aisle near the back with Houston pal and former aide Jack Steel. The homily was non-political, by the Rev. Helen Appelberg, who said we should all be more like trapeze artists in the circus, willing to "let go, turn around and reach out." She touched on the AIDS crisis but not on the L.A. riots. In the congregation's "Prayers of the People," the minister prayed for "George our president and James our secretary of state," and Bush also was welcomed from the pulpit. Afterwards, he was escorted to his limo by ~~xxxxx~~ the Rev. Payne, whose first name I have misplaced.

-trapeze

by  
name

A motorcade was substituted for the helicopter ride to the airport because of torrential rains and thunder.

On Air Force One, a senior White House official, speaking on background, basically confirmed the Washington Post story ~~as~~ this morning on the EPA. He said the EPA had ~~judged~~ <sup>argued</sup> that the Clean Air Act requires companies to notify the public when they make changes that could increase their levels of pollution. The White House Competitiveness Council, headed by Vice President Quayle, ~~protested~~ <sup>argued</sup> that the law did not make this requirement. Bush sided with the council, and Chief of Staff Sam Skinner notified EPA Administrator Reilly of this recently. Now, the Justice Department probably will issue a legal ruling backing up the Bush/Quayle interpretation of the law, and the EPA will publish it as a new regulation.

On other issues, Marlin Fitzwater declined to discuss the controversy at Notre Dame ~~in~~ over the awarding of a medal to Sen. Moynihan, who supports abortion rights. "I don't think we'll have a position on that," he said. "We have enough controversies of our own without getting involved in somebody else's."

On the CNN poll that shows Perot ahead nationwide, Fitzwater said, "The president has been at 90 percent and at 37 percent. In the end, I think people will remember why he was at 90 percent" and support him again, "and in the interim we'll go through a lot of ~~ups~~ ups and downs." He said the poll was not prompting any rethinking of White House policies, including those on the cities. He said Bush didn't address urban policy in any detail in yesterday's speech because he has to talk about a lot of different things, and because topics are often determined by the audience being addressed. "The audience does dictate the speech in many ways....The important thing is...do you keep up the general thrust ~~as~~ for public support of our (urban) package?" Also, he said Bush would hold a bipartisan congressional meeting this week, maybe on Tuesday.

Susan Page, Newsday

May 12, 1992

POOL REPORT # 5

5/16/92

DALLAS TO HOUSTON

Only news: Bush stops to see Turkish president Turgut Ozal at Houston hospital where he's recovering from surgery for prostate cancer. No presidential words.

After arriving in Houston, Bush motorcaded directly to Methodist Hospital, where Ozal has been recuperating from the surgery for the past two weeks. Ozal received the president in a sitting room on the hospital's 12th floor, obviously outfitted as a VIP wing. The Turkish president was seated in a chair when your pool entered, wearing a dark blue robe. He smiled animatedly for the cameras and looked quite hale.

Bush was seated on a sofa, along with famed heart surgeon Michael DeBakey, who was wearing surgical scrubs. Hospital officials said DeBakey is Ozal's regular doctor. He did not, however, perform the prostate surgery.

Turkish security officials prevented your pool reporter from getting close enough to ask questions or overhear any remarks.

Methodist Hospital officials said Ozal, who had a "radical prostatectomy" (sp?), is making a good recovery with no post-operative complications. He is due to be released from the hospital Tuesday and is to return to Turkey on Friday.

Bush visit was short: About 15-20 minutes max.

Otherwise, the trip was uneventful. No chat on AF1.

Heading from SMU to Love Field in Dallas, we passed by the Dallas Country Club, one of the clubs Ross Perot quit after questions were raised about the appropriateness of his membership. According to a local reporter, the club discriminates against blacks and Jews.

In Houston, Bush's motorcade passed a huge "Perot for President" billboard that urged motorists to "sign the petition." (The deadline for getting the signatures in to Texas elections officials was last week).

The trip also disclosed yet another presidential perk: At Houston's Episcopal High School field, where Marine One choppered in, your pool slogged pathetically through the rainsoaked grass. Mr. Smooth, meanwhile, zipped tidily across the bog in a golf cart, thus arriving at his limo with presidential wingtips dry.

--Kathy Kiely. Houston Post.

#4

Pool Report -- May 16, 1992.  
Air Force One from Houston to Dallas

No talk, no news. At Ellington before climbing aboard AF1 Bush signed a few photos for about a dozen Air National Guardsmen with the 147th Fighter Intercept Unit. Photos were apparently taken on previous visit to Houston. Bush smiled, waved to the few who turned out to see him.

At Love Field, Marlin was asked about the speech that wasn't delivered at the United Negro College Fund dinner. "The question is why they (campaign headquarters in D.C.) put it out. Talk to Jim Lake about it," he said.

Dave Demarest said the remarks were prepared as talking points for the president, but he decided to wing it, as he often does. Said he didn't know why the campaign released it.

Marlin also declined to comment on the mayors' march in D.C. "We're here to talk to SMU grads," is about all he offered.

At Love, Bush spent a few minutes talking with Point of Light recipients Ann Slaughter, president and chairman of the board of My Guardian Angels, and angels volunteer Clint Pruett.

Aboard AF1 with Bush, Laura Lee Blanton, SMU board member, and husband, Jack.

McDonald -- Houston Chron

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**

MAY 16th 1992

[illegible]

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 16, 1992

|     | TIME     |       | NAME                                                                           | ACTION              |
|-----|----------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
|     | PLACED   | DISC  |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | 9:54 AM  | 10:02 | Conference Call:<br>President Turgut Ozal<br>The Methodist Hospital            | Tlkd-ok<br>10:01 AM |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       | Houston, Texas<br>713-790-3311                                                 |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Steven J. Baker<br>White House Situation Room<br>White House Signal 7-2264 |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mrs. Jane E. Holl<br>Residence, Arlington, Virginia<br>703-243-2256            |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | 10:04 AM | 10:09 | Mr. George W. Bush, Jr.<br>Residence, Dallas, Texas<br>214-692-6604            | Tlkd-ok<br>10:06 AM |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       | Reverend Billy Graham<br>Mayo Clinic<br>Rochester, Minnesota<br>507-282-2581   | Tlkd-ok<br>9:21 PM  |
| INC | 9:16 PM  | 9:27  |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| OUT | AM       |       |                                                                                |                     |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                |                     |

# PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Houston, Texas

Dallas, Texas

LOCATION Houston, Texas

DATE 16 May 1992

## TIME

## MOVEMENTS

|      |                                                          |           |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 0738 | Depart Houstonian Hotel via Motorcade                    |           |
| 0745 | Arrive Episcopal High School Landing Zone                |           |
| 0750 | Depart Episcopal High School Landing Zone via Marine One |           |
| 0806 | Arrive Ellington Field                                   |           |
| 0818 | Depart Ellington Field via Air Force One                 |           |
| 0909 | Arrive Love Field, Dallas, Texas                         |           |
| 0921 | Depart Love Field via Motorcade                          |           |
| 0935 | Arrive Southern Methodist University                     |           |
| 1139 | Depart Southern Methodist University via Motorcade       |           |
| 1152 | Arrive Love Field                                        |           |
| 1205 | Depart Love Field via Air Force One                      |           |
| 1246 | Arrive Ellington Field, Houston, Texas                   |           |
| 1259 | Depart Ellington Field via Marine One                    |           |
| 1317 | Arrive Episcopal High School Landing Zone                |           |
| 1322 | Depart Episcopal High School Landing Zone via Motorcade  |           |
| 1340 | Arrive Methodist Hospital                                | (LOW KEY) |
| 1355 | Depart Methodist Hospital via Motorcade                  | (LOW KEY) |
| 1425 | Arrive Houstonian Hotel                                  |           |
| 1827 | Depart Houstonian Hotel via Motorcade                    | (LOW KEY) |
| 1836 | Arrive Kerr Residence                                    | (LOW KEY) |
| 2043 | Depart Kerr Residence via Motorcade                      | (LOW KEY) |
| 2052 | Arrive Houstonian Hotel                                  | (LOW KEY) |
|      |                                                          |           |
|      |                                                          |           |

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                           | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 01. Note                 | Handwritten note, Re: Secret Service agent. (1 pp.) | n.d. | (b)(7)(c)   |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records

**Office:** Office of the President

**Series:** Daily Files

**Subseries:**

**WHORM Cat.:**

**File Location:** Saturday, May 16, 1992

|                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Date Closed:</b> 9/6/2024        | <b>OA/ID Number:</b> 90680-003 |
| <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> 2009-0166-S | <b>Appeal Case #:</b>          |
| <b>Re-review Case #:</b>            | <b>Appeal Disposition:</b>     |
| <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>       | <b>Disposition Date:</b>       |
| <b>AR Case #:</b>                   | <b>MR Case #:</b>              |
| <b>AR Disposition:</b>              | <b>MR Disposition:</b>         |
| <b>AR Disposition Date:</b>         | <b>MR Disposition Date:</b>    |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



5/16/92

Aboard Air Force One

Dear John and Glenda,

I just heard about  
your tragic loss - your  
sorrow.

We lost a little girl  
once, and I remember  
the terrible aching pain  
and the grief. But I  
also know that the Lord  
heals and strengthens. Time  
really does help, too.

Barbara and I  
send our most loving

condolences

Abigail is in God's  
loving arms - bless her.  
Be strong. We are thinking  
of you -

Cy Burl

Mr. and Mrs. John Skalitich  
1348 Blackwalnut Court  
Annapolis, Maryland  
21403

#4

Pool Report -- May 16, 1992.  
Air Force One from Houston to Dallas

No talk, no news. At Ellington before climbing aboard AF1 Bush signed a few photos for about a dozen Air National Guardsmen with the 147th Fighter Intercept Unit. Photos were apparently taken on previous visit to Houston. Bush smiled, waved to the few who turned out to see him.

At Love Field, Marlin was asked about the speech that wasn't delivered at the United Negro College Fund dinner. "The question is why they (campaign headquarters in D.C.) put it out. Talk to Jim Lake about it," he said.

Dave Demarest said the remarks were prepared as talking points for the president, but he decided to wing it, as he often does. Said he didn't know why the campaign released it.

Marlin also declined to comment on the mayors' march in D.C. "We're here to talk to SMU grads," is about all he offered.

At Love, Bush spent a few minutes talking with Point of Light recipients Ann Slaughter, president and chairman of the board of My Guardian Angels, and angels volunteer Clint Pruett.

Aboard AF1 with Bush, Laura Lee Blanton, SMU board member, and husband, Jack.

McDonald -- Houston Chron

5/16/92

DALLAS TO HOUSTON

Only news: Bush stops to see Turkish president Turgut Ozal at Houston hospital where he's recovering from surgery for prostate cancer. No presidential words.

After arriving in Houston, Bush motorcaded directly to Methodist Hospital, where Ozal has been recuperating from the surgery for the past two weeks. Ozal received the president in a sitting room on the hospital's 12th floor, obviously outfitted as a VIP wing. The Turkish president was seated in a chair when your pool entered, wearing a dark blue robe. He smiled animatedly for the cameras and looked quite hale.

Bush was seated on a sofa, along with famed heart surgeon Michael DeBakey, who was wearing surgical scrubs. Hospital officials said DeBakey is Ozal's regular doctor. He did not, however, perform the prostate surgery.

Turkish security officials prevented your pool reporter from getting close enough to ask questions or overhear any remarks.

Methodist Hospital officials said Ozal, who had a "radical prosectomy" (sp?), is making a good recovery with no post-operative complications. He is due to be released from the hospital Tuesday and is to return to Turkey on Friday.

Bush visit was short: About 15-20 minutes max.

Otherwise, the trip was uneventful. No chat on AF1.

Heading from SMU to Love Field in Dallas, we passed by the Dallas Country Club, one of the clubs Ross Perot quit after questions were raised about the appropriateness of his membership. According to a local reporter, the club discriminates against blacks and Jews.

In Houston, Bush's motorcade passed a huge "Perot for President" billboard that urged motorists to "sign the petition." (The deadline for getting the signatures in to Texas elections officials was last week).

The trip also disclosed yet another presidential perk: At Houston's Episcopal High School field, where Marine One choppered in, your pool slogged pathetically through the rainsoaked grass. Mr. Smooth, meanwhile, zipped tidily across the bog in a golf cart, thus arriving at his limo with presidential wingtips dry.

--Kathy Kiely. Houston Post.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

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DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Saturday, Sunday, Monday May 16,17,18 1992

|                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Mrs. Bush           | (in folder)      |
| Secretary Skinner   | West Wing        |
| Marlin Fitzwater    | West Wing        |
| Constance Horner    | West Wing        |
| Carol Powers        | West Wing        |
| Patty Presock       | Residence        |
| First Lady Detail   | Staircase        |
| Karen Connell       | Room 58 OEOB     |
| Shirley Green       | Room 94 OEOB     |
| Anne Griffith       | Room 98 OEOB     |
| Diana Kellogg       | Room 157 OEOB    |
| Gregg Petersmeyer   | Room 100 OEOB    |
| Marguerite Sullivan | Room 268 OEOB    |
| Carolyn Washington  | Room 268 OEOB    |
| Sherrie Rollins     | West Wing        |
| Benita Somerfield   | hold one copy    |
| Ann Brock           |                  |
| Julie Cooke         |                  |
| Joan DeCain         |                  |
| Laurie Firestone    |                  |
| Jane Moore          |                  |
| Susan Porter Rose   |                  |
| Sally Runion        |                  |
| Peggy Swift         |                  |
| Anna Perez          |                  |
| Sondra Haley        |                  |
| Jean Becker         |                  |
| Jay Suchan          | (plus originals) |

51-100

# APPLE SAUCE

By LARRY SUTTON

## ALL NATURAL

Aside from her fake pearls, one of Barbara Bush's most famous traits is her white hair. It turned that color when she was only 28.

