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**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13565  
**Folder ID Number:** 13565-008

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**Folder Title:**  
University of Michigan 5/4/91 [OA 6032]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

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Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 APR 31 12:5

DATE: 04/29/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Wednesday 05/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>          </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

See comments. Thanks.  
Holly Williams

CLOSE HOLD

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: HOLLY WILLIAMSON *HW*

SUBJECT: Michigan speech

In addition to our specific comments marked on the attached text, please note some general comments as well.

-- Ede thought the emphasis on taxation seemed heavy.

-- We received a wide range of general reactions to the speech. Some people really liked it -- with the four aspects of freedom etc. Other people were concerned about the tone of the speech and the President talking about "the good society" and "political correctness" (as also shown in Secretary Alexander's comments).

-- See Secretary Alexander's and the Education Department's comments which are also attached.

Attachment

CLOSE HOLD

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

it used to be called  
Wolverine Stadium  
(as late as 1982) -  
you might  
confirm.

✓ OCA

✓ OCA

↓  
the  
placque  
is at  
The Union  
Bldg.

✓  
to talk

✓

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, exploration. Here, merit conquers circumstance.

Here, people of vision -- Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Tom Monaghan -- outgrow rough origins and transform a world.

our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information ~~more~~ swiftly -- unfettered by censors <sup>or</sup> plantation bosses.

✓  
He's mentioned  
2x -  
seems a  
bit much. (Ede)  
Also be  
prepared  
for  
boos!  
(wtf)

✓  
✓

7  
(

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school <sup>Comprehensive banking reforms so that our financial service industry can move into the 21st century.</sup> in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. <sup>Treasury</sup> We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, <sup>setting</sup> ~~set~~ aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg. ✓

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

Maybe  
 brass in the  
 Bill of Rights  
 + First Amend  
 next -  
 see Sec  
 Alexander's  
 comments.

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

*See Education's comment on this paragraph. No strong recommendation deleted paragraph.*

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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 <sup>2</sup> was an America by the numbers: ✓  
If the numbers were right, America was right.

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

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

See See Alexander's comment

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

✓ (file) (OCA) a little condescending

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

✓ We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

See Education's attachments

Careful.  
Didn't the  
Pres. once  
praise FDR's  
"4 Freedoms"  
speech, which  
included freedom  
from fear.



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 1, 1991

TO: Holly Williamson  
Associate Director  
of Cabinet Affairs  
The White House

FROM: Etta Fielek  
Director of Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Remarks  
for University of Michigan Commencement

In addition to the senior Department officials who typically review Presidential drafts, Secretary Alexander took a personal interest in this text. The Secretary's personal comments are attached.

Page 5, third paragraph: There is no question that the concept of political correctness is an issue on many American campuses. You will note from the Secretary's comments a suggestion to frame the discussion on political correctness in terms of the Bill of Rights and First Amendment.

Page 6, first full paragraphs: It is misleading and inaccurate to couch the Secretary's challenge to the accreditation process as a reaction to PC-ism. This text suggests a decision has been made---that is not true. The text also suggests that the Secretary was motivated by an adversity to PC-ism. While he does object to PC-ism, his challenge to one of the major accreditation agencies is based at least in part on the responsibility of the Department, not an accreditation agency, to enforce civil rights laws. Another major factor is the Secretary's desire to guarantee to education institutions the greatest possible degree of academic freedom.

We strongly recommend you delete this paragraph. Its absence will not weaken the text at all and will avoid overstatement and misunderstanding regarding the Department's actions.

Attachment

cc: Steve Danzansky  
Wade Dyke

NAME OF SPEECH & DATE OF SPEECH

University of Michigan  
5/4/91

NAME OF WRITER :

Snow

NAME OF RESEARCHER:

Grossman

SPEECH SYNOPSIS:

The President begins by comparing this commencement with the United States' commencement into a new-free-world. The President then continues by talking several different freedoms that are important today -- the freedom to create; free enterprise system; way to improve this system. For example the elimination of "red tape", bank reform; tax incentives; reform. The President then discusses freedom of speech; censorship; racism's affects on this freedom. In his discussion of free speech the President talks about the over-abundance of law suits; family values. The President then begins to discuss his challenge to create a kinder, gentler America. He states this reform is one we must make through living what we preach. The President ends by urging the students to be determined; follow their goals.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

p. 3

May 2, 1991

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TONY SNOW *TS*

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT

On Saturday, May 4th at 11:00 a.m. you will deliver the commencement remarks at the University of Michigan to an audience of roughly 70,000 graduating seniors and their families and guests. You will speak for about 21 minutes and your remarks will be teleprompted.

*Tighten up  
304*

91 MAY -2 PM 12:39

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT THREE  
MAY 2, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

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. That was nearly 27 years ago.

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. We 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.

43

Our successes in recent years have banished the doubts that plagued us in the period following the Vietnam War. Self-persecution and malaise have given way to a renewed confidence in American decency, values, abilities. In my recent travels around the country I have felt an idealism -- not self-congratulation, but real idealism -- that I haven't felt in 30 years. People have faith in the future. They ask: "What next?" "How can I help?"

In a real and palpable sense, we have rediscovered the invigorating power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall, and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. The idea and ideal of freedom.

I would like to talk today about the nature of freedom, and how its demands lie at the heart of our domestic agenda.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, 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. This system doesn't merely reward creativity: it encourages it -- but in a very special way.

In past ages, and in other economic systems, people could acquire wealth only by seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It rewards

toil and determination. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and rigorously as ours -- a point the pope made recently in an encyclical about economics.

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 genius of a market. Markets collect and distribute the wisdom of millions of people, each pursuing ~~their~~ their destinies in different ways. They make it possible for someone unknown to the high and mighty to become high and mighty.

Thus, the information revolution was hatched in garages and basements. The fast-food chain began as a lonely link on an obscure roadway. My point is simple: Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries.

Our economic and domestic programs grow out of an appreciation of freedom's special power. In a variety of areas, in a host of ways, we apply the lessons of freedom to the tasks of government.

