Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13814
Folder ID Number: 13814-008

Folder Title:
Notre Dame 5/17/92 [OA 7574] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	5	4

THE FIRST, THE FUNDAMENTAL AND THE PRIMARY INSTITUTION: THE AMERICAN FAMILY

A harmonious society in which each member is dedicated to the greater good of the whole, is based, in large part, on people who know how to cooperate with each other. The family is the place where people first learn to do this. It is the place where people are accepted for who they are, not for what they do. Without commonplace family harmony, social harmony will always be an elusive goal.

Unfortunately, the American family is in disarray. While not all families are experiencing breakdown and dysfunction, enough families have problems of such magnitude that social synergy is not presently attainable and will not be attainable until some of these problems are corrected. If people treat their family members as badly as available data indicate they do, it is no wonder that people are unable to work together in the other institutions of life -- schools, government, business, and church. In fact, some of the dysfunction that is apparent in these larger institutions may be a direct result of the disturbing state of family life in this country.

The research literature indicates that fragmentation is the characteristic of the modern american family. A recent study by the U.S. Census Bureau comparing the U.S. with other developed countries found that the U.S.[3] has:

* the highest divorce rate
* the highest number of children involved in divorce
* the highest teenage pregnancy rates
* the highest abortion rate in the world
* the highest percentage of teen abortions in the world
* the highest percentage of children living in a single parent household
* the highest percentage of violent deaths among youth

Another recent report by the Select Committee, U.S. House of Representatives[4], indicates other changes:

* a significant drop in the proportion of children who live with two parents from 87.7% in 1960 to 72.7% in 1988 for all children;

---

[3] : A Child's World, U.S. Dept of Census, Nov '89.

[4] : U.S. Children and their families: current conditions and recent trends, 1989.

Lil Orcutt
dial 245-1764
Office 6613

NOTRE DAME NEWS

University of Notre Dame
Public Relations
and Information
317 Main Building
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
219/239-7367
FAX 219/239-8212

Director
Dennis K. Moore

Assistant Directors
Michael O. Garvey
Cynthia Scott
Dennis K. Brown

Community Service at Notre Dame: A Living Tradition

When Holy Cross priest Edward F. Sorin founded the University of Notre Dame in 1842, he envisioned a place that not only would provide academic training, but also would serve the community and the world.

In his "Chronicles," Sorin wrote: "This school will be one of the most powerful forces for good in this country."

For the 150 years since, members of the Notre Dame family have attempted to follow Sorin's lead individually and collectively, engaging actively and often in a full spectrum of community service projects.

An early example of such service is the work of women religious from Notre Dame during the Civil War. As fighting intensified in the early 1860s, the governor of Indiana appealed for help in tending to the wounded. Sisters of the Holy Cross responded immediately, helping nurse soldiers from both the Union and Confederate forces at hospitals in Missouri, Kentucky and Indiana.

Several years later, when the city of Chicago was leveled by the fire of 1871, Notre Dame students held a fund-raising event on Nov. 4, with proceeds going to the "benefit of the Chicago sufferers." Eight years later, many Chicagoans returned the favor by helping rebuild the

MORE

University after fire destroyed the Main Building.

In recent years more formal programs have been established to encourage and facilitate community service endeavors.

At the forefront is the Center for Social Concerns. Established in 1983 under the auspices of the University's Institute for Pastoral and Social Ministry, the center offers an array of academic courses, lectures, seminars, films, educational programs and opportunities for service.

Acting as catalysts for community service, Center staff members assist in coordinating the activities of students active in groups including Amnesty International, the American Red Cross, Upward Bound, the Knights of Columbus and the World Hunger Coalition.

The Center also organizes several annual programs that put students into direct contact with those in need.

Since 1967, more than 3,800 Notre Dame students have spent part of winter break engaged in an Urban Plunge — 48 hours of studying and experiencing the poverty, injustice and apathy decaying America's inner cities. The voluntary program includes an orientation workshop, selected reading before the Plunge and a writing assignment afterward.

During fall and spring breaks, the Center's Appalachian Service Seminar takes students to Appalachia to help repair homes in the region. Some 730 students have made the trek to Appalachia since 1986.

2nd add/Community service

The Center also has sponsored more than 870 students in the innovative Notre Dame Summer Service Projects. Established in 1980, the program involves a network of Notre Dame undergraduates and alumni working together to help homeless people, battered women, runaway children, drug addicts, the developmentally disabled and other vulnerable members of society. The projects begin with Notre Dame graduates in alumni clubs nationwide identifying areas in their communities in need of assistance. After helping set up specific programs in which individual students can serve the community, alumni then host the students during the eight-week project.

Yale, Stanford and other universities have established similar programs based on the Notre Dame model. The Summer Service Project is supported by the James F. Andrews Scholarship Fund, created in memory of the Notre Dame alumnus who cofounded Universal Press Syndicate.

CILA — the Community for the International Lay Apostolate — reaches into Central and South America. The student-run group was established in 1961 and since then has sponsored two-month service projects each summer in Latin America as well as the United States. Notre Dame's president, Rev. Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C., participated in CILA as a student and has called the experience a turning point in his life.

The Center for Social Concerns estimates that 70 percent of Notre Dame undergraduates participate annually in some form of

volunteer service.

In addition, about 10 percent of each year's graduating seniors take part in public service programs with the Peace Corps, Teach for America, Holy Cross Associates and others. Those who engage in such activities are recognized at a special commissioning ceremony each year in conjunction with the University's Commencement exercises.

Notre Dame's latest effort to help those in need involves the Alumni Association Community Service Program. Executive Director Charles Lennon believes the University's 192 domestic alumni clubs should take part in "projects with a purpose" as "constructive alternatives to such social functions as sports gatherings, banquets and happy hours."

The director of the community service program, Peter Pranica, is thought to be the first full-time staff member of any university alumni association whose exclusive responsibility is the coordination of service projects. He and his staff make alumni aware of people and programs in need of assistance, then provide them with support to meet the need.

Said Lennon: "We believe that with our alumni using the resources of their alma mater and existing service programs, we can make a tangible, positive impact on society."

While involved in projects across the country and around the world, Notre Dame students, faculty and staff also have lent assistance closer to home.

4th add/Community service

The national Christmas in April program — cosponsored locally by the city of South Bend and the University — is a one-day project in which thousands of volunteers from the campus and community restore and refurbish homes of elderly, handicapped or low-income residents in the area. James Roemer, the Notre Dame director of community relations, and the alumni association are helping alumni clubs in other cities initiate Christmas in April programs.

In addition, the Center for the Homeless in downtown South Bend was established in 1988 by Notre Dame in cooperation with community leaders. Cited by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp as a model of cooperative social action, the center provided more than 51,000 meals and 24,000 nights of lodging in 1991. It also is one of just a handful of homeless centers that offers a full range of services, including alcohol counseling, mental health intervention, and job and housing assistance. The University continues to participate in the administration of the center, which is directed by Louis Nanni, a Notre Dame graduate and trustee.

It is Lennon who perhaps best sums up the University's approach to serving others when he says: "With a college education comes a certain responsibility to use that knowledge for the common good."

Sorin surely would agree.

—30—

Address to the Notre Dame Community by President Jimmy Carter Upon Reception of the Inaugural Notre Dame Award, March 23, 1992

Mrs. Carter: It's wonderful to be back here with Father Ted and Father Malloy and all of you great people who have come out this evening. The last time I was here it was for the dedication of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. I was excited about that because I think it is so important for us to get to know and love the people of the world. There are so many problems out there and so much suffering; the more we know about them, the more we are willing to open our hearts and to help the people of the world. As Jimmy speaks to you, you will see some of the things that we have been trying to do. This University can be of great force for international understanding and for help for those who suffer. I am honored tonight by this award. Thank you so much.

President Carter: Father Malloy, Father Hesburgh, fellow students from Notre Dame (we both have honorary degrees from Notre Dame so we feel part of the student body), it is nice to come back. I have been here two times before. The first time was during the 1976 campaign. There were not many more people than there are on the stage tonight to welcome me. Luckily, John Brademas was also along, so the audience was a little bit larger. I came back as President in 1977, and the audience was both large and enthusiastic. I did make what I thought were some profound comments, which have been described very beautifully by Father Malloy. I felt that our nation was greater than one to be filled with fear and hatred of the Soviet Union. Concerned, yes, vigilance, yes, but not hatred. And I thought that our nation should be measured by standards other than just how many nuclear weapons we could accumulate, matched almost one-by-one in the Soviet Union. Those times have passed, and I am grateful for it. Like Rosalynn, I am also very honored by this award, especially in its first year.

Tonight I am going to talk about a few things, emphasizing three words that comprise the motto of Notre Dame this year. The first one is "inquiry," the second, "community," and the third, "belief." Before I start let me say that, not with any degree of false modesty, quite often a former President is honored beyond what he deserves, and I think that is the case tonight.

I tried to think of a story that would illustrate this. I'm not a very good storyteller, but when I began running for president, a lot of people said, "Well, he's from Georgia, he doesn't have a chance to be elected, but he's a southerner so he knows how to tell funny stories." As a matter of fact, I

didn't have that capability. In fact, it was my successor in the White House who was a good storyteller, but I did my best. During the four-year period I was in the White House, to be perfectly honest with you, my jokes went across very well. When I left the White House, I lost my touch except for one notable occasion when Rosalynn and I went in 1981 to visit China. We came back through Japan, and I made a few speeches -- I might say without fee. I went to a small college near Osaka, and I was invited to give the graduation address. There were about 800 students who were graduating, and everyone was very nervous, including me. I never had given a speech to a Japanese audience before (as you know, it takes longer to say things in Japanese than it does in English.) I had a very wonderful interpreter, and I knew everybody was up-tight, so I decided I would tell a joke to get the audience to loosen up a little bit. I knew how long it would take, so instead of getting the funniest joke I knew, I took the shortest joke I knew, left-over from an old governor's campaign. I told my short joke and the audience just collapsed in laughter. It was the best response I had ever gotten to a joke. I couldn't get through with my speech fast enough to go back and ask the interpreter, "How did you tell my joke?" The interpreter was very evasive, but I insisted. He finally bowed his head in embarrassment and said, "I told the audience, 'President Carter told a funny story -- everybody laugh.'"

This event in my life illustrates some points I want to make tonight. Inquiry is the first word that addresses itself to Notre Dame's sesquicentennial, and I think all of us Americans, all of us Christians, all of us who have other faiths, understand the importance of looking at new ideas, searching for the truth in a troubled world, trying to answer questions that are not easy to answer, looking for solutions to multiple problems. At the Carter Center we try to look at new ideas. One of our basic principles is that we do not duplicate what others are doing. If the United Nations, or the U.S. government or the World Bank or the United Nations Development Program or Harvard University or Notre Dame is doing something, we don't do it. We try to look at new problems and new ideas.

Another word that I would like to address is belief. There has to be some sense of what is our faith, what are the guiding principles in our life, what are the standards by which we measure ourselves as individuals, what are the standards by which we measure our nation or the community within which we have some influence?

And the third notion is community. What comprises our community? How do we find those who are, to use a biblical expression, "our neighbors?" I grew up in the South. And I grew up in a South that had a philosophy, a society, a social and political and legal commitment, based on constitutional theological interpretations, that white people were superior to black people. It was a given that there could not be an equality, there could not be an integration, there could not be a sharing as brothers and sisters with each other. So, I am familiar with the ravages of discrimination because of race. Had it not been for the civil rights movement, had it not been for a change in the laws, I could never have been considered seriously as President of this country.

Rosalynn and I have spent a lot of time in Ethiopia and Sudan, particularly in Sudan, a country torn apart by war between fundamentalist Muslim leaders and Christians and animists. In 1989, more than 260,000 people died in a year. Most of us, perhaps in this audience, didn't even know about it. So, while I am familiar with discrimination because of religion, I tell you that, unfortunately, the greatest plague of discrimination on earth today is the discrimination by the rich against the poor.

Sometimes this is deliberate, but most of the time it's inadvertent. Most of the time it's non-acknowledged. Who are the rich, and who are the poor? I would say that everyone in this audience is rich, comparatively speaking. We have a home, we have food to eat that is adequate, we have health care and a modicum of education. Our children look forward to a fruitful life, we have some form of gainful employment now or the prospect of it in the future. We feel that the police and the criminal justice system is on our side. We think that if we make a decision it will have an effect, at least on our own lives. Those are measurements of wealth in human terms and we, most of us, have all those things. Many people don't have any of those things, and there is a tendency for us to wipe them out of our minds or address them in a superficial way.

We have been honored here tonight, primarily, because we have lived in the White House. I don't say that to derogate the importance of the award, which we appreciate very much on a personal basis. But let me tell you how Rosalynn and I get the reputation for being worthy.

The Carter Center is becoming a famous place. The executive director

of the Carter Center is a man named William Foege, who is not famous. William Foege is an epidemiologist, perhaps one of the world's foremost leaders for preventive health care. He was the director for the Center for Disease Control for ten years. He was the man who orchestrated the eradication of smallpox, which is the only disease ever eradicated. Seven years ago, leaders from the World Health Organization, UNICEF, the Rotary Clubs, Rockefeller Foundation, United Nations Development Program, came to the Carter Center and said in effect, "We have been trying to immunize the world's children. We have had polio vaccine thirty years, we have had measles vaccine more than sixteen years, but we still don't have twenty percent of the world's children immunized. Can you help us with it?"

They didn't come to me -- they came to William Foege. And Bill Foege said, "Why don't we put together a task force so that when several agencies go into a country, they don't go in as competitors?" He put together at the Carter Center a task force on child survival. So now when we go into a country, it's a massive team. Although the money and the people have not increased substantially, in only five years we jumped from twenty percent of the world's children immunized to eighty percent. Jimmy Carter? No. Nor Rosalynn. But Bill Foege.

We have now organized, under Dr. Foege's direction, a task force on disease eradication. It has been fourteen years since smallpox was eradicated, and no other disease has since been targeted for eradication. We have now targeted two more -- polio, with which most of you are familiar, and guinea worm. The Carter Center is in charge of eradicating guinea worm, which afflicts about ten million people a year in the poorest, most isolated rural areas in twenty-two nations of the world. The man in charge of that is a black scientist, a medical doctor named Don Hopkins, who worked for years studying how to prevent, how to cure guinea worm and now is working on how to eradicate it. We have also targeted polio. We will never have another case of wild or contagious polio in this hemisphere. We had our last one within the last ten months. South America, Central America, the Caribbean, North America will never have another case of polio by the end of the century. It won't be because of me, although the Carter Center is part of it. It will be because of Bill Foege and Don Hopkins.

Every year for the last twenty years, the production of food grain per person has gone down in Africa. The average African citizen now has seventy calories less per day than twenty years ago. A starvation diet two decades ago is getting worse every year. We have in Africa, in Tanzania, in Sudan, in Guyana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, tens of thousands of small farmers who are now being taught how to rapidly increase their production of basic food grains -- corn, wheat, millet and sorghum. We can triple or quadruple their production the first year. The Carter Center helps with this. It's not I who does it, it's Dr. Norman Borlaug, a seventy-eight-year-old agricultural geneticist who won the Nobel Peace Prize and is famous for the "green revolution" in India and Pakistan. We get credit for what we call Global 2000 and for increasing food production in Africa, but it's not Jimmy Carter and it's not Rosalynn at the Carter Center, it's Dr. Norman Borlaug.

When I go down the aisle to speak with people in the airplanes, they never say, or rarely say, "Thank you for Camp David," or "You did a good job as President," and so forth, they say, "We like what you're doing with Habitat for Humanity." And it's a wonderful program. It's now more than fifteen years old. We send out letters every year to get money, and Rosalynn and I go five days a year to act as carpenters. We're not the bosses on our house -- we are told what to do by the boss on our house who is sitting here tonight in the front row, LeRoy Troyer. The point is, when the television cameras come to look at the great work being done on a Habitat house, they don't concentrate on LeRoy Troyer or the others on the site, they concentrate on me and Rosalynn because we lived in the White House. The man and woman who founded Habitat, (who have been here to the Notre Dame campus), Millard Fuller and his wife, Linda, are the ones responsible for the achievement in reducing homelessness on earth. We now have Habitat chapters in more than 700 American communities, on more than 200 university and college campuses, and in thirty-three foreign nations. This is the work of Millard and Linda Fuller. Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, because we lived in the White House, get more publicity than do the people who founded and who worked every day of their lives doing something about the homeless.

When I was in the White House, I was very concerned because increasingly I saw that very little attention was paid to conflicts on earth. I did some negotiation while I was in the White House, but when I got out I began to see more clearly that the wide range of conflicts were not being addressed by our community, our nation, by other nations or even by the United Nations. So

we began to put together a program we called International Negotiating Network. I turned to a young woman who was an assistant U.S. attorney in northern Alabama. She was just a lawyer, not famous, but she has come to be an expert on the technique of resolving conflicts. Under her direction at the Emory University campus, we monitor every conflict on earth every day. You might be interested to know that, as of the first of February, there were 112 of them. This young woman's name is Dayle Powell. Dr. Powell supervises students who monitor these conflicts. Of the 112, some are minor in nature, but others are profoundly catastrophic. I mentioned already Sudan, where 260,000 people died in one year, and Ethiopia, where more than one million people died in war. Equally troubling are conflicts around the world about which we rarely hear. In Africa alone, in Somalia and Mozambique, as well as Ethiopia and Sudan, Western Sahara, and Liberia, tens of thousands of people die. In Liberia alone, more than half the total population is displaced from their homes -- 600,000 refugees, and we barely know about it.

The problem is that of these major wars (there are 32 of them) none is between two countries. They're all civil wars, domestic wars, wars among neighbors at home. The tragedy is that the United Nations is precluded from dealing with these wars in almost every case, because it's not proper for a UN official or even an American ambassador to communicate with revolutionaries who are trying to overthrow a government member of the UN or one to which our ambassador is accredited. There is a vacuum there, and increasingly the Carter Center is marshalling scientific methods of negotiating, mediating, trying to bring about cease-fires, and increasingly turning to elections. All this is under the direction of an unknown young woman named Dayle Powell.

Let me close this part by talking to you about another problem. I mention international affairs because that's the thrust of this award, but international also includes our own country. Increasingly we have become concerned about problems in American cities and communities. Perhaps the origin of this was Millard Fuller and Habitat for Humanity dealing with people who don't have, and never have had, a decent home. We've seen their lives transformed as they get a house for the first time. There's no charity involved. They have to put in 500 to 2,000 hours building their own house, as well as a neighbor's house. They have to pay full price for the house when it gets built, but we don't charge any interest and we don't take any profit, so poor people can afford a house. In some cases, these people have never had

their ancestors or themselves finish high school, but they move into a Habitat house and in just a few days they're deciding which college their children will attend.

Housing is important, but it's only one aspect of increasingly blighted American communities affecting people who quite often are our next-door neighbors, who live within 100 yards sometimes of where we live or work or go to school. Forty-five percent of all the black kids in this country are born in poverty. A baby has a better chance to survive in Bangladesh than Harlem. Twenty-five percent of our young black men are either in prison or on probation and the situation is getting worse. It's people who don't have the basic necessities of life, who have dropped out of school or who have teenage pregnancies or children without basic health care. It's mothers who never see a doctor before the day of birth, communities where drug addiction is becoming rampant and where crime increases like a skyrocket.

Atlanta is a great city, a beautiful city. We have always had great relationships between our black and white leaders. In competition with the rest of the world, we won the right to have the Olympics in 1996. We were chosen last November as an outstanding city for business investments by Fortune Magazine. But still Atlanta is getting worse and worse. In the last five years alone, we've had a 300 percent increase in crimes of violence among our young people. In the same juvenile courts we've had (listen to this) a seventeen-hundred percent increase in five years in drug-related crimes. These are our next-door neighbors for whom we are directly responsible. How many of them do we know? How many poor people do we know who do not have a home? There are 12,000 of them in Atlanta alone. Atlanta is certainly not the worst city of all, it's one of the better ones. Twelve-hundred government apartments are boarded up with no one living in them. How many people do we know who have never had a decent job? We don't really know these people, and that is our responsibility as American citizens.

I'll close by giving you one incident that Rosalynn mentioned at supper tonight. We now have set up in Atlanta a program to deal with the urban problems of our great city, and we hope that we can move from there to other cities around the nation with something like an America Project. One of the key players in this is a young man named Neil Shorthouse, who came as a

flower-child from San Francisco at the end of the 1960s. He and another young man named Bill Milliken (not very famous) lived as white boys in a neighborhood with African-Americans. They slept on a pallet, and they began to try to get to know the poor people who lived around them, which many of us don't ever do. They finally ascertained, that of every hundred children who are at risk, thirty-four people are supposed to be responsible for those children -- schoolteachers, counselors, policemen, health care workers, Boy Scout executives, and so forth. What is needed is a network of sharing and understanding. Neil Shorthouse and Bill Milliken -- not famous, but deserve to be famous.

Neil and I went through a middle school in one of the troubled neighborhoods in Atlanta not long ago. We chose one with a famous name -- Martin Luther King, Jr. Middle School. We visited the 6th, 7th and 8th graders that go to school there -- bright kids, beautifully dressed compared to what my children wore when they went to school. They knew that Jimmy Carter was the 39th President; they knew that Jimmy Carter was from Georgia; they knew the date on which Jimmy Carter was elected; they knew Jimmy Carter's wife's name was Rosalynn. But they didn't think I was Jimmy Carter until the principal convinced them and showed them a photograph. Then they began asking me wonderful questions -- very effervescent, very intelligent questions, very intriguing questions. When I got through, I asked the principal, "These are such bright kids -- what's your main problem with them?" and she said, "The boys believe that their avenue to success, to prestige, to influence is to own a semi-automatic weapon." And I said, "What about the girls?" and she said, "Pregnancy is our growing problem." I said, "I've heard about teenage pregnancy -- that's terrible." She said, "What you don't understand, Mr. President, is that the 6th graders have more of a problem than the 7th and 8th graders." I said, "I can't believe it, I have a granddaughter who is only 12 years old, and these are 12-year-old girls -- why is that?" She replied, "I don't know if you want to know. The drug pushers and pimps prefer sex with the little girls. They're cheaper, they're less able to defend themselves and they're not as likely to have AIDS." And this is not Bangladesh and it's not Addis Ababa -- it's one of the shining cities of America of which we are proud.

Where are the heroes? The heroes are among the people like Bill Foege, Norman Borlaug and Dayle Powell and Millard Fuller and Don Hopkins and Neil Shorthouse and Bill Milliken and those who work in the

classrooms and on the police beats and in the school lunchrooms and in the clinics. People whom we never know. The heroes are also the poor, who are our neighbors who are struggling for a better life.

Let me mention one other thing about belief. It is time for us to take a look at our nation and ourselves. It's a time of the end of the cold war. As I mentioned here in 1977, it's time for America to put forward its best character. How do you measure the best character? It's not easy to measure, I know, but we can take some thought from the words of Saint Paul when he was asked a similar question, and he reminded us that it's not the measurements that we human beings apply to ourselves, it's not how big a house we have or how many cars we have or our bank account or our security in our old age or even the level of intelligence or educational ability or esteem or fame or awards. It's the things that Paul said you cannot see and you cannot feel and you cannot count. Those are the kind of things Notre Dame puts forward and has put forward for the last 150 years of its vision. What is it that you can't see or count or feel? They are things like justice and peace and service and unselfishness and compassion and sharing and, if you'll excuse the expression, love.

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY ADDRESS
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1988

The campaign is in its final week and we're close to decision day. So this is a good time to let the smoke lift from the battlefield and talk about what the fight is really all about.

There have been a lot of charges and countercharges the past few weeks, been some painting in broad strokes -- and that's not all bad. In fact, it was inevitable. We are fighting for something big here -- the future of a great nation. And some of the differences between my opponent and me are so deep and wide they demand broad strokes. On taxes, crime and America's place in the world, you could probably call the distance between us "the great divide."

It's not a divide that has to do with different degrees of conviction. At the last debate I was asked all of a sudden to name some things about Governor Dukakis that I like, and I said with conviction that I think he is a sincere man with a wonderful family.

He has sincere beliefs; I have sincere beliefs. But those beliefs are totally different, different in their assumptions and different in their implications.

And it seems to me, after six months of a hard fought campaign, that what it all comes down to is this: One of us represents the American mainstream -- and one of us does not. One of us holds mainstream views and stands for mainstream values -- and one of us does not. And "mainstream" isn't just the middle -- it's the big full-hearted center, it's the traditions and the faith and the beliefs that have guided this country for 200 years.

We come from different places and we start with different premises.

I respect common sense; I respect tradition. You can't become hidebound but it's good, now and then, when asked about your position on a question, to think first: how has man answered

-more-

Paid for by Bush-Quayle 88

this question for centuries now? You know why? Because man has had his reasons. Maybe they don't stand up today, but maybe they do. And by "man" I mean "mankind," and by "mankind" I mean the men and women of the world.

Does my opponent respect old fashioned common sense? I think he's guided more by abstract theories and grids and graphs and computer printouts and the history of Swedish social planning; I suspect he's guided more by ideas about the way men and women should be than the way they are.

I'm being a little facetious here. But I'm also making a larger point: that you can be very well meaning and very sincere about improving the lot of man, but if you stick too close to the grids and the graphs you can lose your appreciation of what's real -- and you can become, for all your intellectual attainment, disconnected from common sense.

Let me be more specific about the great divide.

I know how to get peace. And I know how to keep it. I know that strength and clarity lead to peace, that weakness and ambivalence lead to war. My opponent's view? Far as I can make out he views American strength with anxiety and America's role with ambivalence.

I am wary of taxes; I do not like them; I will not raise them. My opponent is not, does, and will. Why the difference? I think I see more clearly that the economic engine runs better with lower taxes. I see the father and mother at the dinner table counting up the bills, and realize again that "the power to tax is the power to destroy."

I know it's a tough call for some, but I believe that the death penalty is a fair and just punishment for crimes of extraordinary cruelty and violence, particularly involving the death of police officers. My opponent does not.

I would like for our children to have the right to say a voluntary prayer or observe a moment of silence in the schools. My opponent disagrees.

But to get the true size of what divides us you have to go back in time.

I came to power with Ronald Reagan only eight years ago, but it was another world. The economy had been sinking, and so were our hopes that we'd continue as a force in the world. For me, the symbol of the era was the helicopters sinking in the sand of Desert One. I recall this with no pleasure: those were painful times.

But we rolled up our sleeves and sent out a message:

"The slide stops now -- the comeback begins today."

We lowered taxes, forced down inflation, cut the rate of government spending and cut regulation. The result: the greatest, most expansive peacetime economic boom in American history.

Do you know what our opponents said about what we were doing? They said we'd ruin the economy. They said we'd cause massive unemployment. But now, as you know, unemployment is at a historic low. They said we'd cause massive inflation. Now it's a third of what it was.

Our job now is to see that the economy isn't tied to the old business cycle but breaks free, so the boom isn't followed by bust but is more like rolling thunder.

In foreign affairs we built up our defenses, walked unbowed to the bargaining table and asked the Soviets to join us. When they refused we continued to rebuild, knowing that if overtures wouldn't work, strength would.

It did. They came to the table, and the talks that followed produced the first agreement to ban a whole generation of nuclear weapons.

Eight years ago we took on the status quo and challenged the defeatism that others called deep thinking. Sometimes they called us radical, and in truth we did seem different. But what we led wasn't a revolution but a return -- a return to common sense, basic truths, and timeless values.

Has it all been triumph? No. But it's triumph compared to what we had.

That's why I believe Ronald Reagan was right when he talked about the American desire for change. He said, We ARE the change.

I believe in change -- not volatile change, not ill-thought-out change, not change for a slogan or a pose. I believe in change that is improvement, change that means let's together try to make the world better.

And I don't want to be abstract. Sometimes to say big things you have to generalize with big statements, but it's this simple and this direct: The decision we make next week will affect all our lives. It will make a difference in your life. When you take big things like "peace" and "the economy" and define them down to concrete terms, you realize you're talking about families -- and homes -- and the grocery bill -- and the

mortgage -- and the dentist -- and the cost of college -- and will your children have jobs, and will they have it as good as we did.

I know those concerns. Five children. I used to have to wonder in the '70's, are they going to be okay, will they have a chance too, as big a chance as Barbara and I did. Now we've got ten grandchildren and every time I think of our relationship with the Soviets I think of the two youngest, Ellie and Marshall, aged two. It's not abstract, it's real, I've been there. That's why I care so much: because it's personal.

Let me tell you about the changes I wish to make. I'll start with what I won't do, and then tell you what I will.

I won't raise your taxes, and for three good reasons: you're not undertaxed -- a tax hike would slow the economy -- and if we raise more revenues, the Congress will just treat it as more money to spend.

I won't accept big new spending. I may have a difference with the Congress on this. I will try to work with them. But if the people vote for me on November 8th to keep taxes and spending down, and Congress doesn't listen to the will of the people, then I'll have to use the veto.

I won't allow what seems to be the desire of the liberals in Congress to "Europeanize" the American economy. By that I mean tying it up with so many rules, regulations, mandates and tax forms that it grows muscle-bound and can no longer move or grow. It would be ironic if we did this to ourselves just as our European allies are freeing themselves -- by emulating us!

I won't let anyone balance the budget by gutting defense. I'll have to make tough calls on setting priorities in defense spending. I am pledged to those money saving Pentagon reforms. But I will not tear down the build-up that was the parent of our current peace!

I mean to keep us strong while keeping my ol' businessman's eye on the bottom line. I respect bottom lines -- I just know they're not the only line on the ledger.

Those are things I won't do. But leadership is more "will" than "won't," and I want you to know exactly what I will do.

I will be an activist president. I want this job because I want to do things.

I will continue to build a strong defense.

I will pursue more progress with the Soviet Union.

I will work with Congress to reach agreement on a flexible budget freeze to get spending under control.

I will move, here at home, to halt the pollution of our environment and do more to clean up our lakes and rivers and oceans and air.

I will appoint a strong cabinet -- a vigorous new leadership to build on our progress -- to bring new approaches and new ideas.

I will work with Governors, Congress and educators to set high standards for our schools, to reward success and increase educational opportunity -- especially for the poor.

I will continue to speak for and push for a return of solid values, including respect and non-violence.

If history is a guide, the next president will have a high number of seats to fill on the Supreme Court. I will appoint moderate persons of conservative views. I believe my opponent would appoint doctrinaire liberals. That's what he did in Massachusetts. But the excessive judicial activism of the '60s and '70s is one reason Americans turned against that kind of liberalism by the '80s. This is no time to go back.

And I want to say something here: I have had some programmatic differences, but I respect the tradition of Harry Truman and FDR, a liberalism that was committed abroad and concerned at home, a liberalism that spoke for some good things like civil rights.

But some of today's liberals do not see as clearly as their forefathers. A civil rights infraction is still a crime to them -- but street crime, violent crime is somehow beneath their notice; it doesn't register. And if YOU bring it up they'll call you insensitive or backward.

I see that violent crime is a great civil rights question of our time -- that the victims of crime are not the rich and the wall connected, but the working poor and the young and the old -- and that an old woman who is afraid to go out for bread after dark is every bit as oppressed as a political prisoner in a totalitarian country.

You may have noticed I've seen a lot of police lately, received a lot of endorsements. Someone said recently, "Oh the police, they always support Republicans." Well let me tell you, you've seen the men and women lined up around me when they announce their support. I turn back and look at them and it's like going to a Knights of Columbus meeting or the union hall: those are Democrats -- they come from Democratic homes -- and

they left their party. And they keep leaving not just because their party doesn't take them seriously, but because it doesn't take our values seriously: an unambivalent strength abroad, and a wise and sensible kindliness at home.