She tried to color it herself "but it turned every color but the warm brown I wanted," writes Pamela Kilian in her new book, "Barbara Bush: A Biography" (St. Martin's). Kilian, a news editor at Scripps Howard News Service, says that Bush decided to get professional help from her local beauty parlor for her husband's 1964 Senate race.

A rinse was put in her hair. But during a plane ride, because of intense heat inside the aircraft, the rinse began to run. "It ran down my neck, my ears, my cheek and my forehead," she said. "I began to blot myself with Kleenex, used all that up, then started on toilet paper. I spent the whole

flight mopping myself up." After that fiasco, she decided to let her hair color take its natural course.

## Overheard

**"W**e're finally going to wrastle to the ground this gigantic orgasm that is just out of control."

Arizona Sen. DENNIS DECONCINI, discussing a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget, at a news conference. He apparently meant to say "organism."

**"I** always thought if there was a serial rapist or murderer loose my business would go up. But nothing beats a race riot."

SEAN COLLINSWORTH, owner of Deadly Force, a personal-gun-training service in Los Angeles

Went to the L.A. 'hoods for a short stop. Chilled with the homies, made a great photo-op!



Mike Luckovich

Da cities aint gettin' the green dey need and that is wrong! But I'd rather blow it on the pent-a-gon!



RAPPIN' BUSH

Da brothers are complaining dat Street life's a livin' hell, so I'm goin' back to D.C. and build 'em a prison cell!



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**"I**'ve got my likeness copyrighted. But here's the deal, Dana. For 10 percent, you can keep doing this."

ROSS PEROT, joking to comedian Dana Carvey who impersonates Perot on "Saturday Night Live"

**"W**e don't necessarily discriminate. We simply exclude certain types of people."

Lt. Col. GERALD WELLMAN, an ROT instructor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the military's ban on gay

**"G**o shave and take a shower."

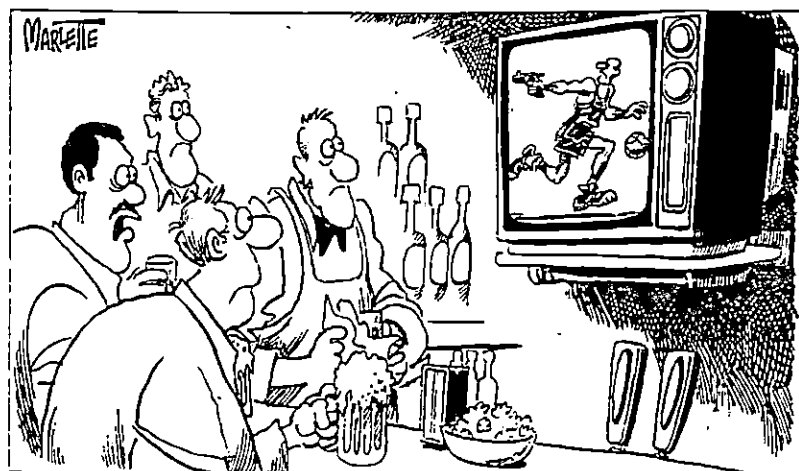
Director SPIKE LEE, to scruffy actor Mickey Rourke, after Rourke suggested Lee's film "Do the Right Thing" was indirectly responsible for the Los Angeles riot

**"I**f you took the brains of the majority of the Supreme Court and put them into the head of a bird, the bird would fly backward for ever and ever and ever."

NAACP chairman BENJAMIN HOOKS, on the high court

**"M**arilyn, we had a hard enough time getting Bobby here tonight. If you're going to give him a hard time, do it in your home, not mine."

BARBARA BUSH, to Marilyn Quayle, after the Second Lady teased Doro Bush LeBlond's fiancé, Bobby Koch, because he's a Democrat



Is it just me or are the NBA playoffs getting more physical?!

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# What's Cooking? with Barbara Bush

This is an exclusive to the Ledger from the White House

by Barbara Vaka, Food Editor

## The Art of Cooking

11-1 cup sour cream  
1-Lettuce (a cup shredded)  
J-1 medium can of frozen avocado dip

### Directions:

Follow instructions on Taco Seasoning Mix for browning meat. I serve this meal in my kitchen—a big pot of meat simmering on the stove, a wooden salad bowl of corn chips and seven bowls (D through J) of the remaining ingredients around the table. Start with a mound of corn chips, a spoon of piping hot meat, cheese, etc.

### Old-Fashioned Bread Pudding

#### Ingredients:

8 slices raisin bread (lightly spread with butter or margarine)  
1/2-3/4 cup sugar mixed with 1/2 teaspoon cinnamon  
1 quart milk (whole, 2 percent or skim), mixed with 2 tsp. vanilla and 4 eggs beaten (or egg substitute)  
1/2 tsp. salt  
extra raisins or fruit to taste  
(Serves 12)

#### Directions:

Preheat oven to 350 degrees. Butter a 9 by 13 inch baking dish. Cut raisin bread into quarters. Put one layer of bread in dish and sprinkle with sugar mixture and raisins. Continue alternating bread and sugar and raisin mixture until dish is full. Pour milk mixed with vanilla, salt and eggs over all, and bake until puffed and lightly brown; about 30 minutes.

I tried the First Lady's bread pudding Saturday night and it was enjoyed by the entire family.

Thank you Barbara Bush.

A couple of weeks ago I wrote to the following presidential candidates: George Bush, Jerry Brown, H. Ross Perot and Bill Clinton.

I requested that each send me one or two of their favorite family recipes.

I have waited patiently for these very busy men to respond.

This week I am pleased to print two of the First Lady's favorites. Barbara Bush had two of their favorites faxed to the Ledger.

Hopefully, in the following weeks, the other candidates will send along their recipes.

We will also be contacting candidates for U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Here then are two of the Bush's favorites:

### Mexican Mound—a great Bush favorite!

Easy to make-loved by all who love Mexican food. Ingredients easy to keep in the house. Children or guests can all help with chopping and grating.

It's fun!

#### Ingredients:

A-Package of corn chips  
B-2 pounds ground meat  
C-Taco Seasoning mix  
D-1 cup grated yellow cheese  
E-1 or 2 small chopped onions (not minced)  
F-10 chopped ripe black olives  
G-1 chopped tomato

### INSIDE THE LEDGER

#### BARBARA BUSH



Exclusive to the Pueblo Ledger from the White House. Two of Barbara Bush's favorite recipes. Story 7A.



## EYE SCOOP

■ How could Barbara Bush not be the honored guest at the Literacy Volunteers of New York City reading Monday night? Her dog, Millie, is one of the top authors of the year. The First Lady will be in New York for the evening to hear authors Gwendolyn Brooks, Arthur Miller, Anna Quindlen, William Styron, Amy Tan and LVNYC student Cynthia Smith read from their works. Liz Smith and Dan Rather will emcee. Among those expected at the event and the dinner following: Veronica Hearst, Arnold Scaasi, Bill Blass, Carolyne Roehm, Peter Jennings, Carroll Petrie and Rupert and Anna Murdoch.

## STAMPS

Barth Healey

# The First Lady Who Endorsed Bitters

**E**THICS evolve. Today, it is hard to imagine Barbara Bush's endorsing a digestive medicine; a century ago, Frances Folsom Cleveland seems to have done just that.

Stamp collectors often drift into being hoarders of other ephemera, and when a handsome advertising card was offered in a recent mail auction, entering a \$25 bid proved irresistible. The bid was successful.

The card, which does not really belong in a stamp collection, is difficult to date because it has no postal markings. But it apparently was printed sometime after Grover Cleveland first became President in 1885 (he served from 1885 to 1889 and again from 1893 to 1897).

On the message side is an advertisement, fairly routine for the time, from A. P. Ordway & Company of Boston for "the best medical work published," written by a Dr. Kaufmann under the title "Disease, its Causes, and Home Cure." The book deals with diet and digestion and is said to be "Beautifully Illustrated With Colored Plates From Life."

All you had to do was to send in three two-cent stamps to receive "this great work" from Ordway.

On the picture side of the card is a sepia portrait of "Mrs. President Cleveland" under the banner "Use Sulphur Bitters," apparently also made by Ordway.

These were very early days for advertising, and cards were a popular medium. It was apparently also the very early days for a careful examination of the propriety of linking the White House with a commercial product, though there is no way to know if the portrait was used with Mrs. Cleveland's permission.

Frances Folsom Cleveland was a popular woman, more vivacious than her husband, who was 27 years older than she. So it isn't surprising that Ordway would have used her image to sell sulphur bitters, an alcoholic brew of bitter herbs that stimulated the appetite.

The bitters, if Mrs. Cleveland did indeed use them, did her some good. She died in 1947 at the age of 83.

## Buying by Mail

The demise of the retail stamp store may give the impression that the hobby has died. Older people especially remember a time when every Main Street had a stamp and coin shop. No more.



But the hobby is not dead. If anything, it is expanding, with stamp-club memberships growing every year. But there has been a dramatic change in how hobbyists acquire stamps: most now buy by mail.

Two publications, Linn's Stamp News and Global Stamp News, offer a full range of advertisements and articles to introduce new or returning collectors to today's retail market.

Both are tabloid newspapers of about 80 pages. The typography is excellent. The page design and the color reproductions are adequate.

Global Stamp News is the better value: it's free. This is a monthly started two years ago with the unabashed goal of promoting the hobby.

Since it is almost entirely supported by advertising, the ration of articles is somewhat skimpier than in Linn's. There is very little current news, and all the articles concern foreign stamps. But the prose is chatty and nontechnical and serves as a good introduction.

Those wishing a sample copy can write to Global Stamp News, P.O. Box 97, Sidney, Ohio 45365.

Linn's is a weekly, plumper than Global, and with many more articles and newsier news. Some material is esoteric, but I find myself reading items in which I have no initial interest because the prose is comfortably unpretentious.

Linn's offers a 13-week introductory subscription for \$7.95, payable in advance to Linn's Stamp News, P.O. Box 29, Sidney, Ohio 45365.

Though both Global and Linn's are based in the same town near Dayton, they are not connected.

# Bush Presents Rosy Picture of Economic Prowess

## President Barely Touches On Urban Ills in Southern Methodist Commencement Address

By Dan Balz  
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, May 16—Railing against the "defeatists" and "declinists" who argue that America is on the down slope of history, President Bush today offered a rosy picture of America's economic prowess but warned that "fear of the future could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy" and must be resisted.

After a week spent touring inner-city neighborhoods and attempting to formulate a response to the Los Angeles riots, Bush came to his adopted home state of Texas and said the United States remains "a rising nation" on the brink of another great century of progress.

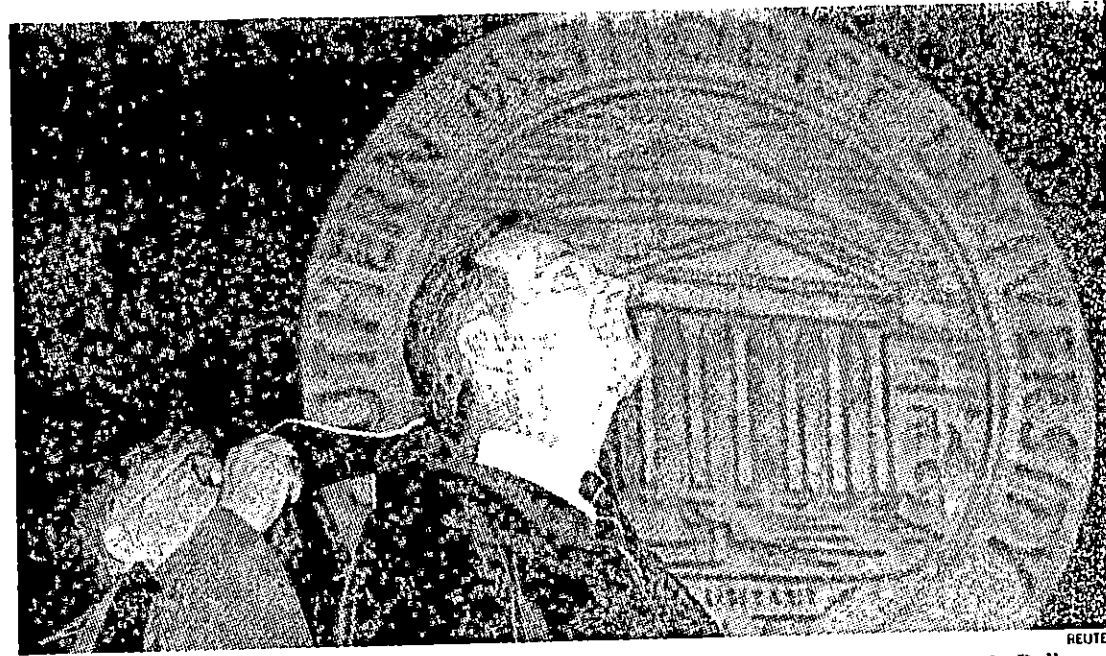
But in this bastion of free enterprise and entrepreneurial spirit, Bush barely touched on the plight of the cities and the implications of the riots in California.

