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April 29, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
JENNIFER GROSSMAN

FROM: PEGGY DOOLEY

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRE-ADVANCE

- o The address will take place in Michigan Stadium. The Stadium can hold about 101,000, and is always full during football season. Because of the configuration of the commencement stage, "only" about 70,000 will be at the graduation.
- o The President will hold in the U of M's home locker room before speaking. (joke?)
- o They are currently replacing the astro-turf in the Stadium with real grass. The whole field is ripped apart. (joke?)
- o A good person to talk to about sports history at the University is Bruce Magde in the Athletics Office.
- o University President Duderstadt graduated from Yale in '67. He's been President for three years.
- o There has been some talk of a group or groups of students staging a walk-out when the President begins speaking. Advance in doing its best to seat any potential protestors behind the camera's line-of-sight . . . but be forewarned. The reasons put forward are the Gulf War, and basic dislike of the President and the Administration. Michigan -- like other large universities -- has a portion of the student body (including many full-time-student graduate students) who still thinks it's 1968.

*Both POTUS & FLOTUS will receive
an honorary Dr of Law's degree*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1991

TO: Tony Snow
FROM: Sig Rogich 
RE: University of Michigan Commencement Remarks

Attached are articles that appeared in The Michigan Daily that might be useful in preparing remarks for the upcoming speech.

Please note its liberal position as the President was heckled the last time he appeared there.

Thanks much.

The Michigan Daily

420 Maynard Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Edited and Managed
by Students at the
University of Michigan



ANDREW K. GOTTESMAN
Editor in Chief

STEPHEN HENDERSON
DANIEL POUX
Opinion Editors

Unsigned editorials represent a majority of the Daily's Editorial Board.
All other cartoons, signed articles, and letters do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Daily.

From the Daily

GEO

Union must hang tough on quality of education in talks

As stories in all of the Detroit-area papers last week made clear, the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) enjoyed overwhelming support from undergrads during its three-day work stoppage last week. At first this seems like a contradiction: why would undergrads side with TAs who are refusing to teach?

The answer has very little to do with many students' relief that they had a day off. Undergrads support their TAs because GEO has made the quality of undergraduate education — and specifically reduced class sizes — one of its key demands. The GEO bargaining team has stuck by this de-

mand — despite pressure from the University negotiating team to drop it.

With negotiations stalemated and the prospect of a major strike looming, GEO would do well to continue pushing for smaller classes.

Pursuing such a course might delay a settlement, and could even help precipitate a strike. But this is a risk the GEO must take. Standing by its commitment to undergrads will assure student support should a strike take place. And — given that Michigan purports to be concerned with undergrads' education — fighting for smaller classes is also the right and decent thing to do.

Reform?

'Education President' will reveal plans at graduation

When President Bush comes to speak at commencement, he will likely elaborate on his long awaited education plan.

Two years after taking office, the "Education President" is finally ready to introduce comprehensive education reform.

The program is composed of a choice program for parents, new voluntary nation-wide testing, and privately-funded model schools around the country. Sadly, the program provides more lip service than innovative ideas, ignores the major problems in our public school system, and in the long run it will do more harm than good.

The first aspect of his new approach creates a "free market" school system, where parents can choose between a variety of public, private or parochial schools for their children, to be paid for by a simple voucher. This system sounds great on the surface, but will be little more than a bandaid for the ills of the American educational system.

Giving parents additional options ignores the real problem in public education. By subsidizing students in private or parochial schools, money is diverted away from the public schools. Instead, Bush should dedicate more energy and dollars to

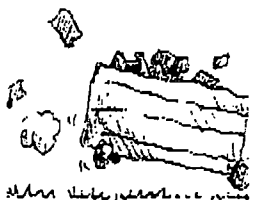
improving the ailing public school systems and make reform a funding priority.

Constructing model schools in each congressional district within the next decade is a nice idea, but it cannot replace the vast reform which is needed. Likewise, implementing more national tests — in history and geography — will not improve teacher or student performance.

Tests and model schools are not the answer. Instead, Bush should reconsider his inadequate suggestions and present a plan with more incentives for teachers and new teaching methods.

Bush has said that he is more interested in publicity for education than in actually allocating the federal funding necessary to revamp our public schools. "Dollar bills don't educate students," but they sure do help.

As long as inequities continue to exist between rich and poor districts, model schools or voucher programs amount to little. Only increased funding from the federal government can adequately address funding disparities and increase the quality of America's public schools across the board. Instead of exacerbating the dichotomy which already exists.



A cons

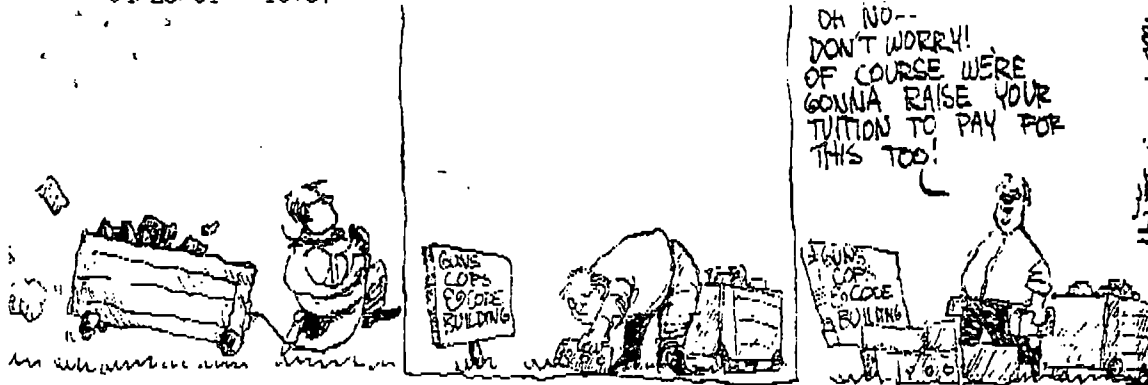
Well, another year has gone, and being the last I think it unwise to unfold heavy ideological rant on poor souls. Instead, like Daily writer, I am going to reminisce about the past year and the events which made it so unusual.