For example, we have committed ourselves to eliminating rules, red tape and harrassments that prevent good people from doing great things. The Competitiveness Council, chaired by the Vice President, tries to liberate entrepreneurs from unnecessary regulation.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the nation to re-invent the American school, to create communities where learning can happen, to unleash our national genius.

We have proposed anti-crime measures to punish the thugs who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. 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 repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains tax, so that people with dreams might have access to the capital necessary to turn those dreams into works and deeds. And we have proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that protects the financial system upon which economic growth depends.

We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government-owned apartments - - housing blocks in which residents enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings. Ownership gives people a stake in their neighborhood -- and in our shared future.

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 harness the hope that thrills us all. We must inspire people to pursue ambitions, build fuller lives for themselves.

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. If we want to prevent even greater cynicism about government, we must demand public services that serve the public. We must insist upon compassion that works. Just as our nation has entered a new industrial revolution, so ought our government catch up with the times.

But the power to create rests on other kinds of freedom -- 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 wrestle with ideas, but because free speech helps us separate 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.

One university, for instance, recently tried to outlaw "inappropriately directed laughter" and "conspicuous exclusion of students from conversation." In others, students have tried to settle disagreements by starting fights -- or trying to get their ideological foes kicked out of school.

What begun as a crusade for civility thus has soured into a call for conflict, in which people resort to raw power -- rather than the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micromanage casual conversation have only incited distrust. Invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, 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. Think of cases in which people have tried to discourage smoking in restaurants not by asking others to stop -- but by hailing the police.

Think of political extremists, who arouse emotions by using fighting words -- taunts and charges designed to intimidate opponents and to make people fearful of speaking their hearts and minds.

Such bullying is outrageous, and not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to the values of honest,

open, probing discussion. We must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice. We must fight the temptation to assign bad motives to people who simply disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, we must create an atmosphere in which people can talk freely, honestly, openly. 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 ages, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom can I sue? Many would-be Samaritans ask: Who can sue me? People have avoided such noble arts as medicine for fear of facing unreasonable and undefined liability threats.

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When Washington tries to act in behalf of families or churches, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility -- to argue that only government bears responsibility for helping people in need.

If we have learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Nor can we in Washington solve the nation's woes by decree.

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

He fought vigorously to enact the wisdom of his time. 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.

Somehow, 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 -- and we should begin by affirming our commitment to freedom. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We want to build a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to create a slogan. An effective government must be gentle,

kind, firm and humble. It 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. People who accept freedom must preserve it -- build a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to censorship, environmental stewardship to plunder.

It may be tempting to pretend that truly important matters demand crusades full of expense and drama. It may be comforting to act as humanity's greatest battles unfold on fields shrouded in smoke and soaked with blood -- or in packed hearing rooms where dogged prosecutors unmask villains and cheats.

But that's just not how it works in real life. For most of us, our greatest challenges arise in living rooms, on neighborhood streets, around the dinner table, at the office. And our greatest challengers are our families, friends, colleagues.

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, people will notice.

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. Religious institutions will not make you good or evil. ~~I 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.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must assume responsibility for this nation's future. You must defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

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, action.

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 asks only for common decency and commitment. Get to know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles: Live them.

Good Government is an integral part of the Good Society. Our domestic agenda contains many new programs and initiatives, but they involve precise approaches well-defined programs. The idea is simple: limit government to what it can and should do -- and to leave the rest up to you.

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 yourself. Take risks. Muster the courage <sup>to help others</sup> to be what I call a point of light.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions 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 will send a man to the moon.

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

This is your day. Congratulations. Thank you. Good luck. May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT \ MICHIGAN STADIUM  
SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1991 \ 11 A.M.

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.

- 2 -

AND, AS YOUR COMMENCEMENT PROGRAM INDICATES, LYNDON  
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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, 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 HOBBSIAN QUAGMIRE. IT LETS ONE PERSON'S FORTUNE BECOME EVERYONE'S GAIN.

THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, HARNESSSES OUR POWERFUL INSTINCTS FOR CREATIVITY.

IT GIVES EVERYONE AN INTEREST IN SHARED PROSPERITY --  
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FOR EXAMPLE, WE WANT TO ELIMINATE RULES AND RED TAPE THAT BIND THE HANDS AND MINDS OF ENTREPRENEURS AND INNOVATORS.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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, 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.

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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.

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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, ACTION.

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 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 OBSESSIONS 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 WILL 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 -- AND QUITE POSSIBLY OF YOURS. THE OLD WAYS 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. CONGRATULATIONS. THANK YOU.  
GOOD LUCK.

MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # # #

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MICHIGAN STADIUM  
MAY 4, 1991  
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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.

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*page break*

AT THE SAME TIME, GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS HAVE TRIED TO ASSUME ROLES ONCE RESERVED FOR FAMILIES, SCHOOLS, 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.

*page break*

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.

*page break*

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.

*page break*

~~WAS HERE~~  
ONCE YOUR COMMENCEMENT ENDS AND ~~YOUR ADULT LIFE~~ *OUT THERE* ~~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.

ENTERPRISE

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.

→ You must strengthen the family &  
^

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, ACTION.

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.

page break

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, 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 OBSESSIONS 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 WILL SEND A MAN TO THE MOON. WE MUST BE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE OUR COMMON GOALS.

*page break*

WE LIVE IN THE MOST EXCITING PERIOD OF MY LIFETIME -- AND QUITE POSSIBLY OF YOURS. THE OLD WAYS OF DOING THINGS HAVE RUN THEIR COURSE. FIND NEW ONES. DARE TO SERVE OTHERS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL NEVER FORGET THE EXAMPLE YOU SET.

- 16 -

THIS IS YOUR DAY. CONGRATULATIONS. THANK YOU.  
GOOD LUCK.

MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA.