Well, come January, I hope I can show them, "My house is your house."

There are other questions before us. I have spoken of a kinder, gentler nation, and I plan to speak about it for the next eight years.

And I start from this premise: In America these days there is prosperity -- and that's good, even if it DOES sometimes upset the fringe liberals. But, when it comes to wealth, some of them are like the stern old Calvinist who was up all night worrying that someone somewhere was out having a good time.

Wealth isn't bad in and of itself -- but it's not an end in and of itself either. It's just a beginning.

The percentage of our people who are poor has gone down significantly during the economic expansion of the last six years. But because our population is growing, the absolute number has grown. And what about them?

We can't go back to the old ways of trying to buy our way out of the problem. We tried that for decades, for generations, and it didn't work. I'm not going to become president just to indulge some more failures.

But I'm not going to turn away from this problem just because so far it's been unsolvable.

I think we've got to take a new look at why things are the way they are; I think new ideas and a new cooperation are in order.

These days, now more than ever, we must hold together and hold fast. We need a greater cohesion in our country, a new engagement in the lives of others.

And finally, let me tell you one thing I've learned in life: It's that decisions are made by people, by very human men and women who base them on experience, on what they've seen and valued. So it matters who we are, we who seek the presidency.

And here's the funny thing. Talk as we will, the fact is no one who runs for the presidency knows exactly what he'll face when he gets there. Somehow it's always a surprise. Lincoln was referring to this when he said, "I plainly confess that events have controlled me, more than I have controlled them."

All you can know is history. And how once, during a crucial moment in the Cuban missile crisis, John Kennedy held two cables. One, from Nikita Khrushchev, offered a peaceful way out of the crisis. The other, also from Khrushchev, had arrived shortly after the first -- but it's tone was more belligerent and aggressive. Kennedy wondered what to do -- and made a decision that was brilliant in its simplicity. He decided to answer the good cable and ignore the bad one. As you know it worked. A cataclysm averted.

How did Kennedy know what to do? Well, he had experience in the rough and roiling world of politics, where tempers get frayed and composure lost. He was tough -- he'd been toughened by war and the call of high ambition. And he was patient.

Harry Truman was in the Oval Office in 1945 when he was faced with the awesome question of what to do about a devastated Europe. Roosevelt was dead, the war was over, and a weary America longed for quiet. But Truman looked at Europe, saw Stalin poised at one end and famine at the other, and made the decision to mount the Marshall Plan. And then he saved Greece from communism. He succeeded at both brilliantly.

How did he know what to do? Well, a tough and flinty character that said the big battles are worth fighting for -- a moral sense that said we can't yield Europe's freedom to our exhaustion -- and a workaday common sense that said that strategically, we just couldn't afford to lose a continent of allies.

The Oval Office requires an unflashy good judgement, a reliable calm; it requires that you know the difference between important and crucial, between desired and necessary. It demands an ability to take the long view, and to take short term heat to win long term gain.

It is the place of cutting moments -- the moments that cut through the expected and the everyday and force us, through action, to define ourselves.

I don't know what the cutting moments will be for the next President.

But I know they'll come.

And I know I'm prepared -- at least as prepared as you can be.

I am no mystic, and my leadership will not be the most charismatic. But I'm not sure we need a lot of razzle dazzle. There's probably enough drama in the world already.

But I'll try to be fair; I'll try to be wise; and I'll listen.

And so you know my hopes and aspirations; you know what I intend to do.

And now the day of decision nears; and now you must choose your side in the great divide.

I ask for your support; I need your help. I need your vote. Every vote counts. And I want you to send out the word to everyone you know, to everyone who cares about you. Tell them we need their help, your parents and your brothers and your sisters and your friends and the teachers and the nurses and the lawyers and the bus drivers -- everyone, now, tell them: We need your help.

And now you can tell your children and grandchildren that on a cool crisp day in the month of November in 1988 you helped a future president -- and he will never forget it.

Thank you. And God bless you all.

# # # #

Fighting Irish Facts

Fighting Irish Facts is an alphabetical glossary that includes notes, quotes and trivia on a long list of subjects related to Notre Dame's athletic program and the people involved with it:

ACADEMICS—Notre Dame—long a leader in producing Academic All-America athletes—added to that reputation in 1990 when former Irish quarterback Joe Theismann was named to the GTE Academic All-America Hall of Fame, as selected by the College Sports Information Directors of America. Theismann, who was introduced at the induction in Los Angeles by coach Ara Parseghian, joined a class that also included Jamaal Wilkes of UCLA, Howard Twilley of Tulsa and Steve Taylor of Delaware. Theismann became the first Notre Dame athlete elected to a hall of fame that included Princeton's Bill Bradley, Army's Pete Dawkins, USC's Pat Haden, Maryland's Tom McMillen and Utah State's Merlin Olsen among its first two classes of inductees. Theismann, who earned a 3.30 grade-point average in sociology at Notre Dame, currently serves as a professional football analyst for ESPN.

AGENDA—Here's the schedule for the Notre Dame football team as it points for the 1991 campaign:

Thursday, August 8
-- Freshman players report for evening meal
Tuesday, August 13
-- Varsity players report for evening meal
Wednesday, August 14
-- Media Day
Thursday, August 15
-- First day of practice
Monday, August 19
-- First day of practice in full pads
Monday, August 26
-- Registration
Tuesday, August 27
-- First day of classes
Saturday, September 7
-- Season opener vs. Indiana

ALMA MATER-Composed by Joseph J. Casasanta (a 1923 Notre Dame graduate), "Notre Dame, Our Mother" has been the alma mater of the University since it was written for the Oct. 11, 1930, dedication of Notre Dame Stadium. The song, written in honor of its patron, Blessed Virgin Mary, is part of the halftime show of the Band of the Fighting Irish and is the traditional conclusion to Notre Dame pep rallies.

Notre Dame, Our Mother
Tender, strong and true,
Proudly in the heavens,
Gleams the Gold and Blue,
Glory's mantle cloaks thee,
Golden is thy fame,
And our hearts forever,
Praise thee, Notre Dame.
And our hearts forever,
Love thee, Notre Dame.

Notre Dame students created a commemorative T-shirt for the 1990 Notre Dame-Miami football game and proceeds from its sale helped offset the catastrophic medical expenses of a Chinese graduate student at the University. More than 20,000 shirts were marketed and more than $100,000 was raised for Zheng-de Wang, who was struck by a hit-and-run driver near campus exactly a year prior to the October 20 date of the '90 game. Wang, a 28-year-old doctoral candidate in sociology, was comatose in a South Bend hospital for several months and remains confined to a wheelchair. Wang returned to China in July 1991. Photo by Bruce Harlan.

ALUMNUS—Irish head coach Lou Holtz on April 27, 1990 was made an honorary alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. Voted by the national board of directors of the Notre Dame Alumni Association, the action marked only the ninth time an individual had been accorded that honor. Among the previous eight recipients were former football coaches Ara Parseghian and Gerry Faust and former basketball coach Digger Phelps.

ANNOUNCERS-Mike Collins, news anchor at WNDU-TV in South Bend (the NBC affiliate) and a 1967 Notre Dame graduate, serves as the voice of Notre Dame Stadium. He's in his 10th season as public address announcer after taking over for Frank Crosiar, who held the job from 1948 through the end of the '81 campaign without missing any of the 170 home games during that period. Calling the action inside the press box is John H. "Jack" Lloyd, a 1958 Notre Dame graduate who also serves as the public address announcer for Notre Dame basketball games at the Joyce Athletic and Convocation Center and handles press box duties at Chicago Bear games at Soldier Field.

General Information

School	University of Notre Dame
Location	Notre Dame, IN 46556
Enrollment	9,829
Colors	Gold and Blue
Conference	Independent
Stadium	Notre Dame Stadium (59,075)
Turf	Natural Grass
President	Rev. Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C.
Provost	Dr. O. Timothy O'Meara
Exec. Vice Pres.	Rev. E. William Beauchamp, C.S.C.
Athletic Director	Richard A. Rosenthal
Head Coach	Lou Holtz
Holtz Record at Notre Dame	46-14-0 (five years), .767
Career Record	162-79-5 (21 years), .669
Offensive Formation	Multiple
Defensive Formation	50/Eagle

150 Years

1837 -- Father Desielle dies; Father Benjamin Marie Petit runs the mission at the age of 26.

NOTRE DAME
NEWS

University of Notre Dame
Public Relations
and Information
317 Main Building
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
219/239-7367
FAX 219/239-8212

Director
Dennis K. Moore

Assistant Directors
Michael O. Garvey
Cynthia Scott
Dennis K. Brown

5/92

Noted Alumni

Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen of Seattle

Archbishop William Borders of Baltimore

Tony Bill, film producer

Phil Donahue, television celebrity

Don Ohlmeyer, television producer

Daniel Lundgren, Attorney General of California

Ron Mazzoli, Democratic Congressman from Kentucky

Ken Woodward, senior writer, Newsweek magazine

Al Decrane, chief executive officer of Texaco

John Elson, assistant managing editor, Time magazine

Robert Galvin, chairman of Motorola

Bruce Babbitt, former governor of Arizona

Dr. James Muller, cofounder of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

Donald Rice, secretary of the Air Force

Frank Sullivan, president of Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co.

John Burgee, architect

Judge John F. Kilenny, U.S. Court of Appeals 9th Circuit

Judge Ann Williams, first black women of federal bench (Detroit)

Percy A. Pierre, president of Prairie View A & M

Condoleeza Rice, top White House expert on the Soviet military, faculty member, Stanford.

John Kinsella, chairman of Leo Burnette Advertising Agency

Aubrey Lewis, vice president of F.W. Woolworth

Jerome (Gary) Cooper, president of Christian Benevolent Insurance Company, first black general (Marines) in history of Reserves

William Pfaff, political commentator and syndicated columnist resident in Paris

Archbishop Marcos McGarth of Panama

Thomas P. Carney, president, Metatech Corporation

Edmond R. Haggar, chairman of the board, the Haggar Company

John B. Caron, president, Caron International

Dr. Anita Pampusch

James D. Wetherbee, astronaut

Hannah Storm, sportscaster

Rep. Joseph McDade, R-Pa.

Regis Philbin, television personality

Gen. Patrick Brady, Army

Philip Purcell, CEO of Dean Witter

Emilio Garza, Appeals Court Judge

Donald Wycliff, Chicago Tribune editorial page editor

Terry O'Neil, NBC sports

Edward DeBartolo, chairman of the board of DeBartolo Corp.

Eddie DeBartolo, San Francisco 49ers

Alan Page, assistant attorney general of Minnesota

Thomas Day, president of San Diego State University

NOTRE DAME
NEWS

University of Notre Dame
Public Relations
and Information
317 Main Building
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556
219/239-7367
FAX 219/239-8212

Director
Dennis K. Moore

Assistant Directors
Michael O. Garvey
Cynthia Scott
Dennis K. Brown

May 1992
From: Dennis Brown

Notre Dame Commencement Speakers Past and Present

University of Notre Dame graduates have heard from a diverse group of Commencement speakers through the years: presidents, prime ministers and other politicos; ambassadors, actors and attorneys; writers, editors and educators; judges, generals and even a G-man.

President Bush, the University's Sesquicentennial Year Commencement speaker, is the fourth U.S. president to address a Notre Dame graduating class. Although this is his first presidential trip to Notre Dame, Bush as vice president visited the campus on three occasions, the last in 1988 one week before his election.

On June 5, 1960, President Dwight Eisenhower delivered the University's first presidential commencement speech, interrupting the 45th reunion of his class at the U.S. Military Academy to make the trip.

President Jimmy Carter made what many regard as the key foreign policy address of his presidency at the 1977 exercises. The president spoke of a diminishing threat from the Soviet Union, a notion dismissed as naive at the time but which proved prophetic.

Four years later, security was exceptionally tight when President Ronald Reagan made his first public appearance after the attempt on his life in March 1981. Reagan had had an indirect association with Notre Dame ever since his portrayal of Fighting Irish football legend George Gipp in the 1940 film "Knute

MORE

Rockne, All-American." The president was reunited with his costar in the movie, Pat O'Brien, who also received an honorary degree.

Surprisingly, President John F. Kennedy — the nation's only Catholic president — never visited Notre Dame during his three years in office. He did, however, deliver the 1950 winter Commencement address and in 1961 received the Laetare Medal in a White House ceremony.

Kennedy's grandfather, John F. Fitzgerald, and father, Joseph P. Kennedy, served as Notre Dame Commencement speakers in 1915 and 1941, respectively. JFK's brother-in-law, former Peace Corps director R. Sargent Shriver, spoke to the class of 1961.

The profile of Commencement speakers in Notre Dame's early years was considerably lower than that of presidents and such — with one exception.

Founded in 1842 by Holy Cross priest Father Edward F. Sorin, the University held its inaugural Commencement in 1845, and the first with true graduates took place four years later. Neal Gillespie and Richard Shortis received Notre Dame's first diplomas and Gillespie was one of several speakers to address the assembly.

Commencement speakers for the next several years included local educators, priests and attorneys, but that changed in 1865 when the guest of honor was Civil War Gen. William T. Sherman, commander of the famous "March to the Sea." During the war, Sherman had sent two sons, Willy and Tommy, to Notre Dame and a daughter, Minnie, to Saint Mary's College. All three were enrolled in the Minims department for children ages 6-13. Willy died of "camp fever" during summer vacation in 1863 and the visit to Notre Dame two years later was emotionally trying for Sherman.

The New York Tablet reported that Sherman received a "hearty cheer" from the Notre Dame students. He spoke at length on the "dangers of the battle of life" awaiting the graduates, but assured them of the "final triumph of the right."

Of the remainder of the 19th century Commencement speakers, Rev. J. Lancaster Spalding is the standout. Notre Dame's most prolific Commencement

speaker, the bishop from Peoria addressed the graduates in 1878, '86, '90, '91, '95 and '99.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, Notre Dame began to attract politicians and government officials as Commencement speakers, among them Sen. John Gearin of Oregon, Secretary of the Navy Joseph Bonaparte (later attorney general in Theodore Roosevelt's administration), Gov. Thomas Marshall of Indiana, Gov. James Cox of Ohio, Sen. Joseph Ransdell of Louisiana, and the previously mentioned John F. Fitzgerald, mayor of Boston.

Other notable speakers through the years included Dr. William Mayo, cofounder of the Mayor Clinic, in 1936; J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI director who spoke at the 1942 centennial year graduation ceremonies; and Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1957.

Since 1960, the principal speakers at Commencement have been increasingly well known, coming from all walks of life. Among them:

• Politicians Henry Cabot Lodge (1962), Eugene McCarthy (1967) and Andrew Young (1988).

• Canadian Prime Ministers Lester Pearson (1963) and Pierre Trudeau (1982), and Salvadoran President (and Notre Dame alumnus) Jose Napoleon Duarte (1985).

• Former Yale University President Kingman Brewster Jr. (1972), former Harvard University President Derek Bok (1987) and UCLA professor Rosemary Park (1974).

• Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan (1976).

• Journalists William F. Buckley Jr. (1978) and Margaret O'Brien Steinfels (1991).

• Actor Bill Cosby (1990) and former commissioner of baseball Peter Ueberroth (1989).

• Cardinal Joseph Bernardin (1983) and Bishop James Malone (1986).

JUNE COMMENCEMENT SPEAKERS

1900 Rt. Rev. John J. Glennon, Bishop of Kansas City, Missouri

1901 Rt. Rev. John Shanley, Bishop of Fargo, North Dakota

1902 Hon. William P. Breen, AB'77, AM'80 Fort Wayne

1903 Hon. John M. Gearin, Senator from Oregon

1904 Hon. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Att'y Gen. in T.Roosevelt Admin. (Scholastic Vol. 54:549)

1905 Judge Marcus A. Kavanagh of Chicago (Scholastic Vol. 38:478,559,582)

1906 Rev. D.J. Stafford of Washington, D.C. (Scholastic Vol. 39:432,554,560)

1907 Rev. John Talbot Smith, author, lecturer (Scholastic Vol. 40:601)

1908 Baccalaureate Oration - Hon. Charles P. Neill, U.S. Commissioner of Labor (Scholastic Vol. 41: 586, 614)

1909 Hon. Hannis Taylor, former U.S. Minister to Spain; authority on International Law (Scholastic Vol. 42:559,631,633)

1910 Governor Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana (Scholastic Vol. 43:34:554,507)

1911 Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada (Scholastic Vol. 44:499)

1912 Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hickey, Rochester, New York (Scholastic Vol. 45:491,555,601)

1913 James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio (Scholastic Vol.46:545,577,602)

1914 Joseph E. Ransdell, U.S. Senator from Louisiana (Scholastic Vol.47;33;734-37,756)

1915 John F. Fitzgerald, ex-Mayor of Boston (Scholastic 48:422:585)

1916 Judge Martin Joseph Wade of the United States District Court of Iowa (Scholastic Vol. 49:618,622)

1917 Rt. Rev. Joseph Chartrand, Coadjutor of Indianapolis (Scholastic Vol.50:555,652)

1918 Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the U.S. Shipping Board (Scholastic Vol.51:561)

1919 Monsignor F.B.D. Bickerstaffe-Drew (John Ayscough), English war chaplain and novelist (David I. Walsh, U.S. Senator from Mass. was on the program to deliver the Commencement address but was called back to Washington. His part was taken by Bickerstaffe-Drew) (Scholastic Vol.52 :554)

1920 Hon. Morgan Joseph O'Brien of New York City (Scholastic 53:524)

1921 David I. Walsh, U.S. Senator from Mass.

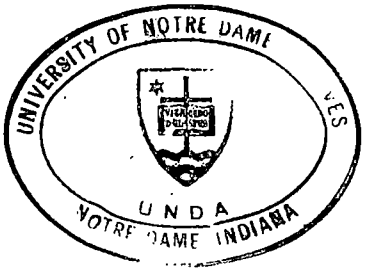
1922 Kickham Scanlan, Chief Justice of the Criminal Court, Chicago (Scholastic Vol. 55:844)

1923 Thomas Lindsey Blayney of Rice Institute, Houston

1924 Hon. Woodbridge Nathan Ferris

1925 Edmond H. Moore, Democratic National Committee from Ohio, Att'y, Youngstown (Scholastic Vol.55:902)

COPY MADE ONLY FOR READING BY THE PURCHASER
IT MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED, IN WHOLE OR IN PART, OR SOLD OR GIVEN AWAY. NOR MAY OTHER COPIES BE MADE, WITHOUT SPECIAL PERMISSION.
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME ARCHIVES



1926 Judge Dudley G. Wooten, Professor of Law in Hoynes College of Law, Notre Dame (Scholastic Vol. 59:934)

1927 Alfred J. Talley, New York City

1928 Francis O'Shaughnessy, Chicago Attorney (ND Alumnus Vol. 6:364)

1929 Col. William J. Donovan, Buffalo, N.Y., War hero, former Ass't. Att'y Gen. of the U.S. (ND Alumnus Vol. 7:301)

1930 Claude G. Bowers, author, editor, orator; gave the key-note speech at the convention which nominated Al Smith

1931 Angus D. McDonald, Pres. Southern Pacific Railroad in Louisiana and Texas (Scholastic Vol.64:952)

1932 Owen D. Young, New York City financier (Scholastic Vol. 65:28:3)

1933 Paul V. McNutt, Governor of Indiana (Scholastic Vol. 66:28:5)

1934 Hon. Frank C. Walker, Chairman of the Council on Emergency Relief (Scholastic Vol. 67:25:7)

1935 Shane Leslie, essayist and dramatist (Scholastic 68:26:1)

1936 Dr. William J. Mayo, Co-founder of Mayo Clinic (Scholastic 69:26:8)

1937 Dennis F. Kelly, President of the Fair, Chicago department store (Scholastic Vol. 70:20:3)

1938 Hon. Terence Byrne Cosgrove, Attorney in San Francisco (Scholastic 71:26:15)

1939 William H. Harrison, Vice-President and chief engineer of ATandT (Scholastic 72:25:3)

1940 David Worth Clark, Senior Senator from Idaho (Scholastic Vol. 73:26:5)

1941 Joseph P. Kennedy (Scholastic Vol. 74:26:2)

1942 J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I. (Scholastic Vol.75:22:3)

1943 Rev. Arthur J. Hope, C.S.C.

1944 Rev. Thomas Brennan, C.S.C. (Scholastic Vol. 81:13:3)

1945 Rev. Phillip S. Moore, C.S.C., Dean of the Graduate School (Scholastic 88:25:11)

1946 George Sokolsky, Columnist (Scholastic Vol. 87:12:5)

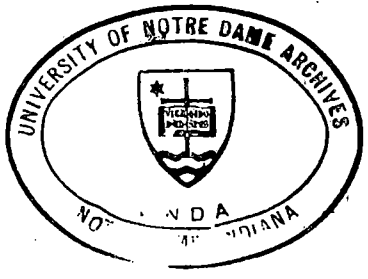
1947 General George C. Kenney, Chief of the Strategic Air Command (Scholastic 88:25:11)

1948 Paul G. Hoffman, Washington, D.C.

1949 John Stephen Burke of New York City

1950 John J. Hearne, First Ambassador of Ireland to the U.S. (N.D. Alumnus Vol. 28:4:5)

√ (Hon. John F. Kennedy, Congressman from Massachusetts gave the address at the January 29 commencement exercises ND Alumnus Vol.28:1:3)



COPY MADE ONLY FOR READING BY THE PURCHASER
IT MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED, IN WHOLE OR IN
PART, OR SOLD OR GIVEN AWAY. NOR MAY OTHER
COPIES BE MADE, WITHOUT SPECIAL PERMISSION.
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME ARCHIVES

1951 Hon. Francis Patrick Matthews, Secretary of the Navy (Scholastic Vol. 92:14:9)

1952 Dr. Charles Malik, Minister of Lebanon to the U.S. (Scholastic Vol. 93:26:11)

1953 Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, President of Johns Hopkins University (Scholastic Vol. 94:26:9)

1954 James Rhyne / Killian, Jr., President of M.I.T. (Scholastic Vol. 95:25:9)

1955 U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. (Scholastic Vol. 96:23:9)

1956 Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, U.S.N., Chief of Naval Operations (Scholastic 96:23:9)

1957 Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren (Scholastic Vol.98:24:9)

1958 Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell (Scholastic Vol. 99:23:9)

1959 John A. McCone, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

1960 Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States

1961 R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director of the Peace Corps (N.D. Alumnus Vol.39:24)

1962 Henry Cabot Lodge, former ambassador to the U.N. (Scholastic Vol. 103:22:13)

1963 Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada

1964 Hon. Thomas C. Mann, Ass't. Sec'y of State for Inter-American Affairs

1965 McGeorge Bundy, Special Ass't. to the President, Washington, D.C.

1966 Lady Jackson, London, England [Barbara Ward]

1967 Eugene J. McCarthy, U.S. Senator from Minnesota

1968 Dr. James A. Perkins, President of Cornell University

1969 Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Ass't. to the President for Urban Affairs, Washington, D.C.

1970 Hon. James E. Allen, Jr., U.S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C.

1971 Dr. Kenneth Keniston, Yale Medical School

1972 Dr. Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale (N.D. Magazine June 1972 p.7)

1973 Dr. Malcolm C. Moos, University of Minnesota

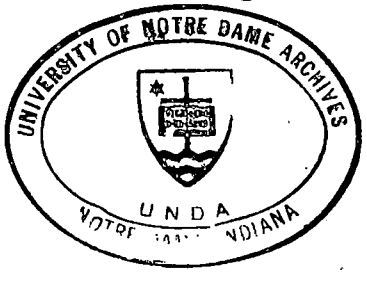
1974 Dr. Rosemary Park of UCLA (N.D. Magazine June 1974 p.7)

1975 Alan J. Pifer, President of the Carnegie Foundation of New York and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (N.D. Magazine June 1975 p.9)

1976 Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Executive Director of the National Urban League (Notre Dame Magazine June 1976, p.6)

1977

COPY MADE ONLY FOR READING BY THE PURCHASER. IT MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED, IN WHOLE OR IN PART, OR SOLD OR GIVEN AWAY NOR MAY OTHER COPIES BE MADE WITHOUT SPECIAL PERMISSION.
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME ARCHIVES



1977 — President Jimmy Carter

1978 — William F. Buckley Jr., political commentator

1979 — Joseph Califano, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

1980 — Benjamin Civiletti, U.S. attorney general

1981 — President Ronald Reagan

1982 — Pierre Trudean, prime minister of Canada

1983 — Cardinal Bernardin, Chicago

1984 — Loret Miller Ruppe, executive director of Peace Corps

1985 — Jose Naploeon Duarte, president of El Salvador

1986 — Bishop James W. Malone, Youngstown, Ohio

1987 — Derek Bok, president of Harvard University

1988 — Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta, former UN ambassador

1989 — Peter Ueberroth, former commissioner of baseball

1990 — Bill Cosby, entertainer

1991 — Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, editor of Commonweal magazine

1992 — President George Bush

DOUG GAMBLE

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(310) 546-6409

May 8/92

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN

NOTRE DAME (Janice Crouse)

THIS IS THE TIME OF YEAR WHEN INVITATIONS POUR INTO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR APPEARANCES AT COLLEGE COMMENCEMENTS. BUT SINCE MILLIE CAN'T MAKE THEM ALL, THERE ARE TIMES LIKE THIS WHEN I HAVE TO FILL IN.

I FEEL A SPECIAL BOND WITH NOTRE DAME. MAYBE IT'S BECAUSE WE'VE BOTH ACHIEVED A CERTAIN MEASURE OF SUCCESS THROUGH OUR ASSOCIATION WITH THE "GIPPER."

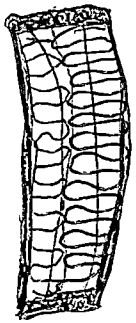
NOTRE DAME IS UNIQUE. IT'S THE ONLY SCHOOL WHERE, WHEN A NEW FOOTBALL COACH IS CHOSEN, WHITE PUFFS OF SMOKE COME OUT OF THE CHIMNEY.

I REMEMBER LOU HOLTZ TELLING ME WHY THE SCHOOL HAS AN ADDED INCENTIVE TO DO WELL AT FOOTBALL. IT'S ONE THING FOR A COACH TO EXPLAIN TO THE ALUMNI IF THINGS AREN'T GOING WELL, BUT IT'S SOMETHING ELSE AGAIN TO EXPLAIN IT TO THE POPE.

YOU'VE PUT IN FOUR LONG, TOUGH YEARS, AND NOW COMES THE HARD PART. SITTING THROUGH A COMMENCEMENT SPEECH.

Morally, spiritually, intellectually bankrupt – I don't believe it –

★ most sig problem
dissolution of family
family can't succeed w/o
fundamental building
blocks —

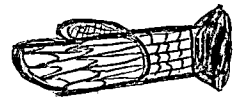


Now let me personalize
this w/ a story.

- honest talk
- principled action

Can't return to status quo

Wake of LA riots
" "



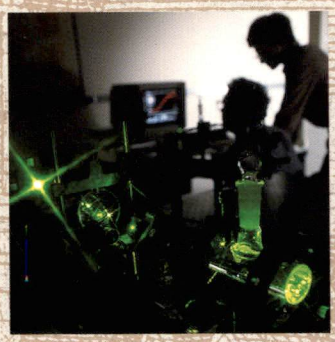
very emotional
very moving

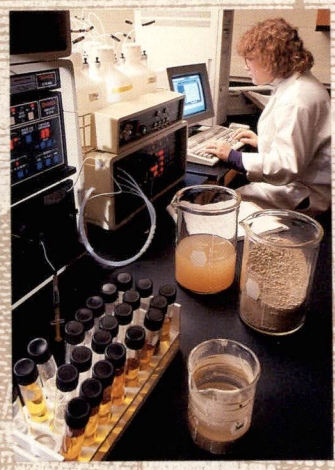
ownership, dignity,
enterprise

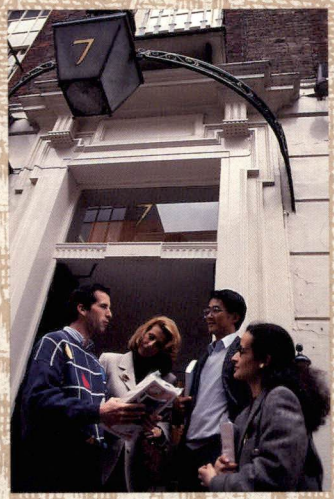
Set of principles & policies
to reinforce pers resp –

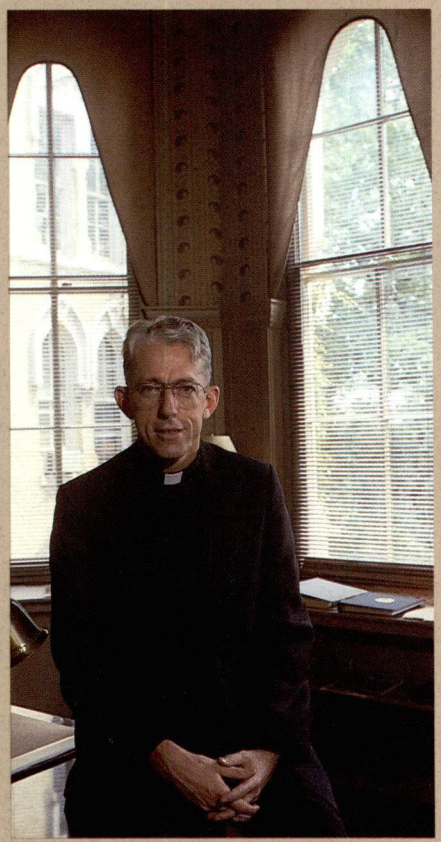
Whatever we do must be
about the kids

NOTRE DAME
The Unfolding Vision









The vision was born when Notre Dame's founder, Holy Cross priest Father Edward Sorin, took possession of a single log cabin on a snow-covered lakeshore and dared to call it a university. It would be several decades before Notre Dame would deserve that designation, but Sorin's example—set no modest goals, but pursue greatness—would become the University's driving force.

Over the years, the shared vision of Sorin and his successors has transformed Notre Dame from mission school to preparatory academy, from academy to undergraduate college, and from college to national research university.

That latest transformation is the subject of this report. In recent years Notre Dame has come very far very fast as such things are measured in academic circles. The student body is drawn from among the nation's highest achievers. The faculty has grown in size, salary and stature. Among many such accomplishments, University scientists and engineers are breaking new ground in environmental studies; international programs are linking the campus to the world; the campus itself is a world center of radiation research; and University social service programs are held up as models to the nation.

In all of this progress there are unifying threads that connect a great University to a cabin on a lakeshore. Belief. Values. Service.

At Notre Dame, the vision continues to unfold.

Edward A. Malloy, csc

(Rev.) Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C.
President

For a New Age of Achievement

A cure for multiple sclerosis . . . affordable synthetic medicines . . . blood anticoagulants to reduce deaths from heart attacks and strokes . . . new nonpolluting energy sources . . . Scientific and technological research at Notre Dame aims not only to uncover new knowledge about the world but also to determine how this knowledge can change the world.

Each year prominent radiation chemists from the U.S. and abroad join the research staff of Notre Dame's Radiation Laboratory, where they engage in highly sophisticated studies of the irradiation of matter—studies that could point the way to future energy sources and help wean the world from its costly dependence on coal, oil and gas.