Michigan is seen as a liberal school and, as I suspect, it always has. Having transferred from U. last year, I perceived to be a stronghold of left after I arrived. Jennifer was elected Michigan S. assembly (MSA) President. West Bank was visited.

However, this past year has dispelled the myth of leftist Michigan. Ten years after conservative revolution swe

Br
Bern





No doubt this will help bring out the lefties!

A conservative backlash here?

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However, this past year has diselled the myth of leftist activism at Michigan. Ten years after the conservative revolution swept through America, it has finally reached the University of Michigan.

At first glance, the past year

Bernatek is an LSA junior. This is his last column this year, and perhaps he will return in the all... perhaps.

should have been a banner year for Michigan's leftists and liberals. First, Michigan had the anti-deputization rallies which occupied the leftists' idle time from September to Thanksgiving.

They were out in force and ready to shut down the University, if necessary and while the largest rallies numbered a couple of thousand, they represented a fraction of the campus. The movement fizzled when a student strike was ruled out because there was not enough popular support and fortunately, as the fervor of the anti-deputization movement dissipated, along came a good war to protest.

With the possibility of the largest conflict since World War II, the potential of the anti-war movement was great. While SAUSI enjoyed nominal support for a time, it never coalesced into the "mother of all protests." Meanwhile, the RWL worked its magic causing schisms, and even more surprising, Support our Soldiers emerged with much support and SAUSI died a slow death.

By the time MSA elections arrived, the Michigan leftists were on the run. Their two biggest movements fizzled out as quickly as they started and the elections proved to be fatal. The Conservative Coalition ran away with elections winning the presidency and a working majority on the assembly.

It's hard to say what has hap-

pened, but most probably the Reagan revolution has been eating away at leftist activism at Michigan, slowly but surely, and all the while a group of determined activists set out to prevent anyone from becoming aware of these conservative changes on campus.

These altruistic students, mostly from Rackham, have formed the core of nearly every activist movement on our campus. From deputization to anti-war, one was sure to find Jennifer Van Valey, Corey Dolgon, Patrice Maurer and others. These brave souls manned the fortress of activism while the others ran away or graduated.

Sadly, the fort finally fell this year and the remnants of its defenders have been scattered around campus waiting to regroup, waiting for a cause to rally around, waiting for a chance to reclaim lost territory: Michigan. Most of them have found temporary shelter in Rackham Student Government (RSG) — Michigan's version of the Supreme Soviet.

What will next year bring... perhaps a record contract for Corey Dolgon, Jennifer Van Valey, the RA, reminiscing to first-year students about the good ol' days or perhaps a resurgence of activism.

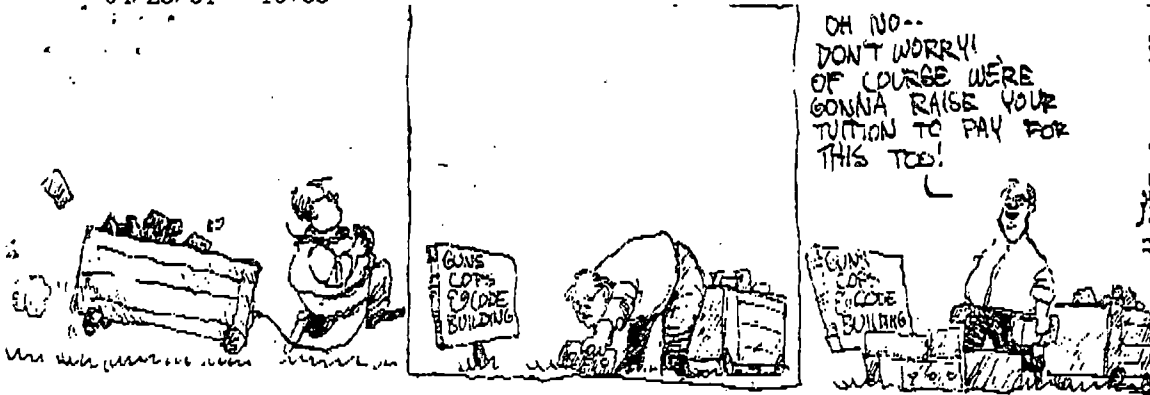
Only time will tell and with three finals approaching, time is something I don't have. Have a good summer and see you next fall.

Readers respond to Jennifer Knoll

To the Daily:
I am writing in response to

upon the dispossession and displacement of the Palestinian

by secular Jews." The backbones of this



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How about hitting
the ends of your
graphs w/ more applause lines

not a very
big lobby or
high impact
opening
Pump it up

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its (share of football history) -- and political history. Lyndon Johnson delivered his Great Society address at a commencement here nearly 27 years ago. Three years earlier, John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps.

I will not try to outbid those great men ~~today~~. Instead, I want ^{to talk} about ^{bold} this historic moment. Your commencement -- your journey into the "real world," coincides with this nation's commencement into a world that for years was only a fond hope -- a world in which we are free to explore the full promise of the American dream. ^{Foreign Pol} ^{Domestic Pol}

The United States, so long berated as lacking vision and commitment, now stands as the world's chief proponent of freedom and democracy. Our participation in the Persian Gulf War ^{showed} told the world that Americans really will risk dying for the ideals we hold dear. ^{some quotes inspirational, I have a few ideas} We will extend helping hands to those beseiged by aggressive dictators. Our success in the war helped kill Vietnam-era doubts that we could not function in world affairs, that we lacked the certainty or reliability to take a stand in tough times. [insert positive applause line]

? But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It was as if we had awakened abruptly from a long fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. Suddenly, Americans felt free to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

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for?