"America is a strong nation, getting stronger, and we can learn from our success," Bush told the graduating class at Southern Methodist University. The United States "is also the greatest economic power the world has ever seen . . . and it is certain to remain so -- if we refuse to settle for anything less."

The speech was the second commencement address Bush has delivered this spring. On Sunday, he will travel to the University of Notre Dame, where his topic will be strengthening families. On May 27, the subject will be the implications of "a world at peace" when he addresses graduates at the Naval Academy.

In his address today, Bush set out to debunk what he said were the myths of America's decline. Citing the downbeat warnings of 19th century writer Walt Whitman, gloomy predictions of the end of capitalism during the Great Depression and the descriptions of economic "malaise" from the late 1970s, Bush said, "The pessimists were wrong. Pessimists always are wrong when they talk about America."

The president recalled his graduation from the University almost half a century ago, when



President Bush tilts his head backward to accept sash for an honorary doctor of laws degree in Dallas.

he "lit out" with his wife Barbara in their 1947 Studebaker for the oil fields of west Texas.

Conventional wisdom today "portrays America in decline and its energy dissipated, its possibilities exhausted, a country overrun by economic predators abroad and crippled by the insurmountable problems at home," Bush said.

But he told the graduates he believes the nation is "the place where ambition, energy, enthusiasm and hard work are still rewarded, where young people can still feel confidence in their dreams."

Bush cited statistics that he said undermine the arguments of those who say the country has lost its role as world leader. American workers, he said, remain the most productive in the world, 30 percent more productive than those in Japan, and better educated than their Japanese counterparts. He said American workers have greater purchasing power than any others in the world.

America's research capabilities remain the envy of other countries, Bush said, and despite fears about America's declining manufacturing base, he said manufacturing has grown "faster than the rest of our economy" and faster than in the rest of the world combined.

Bush said pessimists now call for protectionism and isolationism because they fear that the United States cannot compete in the new global marketplace, and he renewed his calls for free trade, a North American free-trade zone and an aggressive export policy.

"The danger is that for all our undeniable strengths, fear of the future could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy," Bush said. "And if America turned inward and insulated itself in a cocoon of defeatism, the result would be a large number of fewer jobs with less pay and a diminished standard of living for all."

# Bush urges grads to fight for families

WASHINGTON TIMES

By Frank J. Murray  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

**SOUTH BEND, Ind.** — President Bush's fundamentalist preaching stilled just about everyone at Catholic Notre Dame yesterday, from protesters to whom he pledged "no politics" to a Senate nemesis who cut short his speech to accept a ride home on Air Force One.

"At the heart of the problems facing our country stands an institution under siege, and that institution is the American family," Mr. Bush told 2,300 graduates at the university's 150th anniversary commencement.

"No matter what form our most pressing problems may take, ultimately all are related to the disintegration of the family," Mr. Bush said, using that rhetorical bridge to disarm Sen. Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who was seated on the dais.

"The senator and I agree, if America is to solve her social problems we must first of all restore our families," Mr. Bush said of Mr. Moynihan, for whom he declared long friendship and respect. The president cited 1965 writings by Mr. Moynihan that he said were astonishingly accurate in predicting trends that would follow the breakdown of family strength.

Though he quoted Catholic popes three times, he got a much better response with another source.

"To paraphrase that famous philosopher, Barbara Bush, what you teach at your house is more important than what happens at the White House, and she is absolutely correct," the president said, adding that he felt like he was preaching to the choir.

He ended his 21-minute speech with a crowd-pleasing piece of advice: "Never bet against Notre Dame or against the United States of America."

What could have turned into a confrontation became a lovefest when Mr. Moynihan applauded the pres-

## BUSH

From page A1

ident's speech vigorously and pointedly walked over to shake his hand.

When he took the microphone moments later, Mr. Moynihan said, "The president's speech was so fine, so generous, and also because he has offered me a ride back home, it was suggested brevity might be the better part of wisdom here."

He too referred to his 1965 warning that any community allowing its young men to grow up in broken families without male role models and supervision "asks for and gets chaos. . . . It is not only inevitable, it is richly deserved."

He then ended his brief speech with this thought: "Let us keep the faith, for it does not follow that what has been must be."

Mr. Moynihan was present to receive the Laetare Award, the church's most prestigious award to an American layman, despite ecclesiastical protests of his pro-choice position on abortion. In an rare step apparently intended to sidestep endorsing his stand on the abortion issue, university officials included a truncated version of the medal's statement of principles in the official citation.

They included phrases praising his contributions to arts, sciences and humanity but omitted the other phrase saying he "illustrated the ideals of the Church."

Abortion is condemned in all circumstances by the Roman Catholic Church and led to picketing of Mr. Moynihan, a boycott by Bishop John d'Arcy of the area archdiocese, and protest letters from Cardinals Bernard Law of Philadelphia and John O'Connor of New York. Cardinal



President Bush accepts a degree from the Rev. Edward Malloy.

Cahal Daly of Ireland declined an honorary degree and did not attend.

Protest signs outside included "The senator errs, ban Moynihan," "Moynihan votes pro-abortion," and "How come the people who support abortion are living?"

About 100 students wore white armbands to protest the presence of Mr. Bush while he is a candidate and sat together through a standing ovation for his honorary doctorate. All were grouped in a small section, labeled "Program of Liberal Studies" among other students of the College of Arts and Letters, seated to one side off the arena floor.

Mr. Bush also was the target at times of pleas from the student valedictorian and Chilean President Patricio Aylwin's comments after receiving an honorary doctorate.

Mr. Bush made frequent notes

see BUSH, page A9

during the valedictory by Sarah McGrath, an English and philosophy major from Pittsburgh, Kan., who called for an end to jingoistic declarations as "victor of the Cold War" and "the one remaining super-power."

She also berated what she called the university's inconsistency in not providing staff maternal leave or child care programs while advocating family values. And boos almost drowned out scattered cheers when she called for ending prejudice against homosexuals on campus.

Mr. Bush put his hand over his mouth as if stifling a yawn when she said victory "rhetoric is self-congratulatory and divisive." Mr. Bush uses those phrases almost daily and included them in a speech Saturday at Dallas but not here.

An honorary doctorate of laws was presented to Mr. Aylwin, whose finance minister, Alejandro Foxley, is an economics professor on leave from Notre Dame.

In his acceptance speech, Mr. Aylwin reviewed the growth of stability in his nation and said the United States has a stake in his success since it has so much to lose from instability to the south.

"If we do not overcome poverty, there will be no stable peace," Mr. Aylwin said.

Mr. Bush's advice to the graduates seemed concerned with the same kind of issues in the United States:

"Government can and must fight crime, but fathers and mothers must teach discipline and instill those values in their children.

"Government can and must foster American competitiveness, but parents must teach their children the dignity of work and instill a work ethic in the kids."

# Bush Uses Bards in Questioning Perot's Tactics

SINGLES EDITION LOS ANGELES TIMES

By DOUGLAS JEHL  
Times Staff Writer

WITH BEND, Ind.—in a sign of new-found unease at an unseated challenge, President Bush on Sunday questioned the campaign tactics employed by Texas billionaire Ross Perot and suggested that his likely rival remains an enigma.

"If Ross Perot decides to run, then Ross Perot will have to do what everybody else does: Get the issues out there, talk about it," Bush said. "And I'll be doing the same thing—and let the American people decide."

Until now, Bush had refrained from criticism of both Perot and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic nominee, in his

Please see BUSH, A12

## BUSH: Perot Tactics Being Questioned

Continued from A1

In test remarks, published in an interview with the Dallas Morning News, he insisted that he had no intention of speaking ill of his rivals so early in the campaign.

But presidential aides conceded that his comments went far beyond anything he has said before about his rivals, adding that the interview appears to reflect his discomfort with what he regards as a sifting and ugly campaign.

Bush's comments about Perot, in particular, bore unmistakable marks as he wondered aloud whether the Texas businessman had offered solutions to what Perot has termed the nation's biggest problems. And he used icy language in response to a question about the methods Perot has used to date in his unconventional campaign.

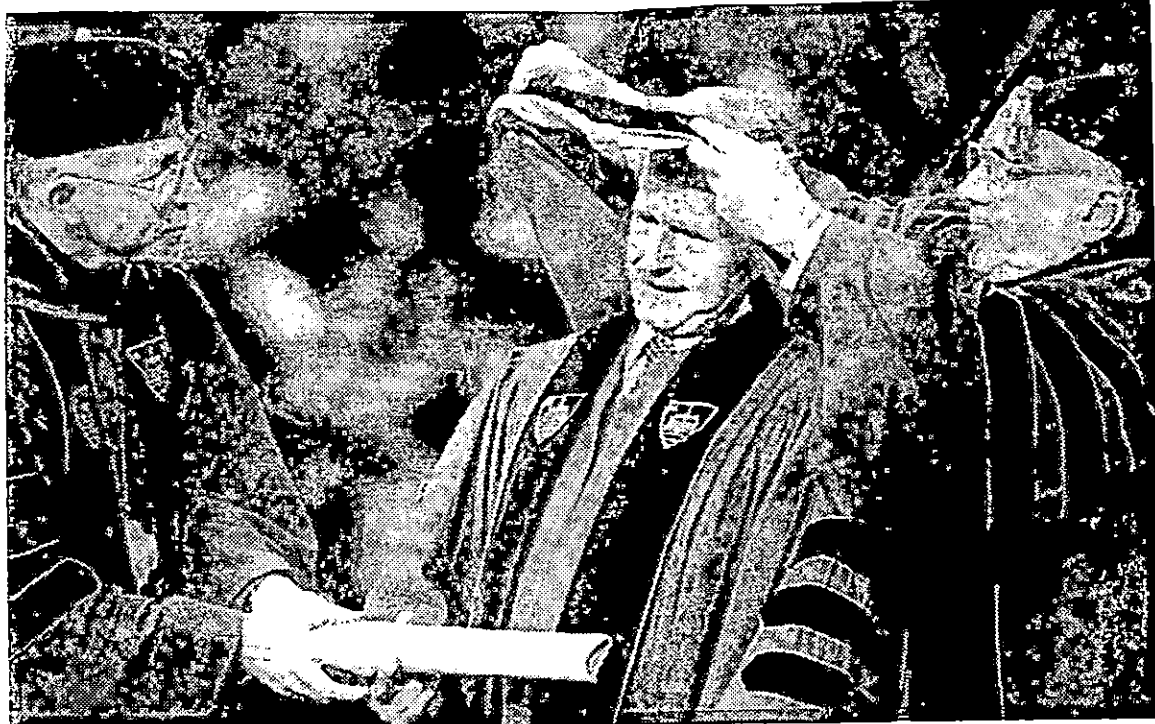
"I don't plan to spend a lot of time on the Phil Donahue show," Bush said. "I'm President. I try to conduct myself with a reasonable degree of dignity, seriousness."

On a day when Bush's mere appearance at the University of Notre Dame graduation ceremonies here was greeted with protest, Bush's published comments reflected his clear concern at the course of a campaign he acknowledged had "not been a particularly pleasant period."

The President used the commencement address here to warn at the American family was an institution under siege and to teach a gospel of traditional family values.

But a valedictory speaker won some cheers with remarks that challenged many of Bush's policies, and one-fourth of the 2,300 graduates wore armbands objecting to the President's presence in an election year. One student stood prominently in front of the podium and turned his back to Bush through the course of the 20-minute address.

Bush had granted the interview



Associated Press

President Bush receives an honorary doctorate from University of Notre Dame trustee Donald Matthews, right, and the Rev. Edward Malloy, president of Notre Dame, at commencement ceremonies Sunday.

he flew from Dallas to Houston aboard Air Force One. As a national poll showed him trailing Perot for the first time, he voiced concern during the conversation at what he called "muckraking" press coverage of his children and their business dealings.

Speaking after the Los Angeles Times and other news organizations published lengthy accounts of those ties, Bush complained: "All of a sudden, for strange reasons, people are trying to suggest that these kids are less than honest, and it really burns me up."

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater suggested later that the stories had been inspired by Democratic Party Chairman Ronald H. Brown, who he said had "talked all the [Washington] bureau chiefs into doing them, and they're unjustified."

Bush called the investigation "a sorry process." In language that echoed complaints issued by Clinton throughout the campaign, the President said in defense of his children: "The media ought to be ashamed of itself for what they're doing."

Bush insisted in the interview that he remained confident of winning reelection and said his optimism was based on his

optimism that the nation's economic recession "is history."

He struck an occasional gracious note in acknowledging that Perot, a fellow Texan, had "captured the imagination of a lot of people." He said it had been "tempting at times" to criticize both Perot and Clinton, but vowed: "I'm not going to do it."

He nevertheless seemed unable to resist answering questions about the Texas billionaire and did not disguise his attitude toward Perot's candidacy. Asked about Perot's complaint that he had paid too little heed to the budget deficit, Bush replied: "Maybe I missed the answer to it. Has he offered an answer to it?"

"He'll do it his way, and I'll do it mine," Bush said of Perot at another point. "It'll all be evened out when everybody has to say what he's for, what he's against, what's your record on these things. And there's time."

Fitzwater later sought to minimize the remarks as "gentle stuff," but he acknowledged that Bush had been particularly angered by the "Democrat-inspired" news accounts raising questions about the business relationships maintained by Perot and his brother

The articles have quoted critics who suggested that members of the Bush family have profited from their ties to individuals who sought them out because of their influence and access.

In the published interview, Bush complained that one of his sons had received about 50 phone calls "from people trying to dig up dirt on him."