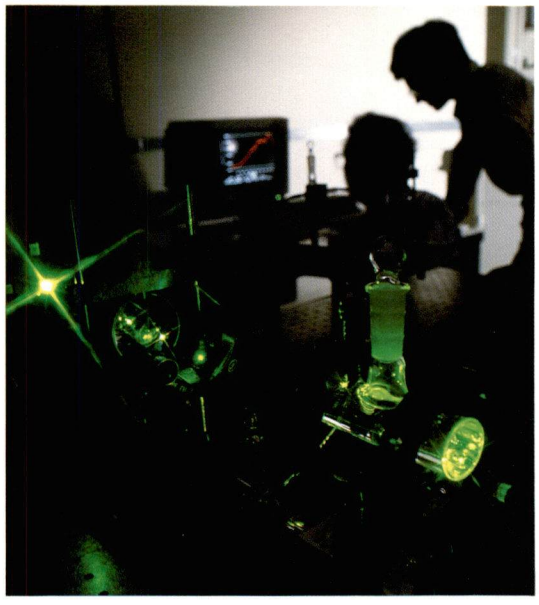
While these scientists study the breakdown of atomic matter, other Notre Dame researchers are growing—one atomic layer at a time—the materials that will become the stuff of higher speed, larger capacity computing devices.

Also on campus, the nation's preeminent expert on mosquitoes studies new means of controlling the spread of disease by these insects, while 100 miles away at Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory near Chicago, particle detectors designed by Notre Dame scientists probe infinitesimal bits of matter for clues to the origins of the universe.

So the work goes, combining the familiar with the abstract to produce—the future.

. . . cleaner running cars . . . more fuel-efficient aircraft . . . more powerful semiconductors . . . new structural concepts to protect buildings against earthquake damage . . .

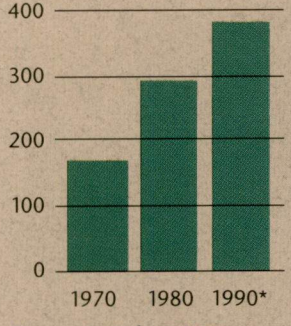
Notre Dame's College of Engineering is an internationally recognized leader in systems and control research, which has helped put men on the moon, made cruise ships sail more smoothly and allowed economists to understand more accurately the workings of the economy.



▲ *The research opportunities at Notre Dame's Radiation Laboratory (above) have attracted radiation experts from more than 50 countries since the facility opened in 1963.*

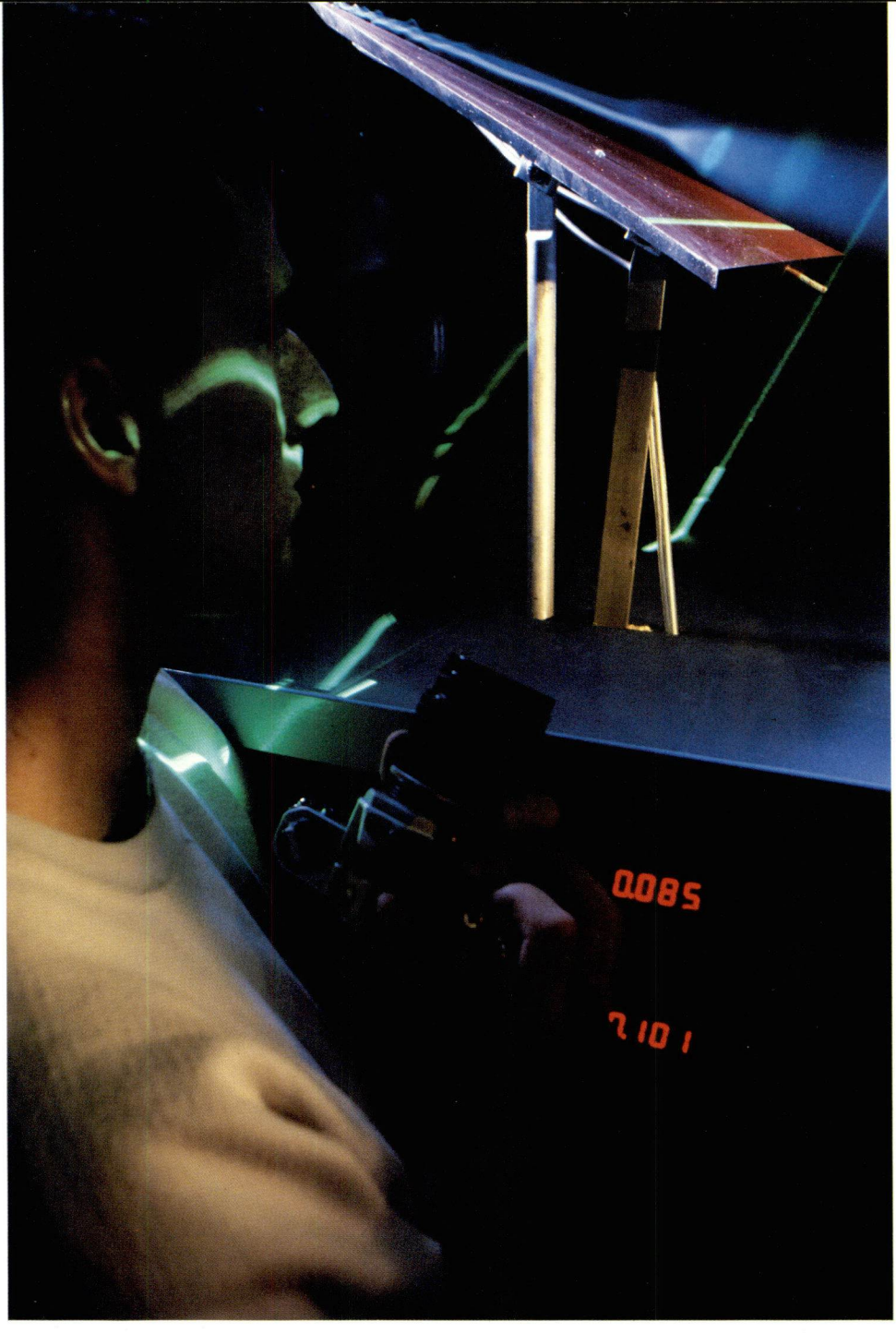
▶ *With the benefit of the University's internationally known transonic and supersonic smoke tunnels (above right)—the only facilities of their type in the world—Notre Dame aerospace engineers are learning to design increasingly fuel-efficient aircraft.*

▶ *Blood coagulation research (right) under the direction of Dean Francis J. Castellino of Notre Dame's College of Science is aimed at improving treatment of cardiovascular disorders including heart disease and hemophilia.*



Research, Laboratory and Classroom Space
(in 1000s of square feet)

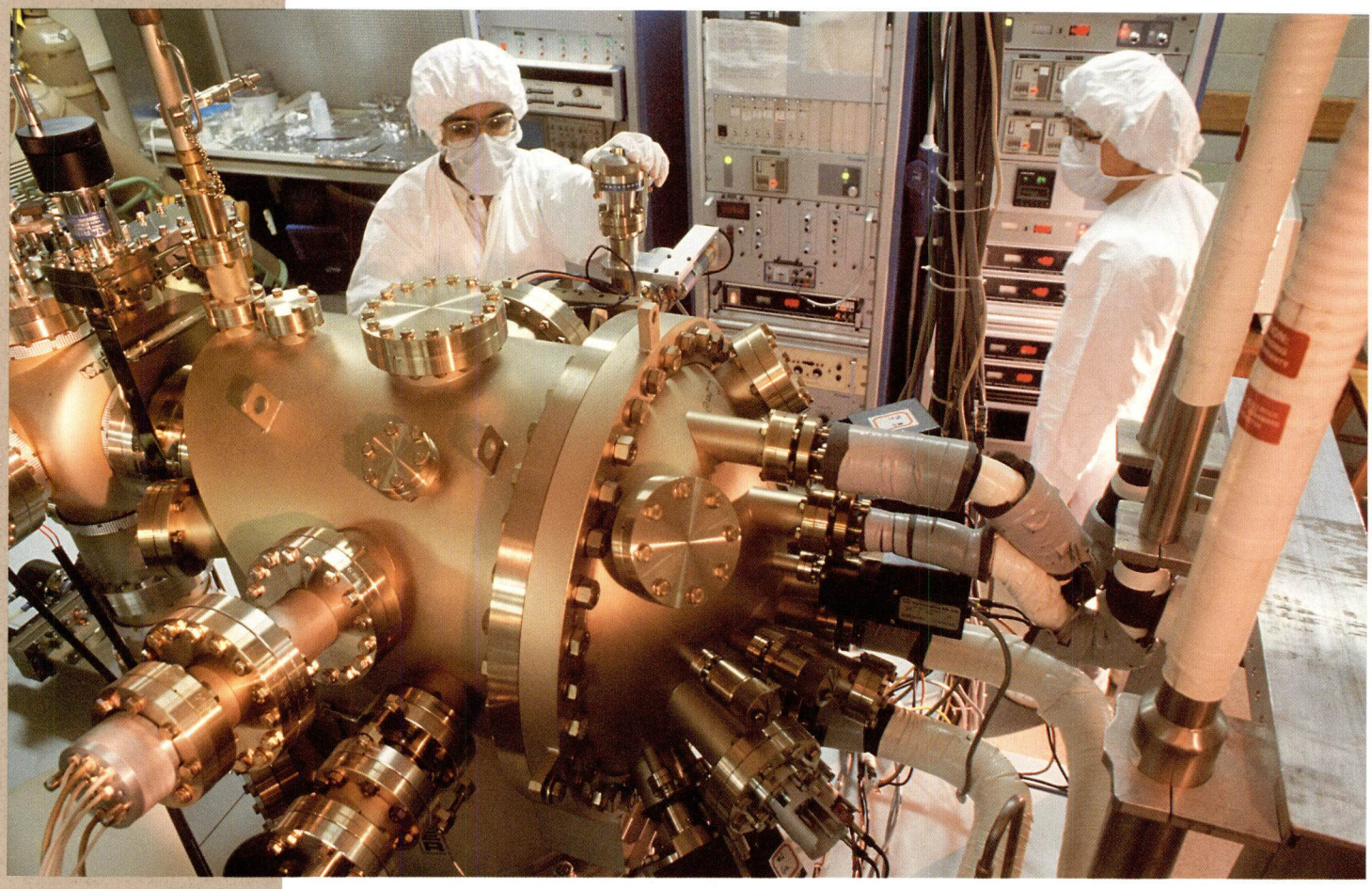
**includes buildings currently under construction*



Notre Dame's highly ranked Department of Chemical Engineering engages in studies ranging from analysis of the effects of solar radiation to the construction of more effective catalytic converters to clean automobile exhausts.

The discovery of the formulae for synthetic rubber . . .
the first demonstration of the aerodynamics of glider flight . . .
the first U.S. transmission of a wireless message . . .
the first disintegration of the nucleus of an atom by electron bombardment—
all these scientific and technological breakthroughs took place in the laboratories and on the grounds of Notre Dame.

For a Competitive America



The Department of Accountancy of Notre Dame's College of Business Administration consistently ranks among the top ten in the nation in the annual survey conducted by *Public Accounting Report*.

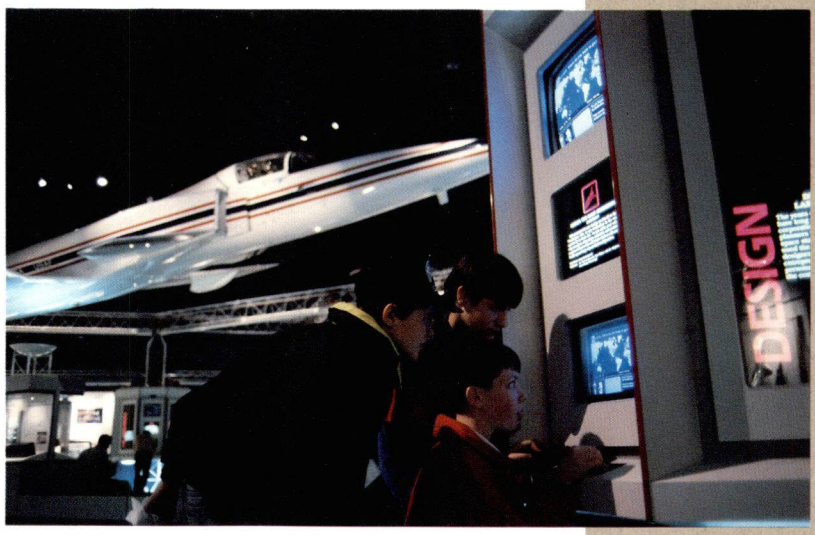
At a time of heightening global competition in commerce and technology, Notre Dame is contributing to American competitiveness with research in critical fields such as computer, biomedical, industrial, space and environmental technology and by the excellence of its preparation of young scientists, engineers and businesspeople.

Through the Clare Boothe Luce Fund and the National Consortium for Graduate Degrees for Minorities in Engineering and Science, Notre Dame provides special financial and other support to help increase the number of women and minorities in university, government and industrial laboratories.

Notre Dame is a pioneer in preparing business students for leadership roles in the world economy. *Business Week* magazine, in its "Guide to the Best Business Schools," notes Notre Dame's "head start" in the study of international business—evidenced by the University's special global business program and unique overseas program at the Notre Dame London Centre. The London Program for MBAs

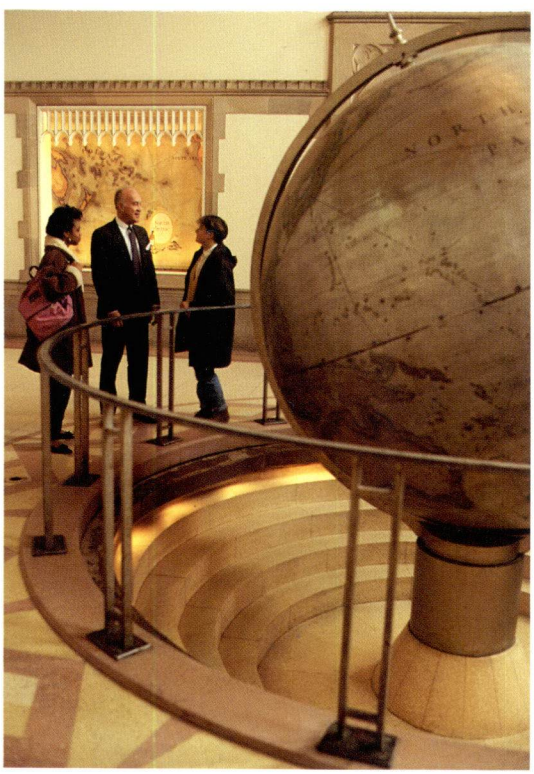
was the first of its kind and remains one of only a few such programs available from American universities.

These programs were designed by faculty members acknowledged for both the excellence and the common sense of their teaching. Professor and former dean of the business college Frank K. Reilly is the author of the world's best selling and most widely used textbook on investments. Current Dean John G. Keane is the former director of the Bureau of the Census. Professor Lee Tavis—with the support of more than two dozen major multinational corporations including Caron International, The Coca-Cola Company, Johnson & Johnson, Mine Safety Appliance, Caterpillar, Pfizer and W.R. Grace & Co.—has carried out groundbreaking studies of the ethical and economic responsibilities of multinationals.



The proof of business education at Notre Dame is the influence its graduates exert on the American business scene. A Standard & Poor's Corporation survey ranked Notre Dame among the top 10 colleges and universities attended by the nation's business and industrial leaders. More recently, *Forbes* magazine's 1989 ranking of the "200 Best Small Companies' Chief Executives" listed five Notre Dame alumni. Only three universities matched that number. None had more.

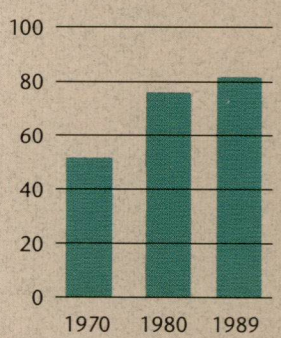
"Instead of sending insider traders and other white-collar criminals to prison, maybe the government should make them earn an MBA from Notre Dame. While many other B-schools have suddenly discovered ethics, Notre Dame has considered moral and ethical questions in all of its courses ever since it began offering an MBA more than 20 years ago."
—*Business Week*'s "Guide to the Best Business Schools"



◀ *In the laboratory (facing page) of physics professor Jacek Furdyna, new semiconductor materials are being developed for uses ranging from advanced television and laser technology to magnetic sensing devices and ultrafast photonic computers that operate on light.*

◀ *Dean John Keane (left) greets students in the lobby of Hurley Hall of Business Administration. As the setting suggests, Notre Dame's business school is a leader in preparing students for the international dimensions of commerce and industry.*

▲ *An offshoot of the University's innovative research in aircraft design, a Notre Dame-developed computer demonstration (above) allows visitors to the Smithsonian Institution to design their own commercial planes. The exhibit is on permanent display in the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum.*



% of Entering Freshmen in Top 10% of High School Class

For a Global Future

The University of Notre Dame-Australia is a proposed institution patterned after (but not legally or financially linked to) its American model. With Father Malloy, Provost Timothy O'Meara and Executive Vice President Father William Beauchamp among its consultants and trustees, the Australian school would give the University an important new association in the Pacific Rim.

Long the most national of American universities, Notre Dame today has become an established presence in international educational circles. The University's Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies is acknowledged to be one of higher education's premier centers for Latin American studies.

In March 1990 a faculty member of the Institute, Alejandro Foxley, became minister of finance in Chile's first democratically elected government in almost 20 years.

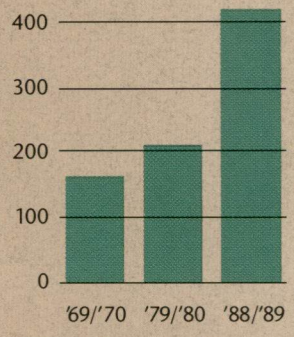
Each year Notre Dame's Institute for International Peace Studies assembles a group of students from around the world to consider the complex issues and strategies bound up in the quest for world peace. One such group included students from each of the world's nuclear powers, another brought together such unlikely classmates as an Israeli army veteran and a Palestinian born in a West Bank refugee camp. Other peace scholars have come from the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, Poland, Brazil, Chile, Ghana and India.

Almost a decade ago, Notre Dame seized upon the thaw in U.S.-China relations to establish associations with the Chinese academies of science and social sciences. Now, in the wake of rapprochement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the University is forging new international ties that already are resulting in significant academic contacts. The 1990-91 academic year will see Soviet mathematicians occupying visiting professorships at Notre Dame, while Igor Gryazin, member of the Supreme Soviet from the Baltic republic of Estonia, will conduct research in U.S. constitutional law with Notre Dame law professor John Attanasio.

For students, Notre Dame offers a global itinerary of study programs, including Tianjin, China; Nagoya, Japan; Mexico City; Jerusalem; Innsbruck, Austria; London; Angers, France; Rome; and Toledo, Spain.

▲ *Alejandro Foxley, Helen Kellogg professor of international development and professor of economics at Notre Dame, accepts his appointment as Chile's minister of finance from President Patricio Aylwin during inaugural ceremonies in Santiago in March 1990.*

Notre Dame has developed special programs to provide a needed global perspective to students of law, business and architecture. The Rome program affords architecture students firsthand experience of the classical tradition, while the University's London Centre (left) offers law and business students valuable exposure to coalescing legal and economic thinking in the European community.



Students Involved in Foreign Study Programs

For a Healthy Environment

As concern mounts worldwide over contamination of the environment and the daunting costs of decontamination, Notre Dame researchers and students are drawing on three unique University resources to play a leading role in attacking the problem.

As many as 30 institutions each year are represented on the staff of Notre Dame's Radiation Laboratory, giving it the largest concentration of radiation chemists in the world. The laboratory is supported by the U.S. Department of Energy.

The University's Center for Bioengineering and Pollution Control has pioneered technologies using specially-bred microorganisms to remove contaminants from soil, municipal sewage and industrial wastewater. The Center currently is designing new, less expensive technology for decontaminating soils fouled by underground storage tanks and is testing the use of microorganisms to turn lethal TNT wastes into benign CO_2 and water. Perhaps most important, it is studying ways to change basic manufacturing processes so that less waste is produced.

In the University's Radiation Laboratory, researchers are drawing on 40 years of studies of the effects of radiation on organic compounds to test how radiation might be used to destroy toxic wastes. As well as offering the possibility of a powerful new antipollution weapon, these studies may help scientists to understand and harness the processes by which solar energy degrades toxic materials.

In a unique outdoor research laboratory, Notre Dame biologists are attacking the problems of water pollution and wildlife management. The University of

◀ *In Notre Dame's Center for Bioengineering and Pollution Control, mathematicians, computer scientists, geologists, physicists, microbiologists, chemists and engineers work together on environmental research projects.*

Notre Dame Environmental Research Center (above) is an isolated, 8,000-acre tract overlapping the border between Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. With 27 lakes and numerous bogs, marshes, creeks and ponds, it is the only facility in the nation where whole-lake ecological studies are being done. One such study completed recently may revolutionize techniques used to clean up murky lakes and to keep clear lakes pristine.

For the Public Trust

Under the aegis of the nonprofit corporation Trust Through Health, Inc., Notre Dame and Harvard University are collaborators in a joint Soviet-American effort to improve health care in Third World nations.

Notre Dame faculty and administrators exemplify the University's commitment to public service by their frequent involvement in high-level public interest and public policymaking roles. This commitment begins at the top. Father Malloy, the University's president, has played a prominent role in the national campaign to curb drug abuse as well as in efforts to encourage voluntarism. He serves as a member both of President Bush's Advisory Council on Drugs and, at the state level, of Governor Evan Bayh's Commission for a Drug-Free Indiana. He also is a founding director of the Points of Light Initiative, a new national foundation to promote community service.

Among the faculty, professor of law Douglas Kmiec is one of only a few Americans to be presented the Distinguished Service Award by two U.S. government departments—Justice, where he was deputy assistant attorney general from 1985-87, and Housing and Urban Development, where he served as a White House Fellow and special assistant to the secretary in 1982-83. He has been a member of Notre Dame's law faculty since 1980.

Another law professor, Jimmy Gurulé, has received the Drug Enforcement Administration's highest award. He served as chief prosecutor in the much publicized case of murdered U.S. drug enforcement agent Enrique Camarena. Professor of law G. Robert Blakey has served as chief counsel to both the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures and to the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Professor of physics V. Paul Kenney served from 1986-88 as a senior physicist with the U.S. Department of Energy and is a guest researcher and experiment spokesman for the Brookhaven and Fermi National Laboratories. John F. Santos, professor of psychology and director of Notre Dame's Center for Gerontological Education, Research and Services, was appointed in 1989 to the National Advisory Council on Aging of the National Institutes of Health. Also, Rev. James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C., professor of theology, was a member of the special National Institutes of Health panel convened to study the issue of fetal tissue use in medical research, and Rev. Robert Pelton, C.S.C., director of Notre Dame's Institute for Pastoral and Social Ministry, served as an observer of the Nicaraguan presidential elections in February 1990.

The University encourages a similar commitment to service on the part of students. The Hesburgh Program in Public Service offers undergraduates a concentrated course of study in public policy-making combined with an opportunity for internships in federal and state government positions.

◀ *Father Malloy (facing page) is interviewed by host Charlie Rose on CBS News "Nightwatch." Notre Dame's president also has been profiled on "60 Minutes," on the front page of* The Washington Post *and in* The New York Times *and* Chicago Tribune *magazines.*

▶ *Notre Dame law professor Douglas Kmiec conducts a news conference in Washington, D.C., while serving as assistant U.S. attorney general and chief legal counsel to the executive branch.*

"Notre Dame is renowned, not simply because of its academic excellence, but because it stands among the winds of subjectivity for lasting values and principles that are at the heart of our civilization, and on which all human progress is built. Notre Dame not only educates, but guides its students in the development of honesty, courage, and all the other things we call character. If (our detractors) want to see the goodness and love of life of this generation, the commitment to decency and a better future, let them come here, to Notre Dame."
—Former President Ronald Reagan

For a Renewed Society

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp has said that universities and communities nationwide should look to the Notre Dame-supported Center for the Homeless in South Bend (below) as a model of cooperative social action.

Notre Dame's success in broadening the definition of education to include social responsibility and action has become a model for colleges and universities across America. Two-thirds of Notre Dame students engage in some form of community service during their years on campus, and about one in ten devotes a year or more after graduation to full-time social service. The University's Center for Social Concerns is the catalyst for much of this activity—sponsoring programs, offering seminars and courses, and matching student volunteers with varied local, national and international service agencies.

Some examples of the social service projects undertaken at Notre Dame:

—Each January as many as 500 students give up part of their semester break to participate in an Urban Plunge, a 48-hour live-in encounter with the nation's poorest urban neighborhoods.

—Following up on their Urban Plunge experiences, a number of these students take part in Summer Service Projects sponsored by Notre Dame alumni clubs across the nation and offering students

eight weeks of work with a social service agency in an impoverished area. Yale and Stanford Universities each have established programs modelled on this Notre Dame concept.

—In both 1989 and 1990, some 2,500 Notre Dame students—more than a quarter of the entire student body—volunteered for the local Christmas in April housing rehabilitation program, which makes repairs in low-income neighborhoods.

—Each year for two decades students and faculty members from Notre Dame's Department of Accountancy have operated a free tax-preparation assistance program for low-income taxpayers.

—Each year a group of Notre Dame students lives off-campus in a community with former prison inmates attempting to reenter society.

—Each night a group of student volunteers collects the substantial quantity of food left from the University's evening meal and delivers it to the poor and homeless.

Reflecting its Catholic heritage and character, Notre Dame's commitment to social justice is institutional. In 1988 the University took the lead in funding and establishing a new Center for the Homeless in South Bend, Indiana.

▲ *Students' social service activities (above right) often carry over into their professional lives. Drawing on the experiences of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College alumni, for example, employees of ABN/LaSalle, a Chicago bank, participate in their own version of Notre Dame's Urban Plunge (above left).*

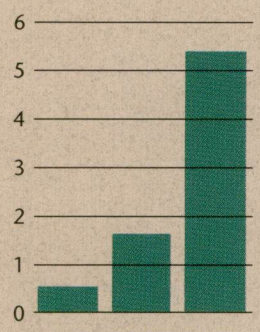
Despite an undergraduate student body numbering only about 7,500, Notre Dame is among the nation's top providers of volunteers to the Peace Corps. During the most recent five-year period, an average of 15 Notre Dame graduates joined the Corps each year.

In a recent survey of 1,400 colleges and universities by the Templeton Foundation, Notre Dame was one of only three schools designated "best of the best" in encouraging "the development of strong moral character among students."

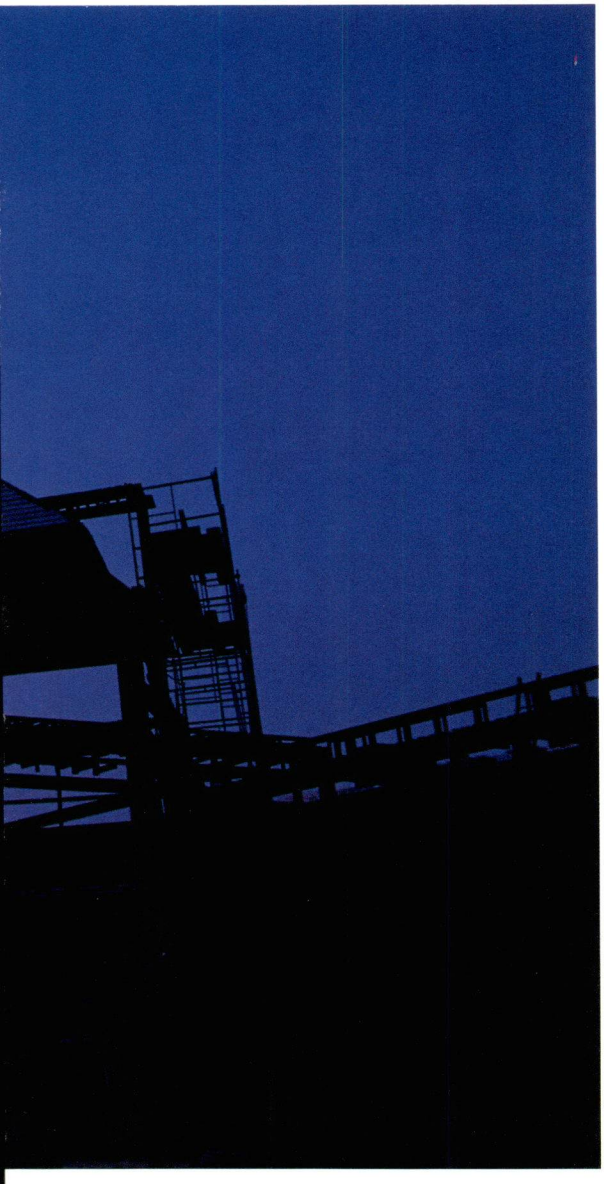
For a Great University

The Hesburgh Center for International Studies (right) is the first building to be constructed on Notre Dame's new DeBartolo Quadrangle, which also will be the site of a new classroom building, performing arts center, College of Business Administration complex and other facilities.

Few universities, public or private, have grown as dramatically in stature and distinction in recent years as has Notre Dame. Undergraduate education and the humanities remain the core of the University's strength. In earning 16 National Endowment for the Humanities distinguished fellowships from 1985-90, faculty of Notre Dame's College of Arts and Letters achieved the third best record in the nation. Among private universities, only Harvard and Princeton ranked higher. The Arts and Letters preprofessional studies program ranks in the nation's top 15 in number of students enrolling in medical school each year. The program's graduates achieve an acceptance rate 30 points better than the



Endowment
(in 100 millions of $)



national average—85 percent to 55 percent.

The success of Notre Dame's graduates in postbaccalaureate studies is further evidence of the strength of the University's undergraduate programs. Notre Dame ranks in the top 20 nationally in doctorates earned by its bachelor's degree recipients, with the largest numbers of these Ph.D.s in the fields of English and American language and literature, social work, theology, and politics and international relations.

As recently as 20 years ago, each of Notre Dame's four colleges had a single endowed faculty chair. Today, more than 100 chairs have been established University-wide, with more than 40 in Arts and Letters. These endowed professorships have enabled the University to attract—and to retain—superb faculty talent.

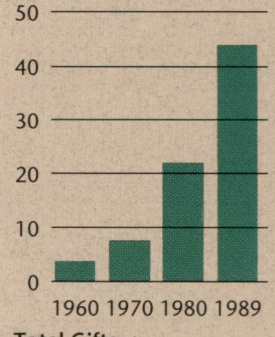
Talent also is the hallmark of the University's student body. In 1989, when almost 10,000 high school seniors applied for the 1,800 positions in the freshman class, more than one-third of the students enrolled ranked in the top five in their graduating classes—and a record 16 percent were members of minority groups.

Once admitted, Notre Dame students remain in school. Aided by innovative programs including the Freshman Year of Studies, which is virtually unique in American higher education, 93 percent of the University's undergraduates earn their degrees. The national average is 54 percent.

The University's quest for excellence is underpinned by extraordinary financial strength. From 1980-1990, endowment grew from $150 million to almost $600 million. The most recent capital campaign raised approximately $450 million, half again its original $300-million goal, which itself exceeded the total raised in all previous campaigns. Now, the University is committed to increasing student aid endowment by $100 million before the year 2000, enabling more outstanding students to attend Notre Dame regardless of their ability to pay.