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feel [I have traveled around the country in recent months] and I *see* an idealism I have not seen in 30 years. *for reality*

In Sumter, South Carolina I joined citizens who had rebuilt a city after two disasters -- first, a hurricane; then, a war. Tears leaped to their eyes as they finally paused to take in the fruits of their labors. There, crowded on bleachers in a high school stadium were men and women of all ages, colors, backgrounds -- friends and neighbors who had turned a torn and demoralized town into a garden of hope. People who once stood on opposing sides of local arguments suddenly saw themselves in a new light -- as companions in the great adventure of life.

well ✓ This pattern repeats itself all over the land. You can sense a kind of giddiness, a profound *wonder* unfocused optimism. At our ~~national commencement into the new world, people squint into a hazy future and ask, "What next?"~~

Here and everywhere Americans have begun to discard easy excuses and take on tough tasks: helping the homeless, training the unskilled, pushing back the wave of crime, building schools and neighborhoods in which they may take real pride.

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. It comes from the triumph of freedom.

Take Although Western military might helped contain the growth of communism, socialism evaporated because despots, dictators, tanks, walls, prison cells, spies, thugs -- the harsh and

but in a real sense

ingenious forms of oppression -- could not contain people's natural yearning for freedom.

From the moment Western rock songs made their way into East European culture -- from the day tourists from that part of the world started smuggling videocassettes from the West -- from the instant Western radio became more credible and popular than the stilted dull programming of the local communist party -- people in the communist world were hooked. They knew that other systems didn't just work. They also offered a precious privilege: they stirred human hearts to sing and laugh. For communism's victims, freedom involved more than filling store shelves. It offered the hope, happiness, joy, brotherhood. It replaced a society governed by fear to one brightened by possibility.

It's time we learned from our own triumphs and applied the lessons of liberty to our own problems. I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they form the backbone of our domestic agenda.

First, freedom of creation. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, a place where merit has conquered circumstance. This is a land where people of vision -- Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Tom Monaghan -- outgrew rough origins and transformed a world.

Their example demonstrates that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits. ~~At its heart~~, it provides a seedbed for creativity. It provides a means by which people convert ideas into works. It offers a medium in which ideas and

It was something more than tapes & music.

This is really where it starts. I think you wander for the 1st 2 pp.

YOU TRIVIAL 25

don't know about Tony. How about just a quick amount of feeding popularity & the world of the combined & always old the here as home at left it. Also, let's up the level of ideology. They're nearly the bottom line.

great

9006

ideas *& freely*⁴
information move swiftly, ~~informally to people who can make best~~
use of them. Markets express the varied genius of entrepreneurs,
scholars and dreamers of every sort. ~~And try as we may, experts~~
~~never can match the genius of millions of agents swimming amid~~
~~the marketplace of ideas.~~

too technical
One of our great recent debates concerns industrial policy -
- having the government pick winners, losers, technologies and
products. But if you think about it, the idea really is
preposterous. While planners might have some skill in picking
out the obvious winners in big industries, they simply aren't
equipped to foresee whose ideas, whose products, whose inventions
will capture a nation's fancy and fulfill a people's needs.

Consider for a moment a few of our most important recent
innovations. The information revolution was hatched in garages
and basements. The fast-food chain -- an innovation many loathe,
crucial to all college students
~~but one that has changed life around the planet -- began in~~
obscurity. Domino's Pizza would never have stood a chance before
a committee of planners. Tom Monaghan was just a college kid
with a good idea.

something about the right to choose and succeed fairly
And that's the genius of the marketplace. Free markets help
give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They make
available to the masses products that in socialist societies were
reserved for the elite. They spread the proceeds of progress to
everyone.

Our domestic program tries in many ways to encourage market
innovation, to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to

creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. He have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship.

But that's not enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to unfetter our national ingenuity. We must eliminate the petty harrassments we inflict upon people with dreams.

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Four months of labor that might be used for such mundane purposes as paying for the house and car, setting aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little ~~savings~~ nest-egg.

But think about it: do these taxes liberate anyone from four months' worth of want, of responsibility, of anything? Or do they inspire cynicism?

Americans transformed a tough wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or ~~of~~ false

taxpayer
frustration

compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works. Free enterprise enables us to spread life-enriching and life-saving goods to corners of society that otherwise would live and die in filth and obscurity. The rest of the world now understands this American truth. It's time we ~~accepted~~ ^{reaffirmed} it for ourselves.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but we still rely upon the managerial equivalent of the steam engine to achieve our government goals. If I can risk venturing around a computer keyboard, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways. If Mikhail Gorbachev can wrestle with perestroika, surely our political community can upgrade and update our own ways of doing things. Rather than asking what government can do for us, we ought to ask how it can let us do good for our country.

This leads to a second freedom, freedom of expression. Free speech may be the defining characteristic of the American ideal. It enables us to expose bad ideas and spread good ones. It highlights and nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests; it teaches northerners about southerners, blacks about whites, immigrants about first families.

Nevertheless, ~~free~~ expression is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The concept of Political Correctness arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and hatred. But its methods ensure failure. It establishes an empty etiquette that would have baffled even Louis the Fourteenth. It grants some

people -- the conservators of rectitude -- power to lord over others. It encourages its minions to perfect the art of creative suspicion. It teaches them how to find an insult in every casual word, ^{stance or deed} ~~comment, action~~. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity. It kills reason and it attacks our faith in ourselves and our instincts for decency. It requires people to submit to arbitrary courts of taste -- and assails our natural instincts for toleration and open debate. In the end, political correctness substitutes an obedience to authority for genuine compassion. *HOW ABOUT SOME EXAMPLES*

This trend afflicts not just our campuses, but our national debate about many important aims. Too often, advocates of some point of view, liberal or conservative, resort to ^{sueing} ~~fighting words~~ -- ^{motives before examining ideas} ~~to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, that are supposed to prevent~~ ^{ing} free and open debate.

