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Univ of MI

4/28

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April 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: LETTERS FROM MICHIGAN ALUMNI/STUDENTS OF DESERT  
STORM

Don't know if you can use any of the following excerpts:

- 1) "Hello from Saudi Arabia! It's funny sometimes how people are drawn together during difficult times. Well, three of us here supporting the international fight against Saddam Hussein were drawn together by our love of the Maize and Blue!"  

--sent to the Alumni Assoc. by Capt. David E. Lang, '85, who met up with fellow Michigan grads Capt. John B. Rutledge, '76, and 1st Lt. David A. DeSimone, '86.
  
  - 2) "Six months ago, I completed a four-year-tour with the United States Army. When I came to The University of Michigan this fall, I heard the war drums beating and my only wish was to finish the fall term. I feel grateful that I am half a sophomore now, but today I had to disenroll in my classes and start packing. President George Bush didn't pull me out of school just for the heck of it. He did it because General Colin Powell told him that I was needed again, and because America needed me. I'm not upset at all. I am a patriot and fully support President Bush and his administration."
- "Like many students, I have seen the anti-war rallies on campus held by the group Students Against Intervention in the Middle East (SAUSI). When I first tried to speak to SAUSI members student to student, I was rebuffed....Well, today I speak to SAUSI members as an American soldier to student. I declare that SAUSI hasn't the slightest clue as to how soldiers think and I guarantee that soldiers/airmen/sailors/ and marines take anti-war rallies personally. It hurts them severely to see Americans rallying against them. This is evident in personal letters from soldiers in my unit."
- "As my last few hours on campus tick away, I issue a plea to all Wolverines...Please, Please, Please, do not support anti-war rallies and if possible, wear a yellow ribbon on your coat or backpack."

- 3) The following are excerpts from a correspondence between Mr. Glen Williams (U-M '57) of The Alumni Association office, a former Marine, and two alumni serving in the Gulf -- 2nd Lt. Sean M. Falk and 1st Lt. Nathan Nastase. The two young men, by the way, were roommates at U-M during their senior year.

"Dear Nate...The main reason I am writing to you is that I was a young Marine stationed overseas during the latter stages of WWII and the Korean "Police Action" and never, never, ever got enough mail from home or college...I am also writing to show and offer my support to the job you are doing. No one wants to kill or be killed, but it is a job that has to be done now and again"

"Glen...Boy was I surprised to get a letter from The Voice of Michigan Hockey! It's nice of you to take the time to sit down and write a letter to show your support. I really appreciate it...We've been sitting on this ship for 6 months now. We're thinking about home a lot!...Semper Fi, Sean."

"Glen...It sure was good to hear from you again...They said the other day that we are the longest unit to stay afloat in all of history...I'm not real happy about that record, but it is a record...See you soon, Sean."

"Dear Mr. Williams..I finally got this pen on the paper to write and thank a very special friend...I knew I could always count on that Wolverine spirit...Your friend, Nate Natase."

April 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: SCHOOL COLOR

EXCERPTS FROM SCHOOL PAPER (a taste of the reigning liberal insanity on campus)

- 1) "I can almost hear Paul Revere saying: 'One if by land, two if by sea, three if by Air Force One.'...When Bush was last in Ann Arbor six years ago, student protesters made life hell for the then-vice president. He left with egg on his face, both literally and figuratively, and no one expected him to come back."

"What's a good anti-war liberal to do? I think it's kind of cool that the President of the United States will be speaking at my graduation, but how can I ignore the indiscriminate slaughter of thousands of innocent Iraqis, killed by Bush's executive order?"

--"To protest or not to protest?," David Schwartz,  
The Michigan Daily, 4/5/91

- 2) "People of Color Against War and Racism sponsored a forum last night, the 23rd anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, to discuss the aftermath of the Gulf War at home and in the Middle East...As troops continue to return, the organization has refocused its efforts to concentrate on the 'occupying forces that exist not only abroad but in the U.S.," said Law student Lisa Crooms."

--"Group discusses post-war problems," The Michigan Daily, 4/5/91

- 3) There might be a joke about U.M.'s siberia, North Campus, like: "I hear some students less enthusiastic about my visit suggested that the secret service put my holding room in North Campus."

"I don't care what propaganda the University tells us; nobody likes living on North Campus. When you first got your housing assignments as first-year students, did you ever hear someone say, 'Oh, you live in West Quad? Tough break. I live in Bursely'?...They could make it sort of like a penal colony, like Siberia. Instead of getting kicked out, students who fail classes or get into trouble could be sent to North Campus. Then, if they study hard and keep

their nose clean, they would be allowed back on Central Campus."

--"Why I Joined the Biker Mob," Jonathan Chait,  
The Michigan Daily, 4/5/91

- 4) "Hemp for fuel! Hemp for clothing! Hemp for medicine! Hemp hemp hooray!" proclaimed the Lone Reefer, the first speaker at high noon on the Diag, dressed in a lone ranger mask and costume....Though this year's crowd was almost twice as large, officers issued just over half the number of citations they did last year. And yet almost all the speakers at the rally...addressed the issue of police harassment and brutality."

--"Hash Bash brings out 'U' cops and state fines,"  
The Michigan Daily, 4/8/91

- 5) "In fact, I could just see him (the President) now, looking out over this crowd of young patriots and starting his speech, 'I'd like to thank you all for being here today, especially those young Patrick Henry's and Betsy Rosses out there with those funny signs; you must be the group old Tom Jefferson was talking about when he said that every generation should have its own revolution...'"

--letter to the Daily by John Guidry

- 6) "When asked to comment, Mr. Tibbals, the owner of Drake's (a popular college hangout), who moonlights as Grumpy Old Man on Saturday Night Live, responded, 'In my day we didn't have lesbians. If you kissed a girl and you didn't have a penis, you grew one, right then and there. And you said, 'Oh no...what will my husband think?' And **that's** the way it was and you LIKED IT! Now order a sandwich or get lost!'

"This was a close race until news turned out that not only did Saddam have millions stashed away in Geneva, but he was elected as a University regent in 1986. After this was uncovered, he chose to hide in the U of M steam tunnels and is now protected by the University's newly deputized Republican Guard. George Bush has ordered Saddam to withdraw from U of M or he will bomb Ann Arbor, but Saddam refuses to withdraw, claiming that CRISP (the school's bureaucratic computerized registration system) has a hold credit on his account. There is no need for alarm, however, as Bush has promised not to target civilian areas, choosing only to go after North Campus."

--Scott Chupack, "And The Doody Goes To..," The Michigan Daily, 4/5/91

- 7) In a more serious vein from the Ann Arbor News:

"Bush's visit will mark only the third time in the U-M's history that a president has visited campus while in office. Gerald R. Ford kicked off his 1976 presidential campaign in

Crisler Arena, while Lyndon B. Johnson spoke at May 1964 graduation ceremonies in Michigan Stadium."

"While Ford and Johnson visited the U-M as incumbents, plenty of other chief executives have come to campus before or after serving in the Oval Office. Grover Cleveland, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Jimmy Carter all made stops on campus."