"We have leaned over backward to try and keep the public trust in these matters," he said. "To see it all turned down by muckraking, I don't like it. I don't think they are making headway with the American people."

At the Notre Dame commencement ceremonies, Bush received an honorary doctorate as he was hailed as the "leader of the Free World." But he was preceded to the lectern by class of 1992 valedictorian Sarah J. McGrath, who criticized such rhetoric as "self-congratulatory" and "divisive."

Complaining that the nation had failed to live up to its obligations, she asserted: "The United States can no longer call itself the victor of the Cold War or the one remaining superpower."

Bush listened uncomfortably through the remarks but later made no direct reference to them.

# Whose Honor Is It, Anyway?

Sarah  
Lawrence wanted  
Maya Angelou. So did  
20 other colleges.

## Wooing Speakers For Graduation: A Lot of Pomp for The Circumstance

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

**S**ARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE feels it is unseemly to pay more than a token honorarium for its commencement speakers. "We do not consider this an ordinary speaking engagement," said Diane Fusill, the public affairs director of that small, select liberal arts college in Bronxville, N.Y. "Our graduation is an opportunity for the speaker to meet with a small group of students who will do very interesting things with their lives."

Those fine sentiments seem almost quaint in this age of fevered competition between colleges to secure the hottest speakers of the moment. Sarah Lawrence had its heart set on Maya Angelou, the celebrated black writer and poet. So did 20 other colleges, a few of which also felt their seniors were interesting. And Ms. Angelou, who has already received more than 50 honorary degrees (Phil Donahue, in comparison, has 4; Elizabeth Dole has 22) regards a graduation as a speaking engagement. Her fee for commencements — \$10,000, not including transportation and hotel accommodation for herself and an aide, quite reasonable in today's market — is higher than most college honorariums.

Perhaps fortunately for Sarah Lawrence's delicate sensibilities, not long after Ms. Angelou accepted to speak there and before the issue of money had been discussed, she called back to decline, having discovered a previous speaking commitment, for considerably more than \$10,000 — to L.B.M.

There is not much "Gaudeamus Igitur" left in the groves of academe. Commencement may evoke images of fresh, innocent faces turned up in dappled sunlight to hear stirring words uttered by august elders. Beneath that lies a tableau worthy of Bruegel —

college administrators who must spend months, sometimes years, lobbying, cajoling and conniving like Washington hostesses or Hollywood publicists to secure an important (and fashionable) speaker. Like other things of beauty — the Olympics or a royal wedding — college graduations are, at heart, a business arrangement.

"Universities invariably have a hidden agenda," said one speaker's agent who did not wish to be identified. "Most of these colleges want good public relations and lots of publicity out of their speaker — and a few will pay big bucks to get it."

The prankish nihilism of the late 1970's and early 80's that drove students to choose, say, Rodney Dangerfield or Frank Zappa, has been supplanted so far by the more serious, sensitive 90's. While there are perennials — Ted Koppel, Bill Moyers, Art Buchwald and any Nobel Prize winner — nowadays, black women writers like Ms. Angelou, Toni Morrison and Alice Walker are among the most highly sought-after speakers in the country. Politicians, members of the clergy and NATO representatives are rarely any school's first choice, but tend to get called once Faye Wattleton or Garry Trudeau says no. This year by all estimates, Anita Hill received more commencement invitations than Mikhail Gorbachev. (He accepted one, she declined them all.)

And when hundreds of colleges and universities ardently woo the same two dozen famous names, a rather humiliating pecking order emerges. "What I have learned with a vengeance is that offering an honorary degree counts for nothing," said Gary Dorrien, a professor of religion who is in charge of commencement at Kalamazoo College. Mr. Dorrien's top honorarium for speakers is \$1,000. His first choice was Ms. Angelou, but he realized he could not afford her. Or anyone else, really. "I couldn't afford 99 percent of the people on my list," he said.

Ms. Angelou, it seems, is a bargain compared to the former President Gerald R. Ford, who commands \$20,000, not including expenses. But Mr. Dorrien got lucky this year: Johnetta B. Cole, president of Spelman College, and a highly sought-after graduation speaker, consented to speak.

Most schools insist they pay only a token honorarium to commencement speakers, usually around \$1,000. And those who pay an actual lecture fee are not eager to disclose it. Some college presidents seem to believe that having to pay a prominent person to speak is somehow akin to a teen-ager taking a paid escort to the prom.

Yet unless it is their alma mater, many people conclude that the honor, or the honorary degree, is something they can do without. As an assistant to former Jimmy Carter responded in a call to Ripon College declining an honorary degree, Mr. Carter "does not accept any more honorary degrees."

Even prestigious colleges that do not pay speakers more than a token honorarium, must work their connections with guile and persistence to get the top speakers to accept their honorary degree. Eleanor Holmes Norton, the nonvoting member of Congress from the District of Columbia, has already received 58 honorary degrees. She said she tries to be selective, concentrating on black schools, or ones with a compelling civil-rights history. Vassar College is neither. But the pressure to produce a distinctive name is so intense that when Ms. Norton declined Vassar's invitation, explaining she had spoken there 20 years earlier, Vassar refused to take no for an answer. "They were very insistent," Ms. Norton recalled. "They basically said, that was then. This is now." She gave in.

The President of the United States is almost always the most solicited speaker, but getting George Bush has to do more with luck and geographical location than political pull. Mr. Bush, who received 78 commencement invitations this year, looks for regional diversity and balance. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf was almost as popular this year. He received about 50 — and declined them all. (That could have been a gesture of mercy since his regular speaking fee is \$60,000.) Katie Couric, the co-host of NBC's "Today" show, confessed somewhat ruefully that she received only one commencement invitation this year — from her alma mater, the University of Virginia, which she accepted.

Ever since George Marshall unveiled his eponymous plan for postwar Europe at the Harvard commencement of 1947, Harvard has prided itself on selecting speakers on the cutting edge of world affairs.

Gro Harlem Brundtland will address the graduating class of 1992 at Harvard University. To the uninitiated, the prime minister of Norway may seem an unremarkable choice in a year when former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev gave the graduation address at Emory University in Atlanta.

Harvard did not feel the need to invite Mr. Gorbachev this year. "He is already scheduled to speak at the Kennedy school," Richard M. Hunt, the university marshal, said, referring to the school's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

The Norwegian prime minister, a woman who is a respected environmentalist, will arrive at Harvard fresh from the Earth Summit Meeting in Rio de Janeiro (an international conference on the environment that is turning out to be for politicians what the Cannes Film Festival is for aspiring producers). Ms. Brundtland is, in commencement terms, a double-bank shot.

Harvard Medical School won the universi-



## College administrators can chase possible speakers for years.

ty's intramural competition when Magic Johnson agreed to speak at its commencement; he canceled late last week, saying he needed to be with his wife, who is about to give birth to their first child.

Competition within the Ivy League is keen and rather cruel. This year, Dartmouth has the former president of Costa Rica speaking. This did not cost Harvard any night's sleep. "We had Oscar Arias Sánchez when he was a heavy," said Peter Costa, Harvard's public affairs director. Mr. Arias was Harvard's speaker in 1988, the year after he received the Nobel Peace prize. In 1990, Mr. Costa added, "We had Helmut Kohl — just before unification."

Wellesley College is gaining an international reputation for peevishness — students protested in 1990 when the administration invited Barbara Bush (Alice Walker was the students' first choice), some complaining about her husband's politics, others insisting that she was a poor role model. In 1992, some students protested that Hillary Clinton, an alumna, had been invited — because of her husband's politics.

John Silber, the president of Boston University, is one of the country's most legendary big-name hunters. In 1988, he thought he had coaxed Nancy Reagan but she changed her mind when one of her aides didn't think the security was adequate. It was, however, good enough for Presidents François Mitter-

rand and George Bush. Mr. Silber proudly called the twofer "the most joyous commencement in the history of the Republic. Some of his satisfaction may have been derived from the knowledge that his tour of force deflected attention from Harvard's speaker that year, Benazir Bhutto. This year: Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, Boston University's speaker.

Mr. Silber, who appears to run his eclectic university with the iron whimsy of male Miss Jean Brodie, said he never consults students on speakers. "If you just were with someone who is popular with students, you'd have Madonna and all sorts of degenerates," he said. "When I invited Elie Weisel, doubt many students even knew who he was."

Many college administrators select the speaker after only a token consultation with

## Jimmy Carter isn't interested anymore.

students. Colorado College is an exception. Students vote for their preference and the administration tries to oblige. This year, the seniors voted overwhelmingly for Toni Morrison, who was unable to attend. They settled for Gresham Riley, the college's president.

Ripon College in Ripon, Wis., thought it had secured a coup last fall when the tycoon Robert Maxwell, then the new owner of The Daily News, accepted its invitation. When Mr. Maxwell died last November, he left his many creditors, and Ripon, scrambling. The fact that he died just as his financial troubles began surfacing was something of a comfort. "As it turned out, it was more of a relief," said Douglas A. Northrop, the dean of faculty at Ripon. "Once they started investigating his business dealings, it could have been quite an embarrassment."

Ripon then invited Harlan Cleveland, a former ambassador to NATO. He suffered a heart attack on April 23, and did not expect to be sufficiently recovered by May 16th. They then pinned their hopes on Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the former United Nations secretary general. He kept them dangling, and finally said no perilously late. Mr. Northrop, in a dashing display of brinksmanship, secured the Rev. Lois D. Wilson, past president of the World Council of Churches, a few days before graduation. "She very kindly and very recently accepted the job," Mr. Northrop said.

Many prestigious colleges, including Yale, Columbia and Amherst, eschew the nerve-racking process by having the college president speak. "Once you resign the institution to the tedium of the same person every year," said Peter R. Pouncey, the president of Amherst College, "you remove the hideous elements of choice."

Yale, however, made an exception for an alumnus, George Bush, who spoke at the 1991 commencement. And even the most strait-laced schools try to enliven their ceremonies by awarding honorary degrees to celebrities. Columbia University gave one to Katharine Hepburn this year. The University of Pennsylvania will give Candice Bergen, a Penn dropout, one tomorrow.

Schools that do not have the name recognition of Stanford or Princeton rely on their trustees' contacts to draw in well-known speakers. Bryant College, a small business-oriented college in Smithfield, R.I., has trustees with good contacts in the Bush Administration. In past years, the commencements have featured Richard G. Darman, the Federal budget director, as well as Winston Lord, a former ambassador to China, and his wife, Betty Bao Lord, the novelist.

Georgette and Robert Mosbacher will be co-commencement speakers at Bryant this year. Even as a team, they seem to hold more appeal for parents, alumni and trustees than the graduating class. "When they picked Mr. Mosbacher, I asked who he was, I didn't know," said Cara Falango, a senior who was the lone student representative on the commencement committee. She added wistfully, "We really would have loved Bill Cosby."

## The 1992 Campaign

*"The public is looking at a new kind of political spouse through a Mamie Eisenhower lens."*

## Candidate's Wife

Hillary Clinton as Aspiring First Lady  
Role Model, or a 'Hall Monitor' Type?

By MAUREEN DOWD

After chatting sympathetically with Hillary Clinton for a moment about the silliness of judging a woman by her hairdo, a television reporter from Columbus, Ohio, zeroed in for the sound bite.

"You know, some people think of you as an inspiring female attorney mother, and other people think of you as the overbearing yuppie wife from hell," the reporter said. "How would you describe yourself?"

A look of annoyance glittered through Mrs. Clinton's blue eyes, but she was on a mission to soften her image and show that she has a sense of humor. So she smiled and described herself as a wife, a mother and an activist. Later, on her small campaign plane traveling in Kentucky, she took a bite of an apple and said, "I'm too old to be a yuppie."

Mrs. Clinton has stepped into the eye of the stormy debate about the role of women in society and in politics, and about the image of feminism. And the 44-year-old lawyer seems a bit at a loss over how to deal with all the powerful negative and positive reactions she has unleashed as her husband, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, campaigns for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

## The Two Extremes

One night, eating dinner and sipping a glass of white wine at a revolving restaurant atop a hotel in Covington, Ky., where she was staying, Mrs. Clinton talked about the two extremes: She is moved by the women of all ages who approach her to tell her that she is a role model, but she is dismayed by the resistance to the idea of a First Lady openly engaged in the affairs of state.

"I saw Rosalynn Carter in Little Rock and we talked about this," Mrs. Clinton said. "She got all this criticism for sitting in on Cabinet meetings. Well, so what if she did?"

Republicans now regard the outspoken wife of the Arkansas Governor as one more vulnerability in an already vulnerable Clinton cam-

Fears about the  
notion of a coequal  
couple in the  
White House.

paign. Even though it is now clear that Nancy Reagan helped run the country, with astrological charts and her own political agenda, and even though it is apparent that Barbara Bush is a significant voice on politics, the Republicans are busy mining fears as old as Adam and Eve about the dangers of an assertive, ambitious woman speaking into the ear of her man.

"To the extent that they've touted this as a co-Presidency and to the extent that she is such a dominating figure and key decision maker, now voters will have to say, 'Where are the Clintons on this issue?'" said Mary Matalin, the political director of the Bush campaign.

Roger Stone, a Republican consultant, was more blunt. "Hillary Clinton is exceedingly polarizing," he said. "It's not that she's an accomplished modern woman. It's just that she's grating, abrasive and boastful. There's a certain familiar order of things, and the notion of a coequal couple in the White House is a little offensive to men and women."

She has become a paradigm of the over-structured, over-scheduled super-mom. A recent New Yorker cartoon showed a woman asking a salesclerk for a jacket and adding, "Nothing too Hillary."