If we really want to take full advantage of diversity we must encourage open and civil discussion. We must not permit "diversity" to become a code word for intellectual tyranny. *- Camps -*

Our Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, already has ^{last refuge of} ~~confronted~~ this cult of censorship by challenging college ^{the censor} certification organizations to abandon Politically Correct decrees and stick to the business of determining whether colleges meet basic educational requirements.

We as a nation ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We can't do that through intimidation and decree. We

must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

Furthermore, we must strive to break down the invisible walls that separate us. [Let us dismantle our thought police and encourage people to share experiences, lives, backgrounds. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's adopt approaches conducive to harmony -- rather than dusting off the methods and approaches of the Inquisition.]

this is not really what thought police are about

This leads to a third dimension of freedom -- freedom of virtue ~~of~~ spirit. In recent ages, often with the noblest intentions, we have made it difficult to do good works.

Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking themselves: ^{When} Can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Can I get sued for helping?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume responsibilities and roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once warned that the dole -- his word, not mine -- is a narcotic. The same might be said of a government that attempts to do things beyond its competence. The federal government is a huge and powerful organism. It can take on huge issues, such as wars. But it is no more suited to the tender business of nurturing individual virtue than an elephant ^{is} of performing delicate eye surgery. ^{can perform} ?

Yet every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of

responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. But the tendency in government is to claim that perfection is just another program or another tax increase away.

When President Johnson spoke here in 1964 he brought up issues that haunt us still. He proposed revitalizing cities; rejuvenating schools; trampling down the hoary harvest of racism; protecting our environment.

He believed that small cadres of experts could anticipate and answer the wants and needs of millions. They would figure out ideal tax rates, ideal rates of expenditure on social programs, ideal distributions of wealth and privilege. In some ways, theirs was an America by the numbers: If the numbers were right, America was right.

But we have learned that bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have inspired frightening new animosities between races and classes in this nation.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by ^{race & class} ~~deliberate class conflict~~ -- or an

Top
Freedom
Day in
Mich?

May 12th

govt as endorsed

America by the people. I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to ~~our agents~~.] → sounds conspiratorial.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. Government ought to be in the business of helping people achieve their dreams. It shouldn't presume to define those dreams. It shouldn't erect barriers to community action.

An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's decency and capability.

This leads us naturally to the fourth aspect of freedom, responsibility. Any introductory course in political philosophy notes that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- and for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, ~~respect to terrorism~~, stewardship to plunder.

I have been accused of lacking agendas or vision. If by that someone means that I don't propose vast or costly new programs, I plead guilty. My vision for America depends heavily on you, for you are the men and women who will shape our future. You are the men and women who must decide whether to defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You will have to build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

Why don't you use the Howard quote?

I don't measure dreams in terms of dollar

When politicians devise grandiose programs, they don't ask anything of your talent or commitment; they ask only for your money. I therefore challenge you to build a society dedicated to cultivating goodness -- not a Great Society with its massive means of shifting money from one pocket to another -- but the Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in shredding the veils of prejudice, get involved. *Or else the in, turn off, & turn in your taxes* The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship, to begin by getting to know your neighbors, assuming some responsibility for building and maintaining bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. It dares you to seeking out principles and stick to them.

Let me leave you today with an exhortation: *after balance* Make the most of your abilities. Question authority. Examine yourself. Strive to do what is good. Muster the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't focus on freedom as a "freedom from" such woes *add freedom to* and want and fear. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their

course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the men and women who kept America great -- and helped deliver freedom to an entire world.

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

DOUG GAMBLE

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 548-6409

April 27/91

TO:

JENNIFER GROSSMAN

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN

I KNOW THERE'S A CERTAIN LIBERAL SENTIMENT ON CAMPUS THAT WANTED A MINORITY SPEAKER THIS YEAR, AND THE UNIVERSITY HAS OBLIGED. MY PARTY HAS BEEN IN THE MINORITY IN THE HOUSE FOR YEARS.

I UNDERSTAND THERE ARE SOME WHO OPPOSED ME DELIVERING THIS SPEECH. THEY SAID I WAS ONLY INVITED BECAUSE I'M BARBARA BUSH'S HUSBAND.

* I UNDERSTAND THAT ANN ARBOR HAS THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF PSYCHOTHERAPISTS PER CAPITA IN AMERICA. SOME PEOPLE MAY THINK WASHINGTON DESERVES THAT DISTINCTION.

* I ASKED SOMEONE WHY THERE ARE SO MANY PSYCHOTHERAPISTS IN ANN ARBOR. I WAS TOLD THAT STUDENTS NEED A PLACE TO TURN AFTER THEY'VE DEALT WITH "CRISP."

I MENTIONED TO SOMEONE HERE EARLIER THAT SECRETARY OF STATE ^{BAKER} MIGHT TRAVEL TO SIBERIA. HE SAID "WHY WOULD THE SECRETARY OF STATE WANT TO VISIT NORTH CAMPUS."

MORE...

TO: JENNIFER GROSSMAN - U. OF MICH. (CONT'D)

IF SUPERSTITION MEANS ANYTHING, THIS SHOULD BE A GOOD SPEECH. I WAS CAREFUL NOT TO STEP ON THE BRASS M ON THE WAY OVER HERE. BUT REMIND ME TO ASK MY DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT TO STEP ON IT NEXT YEAR.

FROM WHAT I SAW OF THIS YEAR'S NFL DRAFT, IT LOOKS LIKE THE CHAMPION NEW YORK GIANTS ARE GOING TO BE BETTER THIS SEASON BY A BIG BUNCH.

(Wolverine fullback Jarrod Bunch was the Giants' #1 draft choice last Sunday.)

I COULDN'T BE AT MICHIGAN WITHOUT THINKING OF THAT GREAT WOLVERINE SPIRIT WHICH WAS PERSONIFIED BY BO SCHEMBECHLER. BO KNOWS FOOTBALL. BO KNOWS BASEBALL. BO KNOWS ERNIE HARWELL.