--"President may speak at U-M," Ann Arbor News,  
4/5/91

10 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS/EMPOWERMENT

I. ANECDOTES

A. EGO BROWN (excerpts from Clint Bolick's Unfinished Business)

"Ego Brown never fancied himself a crusader, and surely he never pictured himself at the forefront of a burgeoning debate over the future direction of civil rights in America. But he is both.

On top of that, he's a darned good shoeshine artist.

Ego Brown had the courage and determination to make a federal case about shoeshining, or more specifically, about the enforcement of an 84-year-old law that prevented him from shining shoes on the streets of the nation's capital. His lawsuit against Mayor Marion Barry and the District of Columbia government was the opening salvo in the battle to make 'economic liberty' the civil rights issue of the 1990s."

"As a youngster, Brown shined shoes for pocket money. But then he noticed it was nearly impossible to find a convenient shoeshine in the District.

Brown quit his government job and started shining shoes at a barber shop near Howard University. Before long, he had perfected his technique and was ready to 'spread the shine.' Clad in his trademark tuxedo, Brown used his flamboyant personality to lure customers to his outdoor stand. His long-range goal was to one day operate stands on street corners throughout the city and beyond."

EGO EMPOWERS OTHERS WHILE EMPOWERING SELF: "Business went so well that Brown soon opened additional stands. \*\*\*\*He staffed them with enterprising homeless individuals, to whom Brown provided a second chance at life in the form of a daily shower, a set of clothes, and training in the Ego shoeshine method. 'I used to see these people begging for money, and I'd dig into my pockets to help them,' he told me. 'But one day, I realized I could help them more by giving them an opportunity, a chance to lift themselves by their own bootstraps.'\*\*\*\*\*

"But Ego Brown's dream soon disintegrated into a nightmare. The police shut down his stands, citing a 1905 law that forbade shoeshine stands on public streets. That law was

C. **ALFRED SANTOS**

"Alfredo Santos is a born-again capitalist...[during a visit to Mexico City] Santos discovered the pesero--small vans carrying passengers along fixed routes for a flat fee. The service was popular efficient, and, by all appearances, profitable."

"Santos, then a taxicab driver, decided to import the idea to Houston, calling the pesero by its American name-- 'jitney.' Using his taxicab during off-duty hours, Santos inaugurated a jitney route in a poor, predominantly Hispanic neighborhood in which public bus service was inadequate and many people couldn't afford cars. Santos offered his service for a flat fee of one dollar, with pickup and discharge of passengers anywhere along the five-mile route."

"Advertising his service with Spanish-language flyers, Santos quickly developed a booming business, and other off-duty cab drivers soon followed his lead. The jitney was cheaper than a taxicab and much more convenient than a bus, and passengers were delighted to have a transportation option."

"Everyone seemed to benefit. But that didn't deter the city's cab inspectors, who threatened to fine Santos for violation the Houston Anti-Jitney Law of 1924. It seems that in the early 1920s, the streetcar industry mounted a highly successful nationwide campaign to eradicate the jitneys, their main source of competition. Sixty-five years later, the streetcar industry was long-since defunct, but the laws remained. And so Santos had to shut down his thriving business."

"Santos tried unsuccessfully to have the law overturned through the legislative process. When those attempts failed, he turned to the courts, but it remains to be seen whether the judiciary will come to the aid of this man who exemplifies the American entrepreneurial spirit."

D. **DEMOND CRAWFORD**

"Demond Crawford, like many youngsters throughout America, was having trouble in school. His mother, Mary Amaya, was concerned; she decided to have her son tested."

"Mrs. Amaya contacted the local public school district, which sent her a list of available tests, including the I.Q. test. But written across the bottom page were words that shocked Mrs. Amaya: your son may not take the I.Q. test because he is black."

"Outraged, Mrs. Amaya contacted the NAACP for help in challenging this pernicious racial classification. But the

NAACP officials not only refused to help Mrs. Amaya, they told her they were responsible for the adoption of the racial policy."

"The school district offered a solution: since Demond is half black and half Hispanic, Mrs. Amaya could reclassify him from black to Hispanic, and he could take the test. Mrs. Amaya refused. She would not play games with her son's heritage to satisfy some social engineering bureaucrat."

"In her lawsuit against the state, Mrs. Amaya takes no position on whether I.Q. tests are good or bad, or whether or not they discriminate against blacks; nor does she contend that the state has an obligation to provide I.Q. tests to anyone. She argues merely that if the state provides I.Q. tests, it must make them available without regard to race. A fairly modest argument, much like the ones civil rights groups used to make with some frequency."

"The Crawford case illustrates why equality under the law is so important to individual empowerment--and how far we have strayed from that objective."

## II. OLDIES BUT GOODIES

### A. POLLY WILLIAMS

"..a state assemblywoman from a black district in Milwaukee was school choice's most potent champion in 1990...Fed up with inadequate funding and an entrenched school bureaucracy, state Rep. Annette Polly Williams sponsored a first-of-its-kind voucher plan that sent 400 poor children to private schools with state money."

"..the 53-year-old Williams has sided with Bush in arguing that competition is exactly the jolt needed to improve public schools...'There's a belief among the bureaucrats in the public school system that as long as you're poor, you're not expected to achieve,' said Williams, a Democrat who has represented her district for the past decade."

--Associated Press, December 14, 1990

"Williams proposed a modest school-voucher program, approved by the Wisconsin Legislature, that gave 1,000 poor inner-city students \$2,500 vouchers they could use to attend private schools."

### B. KIMI GRAY

"Miss Gray, dozens of other Kenil-worth-Parkside residents and advocates of resident-managed complexes stubbornly fought with the D.C. and federal governments for 10 years to get the ownership of the 464-unit Northeast complex

transferred to the tenants. On Friday, they finally succeeded."

"At a ceremony on the apartment grounds, Jack Kemp...and D.C. Mayor Marion Barry signed the papers officially marking the sale of the complex--for \$1--to the Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corp."

"The tenants adopted as their motto 'Dreams do come true.'"

"The speakers also frequently noted that as recently as 1981 the sprawling complex...was plagued by drug dealers, violence, a lack of services, and decaying and vandalized buildings....Today the dealers are gone, many of the buildings are renovated, and the resident management corporation plans to sponsor a variety of programs and services, including employment training and counseling, housekeeping training and a small co-op store."

--Washington Times, October 1, 1990.

"Is she a Republican tool? She curses and says the people with the luxury to think so are not forced to live in public housing. 'If I'm being used, then I like it,' she said. 'I'm using them too. We're using each other.'"

"Ms. Gray's place in Republican iconography has upset some who support the concept of tenant management--an idea that arose on the political left. They worry about it is [sic] being used as a ploy to justify ending Government support for new low-income housing. 'A fraud, a snare, a delusion' is what Florence Roisman, a staff attorney with the National Housing Law Project, calls Mr. Kemp's plans."

"Is she unique? 'There's a Kimi Gray in every..public housing development in America,' said Ms. Gray. 'Let's just hope she's not as obese as I am.'"