## Unprecedented Partnership

Even among women who are Mrs. Clinton's natural constituents, there is criticism about what they call "the Hillary situation." Some leading Democratic women privately worry that, while Mrs. Bush may be the last of the First Ladies who have never worked outside the home, the public is still skittish about the idea of a First Lady who is more involved in substance than ceremony.

These critics say that the Clintons may have pushed too hard on the concept of an unprecedented partnership in the White House, and suggest that they should wait until after the election to break precedents.

There was Mr. Clinton's suggestion, since revoked, that he might give

his wife a Cabinet job. And there was Mrs. Clinton's petulant defense on conflict-of-interest questions about her legal career in Arkansas, when she said she could have "stayed home, baked cookies and had teas."

One gleeful Republican campaign official suggests that it is less her sex than her demeanor, noting that Mrs. Clinton is "a hall monitor" type whose drive and earnestness are off-putting: "She doesn't complement Clinton because she appears to be another liberal policy wonk. It doesn't seem like a family — more like a merger."

Mrs. Clinton is far more articulate than the two men on the Republican Presidential ticket, but she lacks her husband's ability to stir emotions with speeches. She can be an amiable companion, but she has a studious turn of mind. Even when chatting with the television reporter about hair and perceptions, she asked, "Has anybody done a survey or study about that?"

## Walking a Narrow Line

Ruth Mandel, the director of the Center for Women and Politics at the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University, is sympathetic to women in politics who must walk a narrow line to avoid offending various constituencies.

"Hillary Clinton's life and behavior represents the changes that have taken place in women's lives and marriages, and yet she is faced with the dilemma of not confronting the public with the extent of those changes," Ms. Mandel said. "When it comes to women, people are not ready to take more than a teaspoonful of change at a time."

After Gennifer Flowers's accusation about an affair with the Governor, the Clintons had to campaign often together to show they had a "real" marriage, as Mr. Clinton's poll taker, Stanley Greenberg, put it. But then critics said Mrs. Clinton was coming across as too much of an equal, and a Clinton opponent, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, mocked the pair as "the Bonnie and Clyde of American politics."

## LINDA BLOODWORTH-THOMASON

So now the campaign is keeping Mrs. Clinton on her own low-key schedule, while strategists try to figure out the best way to mend her image problems.

"The public is looking at a new kind of political spouse through a Mamie Eisenhower lens," complained Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the producer of the television shows "Designing Women" and "Evening Shade," who is a friend of the Clintons. "The Republicans are constantly ready to take any idea that's new or progressive in terms of men and women and turn it into a negative."

Susan Thomases, a New York lawyer who is an adviser to Mrs. Clinton, agrees that she has been "pigeon-holed" and that she has to show herself as a more rounded person. "The public needs to see her not just as a career woman, but as a mother, a daughter, a friend, a member of her church," Ms. Thomases said. "There are parts of her personality that are more conservative and traditional than a lot of people project onto her."

## Trying to Reassure Doubters

Everywhere Mrs. Clinton went last week the high-powered litigator who brought home almost five times the salary her husband did last year tried to reassure doubters that she is not Lady Macbeth in a black preppy headband.

She told reporters again and again that she did not dominate her husband — "He has a real core of toughness"; — that her husband would not offer her a Cabinet post — "That's not going to happen, and I wouldn't take it if it did"; — that she would not sit in on Cabinet meetings — "I never did that in Arkansas and I'm not going to start now," — and that she would not be a pioneer First Lady making radical changes — "I don't think so; I hope I'm going to ... myself."

She also insists that she has no ambitions to run for office herself. "People have talked to me about that ever since I was a little girl, the patrol captain at school in Park Ridge, Ill.," she said, shaking her head.

Mrs. Clinton is circumspect on the subject of feminism, saying she believes in equality but rejects some of what the term "has come to mean."

"I don't think feminism, as I understand the definition, implies the rejection of maternal values, nurturing children, caring about the men in your life," she said. "That is just nonsense to me."

#### Similarities With Mrs. Bush

And she even tried to point out the similarities between herself and Mrs. Bush, who identifies herself on her tax returns as "housewife." "Barbara Bush and I have a lot in common," Mrs. Clinton said. "We're both very committed women. We care very deeply about our families, and we're supportive of our husbands."

Just as President Bush uses his Texas twang on occasion for politicking, dropping g's and substituting "git" for "get," so Mrs. Clinton sometimes falls into some of the folksier twang of Arkansas. She talked a lot about her 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, her interest in educational programs and her desire to be "a voice for children" in the White House.

Mrs. Clinton's friends say that while she may be willing to compromise on smaller things for political expediency, as she did when she changed her name to that of her husband to help him in a quest for a second term as Governor, she will never compromise on big things. And, indeed, a story she tells over dinner in the hotel in Covington illustrates that strong will.



Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

Hillary Clinton, who has stepped into the eye of the stormy debate about the role of women in society and in politics — and about the image of feminism. With her at a rally was her husband, the Democratic contender.

She is talking about the summer during law school when she went to Alaska and got a job in a fish-processing plant. She was supposed to scoop out the entrails, but she began to get

worried about the state of the fish.

"They were purple and black and yucky looking," she recalled. She questioned the owner about how long the fish had been dead, and he warned

her to stop asking questions. But she continued asking questions, and was fired within a week.

She didn't care. "I found another job," she said coolly.

# Bush reveals his finances, and gifts from Ivana Trump

By John W. Mashek  
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — President Bush's financial disclosure report, released yesterday, shows that his blind trust increased by \$55,000 last year to \$1,298,000, and that he kept personal gifts from 75 individuals, including three bathrobes and two sweatshirts from Ivana Trump.

As the White House released the report, it challenged the other presidential candidates to disclose their own financial statements.

"We certainly like to lead by example," said Judy Smith, the White House deputy press secretary. "We certainly would encourage ... all candidates to make full disclosure on their financial disclosure form" and to release their full income tax forms.

White House and campaign officials said they hope the release of detailed financial statements by Bush will put pressure on the billionaire Ross Perot, who appears likely to make an independent bid for the White House, to let the public examine his personal finances.

Perot has said he would think about releasing details of his finances. Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the likely Democratic nominee, has made a partial release of his tax forms from last year. Government disclosure laws do not apply to either Perot or Clinton since they do not hold federal office.

Bush's disclosure form, required as an annual filing, showed a capital

gain of \$49,700 from the blind trust, which also had a carryover loss of \$8,800 from the previous year. The federal income tax on the trust, managed by Bessemer Trust Company of New York, was \$197,000.

The personal gifts to the president and Barbara Bush — although they accepted only a small number of the presents showered on them — included a large number of golf clubs and fishing rods for the president, an enthusiastic sportsman. The gifts were valued at \$21,329, but Bush does not have to pay income tax on them. All gifts valued at over \$100 have to be reported.

Some of the gifts of golfing items were from Democrats. Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia and Rep. Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, were among the givers. Both Democrats are avid golfers and have played golf with Bush.

There was no further explanation for the gifts from Ivana Trump, the former wife of New York tycoon Donald Trump.

"These are gifts that the president and Mrs. Bush decided to keep," explained Smith. "Some of the gifts are from friends, and some of the gifts are from individuals that wanted to give the president and Mrs. Bush a gift."

Smith pointed out that Bush gets gifts from foreign heads of state while traveling overseas, but he usually does not keep them. They go to the national archives or to Bush's presidential library which will be

built at Texas A & M University.

Among the gifts Bush kept were: a briefcase worth \$265 from Dan Aykroyd; a walking stick worth \$150 from former Supreme Court chief justice, Warren E. Burger; eight neckties and two scarves worth \$826 from the jazz artist Lionel Hampton; a keychain, two books and a bookmark worth \$204 from the former Los Angeles Dodger pitcher Tommy John; and a necklace for Mrs. Bush worth \$135 from President Vitautas Lanbergis of Lithuania.

Also, a briefcase valued at \$900 from the National Italian American Foundation; a sweater, jacket and hat valued at \$475 from the Walker Cup championship golf team; a bound copy of "Millie's Book" valued at \$175 from Fred Zeder, a longtime friend. The book on the Bush family dog earned \$889,200 in royalties, which were donated to charity.

Massachusetts givers were Ray Ellis of Edgartown, who gave three books valued at \$160, and Rick Oldach of Hingham, who gave a golf driver valued at \$300. Walter Rodiger of Kennebunkport bought his Maine neighbor membership at the Arundel Beach Club in Kennebunkport for \$400.

Vice President Dan Quayle, however, issued a financial statement that was far less detailed than the president's and made it impossible to judge his overall net worth.

*Information from Reuters news service is included in this report.*

5-18-92

# Bush Ties Social Ills to Ailing Families

*Notre Dame Graduation Speech Stresses Need to Bolster Home Life*

By Dan Balz  
Washington Post Staff Writer

SOUTH BEND, Ind., May 17—Calling the American family "an institution under siege," President Bush told a commencement audience here today that the nation's social problems cannot be erased until the family is first strengthened and restored.

"Whatever form our most pressing problems might take," the president told the graduating class at the University of Notre Dame, "ultimately, all are related to the disintegration of the family."

With an eye to the devastation in Los Angeles and calls for stepped-up federal action to aid the cities, Bush said, "The federal government; of course, must do everything it can do, but the point is government alone is simply not enough."

Earlier, in an interview with the Dallas Morning News, Bush played down threats to his reelection from independent Ross Perot or Democrat Bill Clinton, saying the recession was "history" and better economic times would help him win.

In his speech, Bush cited America's dubious distinction as the world leader in divorce rates, teenage pregnancy, children living in single-parent households, abortion and violent deaths among young people. "If America is to solve her social problems, we must, first of all, restore our families," he said.

The president noted that families instill in children the moral values, self-discipline and sense of respon-

sibility that strengthen society. And he urged the 2,300 graduates to heed the "simple but profound words of Notre Dame's own [former president] Father [Theodore] Hesburgh when he said, 'The most important thing a father can do for his children is to love their mother.'"

Before he was greeted warmly with loud applause, Bush and the rest of the audience got a lecture from class valedictorian Sarah J. McGrath. The English and philosophy major criticized as "self-congratulatory and divisive" rhetoric that labels the United States the world's lone superpower and "victor" in the Cold War, scored U.S. environmental practices and policies as an affront to the rest of the world and called for a restoration of community by eliminating racial and sexual discrimination.

Bush sat passively as McGrath, who got a decidedly mixed reaction from her classmates and others in the audience, delivered her address. Noting that "liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are more accessible to some Americans than others, she said, "We are a people divided along economic, sexual and racial lines," adding that "it is the silence of good people that makes for an unjust society."

Bush did not directly respond to McGrath, but in his speech remarked upon the decline of the nuclear threat in the wake of communism's collapse in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. "That is dramatic change, and it's something good that we can take great pride in," Bush said.

He urged the graduates to continue the traditions of Notre Dame alumni by committing themselves to community service and social outreach.

And he received his loudest applause when he recited a quotation he often uses from First Lady Barbara Bush, "What you teach at your house is more important than what happens at the White House."

The Notre Dame commencement was marked by one other controversy—the awarding of the Laetare Medal, the university's highest honor, to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.). New York Cardinal John J. O'Connor and Boston Cardinal Bernard Law had written letters of protest, expressing alarm that Notre Dame would grant the medal to a Roman Catholic who supports abortion rights. The church opposes abortion.

In the Dallas Morning News interview, Bush brushed aside a new poll showing him running second to Texan Perot, with Arkansas Gov. Clinton third. He acknowledged that Perot "has captured the imagination of a lot of people." Bush predicted that the election contest will be "evened out when everybody has to say what he's for, what he's against, what's your record on these things and there's time."

He also criticized Perot's appearances on talk shows as unpresidential. "I don't plan to spend a lot of time on Phil Donahue shows. . . . I'm president. I try to conduct myself with a reasonable degree of dignity, seriousness," he said.

# BUSHWHACKED

## THE PRESIDENT FACES A CRISIS, BUT WHAT'S HIS URBAN AGENDA?

By William Schneider

**W**ASHINGTON is in a crisis mode. We know that because the President and Congress are behaving strangely. They are pretending to get along.

Last week, President Bush and congressional leaders set aside their differences and proposed swift action to bring relief to the nation's cities. The words "George Bush" and "action plan" are rarely in the same sentence—at least when it comes to domestic policy. But there the President was, holding an impromptu news conference in the Oval Office, with a chart propped up next to him showing a six-point "action plan."

For Bush, holding an impromptu news conference was a departure. Bush is not good at impromptu. The week before, he told the wife of a critically injured Los Angeles fireman, "I'm sorry Barbara's not here. She's out repairing what's left of our house [in Kennebunkport]. Damn storm knocked down four or five walls." When Bush speaks, Lord give us promptu.

The President acts goofy when he gets nervous. Congress is nervous, too. Some of Bush's most ferocious critics have pledged to work with him and support his program. Last week, Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), who represents South Los Angeles, became irate when she was not invited to a meeting Bush had with Democratic congressional leaders. So she crashed it. Afterward she said, "I'm extremely encouraged. This is a time

*William Schneider is a contributing editor to Opinion.*

when both sides of the aisle must rise above partisan politics in the interest of the country."

As a result of the Los Angeles riots, the urban crisis has been thrust on the national agenda. Congress and the Administration are under pressure to seem responsible and concerned. They have to demonstrate that they are doing something, even if they can't do much.