* I wasn't going to use the 'psychotherapist' thing, but I thought I'd try these in case one of them gets through.

- 3 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: JENNIFER GROSSMAN (CONT'D)

HOUSING EVENT - ST. LOUIS

I'M PLEASED TO BE HERE, ALONG WITH SECRETARY KEMP. I COME TO YOU AS SOMEONE WHO LIVES IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING.

IT WAS ONE OF ST. LOUIS' FAVORITE SONS, YOGI BERRA, WHO SAID "IT'S NOT OVER 'TIL IT'S OVER." AND THEN HE HEARD ONE OF MY SPEECHES AND CHANGED IT TO "IT SEEMS LIKE IT'LL NEVER BE OVER."

NO WONDER THIS IS MILLIE'S FAVORITE STATE. THE OFFICIAL TREE IS THE DOGWOOD.

152 (The Annual Message to the Congress.
January 6, 1941

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I ADDRESS you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

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United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the

Union," I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even

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if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

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No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual matériel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that

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they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their matériel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

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The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

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In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

April 29, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
JENNIFER GROSSMAN

FROM: PEGGY DOOLEY

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRE-ADVANCE

- o The address will take place in Michigan Stadium. The Stadium can hold about 101,000, and is always full during football season. Because of the configuration of the commencement stage, "only" about 70,000 will be at the graduation.
- o The President will hold in the U of M's home locker room before speaking. (joke?)
- o They are currently replacing the astro-turf in the Stadium with real grass. The whole field is ripped apart. (joke?)
- o A good person to talk to about sports history at the University is Bruce Magde in the Athletics Office.
- o University President Duderstadt graduated from Yale in '67. He's been President for three years.
- o There has been some talk of a group or groups of students staging a walk-out when the President begins speaking. Advance in doing its best to seat any potential protestors behind the camera's line-of-sight . . . but be forewarned. The reasons put forward are the Gulf War, and basic dislike of the President and the Administration. Michigan -- like other large universities -- has a portion of the student body (including many full-time-student graduate students) who still thinks it's 1968.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: HANNS KUTTNER *AK*

SUBJECT: Community Opportunity Act of 1991

*SAK -
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When we had our OPD-Tony Snow meeting last week, I suggested the not-yet-announced "Community Opportunity Act" proposal could be announced as part of the President's commencement address at the University of Michigan.

This would fit nicely because of President Johnson's 1964 commencement address there on related themes.

The Community Opportunity Act was one of the pieces of the "opportunity package" announced in February. The package, you will recall, got slammed for being a rerun of old proposals. Not so for the Community Opportunity Act. Its all new this year. Since the opportunity package, this legislation has not had its "rollout" moment when all its details are made known, the fact sheet issued, and the briefings held.

Themes

The Community Opportunity Act posits:

- The whole structure of government assistance programs should be rebuilt from the bottom up.
- There should be a point to this reconstruction: increase the probability that dollars will lead people to self-sufficiency rather than help them where they are.
- Reconstruction should happen on the basis of plans devised at the community level.
- Our domestic social programs have been less dynamic than our society as a whole. To help those who are most often the object of public programs, the same dynamism that characterizes other elements of our society must take hold in our effort to do better by those materially less well off. [Through the Reagan years, the Congress grew to distrust flexibility and innovation in social programs, thinking any deviation from the Congressionally-dictated structure was part of a plot to dismantle the program.]
- Legitimacy demands involvement of those in whom

governmental powers are placed. Unlike "community action" as practiced by the Johnson Administration was carried out independent of local government, our proposal is for action within communities.

Details

The bill summary is attached.

If enacted, the law would work like this:

- A community decides it wants to do things differently. They decide they want to take over the delivery of all services ranging from garbage collection to administering welfare in the community. (We have a concept paper from people the City of New York's Human Resources Administration proposing this.) Or they decide they want welfare to work differently. Or they want to create financial incentives to keep young women from becoming pregnant and stay in school rather than having a child and leaving school. You can do most anything in this structure.
- They get the state and local governments in on the deal, to the extent those units of government are involved in the way things are done today. In all states welfare (AFDC, Food Stamps) involves at least the state government and in some states county government as well. The community group gets the governmental bodies involved on board. (There isn't anything in the rules to keep the state or local government from being the first mover.)
- They come in to the feds. They tell us what they are going to do, what goals they have, and how they will measure progress towards the goals. They tell us where the funds are coming from and where they are going. They prove it is budget-neutral (and if it wobbles off course, who picks up the tab.) Assuming it all adds up, we approve it.

Attachment

*Let me know if you want to
pursue this - for Michigan or any of other
upcoming special -
us.*

(Hinchliffe/Dooley)
January 22, 1991
FREEDOMS

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: "THE NEW FREEDOMS"
50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS
U.S. CAPITOL
January 30, 1991**

There's a classic American painting I'm thinking of today. A very simple one. In it, parents -- a little weary, but faces creased with love -- gently tuck their children into bed. A warm light shines from downstairs. The scene says: security, safety, peace. It was how that great translator of the American spirit, Norman Rockwell, captured on canvas the most powerful of President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms: the Freedom from Fear.

It's a powerfully moving picture. And sentiment. For as parents, we want desperately to keep our children safe -- they are the soul of our country, the heart of our future. But, as Roosevelt knew only too painfully well, the freedoms that are our birthright carry obligations. Sometimes they weigh heavy on our heart, and we wish we could let the burden pass us by. But it is precisely in those moments that we find our true courage. It is in those moments that the Four Freedoms become no longer just idealistic goals -- but the moral North Star that guides us.

President Roosevelt brilliantly enunciated the 20th century vision of our founding fathers' commitment to individual liberty. His was a nation entering a war against the oldest enemy of the human spirit: evil that threatened the world's peace. For the sake of freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear, his America sent its young to foreign

battlefields, carrying high and proud the torch of liberty.