# # # #

4/17/91

**The University of Michigan  
Spring Commencement 1991  
Saturday, May 4, 1991  
Ann Arbor, Michigan**

**Proposed Platform Party:**

(numbers shown are maximum numbers for each group)

Regents	8
President	1
Regents Emeriti	7
Presidents Emeriti	1
Executive Officers	8
Chancellors	1
Vice Provosts	3
Deans	19*
SACUA Chair/Vice Chair	2**
Alumni Assn. President and Dir.	2
Honorary Degree Recipients	7
Governor	1
Minister	1
Chief Marshal	1
Seats for Secret Service	2

64

Sign Language Interpreter seated on side of platform

\*17 deans (2-Library), 2 directors

\*\*Assumes they would also serve as honorary degree hooders

**PLATFORM PARTY  
BY CATEGORY AND COUNT  
(65 Individuals)**

**Regents (8 + 1)**

Deane Baker  
Paul W. Brown  
Shirley M. McFee  
Neal D. Nielsen  
Philip H. Power  
Veronica Latta Smith  
Nellie M. Varner  
~~James L. Waters~~

James J. Duderstadt

President of the  
University  
*ex officio* member

Ann Arbor  
Petoskey  
Battle Creek  
Brighton  
Ann Arbor  
Grosse Ile  
Detroit  
Muskegon

*all 86*

**Regents Emeriti (7)**

Gerald R. Dunn  
Gertrude V. Huebner  
David Laro  
Frederick C. Matthaei  
Eugene B. Power  
Thomas A. Roach  
Otis M. Smith

*5 honorary  
degree recipients*

**Presidents Emeriti (1)**

Robben W. Fleming

**Executive Officers and Administration (11)**

Gilbert R. Whitaker, Jr.  
Farris W. Womack  
Richard L. Kennedy

Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs  
Vice President and Chief Financial Officer  
Vice President for Government Relations and Secretary  
of the University

Jon Cosovich  
Henry Johnson  
William C. Kelly  
Mary Ann P. Swain  
George D. Zuidema  
Charles D. Moody  
Douglas E. Van Houweling  
John H. D'Arms

Vice President for Development  
Vice President for Community Affairs  
Vice President for Research  
Interim Vice President for Student Services  
Vice Provost for Medical Affairs  
Vice Provost for Minority Affairs  
Vice Provost for Information Technology  
Vice Provost for Academic Affairs

**Chancellors (1)**

Blenda J. Wilson

The University of Michigan - Dearborn

**Deans (19)**

Eddie N. Goldenberg  
Giles G. Bole, Jr.

Lee C. Bollinger  
J. Bernard Machen  
Ara G. Paul  
Peter M. Banks  
Cecil G. Miskel  
B. Joseph White  
Harrison L. Morton  
Robert M. Beckley  
Paul C. Boylan  
Rhetaugh G. Dumas  
June E. Osborn  
Harold R. Johnson  
Robert M. Warner  
Donald E. Riggs  
Eugene Pijanowski  
Dee Edington  
Edward Gramlich

**Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs (2)**

Peggie J. Hollingsworth      Outgoing Chair  
James S. Diana                Incoming Chair

**Alumni Association (2)**

Robert G. Forman              Executive Director, Alumni Association  
Verne G. Istock                President, Alumni Association

**Honorary Degree Recipients (7)**

George Bush  
Barbara Pierce Bush  
Billy E. Frye  
Seymour Kety  
Raold Sagdeev  
A. Alfred Taubman  
Ta-You Wu

**Distinguished Guests (2)**

Father Charles E. Irvin  
~~John M. Engler~~

St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church  
Governor, State of Michigan