Of more than 200 national research universities surveyed by *U.S. News & World Report*, Notre Dame was ranked among the top 25 in educational quality. In the same magazine's survey of graduate and professional schools, the Notre Dame Law School was ranked in the top 20.

In 1950, Notre Dame students' scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) matched the national average. Today, Notre Dame students score more than 300 points above the national average.



Total Gifts
(in millions of $)

Board of Trustees

Rev. Ernest Bartell, C.S.C.
Executive Director
Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies
University of Notre Dame

Rev. E. William Beauchamp, C.S.C.
Executive Vice President
University of Notre Dame

Mr. Roger E. Birk
President
Federal National Mortgage Association
Washington, D.C.

Rev. Thomas E. Blantz, C.S.C.
Associate Professor
Department of History
University of Notre Dame

Dr. John Brademas
President
New York University
New York, New York

Mr. John H. Burgee
John Burgee Architects
New York, New York

Mr. John B. Caron
Greenwich, Connecticut

Mr. Thomas A. Coleman
Senior Partner
Adler, Coleman & Co.
New York, New York

Mr. Arthur J. Decio
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer
Skyline Corporation
Elkhart, Indiana

Mr. Anthony F. Earley
President
Chave & Earley, Inc.
Greenwich, Connecticut

Rev. Carl F. Ebey, C.S.C.
Provincial Superior
Congregation of Holy Cross
Indiana Province
South Bend, Indiana

Dr. Philip J. Faccenda
General Counsel
University of Notre Dame

Sister Alice Gallin, O.S.U.
Executive Director
Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities
Washington, D.C.

Rev. John C. Gerber, C.S.C.
Holy Cross Novitiate
Lake Saka, Uganda

Mr. Roland D. Grimm
President
Faneuil Management Corporation
Duxbury, Massachusetts

Mr. Bernard J. Hank, Jr.
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer
Montgomery Elevator Company
Moline, Illinois

Dr. T. Michael Harrington
University of Alabama at Birmingham
Birmingham, Alabama
President-Elect
Notre Dame Alumni Association
(Ex officio)

Mr. Philip M. Hawley
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc.
Los Angeles, California

Miss Esther I. Ivory
Management Consultant
American Management Systems
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. John A. Kaneb
President and Chief Executive Officer
The Catamount Companies
Chelsea, Massachusetts

Mr. Donald P. Kelly
President and Chief Executive Officer
D.P. Kelly & Associates, L.P.
Oak Brook, Illinois

Mr. Raphael M. Kelly
Senior Vice President
PaineWebber, Inc.
Jacksonville, Florida
President
Notre Dame Alumni Association
(Ex officio)

Dr. Elizabeth T. Kennan
President
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Mr. Donald R. Keough
(Chairman)
President and Chief Operating Officer
The Coca-Cola Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. William M. Lewers, C.S.C.
Director
Center for Civil and Human Rights
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Mr. Aubrey C. Lewis
Vice President
F.W. Woolworth Co.
New York, New York

Mr. Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief
La Opinion
Los Angeles, California

Rev. Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame

Mr. Donald J. Matthews
Senior Vice President
Johnson & Higgins
New York, New York

Mr. Patrick F. McCartan
Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue
Cleveland, Ohio

Most Rev. Mark G. McGrath, C.S.C.
Archbishop of Panama
Panama, Republic of Panama

Mr. Andrew J. McKenna
(Vice Chairman)
President and Chief Executive Officer
Schwarz Paper Company
Morton Grove, Illinois

Mr. Newton N. Minow
Sidley & Austin
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Louis M. Nanni
Mission Director
Diocese of Orlando
Orlando, Florida

Timothy O'Meara
Provost
University of Notre Dame

Mr. Frank J. Pasquerilla
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer
Crown American Corporation
Johnstown, Pennsylvania

Mrs. Jane C. Pfeiffer
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dr. Percy A. Pierre
Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Mrs. Ernestine M. Raclin
Chairman of the Board
1st Source Corporation
South Bend, Indiana

Mr. John M. Regan, Jr.
Ocean Ridge, Florida

The Honorable Loret Miller Ruppe
Ambassador to Norway
Oslo, Norway

Mr. John A. Schneider
Old Saybrook, Connecticut

Mr. Ray H. Siegfried, II
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer
NORDAM
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dr. Alfred Stepan
Dean
Faculty of International and Public Affairs
Columbia University
New York, New York

Mr. Frank E. Sullivan
Summit, New Jersey

Mr. Arthur R. Velasquez
President
Azteca Foods, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

The Honorable Ann C. Williams
United States District Court
Northern District of Illinois
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Robert K. Wilmouth
President and Chief Executive Officer
National Futures Association
Chicago, Illinois

NOTRE DAME

A National Catholic Research University

The Larger Context

We have often faced 4th and 20 with the clock running out. Our greatest plays usually came when we were losing.

THE GAME'S NOT OVER

By Michael Novak

It was quite a surprise to open the London *Sunday Times* a couple of weeks ago and find a nasty attack on a FORBES column of mine *(Apr. 30)*. I wrote that Professor Paul Kennedy of Yale, in his theory of "imperial overstretch," could not have been more wrong in predicting American decline; because the American idea of liberty is on the rise.

That irked Professor Kennedy, who rejoined: "The democratic freedoms that are being regained in Eastern Europe, or gained for the first time in the Third World, are not more American than they are French or Norwegian or Australian." But isn't the number one idea in Western Europe in the 1990s "federalism"? The practical working out of this concept, Lord Acton wrote, is one of America's greatest contributions to the history of Liberty. And isn't the great crisis of Eastern Europe today the "nationalities question"? Regarding pluralism, the smaller, more homogeneous nation-states of Europe have less to teach than America does. And about enterprise, initiative and risk, do Western European socialists or Americans have more to teach?

In the same vein, many years ago, my father gave me good advice: "Never bet against Notre Dame or the United States of America." I took him to mean that spirit counts for something. By contrast, Mr. Kennedy counts mostly military and economic power, which today are losing salience. Other classic forms of power—let us call them faith, ideas, morale, spirit, vision, culture—are gathering force. These shifts in the meaning of power give us a framework for evaluating America's imminent future.

Beginning in 1945, it was the role of the U.S.—a role neither coveted nor chosen but thrust upon an isolationist nation—to preside over the greatest transformation of the political economy of this planet in world history. Decolonization would be one theme. Liberation from poverty through capitalist economic development would be a second. The building of democratic republics would be the third theme. (I say "democratic republics" to insist upon the protection of individual rights and to avoid the tyrannies implicit in "one man, one vote.")

The linchpin of the U.S. strategy after World War II was to build up its two fiercest former enemies, Japan and Germany, by imposing upon them systems designed along democratic capitalist lines. The idea was that a worldwide network of such systems would fashion a positive-sum world, in which the advance of one nation would not beggar the others. On the contrary, as each war-leveled nation recovered, it would contribute to the wealth of others, by both its own production and its new markets.

The implication of this scheme was that the relative standing of the U.S. as an economic and military power would decline as the other great nations rose from the ashes. This relative decline would not be a defect. It would be a triumph.

Professor Kennedy notwithstanding, the enduring American ideal has not been to become a great power in the old-fashioned imperial sense. The enduring American ideal has been to construct a *Novus Ordo Seclorum*—a new order of the ages—constituted along the lines of the three great liberties dear to the American experiment: political liberty, economic liberty and moral-cultural liberty. Call this mysticism, if you like, or "soft" power.

But as you have watched Chinese students in Shanghai carry a replica of the U.S. Statue of Liberty, listened to a brewery worker in Prague quoting from Jefferson and watched dissidents in the 15 republics of the U.S.S.R. voice dreams of new democracies, free economies and liberties of conscience, surely you have been tempted to think that this is the one kind of power most consistent with the purposes for which the U.S. was founded.

The declinists have also forgotten that the U.S. is an extraordinarily religious country. In one opinion poll, 75% of Americans said that religion is a "very important" or "somewhat important" part of their daily lives. In its religious seriousness, the U.S. has much more in common with the Third World than with the highly secularized populations of Western Europe and Japan. Leaders in our business community, incidentally, are among the most religious of our elites—far more so than professors or journalists.

In brief, some of us see many resources in the American spirit yet to be tapped. We recognize that in the last 30 years, during "the Age of Permissiveness," there has been a serious erosion of the nation's moral and religious strength. In the ancient language, "We have sinned," and we are paying for our sins: More hedonism and debt than are good for us, less serious study and disciplined achievement than we are capable of.

This decline lies not in our stars but in ourselves. The reason not to bet against Notre Dame is that its greatest victories come when it is losing. So do those of the U.S. ■

Philosopher, journalist and ex-U.S. ambassador Michael Novak directs social and political studies at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. His book The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism *has been widely translated around the world.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:30 A.M. EDT
SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1991

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT

University of Michigan Stadium
Ann Arbor, Michigan

May 4, 1991

President James Duderstadt and Governor John Engler, distinguished Regents, honorary degree recipients. And of course, Michigan's class of 1991. It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has witnessed its share of gridiron glory -- and political history. The last time I was in Ann Arbor, we commemorated John Kennedy's unveiling of the Peace Corps. And, as your commencement program indicates, Lyndon Johnson introduced the Great Society in a University of Michigan commencement address.

Today, I want to talk about this historic moment. Your commencement -- your journey into the "real world" -- coincides with this Nation's commencement into a world freed from Cold War conflict and thrust into an era of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. Our economic strength, our military power and most of all, our national character brought us to this special moment. When our policies unleashed the economic expansion of the 1980s, we exposed forever the failures of socialism -- and reaffirmed our status as the world's greatest economic power. When we sent troops to the Persian Gulf, we showed that we take principles seriously enough to risk dying for them.

Our successes have banished the Vietnam-era phantoms of doubt and distrust. In my recent travels around the country, I have felt an idealism that we Americans supposedly had lost. People have faith in the future. They ask: "What next?" "How can I help?"

We have rediscovered the power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall, and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. Like generations before us, we have begun to define for ourselves the promise of freedom.

I would like to talk today about the nature of freedom, and how its demands will shape our future as a nation.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, and exploration. Here, merit conquers circumstance. Here, people of vision -- Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Martin Luther King Jr. -- outgrow rough origins and transform a world.

These achievements testify to the greatness of our free enterprise system. In past ages, and in other economic orders, people could acquire wealth only by seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

The free enterprise system, built upon the foundation of private property, harnesses our powerful instincts for creativity. It gives everyone an interest in shared prosperity -- in freedom, in respect.

No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and rigorously as ours. We have become the most egalitarian society in history, and one of the most harmonious, because we let people work freely toward their destinies.

When governments try to improve on freedom -- say, by picking winners and losers in the economic market -- they fail. No conclave of experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Our Administration appreciates the power of free enterprise -- and our economic and domestic programs try to apply the genius of the market to the needs of the nation.

For example, we want to eliminate rules and red tape that bind the hands and minds of entrepreneurs and innovators.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the nation to re-invent the American school -- to compete in the race to unleash our national genius.

We have incorporated market incentives into our legislative proposals, so taxpayers will get a fair return on their dollars. Just look at last year's child care legislation and Clean Air Act, or this year's transportation bill.

We have proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that strengthens the financial system upon which economic growth depends. We repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains tax, so people with dreams have a chance of achieving them.

And we want to extend the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government-owned apartments.

Although we have tried to transfer power into the hands of our people, we haven't done enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to help people build good lives for themselves and their families.

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man, and increasing numbers of citizens see that burden as a barrier to achieving their dreams.

We have tried to put a lid on the spending that drives taxes, and to concentrate government efforts on truly national purposes. This is only common sense. If we want to build faith in government, we must demand public services that serve the public. We must insist upon compassion that works.

But the power to create also rests on other freedoms, especially the freedom to think and speak one's mind. This may be the most fundamental and deeply revered of all our liberties, not just because Americans like to debate, but because free speech plays a crucial role in helping us improve ourselves. It separates good ideas from bad. It defines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It tears off the blinders of ignorance and prejudice and lets us move on to greater things.

Ironically, on the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States, including on some college campuses. The notion of "political correctness" has ignited controversy across the land. Although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and hatred, it replaces old prejudices with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits.

What began as a crusade for civility has soured into a cause of conflict and even censorship. Disputants treat sheer force -- getting their foes punished or expelled, for instance -- as a substitute for the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micromanage casual conversation have only incited distrust. They have invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, or action. In their own Orwellian way, crusades that demand correct behavior crush diversity in the name of diversity.

We all should be alarmed at the rise of intolerance in our land, and by the growing tendency to use intimidation rather than reason in settling disputes. Neighbors who disagree no longer settle matters over a cup of coffee. They hire lawyers and go to court. Political extremists roam the land, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race. Such bullying is outrageous, and not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. Let us fight back against the boring politics of division and derision. Let's trust our friends and colleagues to respond to reason.

As Americans we must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry. We must conquer the temptation to assign bad motives to people who disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, men and women must feel free to speak their hearts and minds. We must build a society in which people can join in common cause without having to surrender their identities.

You can lead the way. Share your thoughts and experiences; your hopes and frustrations. Defend others' rights to speak. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- not inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent times, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom can I sue? Even worse, many would-be Samaritans wonder: Will someone sue me? Talented, concerned men and women avoid such noble professions as medicine for fear that unreasonable and undefined liability claims will force them to spend more time in court than in the office.

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, and churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When government tries to serve as a parent, teacher or moral guide, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility -- to argue that only government must help people in need.

If we have learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Indeed, as we pile law upon law, program upon program, rule upon rule, we actually can weaken people's moral sensitivity. The rule of law gives way to the rule of the loophole -- the notion that whatever is not illegal must be acceptable. In this way, great goals go unmet.

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

He applied the wisdom of his time to these challenges. He believed that cadres of experts really could care for the millions. They would calculate ideal tax rates, ideal rates of expenditure on social programs, ideal distributions of wealth and privilege. In many ways, theirs was an America by the numbers: If the numbers were right, America was right.

Gradually, we got to the point of equating dollars with commitment, and when programs failed to produce progress, we demanded more money. In time, this crusade backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty invited dependency.

We should have learned that while the ideals behind the Great Society were noble, the programs weren't always up to the task. We need to rethink our approach. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We don't want a land of loopholes. We want a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to create a slogan. I was issuing a challenge. An effective government must know its limitations and respect its people's capabilities. In return, people must assume the final burden of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. Most of our greatest responsibilities confront us not in government hearing rooms, but around dinner tables, on the streets, at the office.

If you teach your children and others how to hate, they will learn. If you encourage them not to trust others, they will follow your lead. If you talk about compassion, but refuse to help those in need, your children will learn to look the other way.

Once your commencement ends and your adult life begins, you will have to rely on the sternest stuff of all: yourself.

In the end, government will not make you good or evil. The quality of your life, and of our Nation's future, depends as much on how you treat your fellow women and men as it does on the way in which we in Washington conduct affairs of state. After all, the opposite of greed is not taxation. It is service.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must protect the freedoms of creation, speech and spirit. You must build a peaceful and prosperous future.

We don't need another Great Society, with huge and ambitious programs administered by the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, built upon the deeds of the many -- a society that promotes service, selflessness, and action.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship, to join in partnership with family, friends, and government to make our world better.

The Good Society does not demand agonizing sacrifice. It requires something within everyone's reach: common decency and commitment. Know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, or wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles: Live them.

Good Society, built upon the deeds of the many. A society that promotes service, selflessness, action. (Applause.)

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship, to join in partnership with family, friends, government to make our world better.

The Good Society does not demand agonizing sacrifice. It requires something within everyone's reach: common decency -- common decency and commitment. Know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles: Live them.

Let me leave you today with an exhortation: Make the most of your abilities. Question authority but examine yourself. Demand good government, but strive to do what is good. Take risks. Muster the courage to be what I call a point of light.

Also, define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obessions about "freedom from" various ills. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

When John Kennedy talked of sending a man to the moon, he didn't say, we want to avoid getting stranded on this planet. He said, we'll send a man to the moon. We must be equally determined to achieve our common goals.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- quite possibly of yours. The old way of doing things have run their course. Find new ones. Dare to serve others and future generations will never forget the example you set.

This is your day. Barbara and I are very proud to share it with you. Congratulations to each and every one of you. (Applause.) And thank you for the honor. (Applause.)

And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 11:45 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS TO YALE UNIVERSITY

Yale University Quadrangle
New Haven, Connecticut

11:55 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. President Schmidt and members of the faculty, and the Yale community, fellows of the Yale Corporation, and especially with congratulations to my fellow honorands -- it is an honor to be here today. Mayor Daniels, it's nice to be back in the city. And most importantly, to the graduating students -- congratulate each and every one of you. (Applause.) May I single out Yale's band. They've cleaned up for today, and they've never been better under Mr. Tom Duffy. Thank you, sir. (Applause.) And thank you for the warm welcome. Si res prehensio en cano est non oves sic vacio. That means, if you're holding up the sign, you can't throw eggs. (Laughter and applause.)

I remember my own commencement. Like so many of my classmates, I'd come to Yale fresh from war -- ready to make up for "lost time." I remember our impatience and our optimism. And we sensed upcoming adventure. I imagine it's the same today for all of you. It's almost as if life is about to begin -- that is, if the commencement speech ever ends. (Laughter.)

Twenty-nine years ago, President Kennedy stood right here, and my dad was honored with him. And he said, "I have the best of all worlds -- a Yale degree and a Harvard education." (Laughter.) He had it wrong. I've got the best of all worlds -- a Yale education and a Yale degree. (Applause.)

My day was no different. There's an excitement in the air, and Barbara and I spent a good part of our senior year thinking about, literally, becoming farmers. We talked about life on the land and rising early and working hard and raising a crop and a family. And we looked into the finances of running a farm. In the end, we decided against the whole idea. We realized that when it came to pigs and chickens and cattle or corn, we didn't know the first thing about farming.

So, of course, there was only one alternative: I went west and became an oilman. (Laughter.) The days after -- the day -- the very day after the ceremony like this one, I traded the familiar surroundings of this beautiful old campus for the dust and grit and searing heat of the Lone Star State.

Odessa, Texas, became my world. And yet far beyond 37 Hillhouse Avenue where Barbara and I lived, or the Flatlands of West Texas, change rocked the whole world in ways that would affect us all for more than 40 years. On June 20th, 1948 -- my graduation day -- the United Nations sent out its first peacekeeping force -- 49 men from the United States and six other nations -- to bring the promise of peace to the Middle East. And on that day, the Soviet Union tried to clamp down on the free sectors of Berlin -- the Berlin Blockade had begun. And on that day, Congress, after an all-night session, passed a bill to help the nations of war-torn Europe. That package would become known, as we all know, as the Marshall Plan.

Today's world -- your world -- is every bit as

MORE

astonishing. Back in my day, opportunity knocked. And yours -- you pager beeps.

We have seen in two short years the end of a long era of Cold War and conflict. The Iron Curtain collapsed -- it's gone, the wall is down. (Applause.) And with it the myth of an ideology called communism. On the barren ground that once separated East and West, the democratic idea sprouted anew.

As a nation, we can take great pride in this triumph. It vindicates more than 40 years of American vigilance -- a lesson learned on the battlefields of Europe and the seas of the South Pacific -- that this nation could no longer pursue a policy of "splendid isolation."

The democratic renaissance in Central and Eastern Europe -- the blossoming of democracy here in the Americas -- the emerging consensus on the African Continent that democracy is the road to development -- none of this would have taken place if America had turned inward, away from the challenges of a new world.

So today, as we seek to promote freedom and democracy and human rights -- as we seek to strengthen stability within the international community -- an America confident enough to engage the world remains our best hope for peace, security and shared prosperity. (Applause.)

Look in every corner of the globe and you will find that the American example has consequences. When we reach out, we offer more than cars or grain or MTV. We exemplify an ideal -- an ideal that conquers circumstance and suspicion, that conquers despots and empowers people. Some argue that a nation as moral and just as ours should not taint itself by dealing with nations less moral, less just. But this counsel offers up self-righteousness draped in a false morality. You do not reform a world by ignoring it. (Applause.)

East Asia is a case in point. Today, this dynamic region plays an important role in the world economy. As it has grown more prosperous, it has also grown more free. Driven forward by the engine of economic growth and trade, especially with the U.S., South Korea and Taiwan have shed their once authoritarian rule in favor of democracy and freer trade.

This same approach guides our policy towards the People's Republic of China, home to fully one-fifth of the world's people. China easily can affect the stability of the Asian-Pacific region -- and therefore, affect the entire world's peace and prosperity. The Chinese play a central role in working to resolve the conflict in Cambodia and relax tensions on the Korean Peninsula. China has a voice now in the multinational organizations. And its votes in the United Nations Security Council against Iraq's brutal aggression helped us forge the broad coalition that brought us victory in the Gulf. (Applause.)

And so when we find opportunities to cooperate with China, we will explore them. When problems arise with China's behavior, we will take appropriate action.

After the tragedy of Tiananmen, the United States was the first nation to condemn the use of violence against the peacefully demonstrating people of Beijing. We were the first to guarantee the rights of Chinese students studying on campuses across the country -- including here at Yale. (Applause.)

The United States was the first nation to impose sanctions -- and we are now the last, alone among the Western democracies, to keep those original sanctions in place. At every high-level meeting with the Chinese government, U.S. officials reiterate our position on human rights violations.

Unfair trade is also high on our agenda. Just last

month, we cited China under the trade rules of a special 301 for pirating U.S. copyrights and patents. And for the sake of national security, we will ban technologies and equipment to any Chinese company found to violate rules outlawing transfer of missile technologies.

We will continue to advance our interests and ideals: for free and fair trade -- for broader democratization -- for respec for human rights throughout China.

Let me be clear: As a member of the United Nations, China is bound by the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. We will hol China to the obligations that it has freely accepted.

And, finally, we continue urging China to exercise restraint in its weapons exports. Our recent experience with Iraq proves how dangerous the deadly trade can be. And very soon, I will announce significant new steps that we can take to control arms exports to the entire Middle East. (Applause.) Every nation must play a part in this effort. That's why we urge the Chinese government to abide by the letter and spirit of international agreements on missile technology controls -- and to do what 141 othe nations have already done: sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. (Applause.)

And this is one way that the United States can be a catalyst for positive change. This week, I will employ another by proposing formally that MFN trade status continue for China. This policy has generated considerable controversy. Some critics have said revoke MFN, or endanger it with sweeping conditions -- to censure China, cut our ties and isolate it. We are told this is a principled policy, a moral thing to do.

This advice is not new. It's not wise. It is not in the best interests of our country, the United States. And in the end, ir spite of noble and best intentions, it is not moral.

First, MFN is special.* It is not a favor. It is the ordinary basis of trade worldwide. Second, MFN is a means to bring the influence of the outside world to bear on China. Critics who attack MFN today act as if the point is to punish China -- as if hurting China's economy will somehow help the cause of privatization and human rights.

The real point is to pursue a policy that has the best chance of changing Chinese behavior. If we withdrew MFN or imposed conditions that would make trade impossible, we would punish South China; in particular, Guangdong Province -- the very region where free market reform and the challenge to central authority are the strongest. Right now, there's an estimated two million Chinese who are working, and proving that privatization can work -- all in South China. Withdraw MFN and their jobs would be in jeopardy. In addition, endangering MFN would deal a body blow to Hong Kong -- the bastion of freedom and free trade in the Far East.

But the most compelling reason to renew MFN and remain engaged in China is not economic, it's not strategic, but moral. It is right to export the ideals of freedom and democracy to China. It is right to encourage Chinese students to come to the United States, and for talented American students to go to China. It is wrong to isolate China if we hope to influence China. (Applause.)

For two decades after the communists seized power in 1949, the Western world followed a policy of isolation toward China. This period proved to be among the most brutal episodes in Chinese history -- a nightmare of anguish and death and suffering that will scar the soul of China for decades to come.

* not special.

So it comes down to the strength of our belief in the power of the democratic idea. If we pursue a policy that cultivates contacts with the Chinese people, promotes commerce to our benefit, we can help create a climate for democratic change.

No nation on Earth has discovered a way to import the world's goods and services -- while stopping foreign ideas at the border. Just as the democratic idea has transformed nations on every continent -- so, too, change will inevitably come to China.

This nation's foreign policy has always been more than simply an expression of American interests -- it's an extension of American ideals. This moral dimension of American policy requires us to remain active, engaged in the world. Many times, that means trying to chart a moral course through a world of lesser evils. That's the real world -- not black and white. Very few moral absolutes. Enormous potential for error and embarrassment. But all are part of the risks that we willingly take to advance the American ideal.

Many times in the past 40 years, people have encouraged us to adopt a policy of righteous isolationism -- but we remained engaged. We cannot advance principles if we curl up into a defensive ball. We cannot transform a world if we hide from its unpleasant realities. We can advance our cherished ideals only by extending our hand, showing our best sides, sticking patiently to our values -- even if we risk rejection.

Look at the way American encouragement and the American example -- the power of the American example -- is paying off in Taiwan and Korea. We will have no leverage. We will not be able to advance our cause or resist repression if we pull back and declare that China is simply too impure a place for us. We want to promote positive change in the world through the force of our example -- not simply profess our purity. We want to advance the cause of freedom -- not just snub nations that aren't yet wholly free.

Let me close today with some modest pieces of advice. First, understand that you often will confront moral ambiguity. There will come times when you will have difficulty distinguishing between good guys and bad guys. When these situations arise, identify your principles and stick by them. Stick by them even when people jeer, when people urge you to find a quick and easy out. (Applause.) If you remain patient and true to yourself, you can't go wrong.

Second, remember that the corner of the world that matters most is one right here at home, the one you share with friends and family.

And finally, your destiny and the currents of history will most likely intersect more than once. You will have ample opportunity to make your mark. And take care to make it count.

To all the graduates of the Class of '91 who now join me as proud alumni of this great University, congratulations, good luck to you, and may God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 12:15 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 30, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS AT FBI NATIONAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY

FBI National Academy
Quantico, Virginia

2:10 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. And Mr. Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, thank you, sir. May I salute Director Sessions, a friend of longstanding, a man in whose service I take great pride. I'm delighted that our Drug Czar, Bob Martinez, former Governor, is with us here today. I salute all the members, top-level members, of the law enforcement community that are with us here today.

I'm delighted to see our landlord, General Al Gray, who heads the Marine Corps and to whom we all owe a vote of gratitude and thanks for the way he and those Marines performed in Desert Storm. Al, we're delighted to see you here. (Applause.) And I'm delighted to be here, though I think that, on my way in, I may have spotted Hannibal the Cannibal in the audience. (Laughter.) For those parents and others, that's an inside joke that I'm not sure I understand myself, but nevertheless -- (laughter.)

And, of course, a special congratulations to today's newest Special Agents, the Class of '91-6th. And given my doctors' orders -- current orders -- I'm glad it was you and not me who had to make it through the "Yellow Brick Road" in order to be here today. (Laughter.) But my heartfelt congratulations to you. And I share in the pride that your families all have in you today.

Speaking of my health, which I am reluctant to do, but you might know that I just received a note -- a true story -- from a farmers' organization. And it said: "This wouldn't have happened if you had eaten your broccoli." (Laughter and applause.) I don't want to get in a fight with them; give me thyroid problems any day. (Laughter.)

But I'm very proud to be here saluting the FBI for its "fidelity, bravery, and integrity." And I'm proud to salute this class for its "courage, commitment, and common sense." But I've got a problem. I don't want to embarrass a fellow Texan, but tell me, Bill: How come, under the jurisdiction of the Director of the FBI, there's a little Virginia town that has the highest crime rate in the nation? And after looking around there today -- and, Tony, thank you so much for you and your able compatriots showing me all this. But after looking around there today, there's one thing I know for sure: No matter how persuasive you are, after I leave the White House, I am not retiring to Hogan's Alley. (Laughter.) Once is enough.

But you young men and women graduating today have already solved your share of these Hogan's Alley crimes. And now you're going out to face the real thing. And we are grateful to you. You're joining an FBI that plays an essential role in preserving the peace of our country -- investigating violations of federal law in criminal and civil and counter-intelligence fields.

But there's something else very special about the FBI, beyond its crime-fighting role. The Bureau sets an example for the country in showing how citizens and different levels of government can work together to meet our most important challenges.

MORE

The concept of teamwork between individuals and the various levels of government lies at the heart of the FBI's mission. And, frankly, we need to work together across this land to battle the scourge of violent crime that threatens our homes, our families, and our future.

Last year, six million American citizens -- six million -- fell victim to violent crime. Violent crime claimed the lives of over 20,000 Americans. Look at the statistics and a frightening fact emerges -- our streets posed a greater threat to our own servicemen and women than did the foes in the Middle East.

We deserve better than that as a nation. Our children -- God bless our children -- and they deserve better than that. And we will, with your help and your leadership, take back our streets.

In May of 1989, I stood in the rain on the steps of the Capitol with some of the law enforcement officers who put their lives on the line for all of us. Together, we called on the United States Congress to pass our crime package -- legislation designed to protect our cops by giving them the tools they need to get their job done. And, yes, it was tough legislation, but it was fair legislation.

Today, almost exactly two years later, I stand here in the midst of another group of law enforcement officers. Two years have passed and Congress still has not acted on our request.

Earlier this year, the Attorney General and I convened an unprecedented crime summit. We called upon the finest minds in American law enforcement. And in March, following the summit, and taking into account what we learned there, we sent a crime bill to Congress. Our Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1991 will confront the terrifying spiral of lawlessness. It will strengthen our nation's criminal justice system -- too often unfairly loaded against dedicated law enforcement officials.

The act has four major elements. First, habeas corpus reform. We're determined to free the courts from frivolous, repetitive delays -- gimmicks and challenges from people who have already exhausted their legal appeals. Our bill will ensure that convicted felons will no longer evade punishment by drowning justice in a sea of legal challenges unrelated to guilt or innocence.

The second major element is exclusionary rule reform. It is simply intolerable that armed criminals go free when law enforcement offices have collected solid evidence in good faith efforts to follow court guidelines.

Our bill limits the possibility of releasing violent criminals on the basis of legal technicalities. It permits juries to consider evidence that's been gathered by officers acting in good faith. This will avoid situations like that of the D.C. drug squad. At a bus station, they seized a bag they believed contained cocaine. They called the prosecutors and were told that they didn't need a warrant to search. Sure enough, they found a large supply inside. And sure enough, the evidence was ruled inadmissible, even though they'd acted in total good faith. Our bill would assure that such evidence survives in court.

In addition, it allows introduction into evidence of firearms seized from dangerous criminals, no matter how officers obtain those weapons. And that makes sure, then, that those who misuse firearms are caught and punished. Plain and simple.

And third, more categories of firearm offenses and penalties. Under this bill, drug traffickers and violent felons who use semiautomatic weapons will face stiff mandatory sentences. First-time felons caught with firearms will spend five years behind bars. No plea bargains. No early release. Our bill also creates new federal offenses for firearms theft and smuggling. We will silence the illegal guns that blast away in our streets, in our homes

and around our schools by punishing the violent criminals who misuse guns.

And our fourth core provision is for the restoration of the federal death penalty. We need an enforceable federal death penalty for the most heinous crimes -- for the senseless murder of a federal judge; or the terrorist killing of civilians; or the cold-blooded execution of a law enforcement officer or federal witness. We should give juries the option of imposing the death penalty for such depraved crimes. And we must send the strongest possible message to those who would commit such crimes. We must tell them that our society will protect itself from violent predators.

And for more than a decade now Congress has talked about reinstating the federal death penalty. And now, frankly, Congress should act. In that way, we will be telling victims and the families of victims that we will not forget their suffering, their loss. We will be telling them there that we're doing everything we can to ensure that others don't suffer similar fates.