"Where do her political loyalties reside? She has a stock way of explaining that she is loyal to whoever will further her cause."

"Ms. Gray's improbably path to prominence began with a number of backward steps. She had her first child at the age of 14, and had borne five by the time she was 19. When her marriage fell apart, Ms. Gray and her children turned to welfare. In 1966, at the age of 21, she secured an apartment at Kenilworth, the low-rise complex of 37 buildings that became her life's work."

"The secret to her success, Ms. Gray said, is 'residents being in control of their own destiny.'"

\*\*\*\*"And why does Ms. Gray want to own her own home? The question catches her in a rare moment of surprise, as though the answer should be self-evident, and she said:

'I want help on my taxes. I want to leave something to my children. I want to own some brick. That's the American dream, isn't it?'"

--The New York Times, July 13, 1990

### III. EXCERPTS

"..calls for sweeping reform to break the logjam that has choked black progress..."

--Charles Murray

"..the transformation from blacks-as-people-like-us to blacks-as-victims."

--ibid.

"..Perhaps inevitably at such a point, when white guilt was at its most acute, some whites not only cried 'mea culpa' for the sins of their race but decided to stop treating blacks as people like everyone else and instead grant them moral exemption."

--ibid.

"Each of these three trends in the evolution of civil rights--toward regulation of private behavior, preferential legislation for groups, and double standards for whites and blacks--was latently poisonous. During the 1970s, the poison began to set...Schemes for aggressive, court-ordered school busing infuriated white parents. Quota-based affirmative action plans for hiring new employees alienated blue-collar workers. White students in the nation's universities watched their black counterparts being admitted with lower test scores and special dispensations. By the 1980s, we had achieved the worst possible world, in which whites were resentful, a self-righteous civil rights rhetoric had lost its moral energy, and blacks themselves, especially low-income blacks, were losing ground."

--Clint Bolick

Thomas Paine: "'We must return to first principles..and think, as if we were the first men that thought.'"

"'Paine also boldly declared that 'We have the power to begin the world over again.' The 'power' Paine referred to, of course, was not the coercive apparatus of the state, but rather the power of the ideas of liberty.'"

--ibid.

"Those who set the agenda enjoy an 'enormous advantage,' argues Nathan Glazer, since they 'are seen as moral, and a

moral advantage in politics, being on the side of right, is worth a good deal."

--ibid.

"Abstract invocations of a 'color-blind society' ring hollow unless accompanied by a demonstrated commitment to make good on the promise of civil rights for all Americans."

--ibid.

"One advantage of this empowerment strategy is that it by definition expands opportunities, as opposed to contemporary civil rights policies that merely redistribute rights."

--ibid.

"Once again, Tom Paine's words are instructive: 'Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation with us, the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.'"

--ibid.

"That those who would claim the mantle of civil rights would find themselves anywhere other than marching shoulder to shoulder with Ego Brown and Mark Anthony Nevels suggests that the civil rights movement has somewhere taken a wrong turn."

"America has fought at least three wars to defend and preserve that precious consensus (on what civil rights mean). The American Revolution, to establish the civil rights of the colonists; the Civil War, to extend those rights to all Americans; and World War II, to protect those rights against totalitarianism.

This traditional vision of civil rights is grounded in a commitment to individual self-determination, and it recognizes that any attempt to use the state's power to go beyond that point will ultimately detract from the underlying goal of individual sovereignty."

"Civil rights--the rights individuals retain when they leave a state of nature and form civil societies--consist of all the pre-existing natural rights save one: the right to judge one's own actions."

"(Martin Luther) King firmly aligned himself with 'what is best in the American dream' and dedicated himself to the goal of 'bringing our nation back to the great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.' For King, the Declaration established 'that there are certain basic rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state,' a characteristic that distinguishes America 'from systems of government which make the state an end within itself.'"

"Traditionally, the civil rights movement sought to restrict the power of government; following the Civil War, the abolitionists used their political power to that end. But the civil rights leadership elite during the 1960s flexed its newfound political muscle in different ways, delivering tangible benefits to its perceived constituency."

"..the 200-year quest for universal rights was reduced to the status of a special interest lobby; its dynamic leadership transformed itself into an establishment seeking to perpetuate its existence and to expand its power."

"As Friedrich Hayek explains, 'From the fact that people are very different it follows that, if we treat them equally, the result must be inequality in their actual position, and that the only way to place them in an equal position would be to treat them differently.' Equal outcomes thus require 'discriminatory coercion,' which violates both equal treatment and individual liberty. Concludes Hayek, 'Equality before the law and material equality are therefore not only different but are in conflict with each other; and we can achieve either the one or the other, but not both at the same time.'"

"..the revised civil rights agenda has shifted from the assertion of absolute rights to a negotiation of entitlements."

"Charles Murray has ably documented that the growth of the welfare state has led to a decline in socio-economic advances for minorities and the poor. Rather, those who successfully entered the economic mainstream traditionally did so either through labor, entrepreneurship, education, or a combination of those."

April 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: POLITICALLY CORRECT

As I suggested before, it might be strategic to begin the remarks with a treatment of politically correct infringements on freedom of speech and the integrity of a "marketplace of ideas." A defense of the freedom to be politically incorrect ties in with the speech's theme of liberty. It also might preempt any malcontents who feel the best way to celebrate graduation is to disrupt the President's speech. I also think it's effective to remark on the irony of PC control on American campuses at a time when the rest of the world is rejecting totalitarianism and celebrating Western ideals.

I've excerpted some of the articles I've been collecting to get you in the mood:

- 1) "What is distressing is that at the university, of all places, tolerance has to be imposed rather than taught, and that 'progress' so often is just a replacement of one repressive orthodoxy by another."

"..where the PC reigns, one defies it at one's peril. That was the experience of Prof. Vincent Sarich of the University of California, Berkley, when he wrote that the university's affirmative-action program discriminated against white and Asian applicants. Seventy-five students marched into his anthropology class last month and drowned out his lecture with chants of 'bullshit.'"

"PC is, strictly speaking, a totalitarian philosophy. No aspect of university life is too obscure to come under its scrutiny. The University of Connecticut issued a proclamation banning 'inappropriately directed laughter' and 'conspicuous exclusion of students from conversations.'"

"What are the underpinnings of this powerful movement, so seemingly at odds with what most Americans believe? Philosophically, PC represents the subordination of the right to free speech to the guarantee of equal protection under the law. The absolutist position of the First Amendment is that it lets you slur anyone you choose. The

PC position is that a hostile environment for minorities abridges their right to an equal education."

"Politically, PC is Marxist in origin, in the broad sense of attempting to redistribute power from the privileged class (white males) to the oppressed masses. But it is Marxism of a peculiarly attenuated, self-reverential kind. This is not a movement aimed at attracting more middle-class youths to the university. The failure of Marxist systems throughout the world has not noticeably dimmed the allure of left-wing politics for American academics."

"Intellectually, PC is informed by deconstructionism, a theory of literary criticism associated with the French thinker Jacques Derrida. This accounts for the concentration of PC though in such seemingly unlikely disciplines as comparative literature. Deconstructionism is a famously obscure theory, but one of its implications is a rejection of 'hierarchy.' It is impossible in deconstructionist terms to say that one text is superior to another. PC thinkers have embraced this conceit with a vengeance."