50 years later, we watch again the sad eyes of our children. Those innocents we never wanted to have to learn about grieving. We think of the world we want to leave them. Then we remember the Four Freedoms. And we realize what this war is all about.

In our current battle for freedom, a brave young man has become our first combat casualty. Navy Lt Cmdr Michael Speicher was in the very first crew to go to the Gulf five months ago. He was in the very first group of planes to take action five days ago. And on that night, he was the very first to lose his life.

We honor him. And we honor the other courageous servicemen and women who are the lightning and thunder of Operation Desert Storm. Young people who embody the essence of our nation's Four Freedoms. Who put their own lives and dreams on hold because they understand that Saddam Hussein is a threat to everything we know. Everything we believe in. Everything we stand for. Who know that his is a world of the subjugation of the human spirit. And the diminution of the human soul.

These fine young men and women have the unshakable belief that when even one person in this world is oppressed: no-one else can ever be truly free. And that if even one person lives in terror: then none of us can ever truly have Freedom from Fear.

Today, Americans mourn for Lt Cmdr Speicher, who makes us proud even as he makes us grieve. For we still hope. We still hope because we share a vision: his vision, and the vision of the other kids who have represented our nation on battlefields two

days ago, two decades ago, two centuries ago.

It's a vision summed up in a simple, silent image at the end of the movie "Not Without My Daughter." A woman and her little girl fight for two years to escape from a foreign land. When they finally make it out of their nightmare world, the first thing they see is what they've held in their hearts all that time: the American flag, waving high and proud and free.

Lt Cmd Speicher understood what that means. He also knew the flame of democracy cannot keep burning unattended. He knew that each of us who is born into freedom and believes in freedom, has a solemn responsibility: to protect this flame from the cold, dark wind of hatred and greed that would try to extinguish it. We must hold fast to his dream. That's how he, and others, will become as eternal as the flame they fought to keep blazing bright.

As we look back at the last year, we see how that flame caught fire -- how the joyous dawn of freedom's light in Eastern Europe is finally bringing about a triumphant New World Order. A long dreamed-of vision we've all worked for for so long. And which may be the last, best hope for a peaceful planet.

As we enter the last decade of this century, we stand at a defining moment in history. Let us call for a unifying new vision to unite and guide us. Let it be a call for moral responsibility as well as unlimited horizons.

And let's name this vision "The New Freedoms."

200 years ago, our greatest American political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson defined the identity of our nation when he

wrote: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." 50 years ago, our greatest American political pragmatist, Franklin Roosevelt, refined that thought in his Four Freedoms. From Jefferson's revolution to Roosevelt's ideology, Americans always defined freedom as "freedom from."

Let's redefine the way we look at our most cherished birthright. And think of freedom as: "freedom to." \\

There are four principles of "THE NEW FREEDOMS" -- four components upon which the vision of our nation will be based. Along with each come revised responsibilities of citizenship -- essential parts of the blessings and bounty of this country.

For the individual: FREEDOM TO CHOOSE. We will be empowered to use the resources of government not as Washington dictates, but as the individual decides. Each of us bears the responsibility to choose wisely and fairly. \\

For the community: FREEDOM TO SERVE. Navigating by our own inner moral compass, we must discover how to help others. Each of us bears the responsibility to serve unselfishly. \\

For the nation: FREEDOM TO MAKE AMERICA THE FINEST NATION ON EARTH. Only we can assure that our country guarantees equality of opportunity and hope. Each of us bears the responsibility to share in this awesome challenge. \\

And for the world: FREEDOM TO LIVE IN PEACE. All people, everywhere, must be able to know liberty and hope for their

future. As a nation, we bear the responsibility to guarantee basic, human rights throughout the world. This is the most solemn -- and perhaps the greatest -- charge of all. \\\

You know, I heard about Vietnamese teenager named Quang Trinh. He almost died escaping from the shattered life of a country where he had seen his mother killed, his father jailed, his brother's spirit broken. Quang fled the only life he had known -- for freedom. He jumped into shark-filled waters -- for freedom. He starved in delirium -- for freedom. After he was rescued and told he could enter the U.S., he wept for joy.

When did we rejoice like that over the daily freedoms of our lives? Quang calls America "freedom country." Wouldn't it be wonderful if all of us did the same.

What a splendid new century would then dawn.

A century defined by Roosevelt's words in his Four Freedoms speech. Words which guided our actions then; now; throughout our future. He said: "[T]he justice of morality must and will win in the end. ... Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose."

In that unity, we ask God to bless us. We ask God to guide us. We ask God to help us through whatever dark nights we still may face. And we pray that in the sublime resolve of all who give their lives so that others may live in freedom and peace, this nation may rediscover its soul.


* * * *

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: BOB SIMON 

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SPEECH

Have you ever wished LBJ's "Great Society" never happened? How would you like a chance to rewrite history?

LBJ unveiled his vision of a Great Society at the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964. Luckily for us, the President's first commencement this year takes us back to Ann Arbor. What a great opportunity to rewrite the domestic policy landscape!

After years of associating the "Great Society" with big spending government programs that don't work, many people forget that LBJ's original speech was a lofty vision of what America could become, not a detailed blueprint on how to get there. He described three problem areas: cities, the environment, and education -- and then declared in essence: "we must do better." As for solutions, this is all he offered:

"While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems. But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America."

And then a shocker:

"... The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities."

All he left out were "a thousand points of light."

What's the point of all this rhetorical archeology? Once you read the entire Great Society speech, you'll see that far from being a liberal manifesto, it's a speech that George Bush could give today. It's a vision of America that all Americans share. But what we've learned from 27 years of history is that the Democrats were unable to deliver on their vision. Indeed, their philosophy of centralized bureaucracies taxing away trillions of productive dollars to spend them on program after worthless program is still the reigning paradigm in Washington. Despite Republicans dominating the White House for 20 years, the Democrats running Congress have worshiped the maintenance and expansion of Great Society programs as their Prime Directive.