But crime victims deserve more than compassion. They also deserve action. And that's why I take particular pride in the fact that, working with Congress, we have already not only reauthorized the 1984 Victims of Crime Act, but have also boosted its annual victims compensation and assistance fund to $150 million. Those are dollars that come, not from taxpayers, but as you all know from the fines and penalties levied against criminals.

But, of course, the best way, the best way to help the victims of crime is to make sure that they don't become victims in the first place. And so in our crime bill we've strengthened the core proposals with some potent new additions. Our act includes sections designed to curb terrorism, racial injustice, sexual violence and juvenile crime. It requires appropriate drug testing as a condition of post-conviction release for federal prisoners.

It outlines protections for witnesses and for abused kids. The bill makes it easier for federal officials to prosecute those who commit acts of sexual violence involving children. It provides for HIV testing of accused sex offenders. And it guarantees a victim's right to address the court at sentencing.

Listen to these words: "The land is full of bloody crime and the city is full of violence." The Prophet Ezekiel wrote that over 2,000 years ago. The battle between good and evil still rages. But our crime bill will strengthen the hand of good -- that's your hand, the hand of our nation's law enforcement professionals.

The American people, frankly, are tired of talk. I believe they want action. In March, we asked the Congress to pass a crime bill within 100 days -- I challenged them at a joint session up there. And so far, 85 days have passed and neither House has chosen to take up our crime package. The 100 days will expire on June 14th, but as you know, the crime issue will not. America wants real, comprehensive action against crime. America wants it done right. And it wants it done now. And, I assure you, so do I. (Applause.)

Finally, there's another more subtle threat to the peace -- and that's racial strife. For the past couple of years, the issue of civil rights has divided Americans. Our position as an administration is clear -- and believe me, I'm telling you this from the heart. I want to sign a civil rights bill. I am proud of my record on civil rights, and I'm proud of my administration's record on civil rights. But we want to sign a bill that advances the cause of equal opportunity. We want to sign a bill that advances the cause of racial harmony. And we want to sign a bill that encourages people to work together.

Unfortunately, congressional leaders again want to pass a bill that would lead employers to adopt hiring quotas and unfair job preferences. This week, they proposed an antiquota amendment to take care of the problem -- the quota problem -- they said didn't exist.

This shouldn't fool anyone. If you look closely at the amendment, you'll see that it endorses quotas. Even the section that supposedly outlaws quotas endorses quotas. It defines the "Q" word -- as it's come to be known -- it defines the "Q" word so narrowly that it would allow employers to establish personnel systems based on numbers, not on merit. Other sections rig the rules against employers. If their numbers aren't right, the employers are essentially helpless to defend themselves in court. And another section of the bill forbids many victims of illegal quotas from even getting their day in court.

If you listen to proponents of this bill, you'll hear another interesting thing. You'll hear them boast their approach makes it easier to prosecute and sue people. Well, frankly, this is hardly the road to racial harmony. It's the road to lawsuits and discord.

And so let's start over. Let's make harmony our goal. A good place to start is our own bill -- the administration's civil rights bill. You see, our bill would punish vigorously those who practice prejudice in the workplace. It would not offer a blank check to lawyers and special interests. It, frankly, would offer a helping hand to victims of racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. It would build on the strong and just laws that we already have. And I'd like to sign it, along with our crime bill, and I'd like to sign it soon.

I'm very proud to be with you -- law enforcement officials. And I want you to know that you have the public's support -- never doubt that. You have the public's support and gratitude. You have all of our support. And, very candidly, you've earned it. You deserve our admiration, our respect. And the best, toughest anticrime package your grateful nation can give you. No more loopholes, no more rolls of the dice. It's time. It's long past time.

So once again, I was just delighted when the Attorney General and the Director asked me to come down here to see you in action, to salute this gratuating class.

Congratulations to the graduates, to their families on this very special day. And the best of luck to all of you. And may God be with you. Thanks to all the FBI and DEA Agents here, to the state, and to the local and international police officers and the FBI National Academy, and, again, to your landlords, the United States Marines: May God bless you all. And may God bless the United States of America.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END 2:28 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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

For Immediate Release June 1, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS TO
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

United States Military Academy
West Point, New York

10:10 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much for that warm welcome back to West Point. (Applause.) Thank you all very, very much. Thank you General Palmer -- Dave Palmer -- for that introduction. May I salute our Secretary of the Army, Secretary Stone; our Chief, General Vuono. And might I say at the beginning that this country owes a great vote of thanks to both these general officers who have served their country with sacrifice and distinction. Please express yourselves by showing your appreciation to Carl Vuono and Dave Palmer, two great soldiers. (Applause.)

And may I single out at the outset several other special guests who, along with Secretary Stone and General Vuono, came up with me on Air Force One -- Congressman Sonny Montgomery, of Mississippi, a great supporter of a strong military -- (applause.) You guys better cheer, he's a Major General also. (Laughter.) And then, Congressman Ham Fish, who represents this West Point sister so well in Congress. (Applause.) And also may I single out my trusted National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, the Class of '47 at this Academy. Also Congressman Ben Gilman, who represents, as I understand it, the next congressional district over -- also a great friend of the Point. (Applause.)

And last, but certainly not least, let me single out a friend of our country -- Ambassador Bandar, the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the United States. (Applause.) And look, don't hold it against him that he's a fighter pilot. (Laughter.) From day one of Desert Shield, all through Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia and the United States stood shoulder-to-shoulder versus aggression. And together we did what was just and right. (Applause.)

Now to the business at hand. A special greeting to the families and to the friends, and most important, to the Cadets of the Class of 1991. It is an honor -- and I mean that -- for both Barbara and me today -- it is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he said, "In the evening of my memory, I always come back to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to become honorary members of this Long Grey Line. (Applause.)

You know, it's really something to look out over this outstanding military audience. Now I know how Bob Hope feels. (Laughter.) Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I left the goat outside, but I'm glad to be here. (Laughter.)

Before my remarks to this graduating class let me just make an announcement that is of interest to all here, to all around the world. The United States and the Soviet Union not many hours ago resolved our differences on the CFE treaty, clearing the way for an important step towards a superpower summit. And I congratulate our Secretary of State, the Foreign Secretary of the Soviet Union Bessmertnykh, and all involved. This is important to world peace,

MORE

and I'm glad to make this announcement right here at West Point. (Applause.)

You know, we meet this morning not as members of opposing teams, but as one people called Americans. Americans who know that -- like the memorial at Pearl Harbor, or the chapel at the Air Force Academy, its silhouette reaching toward the sky -- this ground right here at West Point reflects our deepest values and principles.

Look around you -- the majestic cadet chapel, the four statues in the mess hall, on grounds hallowed by generations of military heroes. Their lessons live as oral history, passed from one decade to another. Militarily and culturally, morally and spiritually, West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character.

The American Character inspired generations of immigrants to push back the wilderness, establish settlements, and secure independence. One generation preserved the Union. Another fought "the war to end all wars." The generation of your parents and grandparents showed that the Iron Curtain could not hold back America's values, America's hopes, America's example.

Today, I want to talk of the American Character and how to make ours the greatest nation. This character has many elements, the foremost of which is our devotion to freedom. The love of liberty drives our national heartbeat. Might I add, that that beat is regular, not fibrillating. (Applause.) A central tenet of this devotion -- freedom of religion -- creates a special place for values, for morals and faiths and causes larger than ourselves.

Next, our character bursts with self-reliance and creativity -- two qualities that propel us from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. Indeed, to this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. The only flag, the Stars and Stripes.

Finally, we define our character through the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our homes, our families and communities. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems an impossible dream.

You at West Point have established an example for the rest of the nation. Here people measure each other in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or sex or color or national origin.

Look to your left and look to your right, and what do you see? People divided by race and religion? No. You see your friends -- and your future. Our Armed Forces have shown what Americans can do when they see themselves not as white and black and red or brown, but as one people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and in the process, getting the job done. (Applause.)

More than three decades ago, the civil rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to this American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency and respect. Martin Luther King dreamed of an America in which one day our children would -- and to quote -- "not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." In the Army, just as here at West Point, that "one day" has arrived.

As Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in Brown versus the Board of Education, "The road to progress for the victims of past discrimination is equal and excellent education." In the years since the Army became a volunteer force it has featured equal and excellent education. As a result, we have the best educated military in our history. The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled -- as has the number of minority noncommissioned officers. The number of minority officers has almost tripled.

And you may recall that at the beginning of the Gulf war -- think back now -- you may recall that at the beginning of the Gulf war some complained that we have too many minorities in the military. My disagreement could not be more clear. The military is, yes, the greatest equal opportunity employer around. And as our distinguished Chairman Colin Powell said at the time, we have nothing to be ashamed of. At West Point and at West Point certainly, you have plenty to be proud of. (Applause.)

Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution, a great leader, as anybody who's been around this place knows, a great athlete. The one thousandth female graduate, also an all-around leader, a good soldier. And then the first graduate -- your class -- the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Laos. Yet the Army and West Point don't recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any country could ever have. (Applause.)

And so our country's task, America's task, is to achieve nationally what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. To reach that end, we must destroy the racial mistrust that threatens our national well-being as much as violence, or drugs, or poverty. We've all seen images of racial violence -- vivid pictures of fire and destruction, flashing lights and nightsticks. But we've also experienced little episodes of mistrust -- little ugly examples -- people slipping across the street to avoid someone of a different color; pressing themselves wearily into the back of an elevator. The practice of distrusting strangers because of their race or nationality. The habit of using patronizing or demeaning stereotypes.

Let's not kid ourselves. Regrettably, racism and bigotry still exist in this great country of ours. But let there be no doubt, this President and this administration will strike at discrimination wherever it exists. (Applause.) Because, you see, prejudice and hate have no place in this country, period. The real question that's facing us is not whether to fight these evils, but how.

Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the '50s and '60s deplored intolerance, demanded equality of opportunity and equality under the law. Government's responsibility is to enhance, not redistribute, opportunity to ensure that all people get a fair chance to achieve their dreams.

And today, some talk not of opportunity, but of redestributing rights. They'd pit one group against another, encourage people to think of others as competitors, not colleagues. That's not the way to achieve justice and equality here in America. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach.

I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive; don't brow-beat them -- appeal to the better angels of their nature.

As I see it, this is the concept behind affirmative action. To me, true affirmative action expresses a duty of citizenship -- good-faith efforts to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit -- to reach out and create truly equal opportunity for those who have been left behind, those who have been excluded.

Some think affirmative action should involve a Rubik's Cube of workplace guarantees. And I believe that it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values, affirmative views of themselves -- affirmative lives.

And that's why our administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. We've called for a revolution in education with our America 2000

strategy. We've tried to reform the public housing system -- turn it into an ownership system -- with a program we call -- properly call -- HOPE, H-O-P-E. And we've proposed enterprise zones, to plant seeds of growth amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. And we've offered tough anticrime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by the fear of crime. And we have advocated community opportunity areas -- to shift power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home, raise the family. God bless the strength of the American family. We've got to do more to help strengthen it. (Applause.)

These policies give power back to the people and they move us toward achieving the goal of equal opportunity. They do not -- cannot -- ensure equal success.

In that spirit, consider our civil rights package. Our administration's S-1991 civil rights bill would forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others. And it will not force employers to choose between using quotas or the risk of costly litigation. (Applause.)

I know there's another so-called civil rights bill out there, but it's a quota bill, regardless of how its authors dress it up. You can't put a sign on a pig and say it's a horse. It invites people to litigate, not cooperate. And this is no way in our country to promote harmony.

And so, let us cast off now the politics of division. Let's build a society in which people respect each other, work with -- not against -- each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Tomorrow, our able Secretary of HHS -- Health and Human Services -- my colleague in our Cabinet, Dr. Lou Sullivan will address the high school in his hometown of Blakely, Georgia. What's unusual is that this distinguished doctor now, then was not permitted to attend that school when he was young. It would not admit black kids. He overcame the burdens of prejudice to become an eloquent advocate of good education and sound values. And Lou has forgiven, but he and we can never forget the terrible things that racism and prejudice can do to a land.

Here at West Point you have shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. And now, let us build a "We" -- not a "He" -- generation by carrying the ideals of this school to the nation and the world.

You know, many of the servicemen and women who performed brilliantly during Operation Desert Shield and then, subsequently, Desert Storm have become what we call Points of Light at home. They've returned to their own communities and urged young people to follow their lead, to work hard, to stay in school, to stay away from drugs.

And so let's thank those who have taken this message back to the schools and communities across our land. And let's vow to do more. And I'd like to encourage all of you -- respected in your communities now -- to become Points of Light. Visit a school or a recreation center or a place of worship, and share some of your lives and your experiences. I ask communities to invite these wonderful men and women to speak at the schools and other forums.

You in this Class of 1991 can show that the story of the Good Samaritan is more than just an object lesson, for, you see, it's part of the American Character.

Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." America's magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Our challenge now is to heal the wounds and the scars at home -- and help the extended hand

spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion. (Applause.)

And so let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. You here at West Point, you all lead the way.

May God bless the Class of 1991 as you go on with your service to the greatest country on the face of the Earth. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END 10:32 A.M. EDT

velopments, but we're not sure we know all of it yet. I think the General will be in touch and might have a little more later on. But it's—how would you describe it? Some encouraging things——

General Scowcroft. Some progress.

The President.——and some problems that still remain to be solved. So, it's a mixed review right now, but we'll keep going forward. We want the Gorbachev summit to be successful, but it's going to take some give on the Soviet side, in my view. But we're going to keep pushing.

Q. What are they not giving on, Mr. President?

The President. Well, we still have some unfulfilled arms control problems that we're all familiar with.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 9:23 a.m. in the lobby of the Kirby Mansion. In his remarks, he referred to Ken Lay and George Starke, Cochairmen of the Houston Economic Summit Committee, and Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

Remarks at the University of Texas Commencement Ceremony in Austin

May 19, 1990

Governor, thank you. Thank you very, very much. Delighted to be here. A magnificent turnout. Thank you all. Governor Clements—Bill—thank you very much for that gracious introduction. And to you and Rita, my profound thanks. I do view you as friends, and I'm very lucky for that. To Congressman Jake Pickle and Beryl, congratulations, and congratulations on the graduation of your granddaughter, Bergan Norris, out here somewhere. And to Chairman Beecherl and members of this distinguished board of regents and to Chancellor Mark and President Cunningham, distinguished platform guests, Reverend Bethune, most distinguished faculty of this great university, thank you all.

I'm pleased to be here, and there is nothing like the great outdoors. For once, it doesn't seem to matter whether you sit on the 50-yard line or not. And I understand I'm also too late for Eeyore's birthday party. But it's great to be back in Longhorn country, just the same.

I gave my first U.T. commencement address in '73, when I had just completed a tour of duty as Ambassador at the United Nations, and I am pleased to be back. And I am grateful and, indeed, honored by this honorary degree [in law]. Thank you very much for that high honor, to the regents.

So many great Americans have given this address, including a former Texas public school teacher by the name of Lyndon Johnson and, later, his wonderful wife who served this university as a regent, Lady Bird Johnson. So, I consider it the highest honor to once again address the graduates of this great institution.

The ideals of U.T. were born with Texas, when the revolutionaries of 1836 called for "a university of the first class." And Texas began dirt-poor, but Texans were rich in land and vision. And so, what began as a dream of 40 acres of pasture is now a minimetropolis housing some of the best schools in America. Nobel and Pulitzer Prize winners rank among your faculty; National Merit scholars lead your students. So, let me say it loud and clear: The first Texans, in a sense, were wrong. This is not just a first-class university. You are graduates of a world-class university. And if I ever forget this, if I ever should forget that, our Secretary of State, Jim Baker, would remind me, and so would our own son Jeb, another proud graduate of this University of Texas.

Your splendid libraries house the manuscripts of Joyce and Hemingway and Beckett. You are justly proud of rare books and folios that resound with the rich voices of Chaucer and the Italian Renaissance, Shakespeare and Spenser. But a world-class university must have a revered tradition of its

own. And so you do. It was near here that J. Frank Dobie held court with other scholars of the Southwest on the beloved Paisano Ranch, and it was here that Walter Prescott Webb scrutinized old legends and O. Henry spun new ones.

And since then, students from around the world have become a true part of the University of Texas community as U.T. has certainly become more of a part of the world. And within this wide world, you can choose to work and succeed in Paris, France, or Paris, Texas. And in short, you face the best of dilemmas, a wealth of opportunities—opportunities born of democracy.

In four commencement addresses this spring, I have examined what makes democracy such a special way of life: how democracies refuse to perish by uniting in a strong defensive alliance; how they are strengthened by the rule of law; how freedom empowers people to solve the toughest problems; and how democracy leads to progress and adventure. Tonight, in this, for me, my final commencement address of the year, I want to discuss the personal side of democracy: what it offers us and what we can make of it.

To graduate from college in America is to be as free as any man or woman can be. And now, for the first time in half a century, a new generation in Eastern Europe is reveling in freedom, throwing their caps in the air and shouting to the high heavens because finally they are free to live where they want and free to be what they want. From Austin, Texas, to Berlin to Budapest, we live during a remarkable moment in world history, an exhilarating time: the triumph of freedom.

But freedom has a constant companion: challenge. And so, I am here tonight to challenge you to make the most of our changing world, to live these remarkable times, to take risks, to do something extraordinary. This is what Jack London was getting at when he wrote: "I would rather be a superb meteor, every atom of me in magnificent glow, than a sleepy and permanent planet. The proper function of man is to live, not to exist."

And of course, you don't have to strike out for the South Seas or the wild country of Alaska like Jack London, but you can make your life an adventure. Next month will be 42 years since my own graduation. And like many of you, I, too, was presented with some choices on my graduation day: further study or maybe a law firm or a bank or the stock market, and probably for me in New York or in the East—honorable interesting professions, all. But the truly great decisions we make in life are rarely logical or practical. They spring right from the heart. And so, I packed up, Barbara and I packed, and I drove my red Studebaker from the Eastern States of our upbringing to the oil fields of west Texas. And we chose a future that would be uniquely our own. And like most Americans, we were free to live where we pleased, do what we wanted. We came of age at a time when the postwar possibilities of America seemed limitless.

But outside of America back then, the world of free choices was shrinking. Winston Churchill's prediction that an Iron Curtain would sever Europe into two hostile camps was soon fact. An Iron Curtain did cut Eastern Europe from the West and Germany from itself. And when every brick, every guard tower, and every strand of barbed wire was in place, two worlds existed: one of free people and free choice, and one of tyranny and subjugation. Eventually, millions of men and women were told what to think and study, what job to take, and where to live. Imagine, all that drive, talent, and imagination misused and wasted. Yet many still held fast to what Barbara Jordan calls conviction values. Even under the pain of death, they resisted.

This was the conviction Andrei Sakharov, who, you remember, confronted Khrushchev with the truth on above-ground nuclear testing. And that's one reason the Soviet people revere his memory today. This is the conviction of an electrician from Gdansk, who I'm proud to know, Lech Walesa, who led the Polish people to freedom. And it's the conviction of Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia, the imprisoned playwright who now leads a great nation.

Let me tell you a little incident about President Havel and a few other brave souls from the East. It was this man that I had the honor of inviting up to the White House Residence not so many days ago to see the

Lincoln Bedroom. And President Havel was in awe because he knew that this room was really President Lincoln's old office, and it was there that Lincoln worked, deliberated, agonized over a terrible war. But President Havel knew that that room is hallowed for one reason above all: It was there that President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. It was there in that room that he freed a people, and it was there in that room that I saw President Havel moved to tears by the knowledge that freedom's bell was ringing at long last for his beloved Czechoslovakia.

What one man draws from history another finds in music. President Landsbergis of Lithuania, who adopted Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as an anthem for his people's movement, was asked why the strains of Beethoven should resound through the streets and squares of Vilnius; and he replied that it is because the Ninth is a "symphony of freedom and victory against slavery, insidiousness, and darkest hatred."

And what one finds in music another finds in words. Consider the case of a man named Cestimir Suchy, a Czech journalist who refused to describe the 1968 Soviet invasion of his country as an act of brotherly love. Mr. Suchy was fired for his honesty, but he was allowed to make a living at a new profession: washing windows. Ask him for his business card today, and it still says Suchy, Window Washer. But this is an example of the man's good humor, for now he has a job with a new title. He is the dean of journalism at Prague's Charles University. Throughout the universities of the East it is the mandarins of Marxist dogma who are now out of work.

Let me tell you one last story, that of Arpad Göncz of Hungary, who came to visit me just yesterday in the Oval Office. Like President Havel, President Göncz is also a playwright. I don't know what it is about playwrights becoming Presidents of great countries in Eastern Europe, but a former anti-Fascist fighter and newspaper editor, he was sentenced to life imprisonment during the 1956 revolution. But once released, he persevered as a dissident, and today he leads the Hungarian people as their acting President.

And so, the determination of men and women yearning to be free is simply proving tougher than the walls that surround them. Because of their courage, the free world is now more vast than anyone ever dared imagine. And this is our amazing new world of freedom. And with greater freedom comes greater opportunity—in the East and the West. Whether you will make your careers in the arts, business, law, or science, this can only be good news.

Just this morning, I toured the Houston office of what will be the site of our next economic summit with Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Western Germany. When we meet, it will be more than just a comparison of balance sheets: it will be an act of fellowship between free nations. These nations stood with us through that long twilight struggle; through the painstaking building of alliances and the endless preparations for a war that must never be; through the human toil and the human toll, the sacrifice of resources that could have been used for gentler ends. And this is what the Cold War has cost Western Europe and America, but that sacrifice has been rewarded by the most precious gift of all: the dawn of new freedom and new hope for millions.

Today we see progress on many important fronts. As you know, Secretary Baker has been meeting this week with Soviet leaders to prepare for my summit conference with President Gorbachev beginning May 31. And while there is additional work to be done, I think Jim Baker's meetings represent a major step forward. This breakthrough should allow us to reach the important goal that we set in Malta: completing the major substantive elements of an historic strategic arms reduction treaty. In addition, we will be able to conclude other arms control measures with the Soviets, including an agreement on dramatic reduction in chemical weapons, as well as technical and commercial agreements. I am confident that the progress that we have made will allow this summit to be another solid step forward in the vital U.S.-Soviet relationship.

Today, as perhaps never before in history, freedom is prevailing throughout the world because freedom works. Freedom is not only right, it's practical. It's not only good,

it is better. And it is because of the indomitable spirit of man that the day of the dictator is over. But there are also many extraordinary men and women to be found right here at home, like Felicitas Atabong, a student from Cameroon, who tonight will receive a degree in computer science. She just turned 19. And then there's Maggie Taylor, who graduates tonight with a bachelor of fine arts degree at the age of 70, or Irene Burnside, a nurse whose experience goes back to the Army Nurse Corps in the Pacific theater of World War II. And tonight she earns her Ph.D. in nursing with a speciality in gerontology.

But like them, you—all of you—have spent years learning, and now is the time as you leave this great university to spend your life doing. Make your Czech or Polish lessons work for the Citizens Democracy Corps. Put your Spanish in service of the Peace Corps. Or work with VISTA right here in our precious United States of America. Care for the AID babies. Love every child, in the hospital corridors of your own backyard in Austin to the beleaguered clinics of Central Africa. But whatever you do, live a life of adventure and meaning so brilliant that, like a Roman candle, it lights up the world. Dazzle us. Astonish us. Be extraordinary.

Once again, it is a delight to be back. God bless all of you graduates of this great university, and may God bless the United States of America. Hook 'em, 'Horns! Thank you very, very much. Thank you. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. at the Neuhaus-Royal Athletic Complex on the campus of the university. In his remarks, he referred to Rita Clements, wife of Gov. William P. Clements, Jr.; Beryl Pickle, wife of Representative J.J. Pickle; Louis A. Beecherl, Jr., and Hans Mark, chairman of the board of regents and chancellor, respectively, of the university system; and William H. Cunningham, president of the university. The President also referred to the city's annual celebration of the birthday of Eeyore, a character from the Winnie-the-Pooh children's stories by A.A. Milne.

Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony for the Police Memorial in Portland, Oregon

May 20, 1990

Thank you, Chief Walker, and I just want to repeat what I told you: I've been looking forward very much to being here today, pay my respects to so many. And thank you for doing the introduction. Wonderfully brief—a wonderfully brief introduction. [*Laughter*]

And let me just say what a pleasure it is to have Bill Bennett with me. He is our leader in the Federal Government, all across the Federal Government, in the fight against narcotics. And in my view, he is doing not only a job of sacrifice but an outstanding job for our country, and we ought to be very, very grateful to him.

And also, one of our great Congressmen is here, Denny Smith, one of the people I count on in Washington in our efforts to fight crime, and also Secretary of State Roberts and Attorney General Frohnmayer, my great friend who is doing a fine job in this law enforcement field—has been for years—out front long before its time.

And Mayor Clark and friends, relatives, and all of us who are admirers of Portland's finest, it's a privilege to be with you and to officially dedicate a monument that embodies integrity, sacrifice and, above all, courage—just plain courage—qualities that define the essence of law enforcement officers and of the United States of America as well. In the Bible we read: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The men we salute today laid down their lives for us. We meet today to thank them on behalf of every American.

There will be 21 names on the Portland

the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in St. Louis as a senior trial attorney, 1980–1981, and as a trial attorney, 1979–1980. Mr. Hunter was a field attorney for the National Labor Relations Board in St. Louis, 1977–1979.

Mr. Hunter graduated from the University of Arkansas (B.A., 1974) and the Washington University School of Law (J.D., 1977). He was born July 5, 1952, is married, and currently resides in Jefferson City, MO.

Remarks at the Alcorn State University Commencement Ceremony in Lorman, Mississippi
May 13, 1989

Thank you all, and especially, my thanks to you, Dr. Washington. You know, last month we commemorated the bicentennial of the American Presidency. And, Walter, I have to tell you, after all these actors in powdered wigs, it is a relief to stand beside someone who really is President Washington. [*Laughter*] Good morning.

But to you and your wonderful faculty here at Alcorn, I just say I am delighted to be here. Incidentally, Dr. Washington's ears should have been burning, because when I rode down on the helicopter from Jackson with the two United States Senators from Mississippi, they were telling me in considerable detail—more than I knew from my briefing papers—of this man's commitment to excellence. And so, I salute him and his service to this wonderful university.

Lieutenant Governor Dye, it's a pleasure to be with you, sir. I'm, of course, delighted that Thad Cochran and Trent Lott are with us today, a tribute to all here. I'm very pleased that my good friend, Sonny Montgomery, a Congressman whose home is in Meridian, is here. We're in Congressman Mike Espy's district, and I salute him. Congressman Mike Parker is here, and many other distinguished guests. I also want to say thanks to all of them.

Congratulations also to the families and the friends and the fans of these students. But I think most of all, to the Alcorn State University Class of 1989, we salute you, and I'm proud to be with you. You've been part of what they call the Alcorn family. And this is a day for the family. But it's your own individual families, the mothers and fathers and grandparents gathered here, that I want to congratulate. In a very private way, your years of hard work and your years of sacrifice and, yes, love for your sons and daughters have brought this moment to pass. And although the first round of applause has died now, I think you all really deserve the first round of applause—the parents and the grandparents of the graduates here today.

I know how deadly long graduation speeches can be. I'll never forget Yale University where I went. A man got up, he says, "I'm going to give you a brief graduation speech. And I will choose, because our school has a short name, Y. Y is for youth." He went on for about 30 minutes. "And then it's A, altruism"—[*laughter*]—another 20; L, loyalty—rushed that off in about 18 minutes; and then, of course, E, for excellence. He concluded about an hour and a half after he started. And there was one person left, his head bent in prayer. And the minister, the speaker, very touched by it, said, "Well, sir, I see that you are praying for these values." The man said, "No, no." He said, "I wasn't praying for the values. I was giving thanks to the Lord that I did not go to Alcorn State University in Lorman, Mississippi." [*Laughter*] I'll try to be a little more considerate.

Dr. David Matthews, in his lovely invocation, alluded to family. He alluded to some of the problems that we face. And the American family has been under siege in recent times. But as the months unfold, I've become more and more certain that the answer to our problems can be found in the strength of the American family. Looking around this room, you can sense the feeling

of pride, and it's a powerful force for good. And as President, I will do everything I can to promote the family: excellence in education, to protect the family in the fight against narcotics, and to reaffirm the family values that brought your kids through these 4 challenging years.

For some American families—those fortunate families where children are raised assuming that they'll have the opportunity to go to college—the drama of today's ceremony is difficult to appreciate. Many of you are the first, though, in your families ever to attend college, let alone stay the course through graduation. And the economic transformation wrought by the historically black colleges such as Alcorn is nothing less than astounding. While 85 percent of the United Negro College Fund alumni come from blue-collar families, almost all go on to professional or managerial positions, and in many cases, they're the first blacks to hold these particular positions. It's an exciting tradition and one of the most underappreciated success stories in America.

It's also a tradition that is close to my heart, because way back in 1948, when I was a senior at Y-A-L-E, 41 years ago, my wife, Barbara—still my wife, Barbara; then she and I had been married just a few years—we began participating in the United Negro College Fund. And in the 40 years since then, we've continued to try to do our small part. And even before becoming President, back in January, just a week before the inauguration, Dr. Washington and some of his colleagues came to Washington, DC, met with me to talk about how the new administration can best support this unique tradition. And some good ideas came out of that gathering, and several are already in effect—begun last month in the meeting that he alluded to, when Dr. Washington and others joined me in the Rose Garden to launch the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

And now I understand that several of today's graduates are going to be joining in Federal service—in agriculture, defense, transportation, and other critical areas. And I'm proud of you, and we welcome you. And we need excellence in Federal service; America needs your talents. And that's not just idle talk. Last month's order also directed that the Federal personnel office develop a program to improve recruitment at Alcorn and similar colleges for part-time and summer positions to help people get started in the concept of Federal public service. And I understand that a campaign is underway here now to raise a half a million dollars through a Federal challenge grant program. Recently, I signed an order bringing $60 million in new funds to boost the endowment matching grants available to schools like Alcorn. As I told the college Presidents who gathered at the White House last month, these new initiatives are just a start. More must be done.

But on a day like today, there is much of which we can be proud. Alcorn has come a long way since 1948. That was the landmark year that Alcorn first earned its "A" rating as an accredited college. And that was the year "The Stretch" was finally paved, a milestone that was resoundingly cheered by the graduating class.

Do you know how many graduated back in 1948? Trivial Pursuit question—how many? Sixty in number, barely a fifth of the total receiving degrees today, a ceremony so small that it fit comfortably into the Oakland Chapel. And like my classmates in Connecticut, many of the men at Alcorn in 1948 were veterans, soldiers who had fought for democracy, many of them serving in segregated units. And like many of you today, the Alcornites of 1948 were graduating with skills that would enable them to feed the hungry, nurse the sick, and reach out to help the young through education.

Future Pittsburgh Steeler Jack Spinks, the first black pro athlete to come out of Mississippi, was getting ready to start his freshman year. He would soon be practicing in a ramshackle wooden building that everyone called the "Old Chicken Coop." And Jack says that when it rained during basketball games, the roof leaked so bad that people had to keep their umbrellas open. The modern field house in which we're gathered today was not then even a dream. And Jack, I am told, is somewhere out here today, and I understand that his youngest son is part of the graduating class.

But these 40 years of schooling that separate father and son—the years that separate them embrace an era of tremendous change for Alcorn and for the United States of America, a time of upheaval and, finally, a time of growth, and maybe something like wisdom.