Bush's "action plan" consists mostly of programs he proposed in the past, like school choice and enterprise zones, that were never approved by Congress. "It's new. It has not been enacted," the President said, somewhat defensively, last week. "A proposal that hasn't been tried is new."

The consensus is fragile. Urban Democrats in Congress are already complaining that the plan doesn't do enough for the cities. GOP lawmakers are reporting rural and suburban resentment over the aid.

According to one Democratic leader, however, "The marching orders are to work something out with the Administration in the short term, and then in the longer term, we work on the fundamental urban ills."

The bipartisan consensus in Washington illustrates the basic rule of American government: Nothing gets done in Washington unless there is a sense of crisis. Out of the Great Depression of the 1930s came the New Deal. Out of the Great Inflation of the 1970s came Reaganomics.

Without a sense of crisis, nothing happens. The reason is simple: The system was designed that way. The Founding Fathers distrusted strong government. They gave us checks and balances and separation of powers to make sure government would be weak and inefficient—unless there was an overwhelming sense of public urgency.

That is what's happening now. The

violence in Los Angeles convinced the American people that Washington must do something about the nation's long-neglected urban problems. Hundreds of millions of dollars will be funneled into Los Angeles. Ed Rendell, the mayor of financially strapped Philadelphia, complained last week, "You shouldn't have to riot to get money."

Unfortunately, you do. Philadelphia just did it wrong a few years back, when former Mayor W. Wilson Goode fire-bombed a neighborhood in a shootout with a radical cult. If the mayor burns down the city, that's ineptitude. If the people burn down the city, that's a crisis.

The very nature of this crisis is a big surprise to political experts. Many predicted deep racial divisions and a law-and-order backlash comparable to the 1960s. But that's not what's happening.

Law-and-order backlash? When asked the best way to prevent urban unrest, both whites and blacks chose job-training programs over strengthening the police by overwhelming margins, according to one poll.

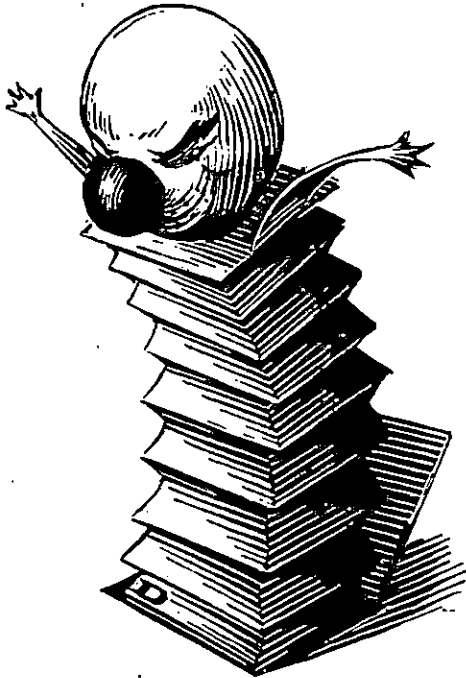
Racial polarization? The evidence points toward racial consensus. When asked about the verdict in the Rodney G. King case, whites agreed with blacks. In one poll, two-thirds of whites and more than 90% of blacks said they would have found the police officers guilty.

You don't hear much of the get-tough rhetoric that dominated the public's response to urban violence in the 1960s. The prevailing public response today is not "shoot looters" but "do something" about the nation's urban and minority problems.

It's not back to the '60s. Why not? For several reasons. First, racial attitudes have improved. Whites are measurably

less racist than they were in the 1960s. Back then, a considerable body of opinion was opposed to racial integration. "Segregation forever" was George C. Wallace's rallying cry. How much have things changed? Check out how David Duke did in this year's presidential primaries.

Second, white voters have moved to the suburbs. They are less directly threatened by urban violence. They feel less competitive for jobs and turf with



inner-city minorities.

In the 1960s, the racial backlash was strongest among white voters who lived in close proximity to blacks. The higher the proportion of blacks in a constituency, the better Wallace did among whites.

But most white voters who had an urban problem solved it by moving out of the city. Today, those on the front lines of the urban battleground are not whites. They are Asian and Latino immigrants. The law-and-order constituency used to be Italian and Irish. Now it's Korean.

These days, the suburbs are populated by "new collar" voters, children of the Silent Majority and the Reagan Democrats. The late political analyst Samuel Lubell captured their values perfectly when he wrote, 20 years ago, "In all my interviewing since 1950, I have found that the main concern of most white voters has never been racial justice. Always the balance of sentiment has swung to the course of action that seemed to them to offer the best prospect for racial peace."

Today, that course of action appears to mean solving urban problems—getting people jobs, getting them off drugs and, if possible, getting them out of the city.

You get racial peace by defusing tensions. In one survey, 71% of whites agreed that "the recent rioting is a warning to the United States that race relations must improve to prevent more trouble and violence." Simi Valley may be a suburb, but the values of that jury were not those of suburban America.

Finally, the political context is far different today. Liberals were in charge during the 1960s, and they got blamed for everything that went wrong. But conservatives have been running the show for a

Please see CRISIS, M6

## Crisis

Continued from M1

dozen years now. They're the ones responsible. Last week, the Gallup Poll asked, "Which would you say is more to blame for today's urban problems, the Great Society programs of the 1960s or the Reagan economic policies of the 1980s?" No contest. People blamed Ronald Reagan more than Lyndon B. Johnson by better than 2 to 1.

That doesn't mean they believe the Great Society was a rousing success. Only one-quarter of the public thinks the programs of the '60s made things better for the poor. The prevailing view is that they didn't make any difference. As Reagan is fond of saying, "We declared a War on Poverty, and poverty won."

Reagan also said "Trees cause pollution," a statement that held the record for monumental stupidity—until the White House announced that Johnson's Great Society caused the violence in Los Angeles. The Administration failed to notice that Democrats were not following the GOP script. Bill Clinton was supposed to call for massive spending programs to bail out the cities. Then Bush could say, "He just wants to throw money at problems, like Johnson did."

But Clinton never called for massive spending programs. Both he and the Democrats in Congress are being cautious. They are targeting "the forgotten middle class" this year. What characterizes those voters isn't racism. It's the fact that they are cynical about government.

Middle-class voters don't believe the federal government knows what to do about urban problems. The '60s didn't work. But the '80s didn't work, either. That's the lesson of Los Angeles: Neglect is not an acceptable urban policy.

The President's urban agenda will cost several billion dollars. Where's the money coming from? The Administration and Congress plan to declare a budget emergency, permissible under the 1990 budget deal, and take the money out of the deficit.

That means we're making one problem worse—the deficit—to deal with another problem—urban unrest. There's a difference between the two, however. Los Angeles is a crisis. People got killed. The deficit is not a crisis. There's no great sense of public urgency about it.

The deficit does do terrible things. It reduces the nation's savings, limits our investment, cuts productivity and slows down our rate of economic growth. But it does not do the one thing it would have to do for Washington to take it seriously. It does not cause a national crisis. □

**BUSH SLAMS 'MUCKRAKING':** President Bush complains that reporters have been unfairly "muckraking" by digging into his children's business affairs. "All of a sudden, for strange reasons, people are trying to suggest that these kids are less than honest, and it really burns me up," Bush told *The Dallas Morning News* in an interview published Sunday. "There's no validity to it. They go around and around the track trying to find dirt, and I don't like it. The media ought to be ashamed." He added, "We have leaned over backward to try and keep the public trust in these matters. ... To see it all turned down by muckraking, I don't like it." Bush didn't get into specifics. His son Neil paid \$50,000 to settle conflict-of-interest charges as a director of the failed Silverado savings and loan in Denver. Newspapers also have examined the business dealings of Bush's two eldest sons, George W. Bush of Dallas, an oil company director and co-owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, and Jeb Bush of Miami, a real estate developer.

**CAMPAIGN NEWS**

- ▶ Bush and the environment, **1A**
- ▶ Clinton's child-support proposal, **8A**

5/15/82

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### Bush irate over stories about kids' dealings

DALLAS — President Bush said the news media should be ashamed of the "muckraking" it has done into his children's business affairs.

"All of a sudden, for strange reasons people are trying to suggest that these kids are less than honest, and it really burns me up," Mr. Bush told the Dallas Morning News in an interview published yesterday. "There's no validity to it. They go around and around the track trying to find dirt, and I don't like it."

Mr. Bush did not cite specifics. His son Neil paid \$50,000 to settle conflict-of-interest charges as a director of the failed Silverado Bank-

ing, Savings and Loan Association in Denver.

Newspapers have also examined the business dealings of Mr. Bush's two eldest sons, George W. Bush of Dallas, an oil company director and co-owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, and Jeb Bush of Miami, a real estate developer.

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The Quayles, **Dan** and **Marilyn**, will be in Japan on Saturday, May 16, else they would be in Lloyd Harbor, Long Island, to support presidential daughter-in-law **Sharon Bush**'s Karitas Foundation for homeless and abused children. The Karitas party will be held at "Panfield," the Gold Coast estate of **Bernadette Castro** and her husband, **Dr. Peter Guida**.

Everyone will be there — **Paolo Gucci**, **Dina Merrill**, presidential brother **Jonathan Bush**, presidential son **Neil Bush** (he's Sharon's husband),

**Kathleen Raitt**, **Laura Branagan** and assorted captains of industry. **Theresa Castro**, the Castro Convertible matriarch, Bernadette's mommy, will fly up for the fun from her Florida spread in Ocala where she will have just hosted the U.S. Olympic trials in the pentathlon competition in horse jumping. Bernadette and Peter will lay on violins, harps and even a little disco dancing under the stars.

# The Second Lady's Potboiler

## Did Marilyn Quayle's New Novel Set a Terrifying New Precedent?

By Joe Queenan

A COUPLE of weeks ago, New York Post gossip columnist Cindy Adams stirred things up when she reported that Marilyn Quayle had only written her god-awful novel "Embrace the Serpent" because the family was running a mite short on cash.

"We have a whole pack of kids who will need college," the vice president's wife was quoted as saying. "I'd make six figures as a lawyer if I hadn't had to give up my career. For now, it's the only way I know to make money." Quayle has since denied saying this, but let's face it, the remarks do not sound entirely out of character.

Quayle's decision to write a god-awful novel in order to put her kids through college is a watershed moment in the history of the vice presidency. Yet the warning signs that such a tragedy would befall us have been apparent ever since the Founding Fathers dreamed up this perfectly useless office on one of their bad days.

In 1804, Aaron Burr, Thomas Jefferson's vice president, kissed his career goodbye by killing Alexander Hamilton, the last American politician who could count. After the duel, Burr fled west and tried to set up his own empire in Louisiana. Originally, historians believed that Burr tried to sell his country down the river because he was a perfidious traitor, but now it is almost universally agreed that Burr did it only because he was concerned about not having the money to put his daughter Theodosia through college.

Many of Marilyn Quayle's predecessors as Second Lady bore their economic misfortune with grace and dignity. When Elbridge Gerry, the doddering nonentity who served as vice president under James Madison, died, he left his wife Ann in dire financial straits. Yet, even though the Gerrys had 10 children, at no point did his wife ever consider writing a god-awful novel to put them through college.

Even more tragic is the case of Hannah Tompkins, whose husband Daniel served two pointless terms under James Monroe. As governor of New York during the War of 1812, Tompkins had raised \$4 million to defend the state but had kept terrible records, mixing personal and official accounts. At the end of the war his ledgers showed a deficit of \$120,000. The government flogged him for the money; he didn't have any, so the feds arranged for him to get the vice-presidential nomination because that way they knew where he worked and could garnishee his salary every Friday. Despite these problems, never once did Mrs. Tompkins consider writing a god-awful novel to put their kids through college.

Throughout the 19th century,

our vice presidents suffered terrible financial reverses imperiling their children's college education, yet no vice president's spouse ever sank so low as to foist a god-awful novel on the public. Richard Johnson, vice president under Martin Van Buren, once took a leave of absence to go back and manage his Ohio tavern, yet not one of his three wives ever dreamed of writing a god-awful novel. George Dallas, James Polk's veep, was so hard up that he moonlighted as a lawyer. Yet there is no evidence that his wife Sophy ever seriously considered authorship.

As the 19th century rolled along, down-at-the-heels vice presidents resorted to many expedients. Schuyler Colfax, one of five Hoosiers who have served in the office without distinction, took money under the table from railroad barons and was dumped from the GOP ticket in 1872. Since his wife resisted his entreaties to write a god-awful novel, Colfax had to spend the rest of his life on the lecture circuit. On Jan. 13, 1885, in Mankato, Minn., Colfax set out on a three-quarter-of-a-mile walk between train stations in 30-degree-below-zero weather. He didn't make it. Historians believe that Colfax hiked between stations to save on cab fare so he could pay for his children's college educations.

In the 20th century, shortness of cash has continued to plague our seconds-in-command. Thomas Marshall, another dreadful Hoosier vice president, was invited by Woodrow Wilson to attend Cabinet meetings but refused to come because he wasn't getting paid any overtime.

Richard Nixon had to put away such a hefty portion of his salary for Julie's education that he couldn't afford to buy the poor kid a dog, and very nearly wrecked his career because he accepted Checkers under the table. And we all know the lengths Spiro Agnew had to go to in order to cover his kids' tuition. Yet in spite of their crippling financial problems, none of the spouses of these men ever sank so low as to write a god-awful novel. (It is, however, worth pointing out that Agnew himself wrote a god-awful novel.)