"The rejection of hierarchy underlies another key PC tenet, 'multiculturalism.' This is an attack on the primacy of the Western intellectual tradition, as handed down through centuries of 'great books.' In the PC view, this canon perpetuates the power of 'dead white males' over women and blacks from beyond the grave. It obliges black students to revere the thoughts of Thomas Jefferson, who was a literal slave owner."

"There are in fact some who recognize the tyranny of PC, but see it only as a transitional phase, which will no longer be necessary once the virtues of tolerance are internalized. Does that sound familiar? It's the dictator of the proletariat, to be followed by the withering of the state. These should be interesting years."

--"Taking Offense: Is this the new enlightenment on campus or the new McCarthyism?" Newsweek, December 24, 1991

- 2) "One of the great untold stories of our time is the dismantling and prostitution of undergraduate education...One symptom of this is the growing number of propaganda courses, aimed at promoting certain ideological conclusions, rather than developing students' ability to think for themselves."

"[the Harvard administration] swiftly suspended a student who merely removed a sign reserving an empty table in a lunchroom. The table was reserved for a homosexual organization...Incidentally, the student who was suspended at Harvard committed suicide. Undergraduates are, after

all, young and vulnerable people, who sometimes take things hard."

--"Call of the Woolly Pulpit," Thomas Sowell, The Washington Times, December 7, 1990

- 3) "To the dismay of many civil libertarians, the new turns of thought are fostering a decline in tolerance and a rise in intellectual intimidation. Says Leon Botstein, president of New York's liberal Bard College: 'Nobody wants to listen to the other side. On many campuses, you really have a culture of forbidden questions.'"

"A University of California administrator has sought to ban such phrases as 'a chink in his armor,' 'a nip in the air' and 'call a spade a spade' because they contain certain words that in other contexts have been used to express prejudice."

"The University of Wisconsin at Parkside suspended one student for addressing another as 'Shaka Zulu'; yet the university's Madison campus held that the term red-neck was not discriminatory. At some schools, professors teach that white males can never be victims of racism, because racism is a form of repressive political power -- and white males already hold the power in Western society."

"New York State officials...have responded to pressure from Native American leaders by revamping the state high school curriculum to include the shaky assertion that the U.S. Constitution was based on the political system of the Iroquois Confederacy."

"Why are Western cultural and social values so out of favor in the classroom when so much of the rest of the world has moved, during the past couple of years, to embrace them?"

"The chief risk in any ideologically based curriculum is that it can promote tribalism and downplay the value of discovering common cultural ground."

--"Upside Down in the Groves of Academe," William Henry III, Time, April 1, 1991

- 4) "P.C.-ness now functions on campus as a militant religion, determined to sniff out heresy and ban the speech of potential heretics, liberals and conservatives alike...The logic of political correctness leads directly to silencing the unconverted."

\*\*\*\*"Under the **University of Michigan's** speech code, since struck down by a federal court, a student was brought up on charges for reading a limerick about the supposed homosexual acts of a famous sports star. A mediator had him write an essay for the school paper, headlined 'Learned My Lesson' and, like any backsliding student at the University of

Beijing, he underwent some attitudinal readjustment -- in this case, participation in gay rap sessions."

\*\*\*"At Michigan, the revered demographer Reynold Farley ran into trouble by reading a passage from Malcolm X's autobiography in which the author described himself as a pimp and a thief. He was so harassed that he dropped the course....P.C.-ers favor the Orwellian language of freedom, tolerance and diversity. But the reality is a good deal different."

--"The academy's new ayatollahs," John Leo, U.S. News & World Report, December 10, 1990

- 5) "At Clark University, philosophy Professor Christina Hoff Sommers objected to a university form requiring her to explain how she planned to incorporate 'pluralistic views' and concerns in a proposed course. Professor Sommers explained that in her view course proposals ought to be politically neutral and that she objected to thought control...In addition to the campus rally organized against her in response to this violation, Clark's dean of students, Douglas Astolfi, let it be known that it was Professor Sommers and her objection to thought control that were the threat to academic freedom."

"Nor is life easy for the student who challenges the official view. One University of Pennsylvania student, appointed to a committee for 'diversity education' wrote a memo to a fellow committee member referring to her 'regard for the individual.' A college official sent the letter back with the word 'individual' circled and the warning that the word was 'a red flag phrase today which is considered by many to be racist.' The official warned of the inequities that resulted from championing individual over group rights."

--"Politically Correct," The Wall Street Journal, November 26, 1990



- 3) "To look up and not down,  
To look forward and not back,  
To look out and not in, and  
To lend a hand."  
--E.E. Hale: Ten Times One Is Ten, 1870
- 4) "Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of  
the people alone. The people themselves are therefore its  
only safe depositories."  
--Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Abbe Arnoud,  
July 19, 1789.
- 5) \*\*\*\*"Destiny is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of  
choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to  
be achieved."  
--William Jennings Bryan, in a speech in  
Washington, D.C., February 22, 1899

#### FREEDOM

- 1) FOUNDING FORESIGHT: "The natural progress of things is for  
liberty to yield and government to gain ground."  
--Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)
- 2) "What is freedom? Freedom is the right to choose: the right  
to create for yourself the alternatives of choice. Without  
the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice a man  
is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing."  
--Archibald MacLeish
- 3) "The history of liberty is the history of resistance...[it  
is a] history of the limitation of governmental power."  
--Woodrow Wilson
- 4) SLAP ON THE WRIST OF THE PC THOUGHT POLICE:  
"The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious  
encroachments by men of zeal, well-meaning but without  
understanding."  
--Justice Louis D. Brandeis
- 5) "The purpose of freedom is to create it for others."  
--Bernard Malamud

April 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT QUOTES

Quotes...for paraphrasing, language fragments, or as is.

COLLEGE

- 1) "College professor -- someone who talks in other people's sleep."  
--Bergen Evans
- 2) (Maybe could be adapted/changed/paraphrased for U.M.):  
"It takes me several days, after I get back to Boston, to realize that the reference 'the president' refers to the president of Harvard and not to a minor official in Washington."  
--Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.
- 3) "Freedom of inquiry, freedom of discussion, and freedom of teaching -- without these a university cannot exist."  
--Robert Maynard Hutchins
- 4) ON PROTEST: "We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another."  
--Richard M. Nixon (1969)
- 5) ON PROTEST: (POTUS could ask for a chance to be heard, because, even if some don't agree with him) -- "One has the right to be wrong in a democracy."  
--Claude Pepper, in the Congressional Record, May 27, 1946

EMPOWERMENT/VISION

- 1) "A vision without a task is but a dream, a task without a vision is drudgery, a vision with a task is the hope of the world."  
--Inscription on a church in Sussex, England, 1730
- 2) "Opportunity doesn't necessarily knock on the door; it may be leaning against the wall waiting to be noticed."  
--anonymous aphorism

April 28, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: MATERIAL PER SUNDAY'S CONVERSATION

Here's D'Souza's book; if you'd rather me read through the chapter to save you time, let me know. I've enclosed a copy of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech. I've also enclosed a copy of the speech Beth wrote for the President on the 50th anniversary of "Four Freedoms" early this year. The "freedom from" to "freedom to" theme is dealt with therein. You might also hook up with Beth as I believe she's planning to revisit that topic in the Princeton remarks.