Not everything has changed: the threads woven through the fabric at Alcorn, and anyplace where excellence is sought, are what used to be called simple family values. We're not talking about two sets of values; family values are the same regardless of race, color, or creed. Family values—they're not complicated: honesty, faith, frugality, acceptance of responsibility, the importance of work, a tradition of helping one's neighbor. Martin Luther King argued that "intelligence is not enough." He said, "Intelligence plus character—that is the goal of the true education."

Well, you here at Alcorn are lucky. This is a place where, as your old football coach put it, "the air is a little bit cleaner, the grass is a little bit greener, and the water is a little bit sweeter—it's just a little bit closer to heaven." You see, this place has character. It is a university with a mission. And to paraphrase a new song that's climbing the charts this month, this special, secluded college has been "the wind beneath your wings." And for you and for young Americans graduating all across this country this month, it is time for you to take that wind and soar. And for some of you, I hope there comes a day when you ride those winds into the political arena to fight for what you believe in, to grapple not only with your own dreams but also those of your countrymen.

But politics is hardly the only arena where a new breeze is blowing. Some of you will land in business, maybe even start a business where you can create jobs adding to the opportunity of other Americans. And that's public service, too. Now, business can be pretty rough-and-tumble. But America is successful because we're a nation of risk-takers. The Alcorn Braves know that you can't steal second base and keep one foot on first. That's profound. [*Laughter*] Others will teach the next generation and put wind beneath their wings. Your touchstone should be excellence, accountability, and choice. The educational system must offer parents quality choice in education. Alcorn's a good example. But our schools must also be more accountable, and those of you who will know the joy of helping a child learn are an important part of that responsibility. Others are headed for health care, agriculture, journalism, the professions. Whatever you choose, it is within you to change the world; and any definition of a successful life must, of course, include serving others.

As each of you begins a new life today, you may fairly ask, will my future be secure? This isn't just a domestic question; it's a foreign policy question. For the past 40 years, the United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in a struggle because the Soviets have chosen to stand apart from and opposed to the world family of nations. Yesterday I announced a new policy for the 1990's, one that moves beyond our country just trying to contain the Soviet Union. It sets a goal of bringing the Soviet Union into the world community, a policy of reintegration, if you will. And if we succeed, I can guarantee to you and your kids that the future you know is going to be safer and the world you know will be freer. This I see as a primary objective of any President of the United States of America. As the Soviet Union moves towards greater openness and democratization and as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own.

Today every senior here is an educated man or woman, proud, self-assured. With all the cockiness of youth, some of you—I hope most of you—must be feeling like anything is possible today. Well, trust those instincts. Everyone has a dream. Everyone has something to give.

Last month I saw a new movie—maybe some of you all saw it—a movie about baseball and about faith, in which Burt Lancaster ponders the power of hope. And he asks: "Is there enough magic out there in the moonlight to make this dream come true?" Well, I have come to Mississippi today because the magic of America and the magic of our times means believing that your best days—that our best days—are still

to come. Born in an era of peace and educated in times of relative prosperity, your generation can look to a new century rich with unimaginable opportunities.

And, yes, there is enough magic out there, enough for all Americans. And, yes, you can seize the magic with the power of your own hands and with the skills bequeathed to you by this special university. And, yes, just as Alcorn's 1988 yearbook was dedicated to Dr. King, you can honor his memory by doing what he taught this nation to do: to have a dream and to work every day to make that dream come true.

America is proud of you and of your families that you represent. God bless you in the challenge to come, and God bless the United States of America. I am honored to be your guest today. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Health and Physical Education Building. In his remarks, he referred to Walter Washington, president of the university; Lt. Gov. Brad Dye; Senators Thad Cochran and Trent Lott; and David Matthews, president of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi.

Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps on the Situation in Panama

May 13, 1989

The President. Let me take a couple of questions. But first, a word about Panama, just to be very clear. And if I were speaking to the Panamanian people, I would tell them that the affection of the American people for the people of Panama is still very much intact, strong. Secondly, I would say to the Panama Defense Forces, the PDF, they have a useful role to play, and they will in the future of Panama have a useful role to play. The problem is not the PDF, per se; the problem is Noriega.

And if Noriega were to leave office, we would have good relations with Panama. We would have good relations with the Panama Defense Force. And clearly, the good feelings between the American people and the people of Panama would grow and prosper. And so, I would hope that Noriega would leave and that the results of this election would be recognized. The fraud in the election has been condemned by people all across the world; the European Community, leaders in our hemisphere, all the way to Japan—people speaking out in indignation against this thuggery and against what the man has done.

So, I just want to be sure that the people of Panama understand that relations can quickly return to normal if Mr. Noriega will leave and set aside his dictatorship and permit democracy to prevail.

Q. Do you think they have any doubt about that? And aren't you calling for a coup on the part of the PDF? I mean, the Catholic Church in Panama also has basically been saying the same thing to the PDF. Are you saying——

The President. That I just said?

Q. Are you saying that you would like the PDF to get Noriega out?

The President. I would love to see them get him out. We'd like to see him out of there—not just the PDF, the will of the people of Panama.

Q. It sounds like you're calling on the people of Panama to rise up and basically have a revolution. Is that what you're trying to say?

The President. A revolution—the people rose up and spoke in a democratic election, with a tremendous turnout, said what they wanted. The will of the people should not be thwarted by this man and a handful of these Doberman thugs. That's what I'm saying.

Q. What do you think the people should do now?

The President. The people should do everything they can to have the will of the people respected. They ought to heed the international calls, and they ought to just do

you here today was [illegible] there. And it gives me a chance to—well, the question as to how we view the Panamanian Defense Force itself, what would happen if Noriega left, vis-a-vis the United States of America, and I hope it's known that Endara——

Q. You think that——

The President. Well, I think in a situation of this nature, where the head of the PDF has become such a pariah, that there perhaps—been misunderstanding there as to how we view the institution itself and other of its officers. But if they come in there and Noriega goes and they respect the will of the people, I—you know, we see a very useful role for the Panamanian Defense Force, in their own internal security and for their own—any threat they might feel they had to the external security.

Q. Mr. President, has the PDF——

The President. I really do have to go.

Q. If the PDF asked for U.S. military help, how can we respond? What would we do?

The President. Asked for it to do what?

Q. If they asked for military support—if the PDF asks for military support from the United States.

The President. Support for what?

Q. Military troops.

[illegible]*dent.* For what purpose?

Q. To move in on Noriega.

The President. If the PDF asks for support to get rid of Noriega, they wouldn't need support from the United States to get rid of Noriega. He's one man, and they have a well-trained force. That's my——

Q. What about if—[*inaudible*]—opposition asked for military support?

The President. I've outlined what we're doing. I've outlined what we're doing. I'd love to see this be resolved diplomatically. And when you have overwhelming world opinion on your side, maybe something is possible in the short-range future that has not been possible over the difficult past.

It's been a great pleasure.

Q. Do you still expect a smooth summit in terms of resolving the missile issue?

The President. We'll work it out.

Q. This is Panama day.

The President. No, no, it's a good question. It will work out. This alliance is strong.

Note: The interview began at 1:21 p.m. on board Air Force One. Helen Thomas, United Press International; Rita Beamish, Associated Press; Frank Sesno, Cable News Network; Joe Walsh, NBC/Mutual Radio; and Steve Kurkjian, Boston Globe, participated in the interview.

Remarks at the Mississippi State University Commencement Ceremony in Starkville

May 13, 1989

Congratulations to you. Thank you all very much. President Zacharias and members of the board of trustees, members of the distinguished faculty, administrators, friends, soon to be graduates, I can't tell you how much I appreciate that warm Bulldog welcome. Before I get too far into these remarks, I don't believe I've ever heard a more beautiful or remarkable rendition of the "Star Spangled Banner." Richard Gaddis—just wonderful. And thank you all for the warmth of this welcome here today. And I am very honored and privileged to address your commencement.

I was at Alcorn State, another part of this great State, earlier on. And I told them that I was reminded of my own graduation, because I could see on the faces of some of these kids the apprehension about the President coming here and how long they might have to endure the message. And I was reminded of a graduation at Yale, and the speaker got up and went on and on. He finally—at the beginning he said, "Yale—Y is for youth." He talked about that for 20 minutes; "A is for altruism"—18; "L is for loyalty"—32 minutes; "E is for excellence." Finished his speech—there was only one

person left, head down in prayer. And the speaker said, "Were you praying for those values?" He said, "No, sir, I was giving thanks that I didn't go to Mississippi State University." [*Laughter*]

I want to say what a great honor it is to see a long-time family friend, one of the great patriots of this or any other era, the Honorable John Stennis, who resides right here on this campus. Judge Stennis, Senator Stennis, call him what you will. He doesn't merely hail from Mississippi: He is Mississippi. And his service to the United States of America will not be forgotten. Now, I wondered whether we could ever fill those big shoes. But I say this not as a partisan but as an observer of some time, as President Zacharias said, of the public scene. And you have two great United States Senators in Thad Cochran and in Trent Lott, and I'm proud to be with them here today.

And I salute the two Members of Congress that are with us today. One of them, Congressman Montgomery, and I were elected to Congress on the same day. I'm delighted he's here. His great-grandfather, Colonel W.B. Montgomery, was instrumental in rebuilding Mississippi after the war, and he played a major role in founding this university. And so, this afternoon I want to recognize those pioneering efforts and to salute my dear friend, the colonel's great-grandson, your own Congressman, Sonny Montgomery. He always kids me that I win only when I'm wearing my Mississippi State shorts. I brought them along today with a plea: Can't we do better than this? [*Laughter*] Twenty years. If you don't do better than that by me, you're going to get this. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, the President held up an old, worn pair of Mississippi State exercise shorts and indicated that if they were not replaced by something better that he would wear shorts from the University of Mississippi, a rival school.*]

You know, I come from a State where we like to sing "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You." Well, today, my friends, the eyes of America are upon Starkville, Mississippi. For we meet, to begin with, at a special school, special because for 109 years MSU has made education a lasting legacy and opportunity its bequest. We gather, also, in a very special State, special for its people. You realize that who we are matters more than what we have. And you value home and family and tradition and service to country.

I thought of that today as Air Force One brought me to Mississippi, and of how, for me, this afternoon also marks another journey, back to some of my own pivotal years, the years I spent as an undergraduate. It was 41 years ago next month that I, too, received my degree, 1948. In 1948 there were only 172,000 television sets owned in the entire United States of America. Milton Berle was "Mr. Television," taking pies in the face. Harry Truman was Mr. President, giving 'em hell. And in many ways, it was a different America: less congestion, less pollution, less high tech. Pac Man was a camper, not a video game. [*Laughter*] And we had problems, sure: at home, gas shortages and housing problems and veterans adjusting to domestic life after World War II. Abroad, the Cold War had turned frigid. The Communist bloc was solidifying. China and the Middle East were rent asunder by war. And in a Europe torn by conflicting ideologies, the Soviets were blockading West Berlin.

And yet, with the end of World War II, America was unified as few could have imagined. I'm sure many of you have seen that famous Life magazine photo that captured the spirit of those times: the sailor in Times Square embracing a woman in the mass exultation of V–J Day, a victory for freedom that came after so much sacrifice. Like the woman swept off her feet, the spirit of rejoicing, and more importantly the limitless possibilities of America, swept us all. And I, too, felt that sense of idealism and opportunity and headed on out with Barbara—headed out to Texas to make the most of the American Dream.

But today I look back upon those times, and I am struck by the wonder of how much this country has achieved. What newly married vet in his early twenties could have envisioned just how wide the golden door of opportunity would swing in four short decades? And I ask myself, what made this achievement possible? What

caused America's technological and scientific advance, a prosperity and power unprecedented in world history? One thing, I believe, is what Mississippi's own William Faulkner called "the old verities and truths of the heart." My friends, it is these verities that in 1948 allowed us to meet our problems together. We took pride in our identity as a nation and solace in our faith in God. And above all, we believed in the simple, the basic truths like kindness and civility, self-sacrifice and courage, compassion and concern for others, timeless values which span the generations, values which show that America is great because America is good.

An old saying notes how "the world has turned over many times." It has since I graduated. The postwar period has given way to a new world, a world still perilous, but alive with prospects for peace and with the certainty of change. Yesterday at Texas A&M in Bryan, Texas, I talked of that change, of a new policy that moves beyond containment of the Soviet Union. And the new policy seeks to bring the Soviet Union into the family of nations, a policy, if you will, of reintegration. And as the Soviet Union moves toward greater openness and democratization, and as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own. And if we succeed, the future of every graduate today is going to be safer. The world we know will be more free. We can dedicate ourselves then to helping others even more.

Yet there are some things that haven't changed since 1948. Our values haven't. We see these values everywhere: a church-based child-care center, choir practice, or the PTA. And they uplift American society, for they reflect the tenets of "do unto others," tenets I respect and which I will try hard to serve as President of the United States. And they are the values of America's good, quiet, decent people, Americans who know that we are not the sum of our possessions but of how we conduct ourselves. And these people form the heart of our society, and they enrich its central unit, the family. Here these values play a special role, for they teach that life is not a celebration of self and our fate is not divisible.

As I mentioned to the graduating class at Alcorn, I will do nothing as President, nothing at all, to weaken our society by weakening the fundamental role of family in our society. Instead, I will do all I can to emphasize its importance and to reinforce its role. I've been very lucky—a wonderful wife and five great kids. They're through college. And I remember receiving letters from them, and there would always be that "P.S." at the bottom, those three little words, "Please send money," that special bond between parents at home and kids away at school. I expect these parents have never, ever received a letter like that.

Five kids and 11 lively grandkids—and by themselves, they could field the Bulldogs' entire pitching staff. And I understand you people with the earphones staying plugged in to the baseball game. [*Laughter*] If I were sitting up there, I'd be doing exactly the same thing. [*Laughter*] Never say that Mississippians do not have their priorities sorted out right. [*Laughter*]

But like all kids, ours provide a Rubik Cube of questions. And like most families, they supply that love and allegiance which make us more fulfilled. And, believe me, sometimes we need that loyalty. I'm reminded of the alumnus who sent his coach a telegram before the big game. It read: "Remember, coach, we're all behind you—win or tie." [*Laughter*]

The individual is important, but the family unit can be our secret weapon and our shield. And as President, I want to strengthen it. To help the family, we must keep America prosperous, strong, and free. We must stop the scourge of drug abuse, and we will. We must build an educational system which invests in our children. And for those who, for whatever reason—sickness, poverty, the death of a loved one—feel alone and isolated, let us become their family, not in a legal sense but in a human sense: helping, supporting, caring for our neighbor.

Today millions of Americans are doing just that: giving of themselves and helping others. And we term their work voluntarism, or community service. For they show how the definition of a successful life must include serving others.

The French writer Jean Cocteau was once asked what he would take if his house were on fire and he could remove only one thing. "I would take the fire," he replied. [*Laughter*] He liked what worked. Well, so do I. Community service works because it's real, not abstract. It makes achievements feasible. Compassion helps one child escape heroin addiction. Generosity allows another to eat a decent meal. And through faith in God, still another overcomes the curse of bigotry and hatred.

And that's why I have created the Office of National Service, which will enlist new volunteers to help meet unmet social needs. Project Victory, or Mission Impossible? Look to the heroes of today for an answer—look to David Pettry, an MSU agronomist who has traveled around the world to nurture soil management; or Steve Cooper, who works in Starkville's Help Find the Children campaign; or Donnie Prisock—Dr. Donnie—a quadriplegic who earned his Ph.D. and who counsels handicapped students right here at this school. Heroes? Every one; for they know that the private sector—and individuals—have the resources and the responsibility to confront issues like hunger and health care, drug abuse and teen pregnancy. A famous adage says that "Luck is the residue of design." Well, America's luck can be the residue of voluntarism's design.

My friends, you've worked hard and studied and struggled for 4 years, and now you've endured the hardest part: listening to the commencement address. [*Laughter*] And I haven't even begun. Let's see, Y–M–I–S. [*Laughter*]

But let me leave you with the thought that Mississippi has given America some indelible leaders: in politics, John Stennis; in publishing, Eugene Butler; in entertainment, country's Jerry Clower. And always, you've treasured Faulkner's "verities and truths of the heart." Community service—national service—reflects those verities: "love and honor and pride and compassion and sacrifice," values which can ennoble the family and American society at large. So, let Faulkner's "verities of the heart" be our values, not merely for this generation but for future generations. And inspired by America's good, quiet, decent people, let us help enrich America so that America can continue to enrich the world.

Good luck to each one of you. My heartfelt congratulations! May your future be worthy of your dreams. And may you always say, as I do now, God bless the United States of America. Thank you for inviting me. Thanks a lot.

Note: The President spoke at 3:22 p.m. on Thurman field. He was introduced by Donald W. Zacharias, president of the university. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Lexington, KY.

Remarks at a Fundraising Reception for Senator Mitch McConnell in Lexington, Kentucky
May 13, 1989

What a great United States Senator you have, and how impressive this turnout is, which will guarantee his reelection! I couldn't be more pleased to be here, and I'm pleased to see these three distinguished Members of the Congress here. You may not remember this ancient history, but Hal Rogers was my Kentucky State chairman in my quest for the Presidency. And what a job that guy did, I'll tell you. And I want to pay my respects to your own Congressman—your own on the turf right here, those of you from the Lexington area—Larry Hopkins, who's with us tonight and doing a great job in Washington. And long before he got into politics, I was a Jim Bunning fan. And now I'm even more of a Jim Bunning fan, I'll tell you. And I want to pay my respects to Bob Gable, our current State party chairman. I'm delighted he's here, and the other party officials. And of course, I'd be remiss if I didn't in a personal way

Notre Dame
File
Janice

TO: Dan McGroarty

FROM: Diane Terpeluk

DATE: April 23, 1992

PAGES (including cover): 6

MESSAGE:

BUSH
QUAYLE
92

April 24, 1992

NOTE FOR DAN McGROARTY
THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: DIANE TERPELUK
DEPUTY TO THE GENERAL CHAIRMAN
BUSH QUAYLE 92

SUBJECT: NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

It's my understanding that Jim Pinkerton recently passed along to you my note regarding Don Keough's interest in contributing to the President's remarks at Notre Dame on May 17.

Following up on that, Keough just sent Bob Mosbacher a few thoughts in writing which I am passing along for your information. I hope this is helpful and that you'll contact Keough directly for further input - he is most anxious to help.

Please let me know if you have questions on this (336-7093) and thanks for your help.

Attachments

The Coca-Cola Company
COCA-COLA PLAZA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DONALD R. KEOUGH
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P. O. DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA 30301
404 676-2371

April 20, 1992

Honorable Robert Mosbacher
General Chairman of the
Bush-Quayle '92
1030 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Bob:

As promised, enclosed are a few thought starters for The President's Notre Dame speech. I have also provided a brief profile of the audience.

Each year the freshman class is surveyed. I thought it might be helpful for you to see the results. While the material specifically deals with freshmen, it is a fairly close profile of the whole student body.

I hope this material is helpful. We look forward to having The President at Notre Dame.

Sincerely,

DRK:fa
Encls

Notre Dame Speech

-- Audience
  .. Cross section of middle America.
  .. For the most part Catholic.
  .. Many of the parents have struggled to provide for their children's education.
  .. Both graduates and parents hold basic American values.
  .. They love their country.
  .. They are highly motivated and exhibit a high level of volunteerism.

-- Message
  .. Family and moral values
    . Honesty
    . Hard work
    . Reward for a job well done
    . Service above self
    . There is still a great country out there for young people
    . Responsibility to play a major role in rebuilding the basic American values
    . Importance of life - adoption alternative
    . Recognize parental involvement in children's upbringing and education
    . Recognize sacrifices made for children's education -- voucher proposal

-- Notre Dame
  .. No emphasis on football.
  .. Preeminent academic institution.
  .. Entrants SAT scores over 1300.
  .. Recognize moral values graduates have been taught at Notre Dame.
  .. Recognize heavy emphasis at Notre Dame on service to humanity and to the country.

-- Vision for America
  .. Strong economic system.
  .. Expand markets for American products.
  .. Prepare workforce to compete.
  .. Reform nation's health care system.
  .. Reform the legal system.
  .. Eliminate waste in government.
  .. All without raising taxes or increasing government spending.

Notre Dame Freshman Are More Politically Conservative Than Peers

Unlike their counterparts nationwide, freshmen at the University are leaning further to the right on the political spectrum.

That is one of the key conclusions in the annual survey of college freshmen conducted by the American Council on Education in conjunction with the University of California at Los Angeles.

Thirty-seven percent of this year's Notre Dame freshmen described themselves as politically conservative, a 3-percent increase over last year. The percentage of students calling themselves liberal rose just one-half point, to 21.5 percent. The conservative faction picked up middle-of-the-roaders, who dropped from 43 percent to 41 percent.

A more conservative student population at Notre Dame runs contrary to a national trend. For the third straight year, the survey found an increase, to 25.7 percent, in the number of students nationwide describing themselves as liberal. And, for the third straight year, the number of conservative students dropped, to 20.3 percent.

Notre Dame freshmen may lean toward the conservative side, but their views on leading issues in this election year run the gamut. The survey revealed:

- Some 67 percent think a national health-care plan is necessary.
- Only 32 percent want an increase in taxes to reduce the national deficit.
- Almost 89 percent believe racial discrimination remains a problem in the United States.
- Ninety-five percent agree with the statement: "Just because a man thinks a woman has 'led him on' does not entitle him to have sex with her."
- About 89 percent want the government to do more about environmental problems.

More than 210,000 students at 431 colleges and universities responded to this year's survey. The freshmen were queried on everything from values to career goals to extracurricular activities.

Among Notre Dame freshmen, academic issues are central to their collegiate experience. The University's strong academic reputation was the main reason 93 percent of the students decided to attend. And, just over 84 percent said Notre Dame was their first choice for college.

Notre Dame students have a long tradition of serving the community and the freshman survey indicates that will continue. About 89 percent of the respondents said they had engaged in some kind of volunteer work. In addition, there appears to be less materialism among Notre Dame freshmen: 62 percent said they decided to attend college "to be able to make more money," compared with a record high 75 percent nationally.

Among other noteworthy observations drawn from the survey of Notre Dame's freshman class:

- The fields of engineering, health care, law and business are the most popular careers.
- Only 1.7 percent smoke. Nationally, there was an increase in freshman smokers to 11.3 percent.
- Raising a family remains a high priority among 82 percent of the University's freshmen. That's an increase of two points from 1990 and 14 points higher than the national average.
- Eleven percent favor the legalization of marijuana compared with 21 percent nationally.
- The class is far-flung geographically; 59 percent are more than 500 miles from home.
- Almost 86 percent belonged to a scholastic honor society in high school compared with 27 percent nationally.

$5 Million to Go to Doctoral Fellowships Over Life of NBC-TV Football Contract

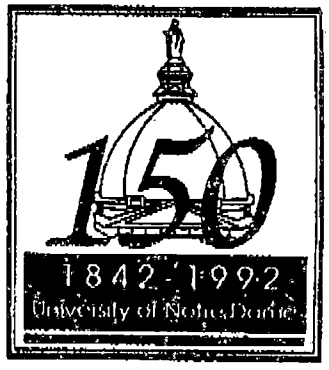
The University will commit $1 million a year for the next five years from the proceeds of its television contract with NBC to endow doctoral fellowships in its Graduate School, Rev. E. William Beauchamp, C.S.C., the University's executive vice president, has announced.

"Establishing this endowment addresses two of the University's highest priorities," Father Beauchamp said. "It tangibly strengthens our commitment to leadership in training the next generation of teachers, scholars and researchers and it also advances our efforts to increase substantially our student aid endowment."

Notre Dame's doctoral programs have become increasingly capable of competing with the best programs for the best students, Father Beauchamp noted, but if the Graduate School is to be successful in this competition, it must be able to offer competitive fellowships.

Through its four divisions — humanities, social sciences, science and engineering — the Graduate School offers 36 master's and 23 doctoral degrees. During the 1990-91 academic year, 76 percent of Notre Dame's approximately 1,400 graduate students received aid in the form of fellowships, assistantships and tuition scholarships.

The new fellowships are part of Notre Dame's previously announced plan to devote the bulk of the proceeds from its contract with NBC to undergraduate and graduate financial aid endowment.



IN BRIEF

• The Notre Dame Law School ranks 20th — up from 24th a year ago — in the 1992 *U.S. News & World Report* survey of America's best graduate schools. The survey ranked 175 law schools on the basis of two representational surveys, as well as statistical data measuring student selectivity, faculty resources and placement success. Yale University's law school was rated highest, followed by Harvard and Stanford Universities, the University of Chicago and Columbia University. The same magazine rated Notre Dame's M.B.A. program, established in 1967, 30th in the country, an improvement of five places.

• Jacques Maritain, the distinguished Thomist, has been dead for 19 years, but his name still shows up on Notre Dame's benefactor list. The internationally known philosopher lectured at Notre Dame, Princeton and Columbia before his retirement in 1960, and for a time Notre Dame used his former home in Princeton, N.J., as a sabbatical residence. The University is the beneficiary of royalties from some of Maritain's books and they go into a fund supporting a chair in the name of John Oesterle, who taught philosophy at Notre Dame until his death in 1977.

• Notre Dame's annual student-sponsored International Festival took place in late March in South Bend's Civic Center. Featuring performances by some 150 Notre Dame and Saint Mary's students from more than 30 foreign countries, the event played off-campus for the third time in nine years to emphasize its appeal to the larger community.

• Five Notre Dame professors were invested in endowed chairs at ceremonies last month attended by benefactors of the professorships. They are John B. Attanasio, John M. Regan director of the Institute for International Peace Studies; Harry W. Attridge, George N. Shuster dean of the College of Arts and Letters; Steven C. Buss, holder of the Schubmehl-Prein Chair in the department of computer science and engineering; John G. Borkowski, Andrew J. McKenna Family professor of psychology; and Walter R. Johnson, Frank M. Freimann professor of physics. The University has 65 endowed chairs filled, 11 fully funded and awaiting appointments, and 31 in some stage of funding.

• A survey by Northwestern University of 21 universities (all but one private) has revealed some comparative statistics regarding boards of trustees. The number of Notre Dame trustees (50) is fewer than the average for the group (61). Notre Dame's percentage of male to female trustees (85-15) is slightly higher than the group (81-19). The University has a slightly higher proportion of minorities (13 percent) on its board than the average for the group (9 percent). Notre Dame has the same percentage of alumni-trustees (68 percent) as has the overall group. Surveyed schools included Stanford, Chicago, Princeton, Yale, Emory, Duke and Johns Hopkins.

• Notre Dame Stadium will be smoke-free under a policy adopted recently by the University. The policy, developed by a task force of staff, faculty and students, prohibits smoking in all buildings, stadiums and vehicles owned, leased or operated by the University. The policy rests on the rights of non-smokers to a smoke-free environment prevailing over the rights of an individual to smoke.

• Some 2,000 volunteers from Notre Dame and Saint Mary's are expected to participate in the fourth annual Christmas in April program in South Bend. Christmas in April, founded by Kansas City alumnus John McMeel '57, is four years old locally and is a one-day intensive effort to improve the living conditions of homeowners who cannot restore their property themselves because of physical or monetary limitations.

• Rev. Mark J. Fitzgerald, C.S.C., professor emeritus of economics, has received an award for outstanding achievement in industrial relations from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS). The citation cited "over fifty years of dedicated service as an educator, a member of the War Labor Board, an FMCS arbitrator, and founder of the annual Notre Dame Union-Management Conference."

• *Notre Dame* magazine is observing its 20th anniversary. Since assuming the role of university magazine from the *Notre Dame Alumnus* in 1972, the magazine has been ranked in the top 10 of the nation's alumni publications 16 times and has achieved the number-one rating twice, in 1978 and 1982.

• A paperback chronicling the history of business education at the University, *O'Hara's Heirs: Business Education at Notre Dame, 1921-1991*, has been published by the College of Business Administration on its 70th anniversary. Written by *Notre Dame* magazine editor Kerry Temple, it describes the growth of the college from 690 graduates in its first decade to 4,985 in its seventh. The book is available for $12 from the College's Center for Business Communication.

• James P. Kohn, professor of chemical engineering, has been named a fellow of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. The author of 81 technical publications in the field of high pressure thermodynamics, Kohn holds two patents and is the recipient of both the faculty and teachings awards in the College of Engineering.

• Matthew S. Cullinan, former research associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, has been appointed special assistant to Father Malloy. He is a 1985 graduate of Notre Dame with a master's degree in public policy from Duke University.

'Cherish your human connections'

Bradford F. Herzog

Thank you very, very much President Keohane, Mrs. Gorbachev, trustees, faculty, parents, Julia Porter, class president, and certainly my new best friend Christine Bicknell and of course the Class of 1990. I am really thrilled to be here today, and very excited, as I know you must all be, that Mrs. Gorbachev could join us.

These are exciting times. They're exciting in Washington, and I had really looked forward to coming to Wellesley. I thought it would be fun. I never dreamed it would be this much fun. So thank you for that.

More than ten years ago when I was invited here to talk about our experiences in the People's Republic of China, I was struck by both the natural beauty of your campus . . . and the spirit of this place.

Wellesley, you see, is not just a place . . . but an idea . . . an experiment in excellence in which diversity is not just tolerated, but is embraced.

The essence of this spirit was captured in a moving speech about tolerance given last year by the student body president of one of your sister colleges. She related the story by Robert Fulghum about a young pastor who, finding himself in charge of some very energetic children, hit upon a game called "Giants, Wizards and Dwarfs." "You have to decide now," the pastor instructed the children, "which you are . . . a giant, a wizard or a dwarf?" At that, a small girl tugging at his pants leg, asked, "But where do the mermaids stand?"

The pastor told her there are *no* mermaids. "Oh yes there are," she said. "I am a mermaid."

Now this little girl knew what she was and she was not about to give up on either her identity *or* the game. She intended to take her place wherever mermaids fit into the scheme of things. Where *do* the mermaids stand . . . all of those who are different, those who do not fit the boxes and the pigeonholes? "Answer that question," wrote Fulghum, "and you can build a school, a nation, or a whole world on it."

As that very wise young woman said . . . "Diversity . . . like anything worth having . . . requires *effort.*" Effort to learn about and respect difference, to be compassionate with one another, to cherish our own identity . . . and to accept unconditionally the same in all others.

You should all be very proud that this is the Wellesley spirit. Now I know your first choice for today was Alice Walker, known for *The Color Purple.* Guess how I know. Instead you got me—known for . . . The Color of My Hair! Alice Walker's book has a special resonance here. At Wellesley, each class is known by a special color . . . and for four years the Class of '90 has worn the color purple. Today you meet on Severance Green to say goodbye to all that . . . to begin a new and very personal journey . . . to search for your own true colors.

In the world that awaits you beyond the shores of Lake Waban, no one can say what your true colors will be. But this I do know: you have a first-class education from a first-class school. And so you need not, probably cannot, live a "Paint-by-Numbers" life. Decisions are not irrevocable. Choices do come back. As you set off from Wellesley, I hope that many of you will consider making three very special choices.

The first is to believe in something larger than yourself . . . to get involved in some of the big ideas of your time. I chose literacy because I honestly believe that if more people could read, write and comprehend, we would be that much closer to solving so many of the problems that plague our society.

And early on I made another choice which I hope you will make as well. Whether you are talking about education, career or service, you are talking about life . . . and life really must have joy. It's supposed to be fun!