**Marshals of the University (1)**

William F. Maloney

Chief Marshal

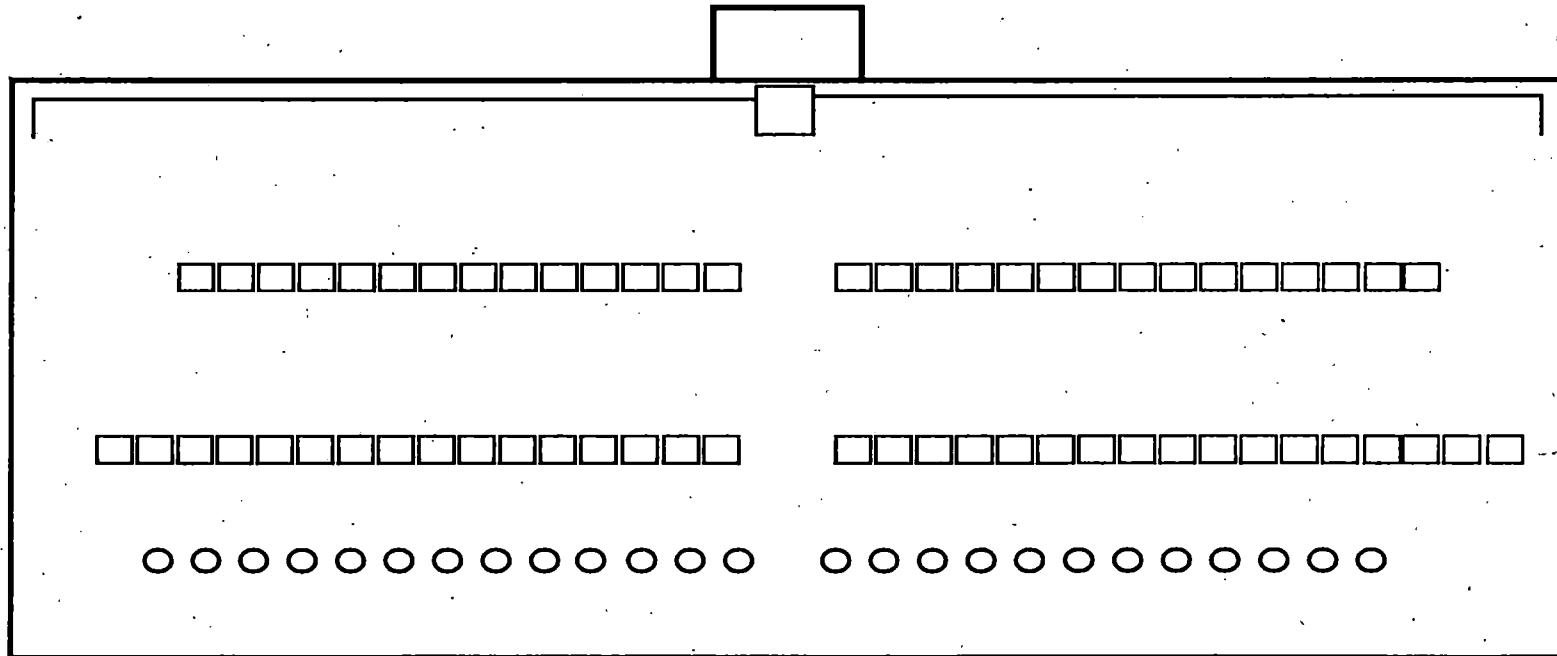
**Secret Service (2)**

**Seated on Side of Platform**

**Sign Language Interpreter (1)**

Joan E. Smith

# 1991 Spring Commencement Platform Arrangement



CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Wednesday 05/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

*Please hold for more comments 12:30*

*2000 6500*

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information move swiftly -- unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

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

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 05/01 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
(04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.

Note: I've indicated 3 places where a Havel quote would be relevant, and also specified which one. After quoting him it would be appropriate to close the argument w/ something akin to what Pinkerton once said: "The recent events in E. Europe are surely America's message that it should already know." It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place

that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

*After all, I know there are some that opposed my speaking. They say I was only invited because of Barbara Bush's husband. Actually, they opposed me because I'm not a minority. I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want to speak out. But minority or not, I can hear to speak out. They failed, however, to notice the position of my party in Congress. But agree w/me or not, they say that commencement speakers are the few that actually talk in other people's sleep.*  
I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want to speak out. 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 a new <sup>ERA</sup> age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. ~~We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.~~ *DON'T NEED, PLUS -- WORDS,*

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. *nice, but too strong* It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare <sup>DREAM</sup> time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of <sup>(?)</sup> ~~doubt and~~ malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

<sup>sense</sup> I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I <sup>+ optimism</sup> feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This <sup>new optimism</sup> revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not <sup>MERELY</sup> a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes ~~it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft.~~ It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and <sup>some things</sup> information ~~move~~ swiftly -- unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.

THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT POINT CAN WE EITHER ELABORATE, SET IT UP BETTER, OR MAYBE

THIS COULD BE ELABORATED ON. PINK: "The electricity of freedom + market forces has jolted the status quo at home."

Demand for freedom that is sweeping the planet

or do you want to say redistribution?

?? what?

PAIK: "There is a new energy, a force that has cracked the Berlin Wall,  
disrupted the Soviet Empire, freed Nelson Mandela, & democratized  
Nicaragua"

ALSO, IN A RED SQUARE DEMONSTRATION, ONE DEMONSTRATOR CARRIED A  
SIGN SAYING "Workers of the world, we're sorry... We've seen the  
future, it doesn't work."

VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA ASKED A JOINT SESSION  
OF CONGRESS: "WASN'T IT THE BEST  
MINDS OF YOUR COUNTRY, ... WHO WROTE YOUR  
FAMOUS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, YOUR  
BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND YOUR CONSTITUTION...  
THE WORKER IN PRAGUE ... IS FAR FROM  
BEING THE ONLY PERSON IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
-- LET ALONE IN THE WORLD -- TO BE  
INSPIRED BY THOSE GREAT DOCUMENTS.  
THEY INSPIRE US ALL ... THEY INSPIRE US  
TO BE CITIZENS."

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market <sup>free from coercion & control.</sup> in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Do we really need this? It sounds like a plus for Dominos

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone. <sup>misleading, how about "harnessing the creativity of the marketplace to..."</sup>

This is kind of bland -- plus you leave yourself open. Poverty is, after all, the market's Achilles heel.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. He have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to <sup>encourage</sup> invite <sup>hawk</sup> entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

4 residents?

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

But that's not enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to release our national ingenuity. We must eliminate the petty harrassments we inflict upon people <sup>pursuing the American Dream</sup> with dreams.

The average worker in the United States now spends more than <sup>-- more than a third</sup> four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, ~~purchasing clothes for work or leisure~~. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

But think about it: do these taxes liberate anyone from four months' worth of want, of responsibility? Or do they inspire cynicism? <sup>and resentment?</sup>

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of <sup>and</sup> ~~redistribution or false compassion~~ <sup>w/out competition</sup>. We must look instead to compassion that works.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can <sup>venture</sup> ~~risk~~ <sub>- to negative</sub> learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it arises from the laudable desire to

sweep away the debris of racism and hatred, it replaces old prejudices with new ones. <sup>And it forgets that in a democracy, one can have the right to be wrong</sup> It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits.

Yet it does not <sup>engender respect, tolerance</sup> (establish new forms) of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. <sup>spy</sup> It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. <sup>It forces ideological conformity rather than fostering intellectual debate.</sup> It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity

in the name of diversity. <sup>IT REPLACES A FREE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS WITH INTELLECTUAL TOTALITARIANISM.</sup>

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

DO YOU WANT ANY ANECDOTES? YOU CAN GO EITHER FUNNY (THE POLITICAL INCORRECTNESS FOR EXAMPLE) OF THE WORD "INDIVIDUAL" OR TRAGIC -- THE SUICIDE AT HARVARD.

JUSTICE LOUIS BRANDeis: "the greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachments by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding"

like what? why cant they fix the Benz??

repeat

gesture

\* How about something on PC's inherent pessimism -- how it is propelled by the fear that human virtue cannot rise up out of honest debate unaided, but that it must be imposed from above. The philosophy that doubted the goodness of man and the underestimated the resilience of human nature has been discredited around the world. How can we let it find a home on our campuses?