I propose that the President give a speech at UM that would go something like this:

"27 years ago, President Johnson stood here and laid out his vision of a Great Society -- a vision of better cities, a cleaner environment, and better schools. It was a noble vision -- a vision we still share. Most people don't remember the vision -- all they remember are the spending programs -- and the dashed dreams. We spent great sums, and are spending them still. But what have we gotten? Where did we go wrong? We were wrong to assume government could do it all. We forgot about the power of the marketplace to effect change -- positive change. We forgot about the thousand points of light.

"We still suffer from the failed ideas of the Great Society. But we can act to lift this self-inflicted burden. We can remember what LBJ himself told us 27 years ago: 'The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.'

"The power of the marketplace has been proven -- even the Iron Curtain couldn't keep it out. States and local governments have been the policy innovators -- not the federal government. The private and non-profit organizations I call a "thousand points of light" have been even more creative and successful. That's why I propose/have proposed X Y & Z which reflect this new philosophy of what government should do and how it should do it. 27 years ago, our vision wasn't flawed, only our methods.

"But I should point out that something else went wrong in the 60s after 1964: we lost our values. In fact, we didn't lose them; we threw them away. Values became 'relative,' neutral, meaningless. We forgot about faith in God, respect for authority, success through hard work and merit, and judging people by their character and not their characteristics. Instead of a Greater Society, we got a poorer one. But we reclaimed these values in the 80s, and got back on the path to "prosperity with a purpose." Today we will move ahead, confident of who we are as a People, what we believe, and mindful of a new realism about government's proper role -- its most productive role -- in improving our lives."

One footnote: coming up with a Great Society-style label for this speech could help make it even more memorable, although I don't have a candidate at this point. It's also worth noting that the press views such labels with great skepticism, and no president since LBJ has made one stick.

357 Remarks at the University of Michigan.

May 22, 1964

President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Meader and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:

It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said, "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school."

Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours.

I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we

build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans—four-fifths of them

in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States.

Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today.

The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated.

Worst of all expansion is eroding the precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders.

New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life.

I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

This is the place where the Peace Corps was started. It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the

free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the "Ugly American." Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal.

Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million—more than one-quarter of all America—have not even finished high school.

Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today's youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. College enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.

In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit

and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems.

But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings—on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

Woodrow Wilson once wrote: "Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time."

Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?

Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace—as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that

in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

Thank you. Goodby.

NOTE: The President spoke at the graduation exercises at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor after receiving an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. His opening words referred to Harlan H. Hatcher, President of the University, Governor George Romney, Senators Pat McNamara and Philip A. Hart, and Representatives George Meader and Neil Staebler, all of Michigan.

358 Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport, Roanoke, Virginia. May 23, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls, Senator Byrd:

I am very thankful to you for the courtesy that you have extended us in coming out here and meeting us. Senator Byrd and I were flying down talking with each other and we concluded that there were a good many things we agreed upon, particularly two things: one, he agreed with me that we ought to cut the lights out at the White House, keep down our light bill; and he also agreed that the people of Roanoke were a wonderful group. So we have no dispute on those two questions.

This is a delightful day for us. We are coming to Virginia to celebrate the achievements of a great man, and to honor a former Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense who has provided great leadership to liberty-loving people throughout the world, General George Marshall. We are going over to see this historic and wonderful school, VMI, and we are pleased that we have a chance to stop here and look you in the face and shake your hand.

I should like for you to meet some other members of my party. First, I want you to know Mrs. Johnson, Lady Bird.

[After brief remarks by Mrs. Johnson the President resumed speaking.]

I know he is bashful and modest, but I know he will appreciate having a chance to at least wave his hand at you. I want you

to know one of the great men of our time, the senior Senator from Virginia, my old longtime friend, Harry Byrd.

And next, the distinguished Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk; the distinguished former Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson; my friend the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman; the distinguished Secretary of Commerce, my friend Luther Hodges; the very able Under Secretary of State, Mr. Averell Harriman.

And now I want to present the Congressmen—Congressman Everett, Congressman Downing, Congressman Fulton, Congressman Jennings, and Congressman Marsh. Then Mrs. Hodges, Mrs. Freeman, Mrs. Acheson, and Mrs. Harriman; and Senator and Mrs. Monroney from the great State of Oklahoma.

Thank you so much for coming out. We will have a chance to come by the fence and say hello to you. We appreciate your friendship so very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at Woodrum Field, Roanoke, Va. In his opening words he referred to Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. Later he referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Acheson, Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Orville Freeman, Secretary of Commerce and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges, Under Secretary of State and Mrs. W. Averell Harriman, Representatives Robert A. Everett and Richard H. Fulton of Tennessee, Thomas N. Downing, W. Pat Jennings, and John O. Marsh of Virginia, and Senator and Mrs. A. S. Monroney of Oklahoma.

Received 2/21/91

DRAFT**"Community Opportunity Act
of 1991"****Section-by-Section Summary**

The first section of the draft bill gives its short title, as stated above.

Purpose; Federal Administrator

Section 2(a) of the bill states its purpose: to declare the need for new community level approaches to increase economic opportunity and opportunities for self-sufficiency, through restructured local delivery systems that --

1. allow the integration and restructuring of services and benefits to improve the economic opportunity of low-income individual and families;
2. are locally based with specified target groups;
3. allow for target group participation in the design and implementation of the system, and
4. afford maximum choice and control to those in the target group.

Subsection (b) describes the mechanism for administration at the Federal level. The President will designate an official or a group to act as a panel (in either case referred to as the "Federal administrator" to serve as a focal point for the receipt and approval of applications to operate a community opportunity system and thereafter to exercise lead responsibility as the project continues. The Federal administrator will consider the project application, and whether it meets all applicable criteria for approval, and with respect to inclusion of programs (and waiver of statutory and regulatory requirements) for which another Federal department or agency head administrative responsibility, will make recommendations to that other Federal official.