One of the reasons I made the most important decision of my life . . . to marry George Bush . . . is because he made me laugh. It's true, sometimes we laugh through our tears . . . but that shared laughter has been one of our strongest bonds. Find the joy in life, because as Ferris Bueller said on his day off . . . "Life moves pretty fast. Ya don't stop and look around once in a while, ya gonna miss it!" I'm not going to tell George that you clapped more for Ferris than you did for George.

The third choice that must not be missed is to cherish your human connections: Your relationships with family and friends. For several years, you've had impressed upon you the importance to your career of dedication and hard

Continued on page 43

Barbara Bush
Continued from page 7

work. This is true, but as important as your obligations as a doctor, a lawyer, or a business leader will be, you are a human being first and those human connections—with spouses, with children, with friends—are the most important investments you will ever make.

At the end of your life, you will never regret not having passed one more test, not winning one more verdict or not closing one more deal. You will regret time not spent with a husband, a friend, a child or a parent.

We are in a transitional period right now . . . fascinating and exhilarating times . . . learning to adjust to the changes and the choices we . . . men and women . . . are facing. As an example, I remember what a friend said, on hearing her husband lament to his buddies that he had to babysit. Quickly setting him straight . . . my friend told her husband that when it's your own kids . . . it's not called babysitting!

Maybe we should adjust faster, maybe we should adjust slower. But whatever the era . . . whatever the times, one thing will never change: fathers and mothers, if you have children . . . they must come first. You must read to your children, and you must hug your children, and you must love your children. Your success as a family . . . our success as a society . . . depends *not* on what happens at the White House, but on what happens inside your house.

For over fifty years, it was said that the winner of Wellesley's annual hoop race would be the first to get married. Now they say the winner will be the first to become a C.E.O. Both of those stereotypes show too little tolerance for those who want to know where the mermaids stand. So I want to offer you today a new legend: The winner of the hoop race will be the first to realize her dream . . . not society's dream . . . her own personal dream. And who knows? Somewhere out in this audience may even be someone who will one day follow in my footsteps, and preside over the White House as the president's spouse, and I wish him well!

Well, the controversy ends here. But our conversation is only beginning. And a worthwhile conversation it has been. So as you leave Wellesley today, take with you deep thanks for the courtesy and the honor you have shared with Mrs. Gorbachev and me. Thank you. God bless you. And may your future be worthy of your dreams. □

Nannerl Keohane
Continued from page 11

The world outside doesn't spend enough serious time thinking about these things. In this way, you have done a service to millions of other women and men who are wrestling with these issues, by providing a "bully pulpit" for the discussion of the most fundamental aspects of our lives.

Why should the choices for young women at age thirty who want to combine career and marriage be so much tougher than they are for equally talented and ambitious men? As Gloria Steinem put it at Wellesley's Commencement in 1988, "Why should 'having it all' for women inevitably mean 'doing it all'?"

These are the crucial questions raised by our commencement controversy of 1990: not questions about disrespect to the First Lady, which was never in the mind of any Wellesley woman, nor underestimating the value of motherhood and volunteering and nurturing, which we profess as part of our college creed of service. Instead, the questions are about whether society will allow young women to become whole persons, expressing our talents and ambitions and dreams individually, exploring, ranging widely, forming relationships, defining ourselves, rather than being defined by stereotypes of gender or race or class.

And so my second charge to you is this: continue to wrestle with such issues after you leave Wellesley. Do not think of them as part of your college years, to be left behind as you move on. Insist that your friends and your colleagues at work, and above all your children, think about these questions too.

And finally, another lesson of this spring was that society is indeed changing, even if slowly. One point that many of

VIDEOTAPE

WELLESLEY COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT
June 1, 1990

Nannerl Overholser Keohane '61,
President

Speakers:
Barbara Bush,
First Lady of the United States of America
Raisa Gorbachev,
First Lady of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

and including excerpts from the Student Address by Christine Forbes Bicknell '90

* * *

This professionally produced VHS videotape of Wellesley's Commencement will be available shortly at $25* per copy including shipping and handling. To order, please fill out the form below and send with your check for $25* payable to Wellesley College Alumnae Association to:

Alumnae Office
Wellesley College
Wellesley, MA 02181

Please send _____videotape(s) of **WELLESLEY COMMENCEMENT 1990** @ $25* per copy to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

_____

My check for $_____ payable to Wellesley College Alumnae Association is enclosed.

*Mass residents please add $1.25 sales tax per copy.

so. But it actually goes deeper than mere party; it goes down to some of the basic things that we in the greatest country in the world are trying to do for humanity. In doing it, in helping ourselves make our own country better, we are doing the only thing we can possibly do to help the rest of the world.

You and I know that we have no intention of getting mixed up in the wars of the rest of the world. About the only thing that is left for us to do is to set an example for them, with the hope that when they see the road we are traveling as a great Nation of 125 million people, they will stop their local and their international quarrels and squabbles, and take a leaf out of the notebook of the United States.

I want to tell you all again how happy I am to have been here today. These have been wonderful gatherings, both the one of the farmers and this one where I see so many distinguished citizens of this great city and great State.

I love to come to Chicago. I have been here, as you know, many times before, and I am coming back again very soon.

179 ¶ Address at Notre Dame University upon Receiving an Honorary Degree. December 9, 1935

Cardinal Mundelein, President O'Hara, you, the members of the great Notre Dame family, of whom I am proud and happy to become a part today:

In acknowledging the honor which, through the granting of this Degree, the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. And I cannot, without feeling a little choke in my voice, thank my old friend, His Eminence, Cardinal Mundelein.

I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. One in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy

of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States Government. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation, both for the sake of my country and, also, as a new alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. I am especially happy to take part in this special convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines. And I am especially privileged to have heard that brilliant address of Mr. Romulo, who so well represents his Commonwealth.

It cannot seem so long because even I remember it; and yet it is almost forty years since the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the Nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider it one of the happiest events in my office as President of the United States, to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people.

The time is not given me to recite the history of these forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the Government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that essential freedom which is natively theirs as a people, a freedom which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new Constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought more power. Through our power we have sought to benefit others.

That both Nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy event is due to the fact that both Nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. These rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. And again they have been championed in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, a Constitution which I would like to have read and learned in every school and college of the United States.

There can be no true national life either within a Nation itself, or between that Nation and other Nations, unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship.

This university from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle West—its first explorers and first missionaries—Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, Hennepin—its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here—its apostolic Father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame—its zealous missionaries of other faiths—its pioneers of varied nationalities—all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to those fundamental principles of freedom—freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason, in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people:

"Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

In the conflict of policies and of political systems which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance, and for the guidance of other Nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of

human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home, every prayer that other Nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living, how permanent they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation, the people of the Philippine Commonwealth have now also championed them before all the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. May they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace and well-being of the whole world.

Let me say, as I leave you, that I am happy to be here today, that I am proud of the great distinction which you have conferred upon me, that I was more touched than anything else by the little word of the President of Notre Dame when he said that I will be in your prayers. I appreciate that. I trust that I may be in your prayers.

180 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to State Superintendents of Education at the White House. December 11, 1935

I AM glad you are meeting down here. I am not going to make a speech to you. All I can tell you is that I have been trying to keep in touch with our educational problems. I got to know the State problems of education very well during four years up in Albany. I do think that we accomplished a great deal, but I know that we still have to go a long way. That applies not only to New York but to every other State. We have only scratched the surface.

I had a very nice luncheon the other day with the Superintend-

believe: that the Government of the United States intends to do its full duty by every one of its citizens, but it shall never—in the words of Abraham Lincoln—do those things for the individual that he can do better for himself.

Now I just have a simple request of you. If you believe in the basic principles these representatives of yours, congressional and senatorial, if you believe in those basic principles, then not merely do I ask you that you register and you vote—I know good Republicans will do that—I ask you to go out and work as you have never worked before.

Because I tell you, this kind of policy, internally and externally, is the thing that will keep America strong, safe, and sure—for you and every single person that comes behind you.

This is what I hope to do myself, so far as it is proper and the people who will meet within a few short weeks to take over the direction of campaigns—I am ready to do my part.

And I tell you this, it will be an honor to be associated with such people as you are, as you do your part.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at Bear Mountain Inn. The dinner was sponsored by the Republican County Committees of the 28th Congressional District of New York.

174 ¶ Address "Beyond the Campus" Delivered at the Commencement Exercises of the University of Notre Dame. *June* 5, 1960

Father Hesburgh, Your Eminence, Your Excellencies, members of the Clergy, members of the Graduating Class and the Trustees, faculty and students, and friends of Notre Dame:

I acknowledge with the deepest gratitude the receipt of the Honorary Doctorate of Notre Dame. And I am overwhelmed by the terminology of the Citation read to me. But I want to say to all of you that as I listened to what was said about Dr. Dooley, that I could not fail to believe that there are few if any men that I know who have equaled his exhibition of courage, self-sacrifice, faith in his God, and his readiness to serve his fellow men.

At Commencement time in our country a generation ago, a well-known Englishman felt an urge to tell us something about ourselves. The theme he selected was, "Why don't young Americans care about politics?"

He felt that the attitude of our young people toward civil government, at all levels, was like that of "the audience at a play."

My simple purpose today is to talk to you these next few minutes about the compelling need for all Americans to interest themselves seriously in politics.

There may be a plausible, if not necessarily a valid, explanation for the American's traditional indifference to politics.

Historically, the 19th Century in America was one of amazing growth. A wilderness needed conquering; vast resources had to be utilized; illiteracy had to be eliminated; a great economic machine, reaching to every corner of the world, had to be built. This unprecedented development commanded extraordinary talents in our private enterprise system. To people busy in productive life, government seemed not only remote but relatively unimportant. The demand for real skills in political pursuits was minimal.

Moreover, in that long period, a view developed that political life was somewhat degrading—that politics was primarily a contest, with the spoils to the victor and the public paying the bill. This belief had some justification at one period in our history, and may still persist in local situations.

In these circumstances, some of our highly talented people have refrained from offering themselves for public service—indeed, often to refuse to enter it.

But times have changed, and the change includes the character of government. The first major platform drafted in 1840 by a political party required only 500 words; in the last national election each major party used over 15,000 words to deal with the highlights of the principal issues. This thirtyfold growth in political platforms is illustrative of the increase of governmental influence over all our lives.

The need for the best talent in positions of political responsibility is not only great, but mounts with each stroke of history's clock.

A few years ago, government represented only a small fraction of the total national activity. Today, to support our national, state and local governments, and to finance our international undertakings, almost one-

fourth of the total national income is collected in taxes. In every phase of life, government increasingly affects us—our environment, our opportunities, our health, our education, our general welfare.

Government is, of course, necessary, but it is not the mainspring of progress. In the private sector of American life, commanding as it does the productive efforts of our citizens, is found the true source of our nation's vitality. Government is not of itself a part of our productive machinery. Consequently its size, its growth, its operations can be justified only by demonstrated need. If too dominant, if too large, its effect is both burdensome and stifling.

Only an informed and alert citizenry can make the necessary judgments as to the character and degree of that need.

We do not want a government with a philosophy of incessant meddling, which imposes a smothering mist on the sparks of initiative.

We do not want a government that permits every noisy group to force upon society an endless string of higher subsidies that solve nothing and undermine the collective good of the nation.

We do not want governmental programs which, advanced, often falsely, in the guise of promoting the general welfare destroy in the individual those priceless qualities of self-dependence, self-confidence, and a readiness to risk his judgment against the trends of the crowd.

We do want a government that assures the security and general welfare of the nation and its people in concord with the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, who insisted that government should do, and do only, the things which people cannot well do for themselves.

This concept is particularly relevant to most activities encompassed by the phrase "the general welfare."

But even with devotion to the principle that governmental functions can be justified only by public need, government has become so pervasive that its decisions inescapably help shape the future of every individual, every group, every region, every institution.

Though we recognize this vast change—and though most persons in public office are selfless, devoted people—we are still plagued by yesterday's concept of politics and politicians.

Too many of our ablest citizens draw back, evidently fearful of being sullied in the broiling activity of partisan affairs.

This must change. We need intelligent, creative, steady political leadership as at no time before in our history. There must be more talent

in government—the best our nation affords. We need it in county, city, state—and in Washington.

Human progress in freedom is not merely something inscribed upon a tablet—not a matter to be shrugged off as a worry for others. Progress in freedom demands from each citizen a daily exercise of the will and the spirit—a fierce faith; it must not be stagnated by a philosophy of collectivity that seeks personal security as a prime objective.

Clearly, you—you graduates who enjoy the blessings of higher education have a special responsibility to exercise leadership in helping others understand these problems.

And, by no means, does your responsibility stop there. To serve the nation well you must, for example, help seek out able candidates for office and persuade them to offer themselves to the electorate. To be most effective you should become active in a political party, and in civic and professional organizations. You should undertake, according to your own intelligently formed convictions, a personal crusade to help the political life of the nation soar as high as human wisdom can make it.

Now some of you will become doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, businessmen. Each of you will contribute to the national welfare, as well as to personal and family welfare, by doing well and honorably whatever you undertake. But a specialist, regardless of professional skill and standing, cannot fulfill the exacting requirements of modern citizenship unless he dedicates himself also to raising the political standards of the body politic.

Now I hope that some of you will enter the public service, either in elective, career, or appointive office. Most of the top posts in government involve manifold questions of policy. In these positions we have a special need for intelligent, educated, selfless persons from all walks of life.

I believe that each of you should, if called, be willing to devote one block of your life to government service.

This does not mean that you need become permanently implanted in government. Quite the contrary. In policy-forming positions we constantly need expert knowledge and fresh points of view. Some frequency of withdrawal and return to private life would help eliminate the dangerous concept that permanence in office is more important than the rightness of decision. Contrariwise, such a tour should not be so brief as to

minimize the value of the contribution and diminish the quality of public service. Normally, a four-year period in these policy posts would seem to be a minimum. Most leaders from private life who enter the public service do so at a substantial sacrifice in the earning power of their productive years.

Although these personal sacrifices are, by most individuals, accepted as a condition of service, yet when these sacrifices become so great as to be unendurable from the family standpoint, we find another cause for the loss of talent in government.

We ought not to make it inordinately difficult for a man to undertake a public post and then to return to his own vocation. In government one must obviously have no selfish end to serve, but citizens should not, invariably, be required to divest themselves of investments accumulated over a lifetime in order to qualify for public office. The basic question to be determined in each case is this—is such divestment necessary to remove any likelihood that the probity and objectivity of his governmental decisions will be affected? And this question is proper and ethical whether the individual holds either elective or appointive office. We need to review carefully the conflict-of-interest restrictions which have often prohibited the entry into government of men and women who had much to offer their country.

But let me return to the more broadly-based consideration: that thinking Americans in all walks of life must constantly add to their own knowledge and help build a more enlightened electorate and public opinion. For herein lies the success of all government policy and action in a free society.

Leaders in America—and this comprehends all who have a capacity to influence others—must develop a keen understanding of current issues, foreign and domestic—and of political party organization, platform, and operations.

They must have critical judgments regarding actions being proposed or taken by legislatures and executives at all levels of government. They need to be knowledgeable so as not to be misled by catchwords or doctrinaire slogans.

Thus they can analyze objectively how such actions may affect them, their communities, and their country—and help others to a similar understanding.

Political understanding, widely fostered, will compel government to develop national and international programs truly for the general good, and to refrain from doing those things that unduly favor special groups or impinge upon the citizen's own responsibility, self-dependence, and opportunities.

Graduates of the Class of 1960: a half century ago, when I was about to enter West Point—and, incidentally, to meet shortly thereafter and to know that gridiron genius, Knute Rockne—our country was in what now seems to have been a different era. The annual Federal budget was below seven hundred million dollars. Today it has increased more than one hundredfold, and organized groups demand more and more services, both expensive and expansive. At the turn of the century there was a certain grace, calmness, and courtliness about human deportment and the movement of events.

Now we operate on a relentless timetable which we must race to keep events from overwhelming us.

Complicating the lives of all of us today we know that in the dimly-lit regions behind the Iron Curtain, eight hundred million people are denied the uncountable blessings of progress in freedom, and compelled by their masters to develop vast means of destructive power. Elsewhere, among the underdeveloped countries of the world, a billion people look to America as a beacon that confidently lights the path to human progress in freedom.

This is no time to whimper, complain, or fret about helping other peoples, if we really intend that freedom shall emerge triumphant over tyranny.

The enemies of human dignity lurk in a thousand places—in governments that have become spiritual wastelands, and in leaders that brandish angry epithets, slogans, and satellites. But equally certain it is that freedom is imperiled where peoples, worshipping material success, have become emptied of idealism. Peace with justice cannot be attained by peoples where opulence has dulled the spirit—where indifference ignores moral and political responsibility.

Too often there is, in politics as in religion, a familiar pattern of the few willing workers and the large number of passive observers.

Our society can no longer tolerate such delinquency.

We must insist that our educated young men and women—our future leaders—willingly, joyously play a pivotal part in the endless adventure of free government. The vital issues of freedom or regimentation, public or private control of productive resources, a religiously-inspired or an atheistic society, a healthy economy or depression, peace or war—these are the substance of political decisions and actions that you young people must be ready to participate in. Neglect by citizens of civic responsibilities will be a greater danger to a free America than any foreign threat can ever pose; but an enlightened, dedicated people, studiously and energetically performing their political duties will insure us a future of ever-rising standards of spiritual, cultural and material strength. These duties and these opportunities must demand the dedicated attention of all the people, and especially all who have so profoundly benefited from our vast educational system.

My heartiest congratulations on this splendid preparation that the members of this Graduating Class have received for exercising the leadership which this great Republic must have as it faces the problems, the trials and the bright opportunities of the future.

Thank you—and may God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. on a platform erected in front of O'Shaughnessy Hall. His opening words "Father Hesburgh, Your Eminence" referred to the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame, and Giovanni Battista Cardinal Montini, Archbishop of Milan. He later referred to Dr. Thomas A. Dooley, cofounder of the Medico organization in northern Laos.

The citation accompanying the honorary degree called the President "the most eminent and most popular statesman of his time."

175 ¶ Exchange of Messages Between the President and President Alessandri Concerning the Disaster in Chile. *June* 8, 1960

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply distressed at the indications of hardship and suffering being undergone now by the people of your nation and have just issued the following public statement:

"The people of the United States are appalled at the disaster that has struck the friendly, hard-working people of Chile. Earthquakes, tidal

I have got to go. I have enjoyed talking to you. I wish I had more time. I appreciate your coming.

NOTE: The interview began at 1 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

The transcript of the interview was made available by the White House Press Office on May 21. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

United Nations Children's Fund

Message Delivered to the Annual Meeting of UNICEF's Executive Board. May 21, 1977

This is to convey, on behalf of the people of the United States, my support for the principles for which UNICEF stands.

The very important participation and active support of the members of UNICEF is of particular interest to me in that your organization is dedicated to the basic human right of all people to be free of poverty and hunger and disease. The special emphasis you place on meeting the human needs of children, the future leaders of the world, makes your efforts even that much more essential to the goal of seeking human freedom and dignity for all mankind.

JIMMY CARTER

NOTE: The message was delivered by Peter G. Bourne, Special Assistant to the President for Health Issues, at UNICEF's meeting in Manila, the Philippines, on May 23.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Address at Commencement Exercises at the University. May 22, 1977

To Father Hesburgh and the great faculty of Notre Dame, to those who have been honored this afternoon with the degree from your great university, to the graduate and undergraduate group who, I understand, is the largest in the history of this great institution, friends and parents:

Thank you for that welcome. I'm very glad to be with you. You may have started a new graduation trend which I don't deplore, that is, throwing peanuts on graduation day. [*Laughter*] The more that are used or consumed the higher the price goes. [*Laughter*]

I really did appreciate the great honor bestowed upon me this afternoon. My other degree is blue and gold from the Navy, and I want to let you know that I do feel a kinship with those who are assembled here this afternoon. I was a little taken aback by the comment that I had brought a new accent to the White House. In the minds of many people in our country, for the first time in almost 150 years, there is no accent. [*Laughter*]

I tried to think of a story that would illustrate two points simultaneously and also be brief, which is kind of a difficult assignment. I was

sitting on the Truman Balcony the other night with my good friend, Charles Kirbo, who told me about a man who was arrested and taken in to court for being drunk and for setting a bed on fire. When the judge asked him how he pled, he said, "not guilty." He said, "I was drunk but the bed was on fire when I got in it." [*Laughter*]

I think most of the graduates can draw the parallel between that statement and what you are approaching after this graduation exercise. But there are two points to that, and I'll come to the other one in just a few minutes.

In his 25 years as president of Notre Dame, Father Hesburgh has spoken more consistently and more effectively in the support of the rights of human beings than any other person I know. His interest in the Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights has never wavered. And he played an important role in broadening the scope of the center's work—and I visited there last fall—to see this work include, now, all people in the world, as shown by last month's conference here on human rights and American foreign policy.

And that concern has been demonstrated again today in a vivid fashion by the selection of Bishop Donal Lamont, Paul Cardinal Arns, and Stephen Cardinal Kim to receive honorary degress. In their fight for human freedoms in Rhodesia, Brazil, and South Korea, these three religious leaders typify all that is best in their countries and in our church. I'm honored to join you in recognizing their dedication, their personal sacrifice, and their supreme courage.

Quite often, brave men like these are castigated and sometimes punished, sometimes even put to death, because they enter the realm where human rights is a struggle. And sometimes they are blamed for the very circumstance which they helped to dramatize, but it's been there for a long time. And the flames which they seek to extinguish concern us all and are increasingly visible around the world.

Last week, I spoke in California about the domestic agenda for our Nation: to provide more efficiently for the needs of our people, to demonstrate—against the dark faith of our times—that our Government can be both competent and more humane.

But I want to speak to you today about the strands that connect our actions overseas with our essential character as a nation. I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on fundamental values, and that uses power and influence, which we have, for humane purposes. We can also have a foreign policy that the American people both support and, for a change, know about and understand.

I have a quiet confidence in our own political system. Because we know that democracy works, we can reject the arguments of those rulers who deny human rights to their people.

We are confident that democracy's example will be compelling, and so we seek to bring that example closer to those from whom in the past few years we have been separated and who are not yet convinced about the advantages of our kind of life.

We are confident that the democratic methods are the most effective, and so we are not tempted to employ improper tactics here at home or abroad.

We are confident of our own strength, so we can seek substantial mutual reductions in the nuclear arms race.

And we are confident of the good sense of American people, and so we let them share in the process of making foreign policy decisions. We can thus speak with the voices of 215 million, and not just of an isolated handful.

Democracy's great recent successes—in India, Portugal, Spain, Greece—show that our confidence in this system is not misplaced. Being confident of our own future, we are now free of that inordinate fear of communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in that fear. I'm glad that that's being changed.

For too many years, we've been willing to adopt the flawed and erroneous principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our own values for theirs. We've fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better quenched with water. This approach failed, with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty. But through failure we have now found our way back to our own principles and values, and we have regained our lost confidence.

By the measure of history, our Nation's 200 years are very brief, and our rise to world eminence is briefer still. It dates from 1945, when Europe and the old international order lay in ruins. Before then, America was largely on the periphery of world affairs. But since then, we have inescapably been at the center of world affairs.

Our policy during this period was guided by two principles: a belief that Soviet expansion was almost inevitable but that it must be contained, and the corresponding belief in the importance of an almost exclusive alliance among non-Communist nations on both sides of the Atlantic. That system could not last forever unchanged. Historical trends have weakened its foundation. The unifying threat of conflict with the Soviet

Union has become less intensive, even though the competition has become more extensive.

The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping worldwide faith in our own policy and our system of life, a crisis of confidence made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders.

In less than a generation, we've seen the world change dramatically. The daily lives and aspirations of most human beings have been transformed. Colonialism is nearly gone. A new sense of national identity now exists in almost 100 new countries that have been formed in the last generation. Knowledge has become more widespread. Aspirations are higher. As more people have been freed from traditional constraints, more have been determined to achieve, for the first time in their lives, social justice.

The world is still divided by ideological disputes, dominated by regional conflicts, and threatened by danger that we will not resolve the differences of race and wealth without violence or without drawing into combat the major military powers. We can no longer separate the traditional issues of war and peace from the new global questions of justice, equity, and human rights.

It is a new world, but America should not fear it. It is a new world, and we should help to shape it. It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy—a policy based on constant decency in its values and on optimism in our historical vision.

We can no longer have a policy solely for the industrial nations as the foundation of global stability, but we must respond to the new reality of a politically awakening world.

We can no longer expect that the other 150 nations will follow the dictates of the powerful, but we must continue—confidently—our efforts to inspire, to persuade, and to lead.

Our policy must reflect our belief that the world can hope for more than simple survival and our belief that dignity and freedom are fundamental spiritual requirements. Our policy must shape an international system that will last longer than secret deals.

We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation. Our policy must be open; it must be candid; it must be one of constructive global involvement, resting on five cardinal principles.

I've tried to make these premises clear to the American people since last January. Let me review what we have been doing and discuss what we intend to do.

First, we have reaffirmed America's commitment to human rights as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy. In ancestry, religion, color, place of origin, and cultural background, we Americans are as diverse a nation as the world has even seen. No common mystique of blood or soil unites us. What draws us together, perhaps more than anything else, is a belief in human freedom. We want the world to know that our Nation stands for more than financial prosperity.

This does not mean that we can conduct our foreign policy by rigid moral maxims. We live in a world that is imperfect and which will always be imperfect—a world that is complex and confused and which will always be complex and confused.

I understand fully the limits of moral suasion. We have no illusion that changes will come easily or soon. But I also believe that it is a mistake to undervalue the power of words and of the ideas that words embody. In our own history, that power has ranged from Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream."

In the life of the human spirit, words *are* action, much more so than many of us may realize who live in countries where freedom of expression is taken for granted. The leaders of totalitarian nations understand this very well. The proof is that words are precisely the action for which dissidents in those countries are being persecuted.

Nonetheless, we can already see dramatic, worldwide advances in the protection of the individual from the arbitrary power of the state. For us to ignore this trend would be to lose influence and moral authority in the world. To lead it will be to regain the moral stature that we once had.

The great democracies are not free because we are strong and prosperous. I believe we are strong and influential and prosperous because we are free.

Throughout the world today, in free nations and in totalitarian countries as well, there is a preoccupation with the subject of human freedom, human rights. And I believe it is incumbent on us in this country to keep that discussion, that debate, that contention alive. No other country is as well-qualified as we to set an example. We have our own shortcomings and faults, and we should strive constantly and with courage to make sure that we are legitimately proud of what we have.

Second, we've moved deliberately to reinforce the bonds among our democracies. In our recent meetings in London, we agreed to widen our economic cooperation, to promote free trade, to strengthen the world's monetary system, to seek ways of avoiding nuclear proliferation. We pre-

pared constructive proposals for the forthcoming meetings on North-South problems of poverty, development, and global well-being. And we agreed on joint efforts to reinforce and to modernize our common defense.

You may be interested in knowing that at this NATO meeting, for the first time in more than 25 years, all members are democracies. Even more important, all of us reaffirmed our basic optimism in the future of the democratic system. Our spirit of confidence is spreading. Together, our democracies can help to shape the wider architecture of global cooperation.

Third, we've moved to engage the Soviet Union in a joint effort to halt the strategic arms race. This race is not only dangerous, it's morally deplorable. We must put an end to it.

I know it will not be easy to reach agreements. Our goal is to be fair to both sides, to produce reciprocal stability, parity, and security. We desire a freeze on further modernization and production of weapons and a continuing, substantial reduction of strategic nuclear weapons as well. We want a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing, a prohibition against all chemical warfare, no attack capability against space satellites, and arms limitations in the Indian Ocean.

We hope that we can take joint steps with all nations toward a final agreement eliminating nuclear weapons completely from our arsenals of death. We will persist in this effort.

Now, I believe in détente with the Soviet Union. To me it means progress toward peace. But the effects of détente should not be limited to our own two countries alone. We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its system of society upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force, as was the case with Cuban intervention in Angola.

Cooperation also implies obligation. We hope that the Soviet Union will join with us and other nations in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence in one another.

Fourth, we are taking deliberate steps to improve the chances of lasting peace in the Middle East. Through wide-ranging consultation with leaders of the countries involved—Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt—we have found some areas of agreement and some movement toward consensus. The negotiations must continue.

Through my own public comments, I've also tried to suggest a more flexible framework for the discussion of the three key issues which have so far been so intractable: the nature of a comprehensive peace—what is

peace; what does it mean to the Israelis; what does it mean to their Arab neighbors; secondly, the relationship between security and borders—how can the dispute over border delineations be established and settled with a feeling of security on both sides; and the issue of the Palestinian homeland.

The historic friendship that the United States has with Israel is not dependent on domestic politics in either nation; it's derived from our common respect for human freedom and from a common search for permanent peace.

We will continue to promote a settlement which all of us need. Our own policy will not be affected by changes in leadership in any of the countries in the Middle East. Therefore, we expect Israel and her neighbors to continue to be bound by United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338, which they have previously accepted.

This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict almost 30 years ago. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster not only for the Middle East but, perhaps, for the international political and economic order as well.

And fifth, we are attempting, even at the risk of some friction with our friends, to reduce the danger of nuclear proliferation and the worldwide spread of conventional weapons.

At the recent summit, we set in motion an international effort to determine the best ways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful use while reducing the risks that its products will be diverted to the making of explosives.

We've already completed a comprehensive review of our own policy on arms transfers. Competition in arms sales is inimical to peace and destructive of the economic development of the poorer countries.

We will, as a matter of national policy now in our country, seek to reduce the annual dollar volume of arms sales, to restrict the transfer of advanced weapons, and to reduce the extent of our coproduction arrangements about weapons with foreign states. And just as important, we are trying to get other nations, both free and otherwise, to join us in this effort.

But all of this that I've described is just the beginning. It's a beginning aimed towards a clear goal: to create a wider framework of international cooperation suited to the new and rapidly changing historical circumstances.

We will cooperate more closely with the newly influential countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. We need their friendship and cooperation in a common effort as the structure of world power changes.

More than 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that our Nation could not exist half slave and half free. We know a peaceful world cannot long exist one-third rich and two-thirds hungry.

Most nations share our faith that, in the long run, expanded and equitable trade will best help the developing countries to help themselves. But the immediate problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and repression are here now.

The Western democracies, the OPEC nations, and the developed Communist countries can cooperate through existing international institutions in providing more effective aid. This is an excellent alternative to war.

We have a special need for cooperation and consultation with other nations in this hemisphere—to the north and to the south. We do not need another slogan. Although these are our close friends and neighbors, our links with them are the same links of equality that we forge for the rest of the world. We will be dealing with them as part of a new, worldwide mosaic of global, regional, and bilateral relations.

It's important that we make progress toward normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China. We see the American and Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy and China as a key force for global peace. We wish to cooperate closely with the creative Chinese people on the problems that confront all mankind. And we hope to find a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties that still separate us.

Finally, let me say that we are committed to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in southern Africa. The time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order, recognizing that in a democratic system the rights of the minority must also be protected.

To be peaceful, change must come promptly. The United States is determined to work together with our European allies and with the concerned African States to shape a congenial international framework for the rapid and progressive transformation of southern African society and to help protect it from unwarranted outside interference.

Let me conclude by summarizing: Our policy is based on an historical vision of America's role. Our policy is derived from a larger view of global change. Our policy is rooted in our moral values, which never

change. Our policy is reinforced by our material wealth and by our military power. Our policy is designed to serve mankind. And it is a policy that I hope will make you proud to be Americans.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. at the University of Notre Dame Athletic and Convocation Center after being introduced by Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of the university. Prior to his remarks, the President was presented with an honorary doctor of laws degree by Father Hesburgh.