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest <sup>you're changing topics here</sup> [that incivility] has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying ~~is spreading~~ ~~flourishes everywhere~~. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak. <sup>But also questioning of motives, relates closely to intellectual prejudice.</sup>

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

→ A SUGGESTION ... HOW ABOUT ENDING THIS VERY POWERFUL SECTION w/ AN EXHORTATION  
ALONG THE LINES OF

Don't just accept the new politically correct orthodoxy --  
take it on / try it on / turn it inside out. Challenge  
the integrity of its redistributionist origins, debate the  
validity of its deconstructionist premises. Above all --  
keep questioning. Don't accept anyone else's answers till  
you've figured it-out for yourself.

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me? *WOULD YOU LIKE EXAMPLES ON HOW THE FEAR OF LITIGATION HAS FOILED A BATTERED WOMEN'S SHELTER, LITTLE LEAGUE?*

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume *→* roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. *Franklin*

Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. *ALSO, MAIMONIDES: "the noblest charity is to prevent people from having to take charity."* Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality

of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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: *manage?* If the numbers were right, America was right.

THERE ARE QUOTES BY TEDDY ROOSEVELT, FDR & KENNEDY -- WANT ANY?

ROBERT KENNEDY: 'Reliance on government = dependence -- and what the scapegoat of our street as he is not government dependence -- but just independence'

→ Founding Justice: with natural no sense of things is in liberty to  
Wield and government to secure ground.  
Thomas Jefferson

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay.

Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

*governed by technocrats, subjected to false signs of...  
NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHAT YOU'RE TRYING TO SAY*

*They also started up redistribution's twin's premises, and underestimated the goodness of the American character +*

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

*They lacked idealism about human potential, lacked pragmatism about human nature.*

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

*HAVEL SPOKE OF THIS WHEN HE DESCRIBED HOW AMERICA BECAME THE MOST POWERFUL NATION ON EARTH, AND IT UNDERSTOOD THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT FLOWED FROM THIS. PROOF OF THIS ARE THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUR*

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

*YOUNG CITIZENS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE, & THE GRAVES OF AMERICAN AIRMEN & SOLDIERS ON CZECHOSLOVAK SOIL.*

Keep: "We measure the compassion of our society not by how many people need <sup>the</sup> assistance, but by how few people need the assistance."

9

I have been accused of lacking agendas or vision. If by that someone means that I don't propose vast or costly new programs, I plead guilty. <sup>W/ A VIEW TO ENGINEER SOCIETY</sup> I don't measure dreams in terms of tax expenditures. My vision for America depends heavily on you, for you are the men and women who will shape our future. You must decide how to defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

Politics too often demands nothing but money. <sup>YOUR MONEY</sup> I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout. Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go.

Don't just talk about principles: Live them. <sup>(THERE IS ALSO A HAVEL QUOTE ON HOW THE FOUNDING FATHERS LIVED THEIR WORDS,</sup>

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 <sup>BE A GOOD CITIZEN AND LEADER</sup> what is good yourself. Muster

give more

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" <sup>STRIVE FOR "FREEDOM TO"</sup> various ills, such as ~~want or fear of despair~~. Focus on <sup>WORK</sup> freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and <sup>ANK: "OLD APPROACHES ARE PRODUCING NEW FAILURES"</sup> perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their <sup>LINCOLN: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present."</sup> course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

If its advice find something else. Kind of a cliffhanger. Like to read a great speech with.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness. <sup>HENRY V ON ST. CRISPIN'S DAY; "All things are ready if our minds be so."</sup> Thank you, God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

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

PE - depends on intellectual business -

~~or still possessed~~

on breaking the self as the measure  
of truth. Explorant's prejudices -  
treat delusion as revelation

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/2/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

**RESPONSE:**

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TONY SNOW ~~S~~

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT

On Saturday, May 4th at 11:00 a.m. you will deliver the commencement remarks at the University of Michigan to an audience of roughly 70,000 graduating seniors and their families and guests. You will speak for about 21 minutes and your remarks will be teleprompted.

91 MAY -2 PM 12:40

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT THREE  
MAY 2, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

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. That was nearly 27 years ago.

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. We 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 in recent years have banished the doubts that plagued us in the period following the Vietnam War. Self-persecution and malaise have given way to a renewed confidence in American decency, values, abilities. In my recent travels around the country I have felt an idealism -- not self-congratulation, but real idealism -- that I haven't felt in 30 years. People have faith in the future. They ask: "What next?" "How can I help?"

In a real and palpable sense, we have rediscovered the invigorating power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall, and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. The idea and ideal of freedom.

I would like to talk today about the nature of freedom, and how its demands lie at the heart of our domestic agenda.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, 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. This system doesn't merely reward creativity: it encourages it -- but in a very special way.

In past ages, and in other economic systems, people could acquire wealth only by seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It rewards

toil and determination. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and rigorously as ours -- a point the pope made recently in an encyclical about economics.

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 genius of a market. Markets collect and distribute the wisdom of millions of people, each pursuing their destinies in different ways. They make it possible for someone unknown to the high and mighty to become high and mighty.

Thus, the information revolution was hatched in garages and basements. The fast-food chain began as a lonely link on an obscure roadway. My point is simple: Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries.

Our economic and domestic programs grow out of an appreciation of freedom's special power. In a variety of areas, in a host of ways, we apply the lessons of freedom to the tasks of government.

For example, we have committed ourselves to eliminating rules, red tape and harrassments that prevent good people from doing great things. The Competitiveness Council, chaired by the Vice President, tries to liberate entrepreneurs from unnecessary regulation.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the nation to re-invent the American school, to create communities where learning can happen, to unleash our national genius.

We have proposed anti-crime measures to punish the thugs who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. 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 repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains tax, so that people with dreams might have access to the capital necessary to turn those dreams into works and deeds. And we have proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that protects the financial system upon which economic growth depends.