Technical Assistance

Section 3(a) authorizes any agency eligible to submit an application to operate a demonstration system under the Act to request technical assistance to develop the information necessary to design a restructured system. The application is submitted to the Federal administrator, containing some detail about its proposed system (in order to determine the value of providing technical assistance). The application must assure that the target groups will be given an opportunity to participate in designing the system to be the subject of the application under section 4 the Federal agency likely to have the preponderance of

the programs included in the applicant's system to furnish technical assistance. It may be funded from any amounts available to the agency head to the extent he concludes it is likely to promote the success of the system.

Community Opportunity Systems

Section 4(a) defines an agency that is eligible to submit an application to operate a community opportunity system. It must be currently receiving or eligible to receive Federal assistance under a program to be included in the system. It must also document the concurrence of any other non-Federal entity to which the funds under any included program would otherwise be given. This would include the State (in the case of programs for which the authorizing statute requires making grants to States), as well as any intermediate grantees between the State and the ultimate beneficiary. The applicant must also assure that it has the ability to design and carry out the system, that it will be accountable for Federal funds, and that low-income individuals and families in the target groups have participated in developing the system for which approval is sought.

Subsection (b) requires the application to describe:

1. the geographic area to be served by the system;
2. the target groups included in the demonstration;
3. the goals and performance levels to be achieved under the system and a plan for their measurement and comprehensive evaluation;
4. the way in which the individuals and families will be enabled to participate in the long and short range plans for all aspects of the provision of services and other benefits;
5. the Federally funded programs to be included in the system, and the services and benefits (and eligibility criteria) under the system;
6. the Federal statutory or regulatory requirements for which waivers are requested;
7. the fiscal control and accountability procedures to be applied; and
8. any other information which the Federal administrator needs to decide whether to approve the application or to carry out any of his other responsibilities under the Act.

Subsection (c) states that the concurrence in the application of entities that would otherwise be grantees constitutes their consent to pay to the applicant agency that portion of the program funds that would benefit the target groups within the community served by the system. The application must describe, however, the source of the non-Federal share which is required by the statutes that authorize programs to be included in the system.

Subsection (d) authorizes the Federal administrator, as a prerequisite to approval of an application, to request a statement by the Attorney General of the relevant State that the applicant has authority under State law to take all the actions necessary to implement the system.

Approval of Application

Section 5(a) directs the Federal administrator to furnish a copy of each application received to the head of any other Federal department or agency with a program proposed for inclusion within the applicant's system. Before approving the application, the Federal administrator will make recommendations regarding the approval of programs proposed by the applicant for inclusion in the system, and regarding related waivers, to the Federal officials with responsibility for those programs. The Federal administrator (and each other Federal official) may, with respect to programs for which each is responsible, approve the inclusion of a program and waive any statutory or regulatory requirement if necessary for the implementation of the system, and may substitute a lesser requirement where appropriate (in effect, waive the requirement in part, rather than completely).

Subsection (b) allows approval of the application only upon the Federal administrator's finding that the system is likely to improve the economic opportunity of the target groups to be served. However, in no event may he approve an application unless he concludes that under the restructured system, the target group members who were previously beneficiaries of an included program will be reasonably able to meet the needs for which those included programs were designed.

Subsection (c) provides that upon approval, the Federal administrator must specify the agreements reached with the applicant on the following:

1. the demonstration's term, which may be extended by mutual consent;
2. the Federally-funded included programs, except the system cannot include any program of benefits paid directly to the individual by the Federal government, Federal benefits financed from a trust fund, or medical

assistance which a State is required to provide under title XIX of the Social Security Act;

3. the waivers granted (and any lesser requirements that may have been substituted), but the Federal administrator (or other Federal official) may not waive any requirements under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, or the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, nor may they waive any required non-Federal share. Further, they may waive program requirements only where it will not unnecessarily adversely affect the individual, and may not impose confidentiality requirements that would impede the necessary flow of information between various points within the system;
4. the total Federal cost of the demonstration (or an agreed upon method for ascertaining the cost), but authority under the Act cannot be exercised so as to cause total obligations or outlays for all discretionary programs included in a system, or for all included direct spending programs to increase in any year over what they would have been in the absence of this Act; and
5. the data that will be collected for the comprehensive evaluation of the system, and for the measurable performance criteria applicable over the term of the demonstration.

Exclusivity of System as Source of Services and Benefits

Section 6 limits individuals and families in the target group to be served under a system to receiving services and benefits under an included Federal program only through that system.

Evaluation and Modification

Section 7(a) requires the non-Federal administering agency to do everything necessary to carry out its evaluation responsibilities, and to cooperate with the Federal administrator in any Federal evaluation or other review. Within 30 days after the close of each 12 month period that the system is in operation, the administering agency must submit a report summarizing the system's principal achievements and comparing them to the agreed upon performance criteria.

Subsection (b) provides that if the Federal administrator, after consulting with each other affected Federal department and

agency head, finds a substantial failure of the system to meet the performance criteria, he may terminate the demonstration, after allowing a reasonable period for all relevant entities to resume administration of the individual programs previously included in the system.

Reports; Extension of Authority for Successful Systems

Section 8(a) requires the non-Federal administering agency to submit interim and final reports, and cooperate in audits. If the agency believes that its system was successful in achieving the objectives of the Act, it may submit its final evaluation and report prior to the expiration of the demonstration's term, and request its extension. The Federal administrator (and the other Federal officials with included programs) may, if it appears warranted, agree to extend the approval, and the necessary waivers, for an appropriate period.

Subsection (b) requires that a copy of the final report be sent to the Governor.

Definitions

Section 9 defines the following terms:

1. "State" means the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands,
2. "agency" and "applicant agency" include the governing organization of an Indian tribe (as defined by the Federal administrator) and include a State agency, and
3. "Governor" means the chief elected or official of the State.