But now, by writing a Birch-Lite fantasy about a Soviet (remember them?) plot to bring America to its

knees by planting a stooge in Cuba, Marilyn Quayle has turned a new page in American history. Now when voters go to the polls in November, they will be forced to consider not only whom they are electing as president and vice president, but also what sort of god-awful novels the vice president's spouse is likely to impose on the Republic over the next four years. Just consider these bloodcurdling possibilities:

■ Six months after Bill Clinton and Al Gore are swept into office, Tipper Gore publishes "Embrace the Cloven-Hoofed Beast," a political thriller about a Soviet attempt to subvert America's youth by planting KGB agents in Van Halen and New Kids on the Block and having them record songs that, when played backwards, repeat the words: "The victory of the industrial proletariat over the yellow, boot-licking, running-dog lackeys of the bourgeoisie is inevitable."

■ Four months after Bill Clinton and Lloyd Bensten are swept into office, Beryl Ann (B.A. to her friends) Bentsen, a director of several mutual funds, publishes "Embrace the Bear," a thriller about a Soviet attempt to trigger a stock market collapse by disguising KGB operatives as short-selling pension fund managers.

■ Three months after Ross Perot and Peter Ueberroth are swept into office, Ginny Ueberroth writes "Embrace the Jackal," a thriller in which the Soviets replace the well-liked commissioner of the Los Angeles Police Department with a sadistic look-alike, whose utter mishandling of a race riot wrecks the city's image and causes the Olympic Committee to move the summer games to Vologda.

■ Two months after Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown are swept into office, Jacques Barzaghi—Brown's beret-clad, Algerian war vet, guru and confidante—publishes "Embrace the Frog," a thriller about a KGB plot to subvert America by planting in the White House a wacko, sun-baked, left-wing vice president who hangs out with a beret-clad, French guru.

Most likely, none of these horrors will come to pass; most likely, George Bush and Dan Quayle will be reelected. But word has it that "Embrace the Serpent" won't earn enough money to put the Quayle kids through college—or will make only enough to send them to De Pauw. Word has it that Marilyn is already hard at work on a sequel entitled "Embrace the Pot Roast." In this political thriller, the KGB brings America to its knees by planting nutritional disinformation in diet books. By convincing millions of fat Americans that macadamia nuts only contain one calorie per serving and that hot fudge sundaes actually burn off 150 calories, the Soviets cause 27 million heart attacks, including the entire Senate Armed Services Committee.

All things considered, I think it would be a whole lot healthier for the rest of us if we chipped in right now and paid for the Quayle kids' educations.

# 2nd American woman takes a walk in space

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. (AP)—Astronaut Kathryn Thornton on Thursday became the second American woman to walk in space when she floated into the open cargo bay of Endeavour and tested techniques for building a space station.

Thornton was accompanied by Thomas Akers, one of three men who captured a wayward satellite the day before.

"We never did it like this before" in training, Thornton said as the two assembled a pole structure that towered over the bay.

Earlier, the seven shuttle astronauts watched in delight 470 miles away as the rescued Intelsat-6 satellite was rocketed into high orbit.

"It was really kind of neat to look at

here," said shuttle commander Daniel Brandenstein. "It left a kind of a reddish glow around it as it took off, and a red cloud."

Cheers erupted in the Intelsat control center in Washington and at ground tracking stations around the world.

Thornton and Akers left the safety of their cabin Thursday afternoon for a six-hour outing. They received a last-minute chore, which was to check a stubborn antenna in the bay.

Thornton got a late start because of a problem with instruments on her spacesuit that provide information about life support. Mission Control said ground readings showed there was nothing wrong but told her to hurry back to the safety of the airlock if she senses something is wrong.

Akers, Pierre Thuot and Richard Hieb caught the 4½-ton satellite with their gloved hands Wednesday night and then locked the craft onto the 23,000-pound motor in the shuttle cargo bay. It was released later.

Engineers at the Intelsat control center in Washington issued the firing command Thursday afternoon. A short time later, the satellite reached a 51,750-mile-high orbit, nearly a fourth of the distance to the moon.

Controllers plan to lower the satellite during the next week to its intended altitude of 22,300 miles. Because the satellite travels slower the higher it is, the unusual maneuver is expected to save enough fuel to add 1½ years to the satellite's life.

Intelsat hopes to have the \$157 mil-

lion satellite operating by July, in time to help relay broadcasts of the Summer Olympics. It is expected to last nearly 12 years.

NASA Administrator Daniel Goldin called the rescue "a triumph for the American people." The space agency, which has been under fire, needed a success. Intelsat paid NASA \$93 million for the rescue, a quarter of the Endeavour mission's cost.

Wednesday's spacewalk also was America's longest. The Akers-Thuot-Hieb team spent eight hours, 29 minutes in the open cargo bay, breaking a 20-year-old spacewalking record set during the final Apollo flight.

Endeavour is scheduled to land at 3:57 p.m. CDT Saturday at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif.

S.M.U. COMMENCEMENT  
DALLAS, TEXAS  
MAY 16, 1992

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/16/92

1

THANK YOU (KENNETH PYE) FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION.  
AND LET ME ALSO THANK REV. FINNIN FOR THE INVOCATION  
AND, OF COURSE, THE S.M.U. SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA FOR THE  
ANTHEM. MAY I SALUTE RAY HUNT, YOUR DISTINGUISHED  
CHAIRMAN. WHEN THINGS WERE TOUGH FOR S.M.U. THIS GREAT  
MUSTANG LED YOUR WONDERFUL UNIVERSITY BACK TO IT'S  
UNDISPUTED PLACE OF INTEGRITY AND EXCELLENCE.

DR's KAY - Pelican

IT'S GOOD TO BE HOME IN TEXAS. ((I'M HONORED BY  
THIS DEGREE -- EVEN IF I HAVEN'T PUT IN ALL THOSE LONG  
HOURS HITTING THE BOOKS AT "CHARLIE'S" -- PAUSE -- I  
MEAN THE LIBRARY.))

(( YALE JOKE ))

Y = youth - 30 units  
A = altruism - 38 units  
L = loyalty - 22 units  
E = excellence - 25

most left - one lonely student - praying  
Thanking God I need not  
go to 10 with them.

2

I KNOW THIS IS AN EXCITING DAY FOR YOU AND YOUR PARENTS, THE CLOSE OF ONE IMPORTANT CHAPTER IN YOUR LIVES AND THE BEGINNING OF MANY MORE. RIGHT AFTER MY OWN COMMENCEMENT, I LIT OUT FOR ODESSA IN OUR '47 STUDEBAKER, TO TRY MY HAND AT THE OIL BUSINESS.

I HAD MANY REASONS FOR COMING WEST, BUT THE ADVICE FROM ONE FAMILY FRIEND TIPPED THE BALANCE. "WHAT YOU NEED TO DO IS HEAD OUT TO TEXAS," HE TOLD ME. "THAT'S THE PLACE FOR AMBITIOUS YOUNG PEOPLE THESE DAYS."

THIS WAS A FEW YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II -- WHAT SEEMS LIKE A LIFETIME AGO. MY FRIEND'S ADVICE WAS SOME OF THE BEST I'VE EVER HAD. I BELIEVE THAT WHAT HE SAID THEN STILL HOLDS TRUE, NOT ONLY FOR TEXAS BUT FOR ALL OF AMERICA. MEMBERS OF YOUR GRADUATION CLASS HAIL FROM AS FAR AWAY AS CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AS NEAR AS UNIVERSITY PARK, AND ALL POINTS IN BETWEEN. BUT FOR EACH OF YOU, AMERICA IS THE PLACE WHERE AMBITION, ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND HARD WORK ARE STILL REWARDED, WHERE YOUNG PEOPLE CAN STILL FEEL CONFIDENCE IN THEIR DREAMS.

3

SO MANY OF US IN THAT CLASS OF 1948 HAD BEEN THROUGH THE WAR; WE HAD LOST FRIENDS AND LOVED ONES. BUT EVEN SO, THE OPPORTUNITIES AMERICA OFFERED ON THAT COMMENCEMENT DAY SEEMED LIMITLESS. I THINK MANY OF YOU WONDER WHETHER THAT HOLDS TRUE FOR YOU. THIS MORNING I WANT TO MAKE THE CASE THAT TODAY'S AMERICA IS STILL A RISING NATION -- THAT THE COUNTRY YOU ARE INHERITING OFFERS THE SAME LIMITLESS OPPORTUNITIES IT HELD FOR BARBARA AND ME, AND FOR YOUR PARENTS AND YOUR GRANDPARENTS.

WE ALL ARE WORKING TO PRESERVE FOR OURSELVES AND THE GENERATIONS TO COME THREE PRECIOUS LEGACIES: REWARDING JOBS FOR ALL WHO SEEK THEM; STRONG FAMILIES; AND A WORLD AT PEACE. TOMORROW, AT NOTRE DAME, I WILL DISCUSS THE THINGS WE CAN DO TO STRENGTHEN OUR FAMILIES. NEXT WEEK, AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY, I WILL EXPLORE THE GREAT ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE. FOR NOW, I WANT TO FOCUS ON THE FIRST OF THOSE LEGACIES -- OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE.

4

IN MAKING THE CASE THAT AMERICA'S BEST DAYS LIE BEFORE US, I REALIZE THAT I MIGHT NOT BE TAKING THE FASHIONABLE VIEW. MUCH OF THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THESE DAYS PORTRAYS AN AMERICA IN DECLINE, ITS ENERGY DISSIPATED, ITS POSSIBILITIES EXHAUSTED -- A COUNTRY OVERRUN BY ECONOMIC PREDATORS ABROAD AND CRIPPLED BY INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEMS AT HOME.

THESE DECLINISTS, AS THEY'RE CALLED, WILL HATE TO HEAR IT, BUT THEY'RE SAYING NOTHING NEW. FLIP THROUGH THE HISTORY BOOKS. YOU'LL HEAR THE GLOOMY PREDICTIONS SOUNDING AGAIN AND AGAIN. AS OUR WESTERN FRONTIER FILLED IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY, EVEN THAT GREAT AMERICA-BOOSTER WALT WHITMAN WORRIED THAT SOON HIS COUNTRY MIGHT "PROVE THE MOST TREMENDOUS FAILURE IN HISTORY." A FEW YEARS LATER THE "AMERICAN CENTURY" DAWNED.

IN THE 1930'S, THE DECLINISTS TOLD US THE GREAT DEPRESSION HAD MADE CAPITALISM OUTMODED; OUR VICTORY IN ✓ WORLD WAR II PUT AN END TO THAT TALK. IN THE 1950'S, THE SOVIETS LAUNCHED THE FIRST SATELLITE, AND THE PESSIMISTS SAID AMERICA HAD LOST THE SPACE RACE -- TWELVE YEARS BEFORE NEIL ARMSTRONG, AN AMERICAN, WALKED ON THE MOON. STILL MORE RECENTLY, WHILE MANY OF YOU WERE STILL IN GRADE SCHOOL, SOME OF OUR NATIONAL LEADERS SPOKE OF AN "ERA OF LIMITS" AND "MALAISE" -- RIGHT BEFORE AMERICANS BEGAN THE LONGEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN OUR HISTORY.

SO THE PESSIMISTS WERE WRONG. PESSIMISTS ALWAYS ARE -- WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT AMERICA. THE OPTIMISTS HAVE THE SAFER BET; BUT THERE'S A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OPTIMISM AND SELF-SATISFACTION. AMERICANS SHOULD NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE. "I'M AN IDEALIST," SAID WOODROW WILSON. "THAT'S HOW I KNOW I'M AN AMERICAN." WE STILL DREAM BIG DREAMS AND HOLD THE HIGHEST HOPES; OUR RESTLESSNESS, OUR REFUSAL TO SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS, IS WHAT PROPELS US TO MAKE THOSE DREAMS REAL.

6

THERE'S SOMETHING PARTICULARLY IRONIC ABOUT THE PESSIMISM WE'RE SEEING TODAY, FOR IT COMES AT A MOMENT OF TRIUMPH THAT FEW COUNTRIES IN HISTORY HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO ENJOY. OVER THE PAST YEAR WE HAVE SEEN THE COLLAPSE OF A SEEMINGLY IMPLACABLE ADVERSARY, AN EMPIRE DEEPLY HOSTILE TO ALL THAT AMERICANS CHERISH. AND WE HAVE SEEN EMERGE FROM THE TOTALITARIAN DARKNESS A HOST OF NEW NATIONS, EACH STRUGGLING WITH A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC FUTURE, EACH LOOKING TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.

IN LIGHT OF THIS, PESSIMISM ISN'T JUST UNGRACIOUS; IT IS ALSO INACCURATE. THE FACT IS, AMERICA IS MORE THAN THE WORLD'S SOLE MILITARY SUPERPOWER -- THOUGH IT IS THAT. IT IS MORE THAN THE WORLD'S POLITICAL LEADER -- THOUGH IT IS THAT, TOO. IT IS ALSO THE GREATEST ECONOMIC POWER THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN, A COUNTRY UNIQUELY ABLE TO PROVIDE EACH OF YOU UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY. AND IT IS CERTAIN TO REMAIN SO -- IF WE REFUSE TO SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS.

FIRST WE MUST SEE OUR SITUATION CLEARLY. THAT MEANS DEBUNKING A FEW MYTHS -- FOR MYTHS HARM OUR ABILITY TO DISTINGUISH OUR REAL PROBLEMS FROM FALSE ONES.