We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government-owned apartments - - housing blocks in which residents enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings. Ownership gives people a stake in their neighborhood -- and in our shared future.

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 harness the hope that thrills us all. We must inspire people to pursue ambitions, build fuller lives for themselves.

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. If we want to prevent even greater cynicism about government, we must demand public services that serve the public. We must insist upon compassion that works. Just as our nation has entered a new industrial revolution, so ought our government catch up with the times.

But the power to create rests on other kinds of freedom -- 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 wrestle with ideas, but because free speech helps us separate 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.

One university, for instance, recently tried to outlaw "inappropriately directed laughter" and "conspicuous exclusion of students from conversation." In others, students have tried to settle disagreements by starting fights -- or trying to get their ideological foes kicked out of school.

What begun as a crusade for civility thus has soured into a call for conflict, in which people resort to raw power -- rather than the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micromanage casual conversation have only incited distrust. Invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, 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. Think of cases in which people have tried to discourage smoking in restaurants not by asking others to stop -- but by hailing the police.

Think of political extremists, who arouse emotions by using fighting words -- taunts and charges designed to intimidate opponents and to make people fearful of speaking their hearts and minds.

Such bullying is outrageous, and not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to the values of honest,

open, probing discussion. We must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice. We must fight the temptation to assign bad motives to people who simply disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, we must create an atmosphere in which people can talk freely, honestly, openly. 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 ages, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom can I sue? Many would-be Samaritans ask: Who can sue me? People have avoided such noble arts as medicine for fear of facing unreasonable and undefined liability threats.

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When Washington tries to act in behalf of families or churches, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility -- to argue that only government bears responsibility for helping people in need.

If we have learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Nor can we in Washington solve the nation's woes by decree.

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

He fought vigorously to enact the wisdom of his time. 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.

Somehow, 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 -- and we should begin by affirming our commitment to freedom. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We want to build a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to create a slogan. An effective government must be gentle,

kind, firm and humble. It 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. People who accept freedom must preserve it -- build a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to censorship, environmental stewardship to plunder.

It may be tempting to pretend that truly important matters demand crusades full of expense and drama. It may be comforting to act as humanity's greatest battles unfold on fields shrouded in smoke and soaked with blood -- or in packed hearing rooms where dogged prosecutors unmask villains and cheats.

But that's just not how it works in real life. For most of us, our greatest challenges arise in living rooms, on neighborhood streets, around the dinner table, at the office. And our greatest challengers are our families, friends, colleagues.

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, people will notice.

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. Religious institutions will not make you good or evil. I 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.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must assume responsibility for this nation's future. You must defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

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, action.

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 asks only for common decency and commitment. Get to know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles: Live them.

Good Government is an integral part of the Good Society. Our domestic agenda contains many new programs and initiatives, but they involve precise approaches well-defined programs. The idea is simple: limit government to what it can and should do -- and to leave the rest up to you.

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 yourself. 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 obsessions 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 will send a man to the moon.

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

This is your day. Congratulations. Thank you. Good luck.  
May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/30

TO: *Tony / Christina*  
FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**  
Special Assistant to the President  
and Assistant Staff Secretary

Information

Action

Let's Discuss

*Pls. see comments from Phil and me.*

*Thanks, J.*

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 05/01 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*4/30*  
*Pls. call in any comments or you deem appropriate.*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really **will** risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We **will** extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

*too strong!*

→ What does this imply about the first two years of the Bush administration (to say nothing of the RR years)?

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information move swiftly -- unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.

The reference to broadben  
"property is theft" may  
be a little cute.

↓  
Whoa! Reference to antebellum South is a  
little strong. Why compare that to (presumably)  
Soviet system?

Copy

MITI, South Korea Economic Planning Board...

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Counsel?

I'd think we have to delete

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

is there a different word?

thing

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. [Here in Michigan,] Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

*Why criticize Michigan now that there is a GOP governor?? (who presumably will be on platform)*

*YES - Food Stamps, Medical, Medicaid, WIC, Food Stamps...*

*do ~~now~~ when should Tax Freedom Day be?  
Defense?*

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism<sup>1. racism</sup> and hatred, it replaces old prejudices with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits<sup>2</sup>, even certain gestures off-limits. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

limit this  
a bit  
much?

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the <sup>"</sup>dole<sup>"</sup> -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. *And, in some ways it's understandable that...* And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

*So is an America based on Jeremy Bentham and utilitarianism (see last para. of p. 4).*

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

Too inconsistent

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

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

→ So FDR's Four Freedoms speech is about "obsessions" - or real human desires?

Problem is  
I gave a  
speech a couple  
of months ago  
of the FDR's  
Four Freedoms  
speech

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

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91 APR 31 AM 10:07

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SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REFERENCE TO PROGRAM AS AMERICA 2000

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

WHAT'S THE POINT? OUR STAND ON TAXES MAY  
HAVE INSPIRED CYNICISM

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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 yourself. Muster

NEED A MORE DEFINITIVE STATEMENT HERE RE: "MY VISION"  
 LIKE "I SEE AN INTERDEPENDANT AMERICA - WITH SHARED  
 RESPONSIBILITIES. YES, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESIDENT  
 NEED

PLAY A MAJOR ROLE. BUT BE IT EDUCATION,  
DRUGS, CRIME OR THE ENVIRONMENT THE RESPONSIBILITY  
MUST BE SHARED. ONLY THROUGH AN INTERDEPENDANT  
AMERICA CAN WE SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. AND  
THIS IS WHERE MY VISION DEPENDS HEAVILY  
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Thank you, God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 2339110

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SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want about **this** historic moment. Your commencement -- your journey into the "real world" -- coincides with this nation's commencement, *on a journey beyond the* ~~into a world freed from Cold War conflict, and thrust~~ into a new age of cooperation and economic competition. ?