As for Weyrich's slant on the subject -- yes, I did leave it out of your memo, and, yes, it is simple, but here it is anyway:

"...conservatives lack a coherent, positive agenda. As a movement of dissent, much of the conservative agenda has been articulated in negative terms: anti-Communism, opposition to big government, resistance to ideological egalitarianism. It is much easier to build and maintain an opposition movement than it is to govern because the opponents of what is do not necessarily have to agree about what ought to be. When an opposition group gains power, however, it has to do more than simply throw the rascals and all their works out: it must replace the old politics with a coherent new agenda." \*\*running through the "anti's" Weyrich mentions is this: "pro-freedom," "pro-individual freedom."

In response to your other requests:

- 1) Quote on America/American ideals inspiring Eastern Europe: in his address to the joint-session of Congress, Czechoslovakian president Vaclav Havel had a lot of nice things to say about us.

He thanked the U.S. for having "contributed to the salvation of us Europeans for a third time," this time from the Soviet Union. "You have helped us survive until today." Of the U.S., he said: "It became the most powerful nation on earth, and it understood the responsibility that flowed from this. Proof of this are the hundreds of thousands of your young citizens who gave their lives for the liberation of Europe,"

and the graves of American airmen and soldiers on Czechoslovak soil."

"We must all learn many things from you, from how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life so that it will lead to prosperity and not to poverty."

"Wasn't it the best minds of your country, people you call intellectuals, who wrote your famous Declaration of Independence, your Bill of Human Rights and your constitution, and who, above all, took up in themselves, the practical responsibility for putting them into practice. The worker from Branik in Prague that your President referred to in his State of the Union message this year, is far from being the only person in Czechoslovakia -- let alone in the world -- to be inspired by those great documents. They inspire us all. They inspire us despite the fact that they are over 200 years old. They inspire us to be citizens."

"When Thomas Jefferson wrote that governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. It was a simple and important act of the human spirit. What gave meaning to that act, however, was the fact that the author backed it up with his life. It was not just his words; it was his deed as well."

Note: Michael Novak wrote a very interesting piece last year refuting the old "America in Decline" argument. In it he remarks on how "Czechoslovakia urgently requests English grammars, dictionaries and American teachers of English. In Poland and Hungary the demand for copies of The Federalist Papers is insatiable." Further evidence of American ideals in ascendance.

Also, before it's satellite status interlude, Czechoslovakia's first president, Tomas Masaryk, was wont to speak glowingly of the U.S. The following quotes show that admiration for the American way goes way back:

"It is the American idea of a liberated mankind, that nations should not be forced to live under a sovereignty against their will. They should be allowed to seek refuge in the equality of nations which is preached by President Wilson, which was preached by President Lincoln and which we regard as the real Kingdom of God."

"We accept the American principles laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind -- of the actual equality of nations -- and of governments deriving all their power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of

Lincoln, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."

- 2) ON THE PC FRONT: I think we should make it clear that while the President may extol freedom of expression, he does not condone some of the more insensitive sentiments that might be expressed. He could talk of how freedom of expression will sometimes mean the freedom to be stupid, to make a fool of oneself, and, yes, even to be cruel. It is the same freedom that we can and must use to disagree with cruelty.
- 3) YOU TAX TOO MUCH, YOU WORRY ME TO DEATH: I tried, unsuccessfully, to get those comparative stats on taxes, bureaucracy, and poverty today (Sunday). I have, however, left some messages and hope to get them to you early Monday.



## B. THE NEW INDEPENDENCE IN THE CURRENT CULTURAL CONTEXT

Flip on any talk show and be assured that 80% of the topics will be some variation on the theme of "Dependency." You're either co-dependent, alcohol-dependent, food-addicted, sex-addicted, love-addicted, ad nauseum..and if you're not dependent, you're in denial. By describing the Old Paradigm system which fosters **dependence**, you've caught the public's attention--and you have their empathy.

1. From passive recipients of bureaucracies, to active self-confident members of the economy and their communities. Turning victims of poverty into creators of their own destiny.
2. Kemp: the "pride and dignity of ownership."

Miscellaneous: also in tune with the popular culture, labeling the entrenched bureaucracies "The Untouchables."

## C. SHIP METAPHOR

When we think of immigrants coming to America, and the poor living in America, we can recognize that they are both "huddled masses yearning to breathe free..the homeless, tempest-tossed.." (Emma Lazarus, The New Colossus: Inscription for the Statue of Liberty, New York Harbor). The immigrants, however, had hope, a vision of the Statue of Liberty who promises: "I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Empowerment gives the individual both hope and vision, empowering him to be, like Conrad's Secret Sharer: "a free man, a proud swimmer striking out for a new destiny."

A ship is a vision of decisive forward motion. Hope fuels that motion, and without hope people become a ship adrift in a sea of despair. Empowerment lets people plot their own course, choose their own destiny.

Mario Cuomo once made the charge that Republicans believe that the wagon (America) won't make it to the frontier unless some our weak, our old and our young are left behind. This is the kind of remark that shuts us out of the Democrats' corner on the compassion market. How about turning this around and re-outfitting it for the ship metaphor: "We all want the same destination for that ship we call America, and we all refuse to leave anyone behind. The simple truth is with some policies, the safety net becomes a trap, in which some Americans must be constantly towed behind, drowning in perpetual poverty." (wasted human potential=dolphins caught in fishing nets)

Feulner: "The conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply by rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy." While the poor are drowning in its wake.

The poor languishing, locked in steerage. Some think the solution is to slip more money under the door. I think we should hand them the keys.

## II. THE BUREAUCRATIC WELFARE STATE CRUMBLES ABROAD, BUT HOLDS FAST AT HOME.

Pink: "The recent events in Eastern Europe are sending America a message that it should already know."

Pink paraphrased: 'Where leaders are slow to learn, their citizens are quick to teach them.'

- A. The Great Irony: As the rest of the world is turning to freedom, liberating human potential, some here at home are still clutching to the old order, empowering bureaucracy and not the individual.
- B. **\*\*\*!\*\*\*** Kemp talks about the similarities between Eastern European and Third World economies on one hand, and inner city poverty on the other. He goes on to delineate the two economies operating in the United States -----> By making this analogy, and describing the two American economies, we discredit Old Paradigm policies without even touching the "D" word or the "L" word. Americans know the enormous distinction between the energy of capitalist economies and the stasis of centralized/bureaucratized economies. They recognize that socialism has been decisively discredited. Making this analogy takes the first step towards both exposing the Welfare State for what it is and tagging it "trash."