Tax and Drought Relief Bills

Remarks on Signing H.R. 3477 and S. 1279 Into Law. May 23, 1977

THE PRESIDENT. Again, I apologize for sitting down in the presence of my distinguished peers. I just have to assume this position to do the signing.

The first bill that I'd like to discuss and sign is House Resolution 3477, which is designed and which has been successfully passed by the Congress to greatly simplify the income tax codes of our Nation, to provide greater equity and, also, substantially to reduce taxes among our people. We have seen many Members of the Congress work long hours on this very fine legislation, and I think to a substantial degree, the local and State officials have been involved in this process.

This legislation will provide $5 billion in direct tax reduction to the American taxpayers to be implemented immediately, perhaps as early as June, in withholding taxes.

And for the average family of four that makes $10,000 a year, this will be a permanent tax reduction of 30 percent, which is of very great benefit to the American average family. Most of the benefits in this tax reduction will go to lower- and middle-income families; about 80 percent of it to families that make less than $15,000 a year.

Also, it greatly simplifies the procedure for computing income taxes. About 95 percent of the American people next year, as they file their 1977 tax return, will be able to use a simplified version with a standard deduction and one very simple computation.

We are very proud of the fact, too, that this bill does extend the earned-income tax credits that were initiated by Senator Long. They worked very well. They're an instigation for the lower-income groups to seek and to find employment, and they reward hard work at the low-income levels when the salaries might be too low to finance the needs of the low-income families.

This bill also includes countercyclical help for low- and middle-income families, but particularly through direct grants to the local and State governments.

And this is a bill that's designed to continue our tax simplification, equity, and to stimulate our economy in a way that is productive.

I'm very pleased at the good work that Chairman Ullman in the House and Chairman Long in the Senate have done. And many of the Members of Congress on my left played an instrumental role in bringing forward this good legislation.

programs. Consistent with this goal, this legislation provides for gradually increasing the responsibility of the States in the general aviation program. With many States using new general aviation facilities to stimulate community development, this is an appropriate step at this time.

The legislation I am proposing today also includes a separate measure to adjust the revenues accruing to the Airport and Airway Trust Fund. These adjustments are designed to generate financial contributions from the users of the aviation system which more equitably match the system benefits they receive. In this connection, I am requesting that user revenues also finance the direct costs of maintaining air navigation facilities.

I commend the Congress for initiating hearings on this important problem and for its prompt attention to the extension of the airport and airway development program. I have asked Secretary Coleman to work closely with the Congress to insure speedy enactment of the aviation program I have proposed to meet the challenges of a growing America.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
March 17, 1975.

137

Address at a University of Notre Dame Convocation. *March 17, 1975*

Father Hesburgh, Governor Bowen, my former good friends and colleagues in the Congress, Senator Birch Bayh and Senator Hartke, Congressman John Brademas, distinguished public officials, honored faculty, members of the student body, and distinguished guests—and I add our new Attorney General:

It is really a great privilege and a very high honor for me to have the opportunity of being in South Bend on the University of Notre Dame campus, but I am especially grateful for the honor that has been accorded me this morning. I really cannot express adequately my gratitude being made a member of the Notre Dame family. I thank you very much.

I would be most remiss if I did not also express as strongly and as sincerely as I can the gratitude that all of us have in the Government for the contributions that have been made, not only in the program described by Father Hesburgh but by his many other contributions. I say to you, Father Hesburgh, thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

This has been a most exciting morning. As we were getting off the plane at the county airport, a rather amazing thing happened. Somebody asked me how to get to the campus of the University of Notre Dame. What made it so amazing—it was Father Hesburgh. [*Laughter*]

I especially want to thank Father Hesburgh for all he has done to make me and my party most welcome here today, and particularly for granting amnesty to the classes this morning.

It is also a rare opportunity for me to be at Notre Dame, the home of the Fighting Irish, on, of all days, St. Patrick's Day. I tried to dress appropriately, and honestly, I have a green tie on. Let's face it, this is one day we can all be part of the greening of America.

As your next-door neighbor from Michigan, I have always been impressed by the outstanding record of the students of the University of Notre Dame. You have always been leaders in academic achievement, in social concerns, in sports prowess, and now once again, you are blazing new paths in the developments of new concepts in mass transportation. Some communities have the monorail; some have the subway; Notre Dame has the quickie. [*Laughter*]

The Fighting Irish of Notre Dame have become a symbol of the tenacity and determination of the American people. But Notre Dame believes not only in might on the football field or on the basketball court but in a spiritual response to humanity's struggles for a decent life.

I have been told that many of you chose to go without a normal meal, eating only a bowl of rice, to save money to help feed the world's hungry. It is heartwarming to know that students are concerned about others abroad at a time when many here at home are finding it difficult to afford an education or to get a job. Although life is hard for many Americans, I am proud that we continue to share with others. And that, in my opinion, is the measure of genuine compassion. And I congratulate you.

I am especially proud to be on a campus that looks up to God and out to humanity at a time when some are tempted to turn inward and turn away from the problems of the world. Notre Dame's great spokesman, Father Hesburgh, is known in Washington as a nonconformist. I must admit that I do not share all of the Father's views. But he is following one nonconformist viewpoint to which I fully subscribe, and I quote: "Be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God."

To conform to apathy and pessimism is to drop out and to cop out. In that sense, I fully reject conformity. In that sense, I am a nonconformist who con-

tinues to be proud of America's partnership with other nations and who makes no apology for the United States of America. America's goodness and America's greatness speak for themselves. I believe in this Nation and in our capacity to resolve our difficulties at home without turning our back on the rest of the world.

Let me share a personal experience. I was elected to the Congress in the aftermath of World War II. A nonpartisan foreign policy was emerging at that time. America realized that politics must stop at the water's edge. Our fate was linked to the well-being of other free nations. We became the first nation to provide others with economic assistance as a national policy. Foreign aid was an American invention or an American project of which we can be justifiably proud.

Today, as I look back, I am grateful for the opportunity to serve in our Government during the third quarter of the 20th century. These past 25 years, while not perfect, were incomparably better for humanity than either of the two previous quarters of this century. There was no world war nor global depression. Major nations achieved détente. Many new nations obtained independence. There has been an explosion of hope, freedom, and human progress at home as well as abroad. America's role, considered in fair context, was a catalyst for change, for growth, and for betterment.

The Marshall Plan, unprecedented in world history, restored a war-ravaged Europe. Even earlier, U.S. relief and rehabilitation activities during World War II and assistance to Greece and to Turkey after the war had provided precedents and experience in America's overseas assistance.

In the same year that I came to Congress, 1949, President Truman advanced Point 4, an innovative, remarkable concept providing technical assistance to developing nations. It brought new American ideas and technology to people hitherto unable to benefit from advances in health, agriculture, and education.

The Food for Peace Act, designed to use America's agricultural abundance to assist others, was a product of the Eisenhower administration. In the late fifties, we created the Development Loan program to help others help themselves. In 1961, the Congress established the Agency for International Development to consolidate and to administer the various activities and agencies that were carrying out the will of the Congress and the President at that time.

Programs to help people in the developing countries are an expression of America's great compassion, and we should be proud of them. But such aid is also part of the continuing effort to achieve an enduring structure of world peace. It is no longer a question of just the Third World. I am deeply concerned by the problems of the fourth world, the very poorest world where from 400

million to 800 million people suffer from malnutrition, where average per capita income is under $275 per year, where life expectancy is 20 years less than in the developed countries, where more than 40 percent of the children will never reach the age of five, where more than half of the population has never been to school.

Despite these problems, the economies of the developing countries have grown at an encouraging rate in the past 10 years, thanks in part—I think substantial part—to American assistance. Manufacturing output increased 100 percent, food production by over one-third. Enrollment in elementary schools doubled. Enrollment in secondary schools and colleges quadrupled.

But population growth and increased demand collided with inflation and energy shortages. Gains in many, many instances have been wiped out. At the very time when our policy seeks to build peace with nations of different philosophies, there remains too much violence and too much threat to peace.

The Congress defined the role of foreign aid this way, and I quote from the legislation itself: "The freedom, security, and prosperity of the United States are best sustained in a community of free, secure, and prospering nations. . . . Ignorance, want, and despair breed the extremism and violence which lead to aggression and subversion."

Those words, written by the Congress, I think are so accurate. If nations are to develop within this definition, they must be able to defend themselves. They must have assurances that America can be counted on to provide the means of security, their own security, as well as the means of sustenance. People with an affirmative vision of the future will not resort to violence. While we pursue a peaceful world in which there is unity in diversity, we must continue to support security against aggression and subversion. To do otherwise, in my judgment, would invite greater violence.

The United States, in this day and age, cannot avoid partnership with nations trying to improve the kind of world the children of today will face tomorrow. Recent events have demonstrated the total interdependence of all people who live on this planet.

The 1973 war in the Middle East showed that war confined to a limited region nevertheless has an economic impact, not only in South Bend but in every corner of the world. Developing and developed countries are all part of a single, interdependent economic system.

This audience, I am told, and this student body includes many students from over 60 foreign countries. And I congratulate you, Father Hesburgh. Let this demonstrate to all Americans that other people place a high valuation on what

America has to offer. Let it demonstrate that the University of Notre Dame rejects what some call the new isolationism.

Let me share with you a specific problem that Father Hesburgh mentioned in his introduction. When the World Food Conference met in Rome in the fall of 1974, I, as the newly chosen President, was faced with a very perplexing problem. Food prices in America were over one-fifth higher than in the previous year. Food reserves, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, were dwindling. The corn crop and other commodities were disappointing in 1974. There were concerns about hunger among our own people.

Against this background, I was presented with several alternative estimates on how much we should spend for Food for Peace for those in other lands.

At the Rome conference, American spokesmen pledged that we would try our utmost to increase our food contribution despite our own crop problems. As crop reports improved, I designated—as was mentioned by Father Hesburgh—a sum even higher than the highest option recommended to me at the time of the conference.

A factor in my own decision was your fine president, Father Hesburgh, and you should be thankful that you have a person who has such broad interests as he, as the president of your university. A factor also in my judgment was that the program provided, and properly so, a reminder of America's moral commitment.

Food for Peace was increased from about $980 million to $1.6 billion. This will provide about 5.5 million tons of commodities, up from 3.3 million tons last year. Most of the commodities will be wheat and rice. But also desperately required and also increased are blended foods used in nutritional programs for mothers and for infants.

The United States, fortunately, is no longer the only country aiding others. But we continue to lead—and we will—in providing food assistance. In 20 years of Food for Peace, we shipped over 245 million tons of wheat, rice, and other grains, valued at roughly $23 billion.

Every American should be proud of that record. It is an illustration of the humane feeling and the generosity of the American people.

While food helps, only by technical assistance can emerging nations meet their needs. It has been often said, but I think it is appropriate at this time, that if a hungry man is given a fish, he can eat for one day. But if he is taught to fish, he can eat every day.

The greatest opportunity lies in expanding production in areas where production will be consumed. The world is farming only about one-half of the

potential croplands, yet there are insufficient farmer incentives in many countries, shortages of fertilizer, high fuel costs, and inadequate storage and distribution systems.

The answers to the world food problem are to be found in interdependence. We can and will help other nations. But simplistic paternalism may do more harm than good. Our help must take the form of helping every nation to help itself. And we will.

I am particularly concerned about the problem of fair distribution. America believes in equality of opportunity. This Nation provides a showcase of change in providing better nutrition, education, health to more and more people, including those who can least afford it. Now, some nations have made excellent use of our assistance to develop their own capacities. Other governments are still struggling with the issue of equality of opportunity and fair distribution of life's necessities.

Good world citizenship requires more than moralizing about the role others should take. It requires each nation to put its own house in order. Good American citizenship requires more than moralizations about what is wrong with the United States. It requires personal involvement and action to bring about change. It requires voting and organizing and challenging and changing with the flexible and dynamic American political process. Our system, by any standard, works and will work better, and you can be a part of it.

The developing nations of the world are increasingly successful in bringing prosperity to larger numbers of their own people. In fact, the assistance we have provided these nations is not just a one-way street. Thirty percent of U.S. exports are purchased by these developing nations, thereby obviously contributing to a better life for their people and jobs for ours.

In cases where countries have the means, let them join in sharing with us as they should. Some have helped. Others have not. We led the way, and we will not shirk from future burdens. But all nations must cooperate in developing the world's resources. We extend the hand of partnership and friendship to make a better world.

Another challenge facing the developing nations, as well as other nations, is to realize the need for peaceful accommodation with neighbors. An interdependent world cannot solve disputes by threat or by force. People now and in the future depend on each other more than they sometimes realize. For example, we in America import between 50 and 100 percent of such essential minerals as cobalt, bauxite, nickel, manganese, and others.

The challenge, as I see it, is for America and all other nations to take respon-

sibility for themselves while building cooperation with each other. The challenge is also the preservation of the freedom and dignity of the human individual throughout the world.

Just as the world's nations can no longer go it alone, neither can the American people. Woodrow Wilson said that "what we should seek to impart in our colleges is not so much learning itself as the spirit of learning." Great universities that pursue truth face the challenge that confronts the entire American people. It is whether we will learn nothing from the past and return to the introversion of the 1930's, to the dangerous notion that our fate is unrelated to the fate of others.

I am convinced that Americans, however tempted to resign from the world, know deep in their heart that it cannot be done. The spirit of learning is too deeply ingrained. We know that wherever the bell tolls for freedom, it tolls for us.

The American people have responded by supplying help to needy nations. Programs, both government and the voluntary agencies, could not have been and cannot be reenacted without popular support. CARE and Catholic Relief Services, pioneers in Food for Peace programs, are feeding over 28 million people around the world right today. Protestant, Jewish, and other groups are similarly involved.

At universities throughout the Nation, researchers seek answers to world problems. Right here in Indiana, at Purdue University, scientists have made discoveries in high protein aspects of sorghum, a basic food of more than 300 million people in Asia and in Africa.

Not only the scientists at Purdue but people throughout America realize that no structure of world peace can endure unless the poverty question is answered. There is no safety for any nation in a hungry, ill-educated, and desperate world.

In a time of recession, inflation, unemployment at home, it is argued that we can no longer afford foreign assistance. In my judgment, there are two basic arguments to the contrary:

First, foreign aid is a part of the price we must pay to achieve the kind of a world in which we want to live. Let's be frank about it. Foreign aid bolsters our diplomatic efforts for peace and for security.

But secondly, and perhaps just as importantly, even with a recession, we remain the world's most affluent country. And the sharing of our resources today is the right, the humane, and the decent thing to do. And we will.

But just as we seek to build bridges to other nations, we must unite at home. This Administration wants better communication with the academic world.

And I express again my appreciation for the warmth of this reception. But this communication must not just be a search for new technology but for the human and spiritual qualities that enrich American life.

In the future, fewer people must produce more. We must, therefore, unleash intellectual capacities to anticipate and solve our problems. The academic world must join in the revival of fundamental American values. Let us build a new sense of pride in being an American.

Yes, you can make America what you want it to be. Think about that for just a moment, if you would. Is it really true? Yes, in my judgment, it is.

But there is a catch to it. You will never see it come true. Perhaps your children or your grandchildren will. What you can do is move America slowly but surely along the right direction.

Admittedly, today's America is far from perfect, but it is much closer to the America that my class of 1935 wanted than it was when I left the University of Michigan.

Today's America is a far better place than it was 40 years ago when the lingering shadows of worldwide depression were being blotted out by the darker clouds of worldwide war. My generation did not wholly save the world, obviously. But we did, to a degree, help to move it along in the right direction.

We learned along the way that we are part of "one world." The author of that phrase was a Hoosier, the first political candidate about whom I got personally involved enough to volunteer as a campaign worker. His name was Wendell Willkie.

Wendell Willkie, of Indiana, was never President, but he was right. He fought for what he believed in against almost impossible odds. In the last Presidential campaign before Pearl Harbor, he believed most deeply—too far ahead of his time, perhaps—that America must be part of one world. He lost the 1940 election, but he helped unite America in support of the truth, which has been our nonpartisan national policy since the Second World War. And I say with emphasis, there has been no *third* world war. On the contrary, the prospects for long-range peace have slowly but surely improved.

Despite setbacks and current international problems, the standards of human life have been lifted almost everywhere. Yet today, we hear another theme: that the tide of history is running against us; that America's example of American leadership is neither needed nor heeded at the present time; that we should take care of ourselves and let the rest of mankind do likewise; that our domestic difficulties dictate a splendid selfishness that runs counter to all of our religious roots, as well as to all recent experience.

We are counseled to withdraw from the world and go it alone. I have heard that song before. I am here to say I am not going to dance to it. Nor do I believe this generation of young Americans will desert their ideals for a better nation and a better world.

You can and you will help to move America along in the right direction. Hopefully, you can do a better job than the class of 1935, but while the classes of 1975 and 1935 are still around, we have much to learn from each other.

We can renew the old American compact of respect for the conviction of others and faith in the decency of others. We can work to banish war and want wherever they exist. We can exalt the spirit of service and love that St. Patrick exemplified in his day.

I am not alarmed when I hear warnings that the tide of history is running against us. I do not believe it for a minute, because I know where the tide of history really is—on this campus and thousands and thousands of others in this great country and wherever young men and women are preparing themselves to serve God and their countries and to build a better world.

You are a part of the tide of this history, and you will make it run strong and true. Of that, I am sure.

Thank you. And top o' the morning to you!

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. at the University of Notre Dame Athletic and Convocation Center. Prior to his remarks, he received an honorary doctor of laws degree.

138

The President's News Conference of *March 17, 1975*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. It has been a great and wonderful day here in South Bend. I thank everybody for it. And I am looking forward to this news conference.

Mr. Jack Colwell [South Bend Tribune].

NOTRE DAME PRESIDENT HESBURGH

[1.] Q. You and Father Hesburgh today had some very kind things to say about one another, and it also gave you an opportunity to speak with him privately. Do you have any plans for any additional appointments or duties for Father Hesburgh in your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Father Hesburgh has done a superb job on the Clemency

Board, which is a very time-consuming responsibility. The Clemency Board has had a great upsurge in applicants.

I think Father Hesburgh and the others on the Clemency Board are going to be pretty busy in the months ahead. But let me assure you and others that someone who has as much talent and tremendous civic interest, once that job is over, I think we can use someone like Father Hesburgh in many more responsibilities.

Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

CAMBODIA

[2.] Q. Mr. President, you have said that the question of personalities is really not vital to a settlement in Cambodia. My question is, is the survival of a non-Communist government in Cambodia vital to the U.S. security in Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Thomas, I think it is. I cannot help but notice that since the military situation in Cambodia has become very serious, and since the North Vietnamese have apparently launched a very substantial additional military effort against South Vietnam, against the Paris peace accords, there has been, as I understand it, in Thailand, according to the news announcements this morning, a potential request from Thailand that we withdraw our forces from that country.

I noticed in the morning news summary before I left Washington that the President of the Philippines, Mr. Marcos, is reviewing the Philippine relationship with the United States.

I think these potential developments to some extent tend to validate the so-called domino theory, and if we have one country after another, allies of the United States, losing faith in our word, losing faith in our agreements with them, yes, I think the first one to go could vitally affect the national security of the United States.

Q. May I ask you one more question that has been on my mind for a long time? Since you supported the invasion of Cambodia 5 years ago, would you do the same today?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a hypothetical question, Miss Thomas, because under the law I have no such authority to do so. I did support the activities then, the so-called Cambodian incursion, because the North Vietnamese were using that area in Cambodia for many military strikes against U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam. It was a successful military operation. It saved many American lives, because those sanctuaries were destroyed.

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan

1981

JANUARY 20 TO DECEMBER 31, 1981

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1982

system, constitutional law, antitrust law, and professional responsibility.

Mr. Lacovara is married, has seven children, and resides in Washington, D.C. He was born on July 11, 1943.

Address at Commencement Exercises at the University of Notre Dame

May 17, 1981

Father Hesburgh, I thank you very much and for so many things. The distinguished honor that you've conferred upon me here today, I must say, however, compounds a sense of guilt that I have nursed for almost 50 years. I thought the first degree I was given was honorary. [*Laughter*] But it's wonderful to be here today with Governor Orr, Governor Bowen, Senators Lugar and Quayle, and Representative Hiler, these distinguished honorees, the trustees, administration, faculty, students, and friends of Notre Dame and, most important, the graduating class of 1981.

Nancy and I are greatly honored to share this day with you, and our pleasure has been more than doubled because I am also sharing the platform with a longtime and very dear friend, Pat O'Brien.

Pat and I haven't been able to see much of each other lately, so I haven't had a chance to tell him that there is now another tie that binds us together. Until a few weeks ago I knew very little about my father's ancestry. He had been orphaned at age 6. But now I've learned that his grandfather, my great-grandfather, left Ireland to come to America, leaving his home in Ballyporeen, a village in County Tipperary in Ireland, and I have learned that Ballyporeen is the ancestral home of the O'Briens.

Now, if I don't watch out, this may turn out to be less of a commencement than a warm bath in nostalgic memories. Growing up in Illinois, I was influenced by a sports legend so national in scope, it was almost mystical. It is difficult to explain to anyone who didn't live in those times. The legend was based on a combination of three elements: a game, football; a university, Notre Dame; and a man, Knute Rockne. There has been nothing like it before or since.

My first time to ever see Notre Dame was to come here as a sports announcer, 2 years out of college, to broadcast a football game. You won or I wouldn't have mentioned it. [*Laughter*]

A number of years later I returned here in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knute Rockne—All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. I've always suspected that there might have been many actors in Hollywood who could have played the part better, but no one could have wanted to play it more than I did. And I was given the part largely because the star of that picture, Pat O'Brien, kindly and generously held out a helping hand to a beginning young actor.

Having come from the world of sports, I'd been trying to write a story about Knute Rockne. I must confess that I had someone in mind to play the Gipper. On one of my sports broadcasts before going to Hollywood, I had told the story of his career and tragic death. I didn't have very many words on paper when I learned that the studio that employed me was already preparing a story treatment for that film. And that brings me to the theme of my remarks.

I'm the fifth President of the United States to address a Notre Dame commencement. The temptation is great to use this forum as an address on a great international or national issue that has nothing to do with this occasion. Indeed, this is somewhat traditional. So, I wasn't surprised when I read in several reputable journals that I was going to deliver an address on foreign policy or on the economy. I'm not going to talk about either.

But, by the same token, I'll try not to belabor you with some of the standard rhet-

oric that is beloved of graduation speakers. For example, I'm not going to tell you that "You know more today that you've ever known before or that you will ever know again." [*Laughter*] The other standby is, "When I was 14, I didn't think my father knew anything. By the time I was 21, I was amazed at how much the old gentleman had learned in 7 years." And then, of course, the traditional and the standby is that "A university like this is a storehouse of knowledge because the freshmen bring so much in and the seniors take so little away." [*Laughter*]

You members of the graduating class of 18—or 1981—[*laughter*]—I don't really go back that far—[*laughter*]—are what behaviorists call achievers. And while you will look back with warm pleasure on your memories of these years that brought you here to where you are today, you are also, I know, looking at the future that seems uncertain to most of you but which, let me assure you, offers great expectations.

Take pride in this day. Thank your parents, as one on your behalf has already done here. Thank those who've been of help to you over the last 4 years. And do a little celebrating; you're entitled. This is your day, and whatever I say should take cognizance of that fact. It is a milestone in life, and it marks a time of change.

Winston Churchill, during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great causes are on the move in the world . . . we learn we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

Now, I'm going to mention again that movie that Pat and I and Notre Dame were in, because it says something about America. First, Knute Rockne as a boy came to America with his parents from Norway. And in the few years it took him to grow up to college age, he became so American that here at Notre Dame, he became an All American in a game that is still, to this day, uniquely American.

As a coach, he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed truly that the noblest work of man was building the character of man. And maybe that's why he was a living legend. No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in the Nation that he carved out for himself, not just in a sport, but in our entire social structure.

Now, today I hear very often, "Win one for the Gipper," spoken in a humorous vein. Lately I've been hearing it by Congressmen who are supportive of the programs that I've introduced. [*Laughter*] But let's look at the significance of that story. Rockne could have used Gipp's dying words to win a game any time. But 8 years went by following the death of George Gipp before Rock revealed those dying words, his deathbed wish.

And then he told the story at halftime to a team that was losing, and one of the only teams he had ever coached that was torn by dissension and jealousy and factionalism. The seniors on that team were about to close out their football careers without learning or experiencing any of the real values that a game has to impart. None of them had known George Gipp. They were children when he played for Notre Dame. It was to this team that Rockne told the story and so inspired them that they rose above their personal animosities. For someone they had never known, they joined together in a common cause and attained the unattainable.

We were told when we were making the picture of one line that was spoken by a player during that game. We were actually afraid to put it in the picture. The man who carried the ball over for the winning touchdown was injured on the play. We were told that as he was lifted on the stretcher and carried off the field he was heard to say, "That's the last one I can get for you, Gipper."

Now, it's only a game. And maybe to hear it now, afterward—and this is what we feared—it might sound maudlin and not the way it was intended. But is there anything wrong with young people having an experience, feeling something so deeply, thinking of someone else to the point that they can give so completely of themselves? There will come times in the lives of all of us when we'll be faced with causes bigger

than ourselves, and they won't be on a playing field.

This Nation was born when a band of men, the Founding Fathers, a group so unique we've never seen their like since, rose to such selfless heights. Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers—56 men achieved security and standing in life but valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Sixteen of them gave their lives. Most gave their fortunes. All preserved their sacred honor.

They gave us more than a nation. They brought to all mankind for the first time the concept that man was born free, that each of us has inalienable rights, ours by the grace of God, and that government was created by us for our convenience, having only the powers that we choose to give it. This is the heritage that you're about to claim as you come out to join the society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years, or some of us by a great many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying that may make it sound quite old. But let's look at it from another viewpoint or perspective. A few years ago, someone figured out that if you could condense the entire history of life on Earth into a motion picture that would run for 24 hours a day, 365 days—maybe on leap years we could have an intermission—[*laughter*]—this idea that is the United States wouldn't appear on the screen until 3½ seconds before midnight on December 31st. And in those 3½ seconds not only would a new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but more than half the activity, economic activity in world history, would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans, men and women, in 3½ seconds, would perform such miracles of invention, construction, and production as the world had never seen.

As you join us out there beyond the campus, you know there are great unsolved problems. Federalism, with its built in checks and balances, has been distorted. Central government has usurped powers that properly belong to local and State governments. And in so doing, in many ways that central government has begun to fail to do the things that are truly the responsibility of a central government.

All of this has led to the misuse of power and preemption of the prerogatives of people and their social institutions. You are graduating from a great private, or, if you will, independent university. Not too many years ago, such schools were relatively free from government interference. In recent years, government has spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives. The independent and church-supported colleges and universities have found themselves enmeshed in that network of regulations and the costly blizzard of paperwork that government is demanding. Thirty-four congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level alone. Almost every aspect of campus life is now regulated—hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, recordkeeping, fundraising and, to some extent, curriculum and educational programs.

I hope when you leave this campus that you will do so with a feeling of obligation to your alma mater. She will need your help and support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities like Notre Dame give way to and are replaced by tax-supported institutions, the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost.

We're troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency and prohibitive taxes and burdensome regulations. The cost of stagnation in human terms, mostly among those least equipped to survive it, is cruel and inhuman.

Now, after those remarks, don't decide that you'd better turn your diploma back in so you can stay another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this because the people of America have said, "Enough already." You know, we who had preceded you had just gotten so busy that we let things get out of hand. We forgot that we were the keepers of the power, forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change, forgot that millions of social inter-

actions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

Well, at last we're remembering, remembering that government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well, that it can be responsive to the people, that it can be humane and compassionate, but that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province, it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

For too long government has been fixing things that aren't broken and inventing miracle cures for unknown diseases.

We need you. We need your youth. We need your strength. We need your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. Now, I know that this period of your life, you have been and are critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. May I suggest, don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization was built simply because they're old. More important, don't let today's doomcriers and cynics persuade you that the best is past, that from here on it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation that preceded it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You're going to have opportunities beyond anything that we've ever known.

The people have made it plain already. They want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy, an end to the burdensome and unnecessary regulations and a punitive tax policy that does take "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." They want a government that cannot only continue to send men across the vast reaches of space and bring them safely home, but that can guarantee that you and I can walk in the park of our neighborhood after dark and get safely home. And finally, they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would seek to pull it down.

And all of this, we the people can do. Indeed, a start has already been made. There's a task force under the leadership of the Vice President, George Bush, that is to look at those regulations I've spoken of. They have already identified hundreds of them that can be wiped out with no harm to the quality of life. And the cancellation of just those regulations will leave billions and billions of dollars in the hands of the people for productive enterprise and research and development and the creation of jobs.

The years ahead are great ones for this country, for the cause of freedom and the spread of civilization. The West won't contain communism, it will transcend communism. It won't bother to dismiss or denounce it, it will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

William Faulkner, at a Nobel Prize ceremony some time back, said man "would not only [merely] endure: he will prevail" against the modern world because he will return to "the old verities and truths of the heart." And then Faulkner said of man, "He is immortal because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One can't say those words—compassion, sacrifice, and endurance—without thinking of the irony that one who so exemplifies them, Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness, an inspiration to the world, would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love. It was Pope John Paul II who warned in last year's encyclical on mercy and justice against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric of class struggle to justify injustice. He said, "In the name of an alleged justice the neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty or stripped of fundamental human rights."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show to the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values, are not—like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies—just a facade of strength. It is time for the world to know our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all strength, a belief in a Supreme Being, and a law higher than our own.

When it's written, history of our time won't dwell long on the hardships of the

recent past. But history will ask—and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years—Did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

If history asks such questions, it also answers them. And the answers are to be found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in the [its] third century, the American Nation came of age, affirmed its leadership of free men and women serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people, and humanity at peace.

A few years ago, an Australian Prime Minister, John Gorton, said, "I wonder if anybody ever thought what the situation for the comparatively small nations in the world would be if there were not in existence the United States, if there were not this giant country prepared to make so many sacrifices." This is the noble and rich heritage rooted in great civil ideas of the West, and it is yours.

My hope today is that in the years to come—and come it shall—when it's your time to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them their promise of the future, that you'll recall the truths and traditions of which we've spoken. It is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. And now, they're yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you: when you do speak to the next generation about these things, that you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, to find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 3:11 p.m. at the 136th commencement ceremony of the university, which was held in the Notre Dame Athletic and Convocation Center at the campus in South Bend, Ind. The President was introduced by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the university, who had presented the President with an honorary doctor of laws degree prior to the commencement address.

In his remarks, the President referred to Governor Robert Orr, former Governor Otis R. Bowen, Senators Richard G. Lugar and Dan Quayle, and Representative John P. Hiler, all of Indiana. The President also referred to the movie "Knute Rockne—All American," which was filmed at Notre Dame in 1940. The President played the part of All American halfback George Gipp, who died of pneumonia.

The occasion marked the first trip by the President outside of Washington, D.C., since the assassination attempt on March 30. Four former Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gerald R. Ford, and Jimmy Carter—addressed convocations or commencement exercises at the university and were awarded honorary degrees.

Nomination of Harry N. Walters To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

May 18, 1981

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harry N. Walters to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army (Manpower and Reserve Affairs).

Since 1977 Mr. Walters has been president and chief executive officer of Potsdam Paper Corp., Potsdam, N.Y. In 1976–77 he was a management consultant with Howard Paper Mills, Inc., Dayton, Ohio. Mr. Walters was executive vice president of Standard