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression. *rekindled*

But the war also *revived* our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a *post-* ~~fitful~~ *of doubt --* Vietnam ~~era~~ sleep, a nightmare time *in* which we *about* ~~doubted~~ our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and ~~malaise~~ are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel <sup>a resurgent</sup> an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are <sup>again looking forward with anticipation.</sup> excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

Here and everywhere Americans have begun to <sup>step forward to</sup> take on tough tasks: helping the homeless, training the unskilled, pushing back the wave of crime, building schools and neighborhoods in which they may take real pride. and confidence

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information move swiftly -- unfettered by ~~censors of plantation bosses.~~ and restraints

(Note: I would list the four here so that they are markers to orient the listener throughout the speech.

transcend

humble

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our ~~domestic program~~ encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

That is what our <sup>administrations</sup> ~~domestic~~ <sup>policy</sup> ~~program~~ <sup>does</sup>

nation must

(W)

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights <sup>to</sup> of protecting <sup>in own</sup> their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay <sup>this or her</sup> the ~~tax man~~ <sup>taxes</sup>. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

and entitlement  
Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution ~~or false compassion~~. We must look instead to ~~compassion that works~~.

But

programs that promote growth and opportunity

~~What does it mean to take about diversity in an open way~~  
~~PC~~

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. (If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.)

This is a stretch

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows <sup>those of different races, ages and circumstances</sup> blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault <sup>must open up to a greater freedom of speech</sup> throughout the United States, <sup>Even our</sup> and nowhere more than on college <sup>and universities</sup> campuses. <sup>On campuses</sup> The ~~free speech has become inhibited by the controversy over~~ ~~tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities.~~ Although it arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and hatred, <sup>and give a voice to the silent,</sup> it replaces old prejudices with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. <sup>America's diversity is</sup> It actually <sup>her strength.</sup> ~~inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.~~ ~~In fact, America's diversity is~~

If we <sup>are</sup> really want to take full advantage of diversity we must encourage open and civil discussion. <sup>in our classrooms and on our campuses</sup> We must not permit <sup>absent of fear - where honest discussion about</sup> "diversity" to become a code word for intellectual tyranny and we <sup>sensitive issues can flourish, multiple viewpoints</sup>

it generates a climate of fear of expression and

(A) America's diversity is her strength -  
if we are to take full advantage  
of this diversity we must encourage

*arched and*  
 certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest  
 and rigorous inquiry. *is welcome*

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been  
 confined to our campuses. ~~The trend toward intellectual bullying  
 flourishes everywhere.~~ Too often liberals and conservatives  
 resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are  
 supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to  
 speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As  
 Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and  
 tolerance. We must ~~trust~~ <sup>use</sup> our persuasive powers to conquer  
 bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our  
 thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good  
 times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and  
 appreciate one another. If harmony <sup>is</sup> ~~be~~ our goal, let's pursue  
 harmony -- ~~rather than a new Inquisition.~~

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another,  
 equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In  
 recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged  
 good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

Good

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

needs go unmet

He believed that small cadres of experts 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:

this comes close to being an

If the numbers were right, America was right.

ad hominem attack on LBJ which I don't want to make. POTUS Can achieve the same result circumventively

~~But bare numbers don't tell you much.~~ Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of ~~virtue on demand~~ <sup>entitlement</sup> -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have ~~invited~~ <sup>forced</sup> them to stay. ~~Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.~~

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers ~~creativity~~ <sup>and achievement</sup> to envy, ~~brotherhood~~ <sup>harmony</sup> to faction, ~~plain talk~~ <sup>open discussion to fearful discussion</sup> to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder,

open discussion to fearful talk

growth to redistribution  
and opportunity to  
entitlement.

The key to the Great Society is not government spending; it's the degree of community action.

A great society is a society in which the light in every community is brought forth by individuals and organizations

I have been accused of lacking ~~agendas or~~ vision. If by ~~who~~ <sup>see</sup> illiterate and <sup>and</sup> <sup>long</sup> <sup>abuse,</sup> <sup>hunger and</sup> <sup>homelessness</sup> <sup>AIDS</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>teen</sup> <sup>pregnancy,</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>something</sup> <sup>about</sup> <sup>them.</sup> that someone means that I don't propose vast or costly new programs, I plead guilty. I don't measure dreams in terms of tax expenditures. My vision for America depends ~~heavily~~ on you, for you ~~are the men and women who~~ will shape our future. You must decide how to defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

~~Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.~~

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave <sup>3</sup>plackards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to ~~take up the little deeds~~ *make a difference in the life of just one other person in need*  
~~that enable great things to happen.~~

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 05/01 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: See comments

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information moves swiftly -- unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.

Howard  
X 4657

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

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Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. <sup>we</sup> ~~He~~ have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care <sup>initiative</sup> and ~~Clean Air Act~~ <sup>The</sup> incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

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X5178

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

Pages 5 & 6 seem to have  
an inflammatory tone.

5

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

? [Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses.] The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

too strong - would  
Alexander  
faint  
Scully  
45178

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

This statement should be verified

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

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

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

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

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the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

CLOSE HOLD



Document No.

233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 05/01 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

May 1, 1991

The NSC staff concurs with the presidential remarks as amended.

Brent Scowcroft

CLOSE HOLD

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

cc: Phillip D. Brady

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want *to speak* 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. ~~It transports ideas and information move swiftly -- unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.~~

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it <sup>often</sup> arises from the laudable desire to sweep away <sup>discrimination and other unwanted</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>from our past</sup> ~~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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often ~~liberals and conservatives~~ <sup>political extremists</sup> resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

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

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 APR 31 P1:19

05/01

DATE: 04/29/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<del>DARMAN</del>	<del><input checked="" type="checkbox"/></del>	<del><input type="checkbox"/></del>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>          </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *See comments*

CLOSE HOLD

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

[Originally attached to previous page]

Additional  
GM B  
Comments

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

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~~I will not try to outbid those great men.~~ 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"

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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information moves swiftly -- unfettered by censors <sup>or</sup> of plantation bosses.