## III. RECAPTURING THE COMPASSION MARKET: "PEOPLE DON'T CARE THAT YOU KNOW UNTIL THEY KNOW THAT YOU CARE" (KEMP)

- A. Kemp points out that Bob Kuttner of the New Republic wrote that polls continue to show that the voters trust Republicans more than Democrats to conduct foreign policy, manage the economy, hold down inflation, and resist higher taxes. Democrats still win out on the question of who cares more about the common American. Kuttner concludes that if the Republicans can ever capture this issue as well, the Democrats might as well go out of business.
- B. Acknowledge that, as Americans, we all can recognize the problems in society, and we all want to see things get

better. Then set out our distinctive vision of how that is to be accomplished.

Pink: "I'm here as a representative of the Bush White House and as a Republican to tell you that we have just as much desire to end homelessness, improve education, lift up the underclass and realize the goals of most liberals. However,...I am also here to tell you that if we want to improve the lives of people, then we are going to have to go about solving them in a different way."

EXCERPTS (I know this is long -- just skim to see if there's anything that catches your eye):

- 1) "A Conservative Vision for America's Future: Putting Faith on Agenda" --Paul Weyrich

"While the American people may no longer worship false idols, they have yet to be evangelized to the true faith. This is especially evident in the domain of policy, where liberalism remains competitive, perhaps even dominant. This remains so for three reasons. First liberals possess a coherent agenda, a vision which is a fertile source of policy initiatives. Second, liberalism is an elite movement and elites are able more easily to translate their ideas into policy. And third, the liberal movement rests on a network of discrete, readily mobilized constituencies which form strong grass roots coalitions."

"The liberals, even though they are temporarily discredited, are still putting forward new ideas (federal day care, homosexual rights, disarmament and the peace dividend) and conservatives have to do more than just say no to the conservative agenda.."

COMMUNICATION OF AGENDA MUST DELINIATE DIFFERENCES: "A new conservative agenda must be a catalyst both for good policy and for the rebuilding of a conservative movement. It is not sufficient..for conservatives to put forward good policy ideas. It is also necessary that those ideas create constructive polarization--that they highlight the difference between the conservative and liberal world view, build conservative constituencies and divide liberal ones and communicate a clear alternative vision to the public."

- 2) "The Beginning of The New Paradigm Society" (Pink's New Paradigm Manifesto)

CATCH THE GLOBAL WAVE: "The old order is crumbling; centralized bureaucratic structures, both public and private, are breaking up. Old political, economic, and social assumptions are giving way to the new desire--the new

demand--for freedom and fulfillment that is sweeping the planet."

"The New Paradigm puts its faith in people: in their ability to learn and create and produce and adapt, provided they are given the freedom and the incentive to do so."

"Thus, guided by firm principles: devotion to individual freedom and human rights; a commitment to problem solving while retaining openness and decentralization--and rejection of crippling sentimental reliance on rigid statim (sic?) and failed techniques--we proclaim The New Paradigm Society."

"Our institutions are failing all of us as they fail the less fortunate. Centralized bureaucracies have proven themselves unable to translate our wealth and compassion into opportunity and a better life for every American."

"We believe that a rising tide lifts all boats." (Ship metaphor)

"..the 1990's will be different from the 1980's. Indeed, this year's events (1989 I assume) around the globe underscore that the 1990's will be radically different from the 1980's."

"We believe in freedom: social, intellectual, and economic. We believe that the benefits of freedom are tangible and indivisible."

"Modern technology disperses power."

"In this decade, Presidents Reagan and Bush have accelerated the collapse of totalitarianism. Now we have a chance to consolidate this great victory for all time. Our vision is not of an America as the policeman of the world, but of an America as a model...for people yearning to breathe free."

"The 1980's have been, in the words of the journalist Paul Gigot, the "Freedom Decade," in which the limits of the state were recognized...Meanwhile, here at home, an infinitely more benign structure, the Welfare State, reached its limits (even if this has not yet been as widely recognized)."

That surefire anti-intellectual approach: "Men and women of ideas, particularly in the academy, discuss the important questions more and more only among themselves."

"..the old paradigm grinds to a halt, shot through with the rust and corrosion of cynicism and opportunism."

"If America is to be competitive, then every American--male or female, black or white, young or old, handicapped or disadvantaged--must have the opportunity to play a part."

"..the times and the challenge require bold action."

"Chronic social problems are proof that the old approaches, based on the old system, are producing new failures."

"What might be called the more-money solution has not, so far, worked...Neither has the more-bureaucracy solution."

"..the New Paradigm is characterized by increased choice; empowerment of the poor, the left out, and the written off; and increased personal responsibility."

"..centralized bureaucracies are collapsing of their own dead weight--in the Soviet bloc, in the Third World, and in the wretched islands of socialism and paternalism in America--most dramatically, the inner cities."

"poverty pimps"

"..Americans and people everywhere cherish the right to choose."

"...the only power that people have is the power of an alternative--in other words, choice."

"..the free market system offers the best long range prospects for almost all, but our mission is uplift, not thrift."

- 3) "The New Paradigm: Human Aspirations," Pink's speech to the Reason Foundation."

"The country is cynical about its capital. But that cynicism is not directed toward President Bush. The public's skepticism focuses on the centralized bureaucracies--the IRS, the Postal Service, the Pentagon, HUD, and of course, Congress. Voters distrust those institutions that lack accountability to the people they serve. The electorate distinguishes between those parts of the government that function and those that don't. Think of a machine that works and a squeaky wheel that needs grease. One hums quietly, the other fails noisily."

"There is a new energy, a force that has cracked the Berlin Wall, dismantled the Soviet Empire, freed Nelson Mandela, and democratized Nicaragua. This new vitality has redefined how the world works. It is bringing a new peaceful integration of the international economy, with the prospect of a better life for all humanity."

"The electricity of freedom and market forces around the world has jolted the status quo here at home."

"...most people agree on the goals this country should achieve; whether we are Democrats or Republicans, black or white, male or female, all of us want an educated young generation, a roof over every head, racial and sexual equality, and a clean environment."

Pink quotes Gingrich: "'If any private enterprise in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business.'"

"...think back to the challenge that Henry V had to overcome on St. Crispin's Day. Planning a victory against a foe that outnumbered him five to one, he said, 'All things are ready, if our minds be so.'"

4) (Wall street Journal article):

"There's a growing consensus that whether it's public schools or vagrancy laws the most important word for civil rights is not 'quotas' but 'empowerment.'"

"Put it this way: Any vague bill is a quota bill."

"Economist Thomas Sowell recently found disparities in occupations at all times in all countries. Yet if this (Congressional Civil-Rights) bill becomes law, Korean groceries and black rap groups might have to swap employees."

"Whatever happened to domestic tranquility as a civil right?"

5) "'The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present.' With these words, Abraham Lincoln led the nation into the revolutionary decade of the 1860s."

THE PROMISE OF THE 1960s HAS BEEN FAILED BY INCOMPETENT BUREAUCRACY AND LACK OF FAITH IN HUMAN POTENTIAL:

"The federal government will spend \$1.2 trillion this year, 10 times that spent in 1965. Even adjusting for inflation, we'll spend well over double the 1965 budget. Yet today one child in five lives in poverty, the same as in 1965. Housing for low-income people remains unsafe and segregated. Our educational system produces poorer student performance than it did 25 years ago. Too many stay on welfare because it doesn't pay to go to work. Many older Americans are forced to retire before they want to."