PERHAPS YOU'VE HEARD THE AMERICAN WORKER IS UNPRODUCTIVE. THAT IS A MYTH. THE AMERICAN WORKER IS THE MOST PRODUCTIVE IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD -- 30 PERCENT MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN HIS JAPANESE COUNTERPART. THAT'S WHY, WITH ONE-TWENTIETH OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, WE PRODUCE ONE-FOURTH OF THE WORLD'S GOODS AND SERVICES.

MAYBE YOU'VE HEARD THE AMERICAN WORKER IS UNSKILLED. THIS AUDIENCE HERE, ABOUT TO ENTER THE AMERICAN WORKFORCE, PUTS THE LIE TO THAT CLAIM. IN FACT, MORE THAN ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR AMERICAN WORKERS HAS A COLLEGE DEGREE; ANOTHER 20 PERCENT HAVE ONE-TO-THREE YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION. IN JAPAN, ONLY ONE-THIRD OF THE POPULATION GOES ON TO HIGHER EDUCATION.

8

MAYBE YOU'VE HEARD THAT OUR STANDARD OF LIVING --  
THE AVERAGE AMERICAN'S ABILITY TO BUY GOODS AND  
SERVICES -- HAS FALLEN BEHIND. AGAIN: NOT TRUE.  
MEASURED IN PURCHASING POWER, OUR STANDARD OF LIVING IS  
FAR ABOVE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. HERE'S  
ANOTHER MYTH: THAT AMERICA HAS FALLEN BEHIND IN  
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION. MAYBE THE  
PESSIMISTS SHOULD COME HERE TO S.M.U., TALK TO THE  
GRAD STUDENTS WHO WILL BE WORKING ON THE  
SUPERCONDUCTING SUPERCOLLIDER NEXT FALL. OR THEY COULD  
ASK THOSE COMPANIES FROM SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, JAPAN,  
KOREA -- THE LIST GOES ON -- WHO OPEN RESEARCH LABS IN  
THE U.S., SIMPLY TO BE CLOSE TO AMERICAN SCIENCE.

9

IF NOT SCIENCE, SAY THE PESSIMISTS, THEN HOW ABOUT INDUSTRY? YOU MIGHT HAVE HEARD THAT AMERICAN INDUSTRY IS ON THE DECLINE. WRONG AGAIN. MANUFACTURING HAS GROWN FASTER THAN THE REST OF OUR ECONOMY. IN FACT, IN THE LAST DECADE, AMERICAN MANUFACTURING GREW FASTER THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD COMBINED. FROM ONE INDUSTRY TO ANOTHER, THE UNITED STATES IS MORE PROGRESSIVE AND EFFICIENT THAN ITS MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS: IN MINING, OIL AND GAS DRILLING, UTILITIES, TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION, AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHERIES, CONSTRUCTION, SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS, PAPER, STONE, CLAY, GLASS PRODUCTS, TEXTILES....

THIS LIST TOO GOES ON, BUT I DON'T WANT TO OVERDO IT. I DON'T RECITE THESE STATISTICS SO WE CAN ALL PAT OURSELVES ON THE BACK. I WANT TO MAKE A POINT: AMERICA IS A STRONG NATION GETTING STRONGER. AND WE CAN LEARN FROM OUR SUCCESS.

10

BUT THE PESSIMISTS IGNORE THE LESSONS OF AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP. INSTEAD THEY PUSH PROTECTION AND ISOLATION -- A STRATEGY BASED ON THE MISGUIDED FEAR THAT AMERICA CAN'T RISE TO THE CHALLENGES OF A GLOBAL ECONOMY. THE DANGER IS THAT, FOR ALL OUR UNDENIABLE STRENGTHS, FEAR OF THE FUTURE COULD PROVE A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. IF AMERICA TURNED INWARD, INSULATED ITSELF IN A COCOON OF DEFEATISM, THE RESULT WOULD BE STAGNATION, FEWER JOBS WITH LOWER PAY, AND A DIMINISHED STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL. OUR ASTOUNDING ECONOMIC SUCCESS IS INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON A BASIC FACT: IF WE ARE TO BE PROSPEROUS AT HOME, WE MUST LEAD ECONOMICALLY ABROAD. IN A WORD, THAT MEANS TRADE. AMERICA IS THE WORLD'S LEADING EXPORTER -- \$422 BILLION WORTH LAST YEAR ALONE. OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS, OUR MERCHANDISE EXPORTS HAVE GROWN ALMOST 90 PERCENT, SUPPORTING MORE THAN 7 MILLION JOBS.

THE DEFEATISTS PRETEND THAT TRADE IS ZERO-SUM GAME, WHERE ONE PARTNER'S GAIN MUST BE OFFSET BY ANOTHER'S LOSS. BUT ONCE AGAIN THEY'RE WRONG -- DEMONSTRABLY WRONG -- AND I REFUSE TO SQUANDER THE GAINS OF THE LAST GENERATION, AND THE HOPES OF COMING GENERATIONS, IN THIS CRABBED MISREADING OF AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD. FOR THREE YEARS MY ADMINISTRATION HAS PURSUED A POLICY OF OPEN AND FREE TRADE -- BECAUSE IT CREATES JOBS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICANS. RIGHT NOW, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS, WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF CONCLUDING A HISTORIC NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, WHICH WILL CREATE A \$6 TRILLION FREE TRADE AREA FROM THE YUKON TO THE YUCATAN.

IS OUR POLICY OPTIMISTIC? WELL, YES: I PLEAD GUILTY TO BEING OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THIS COUNTRY'S ABILITY TO COMPETE. DON'T MISUNDERSTAND: AMERICA HAS DIFFICULTIES AHEAD. WE MUST DEAL NOW WITH A FEW ALARMING TRENDS THAT ENDANGER OUR WORLD LEADERSHIP -- AND THREATEN YOUR FUTURE.

I HAVE CHALLENGED CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN A REFORM AGENDA BASED ON THE SAME FIRST PRINCIPLES THAT UNDERLIE OUR PROSPERITY. OUR ECONOMIC SUCCESS WASN'T HATCHED IN SOME COMMITTEE ROOM ON CAPITOL HILL OR AROUND A CONFERENCE TABLE IN THE WHITE HOUSE. IT WAS DETERMINED ON THE SHOP FLOOR, IN THE BOARD ROOM, IN THE RESEARCH LAB, WHERE FREE MEN AND WOMEN WEIGHED THE OPTIONS, TOOK THE RISKS, AND MADE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. AMERICA IS THE MOST PROSPEROUS NATION IN HISTORY BECAUSE IT IS ALSO THE FREEST. THAT SAME COMMITMENT TO LIMITED GOVERNMENT, PERSONAL FREEDOM, AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY MUST SHAPE THE REFORMS WE URGENTLY NEED TO UNDERTAKE.

A RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM, FOR EXAMPLE, IS LONG OVERDUE. THAT MEANS WE MUST ALLOW COMMUNITIES THE FREEDOM TO CREATE THEIR OWN BREAK-THE-MOLD SCHOOLS, GIVING MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY TO TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS. THE G.I. BILL SAYS, HERE'S SOME MONEY -- GO TO THE COLLEGE OF YOUR CHOICE. NOW I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME FOR PARENTS TO HAVE THE FREEDOM TO CHOOSE THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS AT ALL LEVELS -- PUBLIC, PRIVATE OR RELIGIOUS.

IN THE SAME WAY, MY PLAN TO REFORM OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM MAKES HEALTH CARE MORE AFFORDABLE AND ACCESSIBLE, WHILE PRESERVING THE ALL-IMPORTANT BENEFIT OF CONSUMER CHOICE.

AND I HAVE PROPOSED COMPREHENSIVE STEPS TO RESTORE SANITY TO OUR LEGAL SYSTEM. THE EXPLOSION IN LITIGATION THREATENS OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND, WORSE, WEAKENS THE ETHIC OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY THAT LIES AT THE HEART OF OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER. AMERICA WOULD BE A BETTER COUNTRY IF WE SUED EACH OTHER LESS AND HELPED EACH OTHER MORE.

AND FOR THOSE OF US IN WASHINGTON, IT'S HIGH TIME TO GET OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST START LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS. TO DISCIPLINE BOTH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE CONGRESS I HAVE LONG FAVORED A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT. WE NEED IT NOW.

FINALLY, AS OUR COUNTRY MOVES FORWARD INTO THE NEXT CENTURY, WE MUST RESOLVE THAT NO ONE IS LEFT BEHIND. THE RIOTS IN LOS ANGELES REMINDED US THAT WE HAVE MUCH MORE WORK TO DO IN OUR OWN NEIGHBORHOODS: THE AMERICAN DREAM TAKES ROOT IN FAMILIES WHOLE AND CARING, IN NEIGHBORHOODS SAFE AND SECURE, AND IN SCHOOLS UNSULLIED BY DRUGS AND VIOLENCE. EVERY AMERICAN DESERVES THE OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THIS DREAM, UNHINDERED BY THE UGLINESS OF RACISM OR THE BENIGN NEGLECT OF A GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY.

WE ARE PAST THE TIME FOR CASTING BLAME OR MAKING EXCUSES FOR THE DESPAIR IN OUR INNER CITIES. BUT WE MUST ASK OURSELVES: "ARE THE OLD WAYS, THE OLD ASSUMPTIONS STILL GOOD ENOUGH?" I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME TO TRY THE UNTRIED, TO BUILD A NEW APPROACH ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DIGNITY, PERSONAL INITIATIVE, AND OPPORTUNITY.

LAST WEEK I PRESENTED TO CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS A SIX-POINT PLAN FOR A NEW AMERICA: FIRST, OUR "WEED AND SEED" ANTI-CRIME INITIATIVE. SECOND, OUR HOPE INITIATIVE, TO TURN PUBLIC HOUSING INTO PRIVATE HOMES.~ THIRD, ENTERPRISE ZONES, TO BRING JOBS AND INVESTMENT TO THE INNER CITY. FOURTH, EDUCATION REFORM, TO OFFER EVERY CHILD THE CHANCE AT A WORLD-CLASS EDUCATION. FIFTH, WELFARE REFORM, TO REPLACE THE HANDOUT WITH THE HAND-UP. AND SIXTH, EXPANDED JOB TRAINING FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF OUR CITIES.

How  
OWNERSHIP  
IS THE KEY  
WITH IT  
COMES  
DIGNITY  
+ stronger  
Families

WHEN I VISITED LOS ANGELES A WEEK AGO, I CAME AWAY WITH A DEEPENED SENSE OF HOPE FOR AMERICA AND HER PEOPLE. WE ALL SAW THE HORRIFYING ACTS OF VIOLENCE. BUT LET ME TELL YOU ANOTHER STORY FROM LOS ANGELES. IN THE HEAT AND CHAOS OF THE RIOTS, A PASTOR NAMED BENNIE NEWTON SAW A MAN BEING BEATEN TO THE GROUND. DESPITE THE THREATS AND THE BLOWS, REV. NEWTON WALKED INTO THE FRAY AND DRAPED HIS BODY OVER THE BLOODY MAN UNTIL THE BEATING STOPPED. "MY HEART WAS CRYING," SAID THE PASTOR. HE SAVED THE MAN'S LIFE.

AMERICA IS A NATION OF BENNIE NEWTONS; YOU'LL FIND HIM IN EVERY TOWN AND CITY, IN EVERY UNION HALL AND BOY'S CLUB AND SCOUT TROOP. YOU'LL FIND A LOT OF THEM HERE AT S.M.U., WITH YOUR PROUD TRADITION OF SERVING OTHERS. FEW OF US, OF COURSE, ARE EVER CALLED TO TAKE THE RISKS REV. NEWTON DID. BUT EVERY DAY WE FACE THE QUESTION POSED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: "IF ANYONE HAS THE WORLD'S GOODS AND SEES HIS BROTHER IN NEED, YET CLOSES HIS HEART AGAINST HIM, HOW DOES GOD'S LOVE ABIDE IN HIM?"

ON COUNTLESS SMALL OCCASIONS, EACH OF US IS CALLED TO OPEN OUR HEARTS -- EACH OF US IS CALLED TO LEAD, TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY, TO SHOW THE POWER OF FAITH IN ACTION. I HAVE SPOKEN TODAY OF OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE, ABOUT FREE ENTERPRISE AND PERSONAL LIBERTY, BUT THE FREEDOMS WE CHERISH MEAN NOTHING UNLESS THEY ARE INFUSED WITH THE OLD VIRTUES, THE TIME-HONORED VALUES: HONESTY, THRIFT, FAITH, SELF-DISCIPLINE, SERVICE TO OTHERS.

I DO NOT PRETEND TO KNOW THE SHAPE OF THE NEXT CENTURY. THE GENIUS OF A FREE PEOPLE DEFIES PREDICTION. CERTAINLY BARBARA AND I, WHEN WE LOADED UP OUR STUDEBAKER FOR THE TRIP TO ODESSA SO LONG AGO, COULD NEVER HAVE IMAGINED THE TECHNOLOGICAL MARVELS OUR GRANDCHILDREN TAKE FOR GRANTED -- FAX MACHINES AND VCR'S, FOR EXAMPLE -- ((NOT TO MENTION THE MOST AMAZING INVENTION OF 1992, THE SUPERMARKET SCANNER.))

BUT I DO KNOW THIS: THE NEXT CENTURY WILL BE YOUR CENTURY. IF YOU BELIEVE IN FREEDOM, IF YOU HOLD FAST TO YOUR VALUES, IF YOU REMAIN FAITHFUL TO OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD, IT IS SURE TO BE YET ANOTHER AMERICAN CENTURY.

THANK YOU AGAIN. GOD BLESS S.M.U., AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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