"Clint Bolick of the Landmark Legal Foundation relates a conversation he had with a public housing resident--and former Black Panther--in St. Louis about our tenant power initiative. She said 'the Democrats always say they want to help us. But when we ask for the keys to the place, they won't give them to us. They offer us more money instead. You Republicans, you give us the keys. I'm starting to like Republicans.'"

EMPOWERMENT: "...draws on strong currents of American culture. In a battle of values pitting the individual against the bureaucratic state, we know which value the American people will support."

ANECDOTE ON OVERREGULATION: Capital and labor based incentives. Kemp points to the case of Grace Capateo (?) cited in W.S. Journal, who saved her pennies and nickels to send her daughter to college. She save \$3,000, then was taken to court for violating AFDC rules (\$1000 asset limit) and fined \$15,000. However, she didn't have \$15,000 so they just took her \$3000. Kemp mentioned this in a speech and a GOP businessman in the audience offered to pay for the child's education..

- 6) Pink's memo for Engeleiter: The Small Business Administration and the Empowerment of the Poor:

"The flip-side of individual empowerment is a dispersal of bureaucratic control over individuals. Decision-making power is pushed downward and outward from the centralized authority. This decentralization is happening worldwide. Bureaucracies are being broken up. Old political alliances, as well as cleavages, are dissolving. These phenomena go a long way toward explaining why President Bush is so extraordinarily popular, because the Bush Agenda is part of the cutting edge of this decentralizing impulse."

\*\*\*\*"The Bush Agenda resonates with the public because they see the reflection of its underlying principles everywhere around the world."

- 7) Kemp: "A Democratic Capitalist Manifesto and an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Cities":

"Just imagine...since the dawn of history...all at once...in exactly the same year...within a few months of each other...from opposite sides of the Atlantic...two inspired men...one a professor of moral philosophy, the other the fiery architect and poet of American Independence...gave the

world the twin pillars of free society--the moral and inalienable rights to political and economic freedom. Smith's The Wealth of Nations and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence were then and remain today the greatest charters of freedom ever written."

"From Yale Professor Paul Kennedy to French minister Jacques Attali, we hear of the 'decline of America.'...As a good and loyal socialist, Mr. Attali appears to have little understanding of Smith. He views political economy as essentially a zero-sum game, hence his emphasis on government welfare and redistribution of existing wealth, rather than the creation of new wealth by free people, free markets, free trade, and free democratic societies. Minister Attali's latest thesis merely transfers this zero-sum theory to politics. In his view, apparently there is only so much greatness to go around. Thus for Europe to gain, America must lose; and for America to prosper, Asia must suffer."

"Does he seriously believe America would be more important if it were the only wealthy nation in a world of mediocrity? Surely, America is better off as a prospering nation in a thriving international economy, just as a thriving global economy is a benefit to America."

"Since 1981, more than 21.5 million jobs have been created--more jobs than have been created in the last decade in all of Europe, Canada, and Japan combined. More than four million new business enterprises, relatively low inflation, and higher standards of living for most of our people testify to the strength of the U.S. economy. And, according to the U.S. Treasury figures, federal income taxes paid by the top one percent of taxpayers has surged by over 80%."

"And the U.S. trade deficit, often cited as a sign of weakness, is in reality a symbol of capital flight from abroad seeking the thriving and profitable opportunities for new investment in the United States."

"President Gorbachev admitted that the cold war is over, but then suggested that it doesn't matter who won it. Well, with all due respect, it does matter--it matters a great deal who won and why. I hasten to add that our arms and missiles didn't win the cold war--it was the power of western ideas, the triumph of liberal democracy and free market economies over the stifling hand of communist and socialist economies and dictatorships...Isn't it incredible that in Moscow, more people are lining up at McDonalds than at Lenin's tomb! I was fascinated recently seeing on satellite TV, demonstrators carrying a banner in Red Square that read 'Workers of the world, we're sorry..We've seen the future, it doesn't work.'"

"I've been struck by how similar the problems of America's inner cities are to those of Eastern Europe and even Third World economies. Ironically, both are suffering from the same malady. The malady is socialism."

"Because, you see, in America we really have two economies. One economy--our mainstream economy--is democratic, capitalist, market-oriented, entrepreneurial, and incentivized for working families whether in labor or management. The mainstream economy rewards work, investment, savings, and productivity. Incentives abound for productive human, economic and social behavior."

"But there is another economy--a second economy--that is similar in respects to the Eastern Europe or Third World "socialist" economy...This economy has barriers to productive human and social activity and a virtual absence of economic rewards...In the U.S., government tax, regulatory, and entitlement programs, set-up out of a desire to help the poor, in reality have led to a counterproductive economy."

"I believe we're at a point in history when what we know about creating wealth and opportunity in America's inner cities can work not only in America, but in Eastern Europe; and not only in Europe, but in the Third World, and indeed, in the Soviet Union itself."

"..the key to wealth and prosperity is allowing people freedom--freedom to work, to save, freedom to own their own property and homes, to succeed, and yes, to fail, but try again. The ultimate cause of the wealth of nations, and indeed, the wealth of cities, is people."

"In what George Gilder, in his book, Microcosm, called the quantum age of the new technology, our greatest assets are not the wealth we see around us, but in the potential which is unseen in the economy of the human mind."

"As President Bush said in his inaugural address: 'We know what works--freedom works..We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.' The most important lesson of history is that the right policies lead to the right results."

"..taxing solely to raise revenues for the legitimate needs of the state, not to punish wealth and success [or] promote egalitarian ends."

- 8) Kemp to Heritage Foundation: "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Poverty in America and How to Combat It":

"Marxist-Leninists used to talk about their 'permanent revolution,' but as it turns out the only permanent revolution the world has ever seen is the American Revolution."

"Helping those left behind and left out is not only a moral imperative for our nation, I am convinced it is also a winning--indeed decisive--political strategy for bringing impoverished communities and low-income people and minorities into the ranks of the Party of Lincoln. Whether it's called bleeding heart conservatism, capitalism with a social conscience, or populist conservatism--it's the right thing to do, the right time to do it, and we're the right people to help lead it."

Lincoln: "'When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition: he knows that there is no fixed condition for his whole life.' A debate over how to increase the wealth and opportunities of the poor plays to the strengths of our Party's Lincoln wing--our most authentic roots."

"..most of all, if you really want to create poverty and dependency, weaken and in some cases destroy the link between effort and reward."

"The poor don't want paternalism, they want opportunity--they don't want the servitude of welfare, they want to get jobs and private property. They don't want dependency, they want a new declaration of independence."

"Wealth is not what we've done, but what we have yet to do."

9) Kemp talks about HOPE at National Press Club:

"We believe in tearing down walls that come between people and their self-respect. We believe in tearing down walls that prevent people from exercising their potential, and most of all, we want to tear down the wall that separates those in poverty from those in prosperity."

"I believe that the ultimate scandal in America is the ideal that poor people should be treated as perpetually poor and that they should accept the conditions of poverty as a perpetual condition."

"I believe in this respect our new war on poverty shares the goals of the original war on poverty: a hand up, not a handout. We have learned something over the past 25 years. We know what works and we are beginning to know what doesn't work."

10) Kemp's Remarks at the 66th Annual Congress of Cities:

"..problems are opportunities disguised as insurmountable barriers."

"(John Gardner) says there are many contributing factors in the rise in civilization--accidents of resources, geographical considerations, military power. He says whatever other ingredients, civilizations rise to greatness when something happens to the human mind, to the spirit of men and women who love freedom and democracy."

Gardner: "'..there occurs at breathtaking moments in history an exhilarating burst of energy and motivation, of hope and zest and imagination, and a severing of the bonds that normally hold in check the full release of human possibilities. A door is opened and the caged eagle soars.'"

"(Gardner) says the most imaginative, the most progressive, the greatest leaders of all time are those who never cease to wonder how they can set free the potential, the possibility, of that caged eagle, the talent of a free people."

"In the eleventh or twelfth century the Talmudic philosopher, Maimonides, said, and I quote, 'the noblest charity is to prevent people from having to take charity.'"

"We measure the compassion of our society not by how many people need the assistance, but by how few people need the assistance."

"We are not targeting people; we are targeting opportunity."

"..cultivate a true renaissance, a rebirth of America's cities and towns."

"..you cannot create new employees without first creating new employers...Labor and capital are not enemies, they are allies in the war on poverty and we have got to stop dividing America...There should be no division between labor and capital. As Abraham Lincoln said, 'labor precedes capital,' and we need both labor and capital."

- 11) Gingrich's remarks at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference (3/30/90):

"..we have to be competitive and we have to be competitive on positive terms and positive ideas...It is hard, frankly, because the more the Democratic Party has ceased to be a majority, the more it has cheated in order to stay in power."

"I am going to suggest a very simple model. That there is a bureaucratic welfare state...It means that in your mind you

have two standards of time. You have the time you use when you go into a private business, like your hardware store or a McDonald's or a Sears and you have the time you use when you walk into a government office. The first is in minutes, the second is in hours. There is a level of customer service you expect when you are paying for something in a private business and there is a level of customer service you expect when, as a taxpayer, you go to the government business. And they are different models. If any private business in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business."

"And we have been asking groups, 'What is the most important basic American value?' Virtually, universally, it is three words: honest hard work. This is a country that isn't afraid to work."

"When we say to voters, 'Which of these three is most threatened? Entrepreneurial free enterprise, technological progress and innovation or basic American values?' They are virtually unanimous in saying the great struggle of the Nineties is a struggle over values."

"We must apply common sense focused on success and opportunities."

"..applying common sense is antithetical to a bureaucracy. The purpose of a bureaucracy is to establish a set of rules which must be implemented. That is the nature of bureaucracy."

JOKE: "And if you think I exaggerate, here is my simple test. And you tell me how close you think this is to the world we live in. If Thomas Edison had invented the electric light in the age of the bureaucratic welfare state and modern liberalism, it would have been described by Dan Rather in a news story which began: 'The candlemaking industry was threatened today.' And Ralph Nadar would issue a report that, 'Electricity can kill...And which companies will make money off the electric light. And the government should make sure we don't wire houses.'"

"(Vaclav Havel) said, 'Many people write words and many intellectuals write words. The greatness of your Founding Fathers was that they lived their words.'"

East Hoover Ave.

to State Street →

Greene Street

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



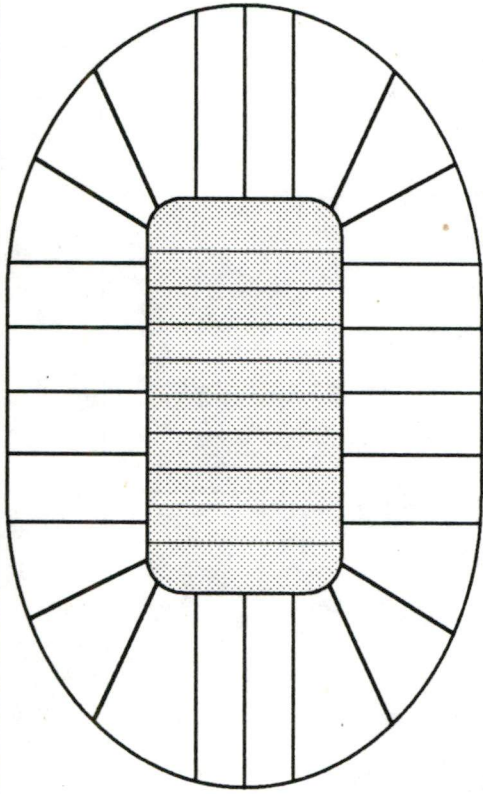
*The University of Michigan*

SHIRLEY A. CLARKSON  
Assistant to the President  
for University Relations

2056 Administration Building  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109  
(313) 764-6270

Keech Street

Michigan Stadium



Gate 2

Crisler  
Arena

South Main St.

Drop off location  
for individuals  
with disabilities

East Stadium Blvd.

4/23/91

**The University of Michigan  
Spring Commencement 1991  
Saturday, May 4, 1991  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
11:00 a.m.**

**Tentative Itinerary:**

- 9:00-9:30 a.m. Coffee for Platform Party and Spouses/Guests  
Institute for Continuing Legal Education
- 9:30 a.m. Spouses/Guests proceed to Michigan Stadium to be seated in reserved areas (Those persons seated on floor of Stadium need to be through the tunnel BEFORE 10:00 a.m.)
- 9:30 a.m. Platform Party proceeds to Michigan Stadium to be robed
- 10:00-10:30 a.m. Robing of Platform Party  
Visiting Team Locker Room  
Stadium (Tunnel)
- \*10:30-10:45 a.m. Photo Opportunity for President Duderstadt with Governor and Honorary Degree Recipients
- \*10:50-10:55 a.m. Photo Opportunity with Honorary Degree Recipients and President and Mrs. Bush  
Visiting Team Locker Room  
Stadium (Tunnel)
- \*10:50 a.m. Platform Party (robed), lines up and prepares for security check and procession
- 11:00 a.m. Spring Commencement  
Michigan Stadium
- 12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m. Reception  
Schembechler Hall  
Weiser Commons/Lobby

\*Pending Final Schedule From the White House

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 6 STORIES

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March 14, 1990, Wednesday

DISTRIBUTION: City Desks and Government Writers

LENGTH: 792 words

HEADLINE: America's social spending record disputes claim that country neglects its poor, states Hoover scholar Roger Freeman

DATELINE: STANFORD, Calif.

BODY:

... Freeman noted that large relief programs initiated in the 1930s to assist the nation and its needy had an ominous impact. Franklin Roosevelt, in his 1935 State of the Union Message said, 'To dole out relief...is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit...The federal government must and shall quit this business of relief.'