Howard  
X 4657

Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. <sup>We</sup> ~~He~~ have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care <sup>initiative</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>legislation</sup> Clean Air Act ~~and~~ incorporate market incentives. <sup>The</sup> This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

✓  
Scully  
X5178

✓  
Scully  
X5178

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights <sup>to</sup> of protecting their dwellings. ✓

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

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

Pages 5 & 6 seem to have  
an inflammatory tone.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

Contrasts something small and not risky but progressive with a very large issue.  
Scully  
45178

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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.

Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

Note: Racial epithets are one of the issues. Do you really want to appear supportive of Scully

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

6  
too strong - would  
Alexander  
faint  
Scully  
45178

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

This statement should be verified

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. [Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.]

Note:  
The poor + homeless generally are seen as sympathetic group by taxpayer. Voter are don't feel this way could easily be insulted and this detract

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

From the Administration success in getting people to volunteer to help these groups

Scully  
4/5/78

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

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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 yourself. Muster

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

CLOSE HOLD

Uchida: PK  
cc: RB, STON, ME  
Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 05/01 10:00 A.M. Wednesday

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
(04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*edits on pages 2 and 3*

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT ONE  
APRIL 29, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

It's a pleasure to stand here in Michigan Stadium, a place that has forged its share of football history -- and political history. John F. Kennedy proposed creating the Peace Corps here, and Lyndon Johnson unveiled the Great Society in Ann Arbor.

I will not try to outbid those great men. Today, I want 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 a new age of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in that world. The economic expansion of the 1980s reaffirmed our preeminence as an economic power. Our participation in the Persian Gulf war showed the world that Americans really will risk dying for ideals we hold dear. We will extend helping hands to the victims of brutal aggression.

But the war also revived our belief in ourselves. It seemed to rouse us from a fitful Vietnam-era sleep, a nightmare time in which we doubted our decency, our values, our abilities. The days of doubt and malaise are over. Americans feel free again to feel good about themselves, to cherish their optimism, charity, decency, toleration and ability.

I have traveled around the country in recent months, and I feel an idealism I have not felt for 30 years. From coast to coast, people are excited. They squint into a hazy future and ask themselves, "What next?" "How can I help?"


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

This revival of pride stems from the same source that toppled the Berlin Wall and humbled Saddam Hussein. In Europe, in Asia, throughout the world, America's strength testifies to the strength of an idea -- the idea of freedom.

I would like to talk today about four aspects of freedom, and how they promise an even greater future for this nation.

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

Our national history proves that capitalism is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, not theft. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and <sup>makes</sup> information move swiftly -- unfettered by censors of <sup>R</sup> plantation bosses.



Every time societies attempt 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 genius of a market in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the proceeds of progress to everyone.

Our domestic program encourages market innovation. It seeks to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, in hopes of unleashing our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the terrorists who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. <sup>w</sup> We have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to invite entrepreneurship. We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

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

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or false compassion. We must look instead to compassion that works.

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways.

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of us as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, every time Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone.

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't always guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have invited them to stay. Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth face of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

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

Politics too often demands nothing but money. I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

x6218

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 APR 30 P2:06

DATE: 04/29/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Wednesday 05/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 05/01, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*Good speech w/ a few thoughts for AS marked with twist - S.R.*

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

Snow/Grossman  
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*falk*  
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This language needs more emotion. Examples: Women, Blacks, etc.

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

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 233910

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 04/29/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. Wednesday 05/01

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT (04/29 draft one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 APR 29 PM 9:35

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ARE NOT  
PARALLEL

Our national history proves that <sup>FREE ENTERPRISE</sup> ~~capitalism~~ is not a system for accumulating profits, but a seedbed for creativity. It makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth through productivity, <sup>AND EFFORT</sup> ~~not theft~~. It enables people to convert good ideas into great works. It transports ideas and information ~~move~~ <sup>move</sup> swiftly, ~~unfettered by censors of plantation bosses.~~

<sup>WHEN</sup> Every ~~time~~ societies attempt 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 genius of a market <sup>WHICH REFLECTS THE PREFERENCES, IDEAS, AND INSPIRATIONS OF</sup> ~~in which millions of people swap thoughts and inspirations.~~

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

Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries. They give the masses access to goods that once were reserved for kings and party bosses. They spread the <sup>BENEFITS</sup> ~~proceeds~~ of progress to everyone.

Our <sup>ECONOMIC AND POLICIES</sup> ~~domestic program~~ encourages <sup>g</sup> market innovation. <sup>They</sup> ~~It~~ seeks <sup>g</sup> to push aside deadening and demoralizing barriers to creativity. We have proposed re-inventing the American school, <sup>TO</sup> ~~in hopes of~~ unleashing <sup>g</sup> our national genius. We have proposed anti-crime measures that would punish the <sup>CRIMINALS</sup> ~~terrorists~~ who <sup>DRIVE</sup> ~~shove~~ honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. He have proposed market incentives that give taxpayers a better return on their dollar. Last year's child care and clean air acts incorporate market incentives. This year's transportation package seeks to <sup>ENCOURAGE</sup> ~~invite~~ entrepreneurship. We ~~even~~ <sup>g</sup> have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government apartments -

- housing blocks in which tenants enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings.

~~But that's not enough.~~ In a world transformed by freedom, we must <sup>CONSTANTLY SEEK FOR</sup> ~~look for other~~ ways to release our national ingenuity. ~~We must eliminate the petty harrassments we inflict upon people with dreams.~~ 7

The average worker in the United States now spends more than four months of each year working just to pay the tax man. Here in Michigan, Tax Freedom Day -- the day on which workers stop paying the federal, state and local authorities and begin working for themselves and their families -- won't take place for another eight days. That's more than four months of labor that might otherwise help pay for the house and car, set aside money for children's educations, purchasing clothes for work or leisure. Four months of labor that might otherwise help a worker create a little nest-egg.

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

Americans transformed a rugged wilderness into the most prosperous nation on earth not by decree or by tax payment, but by action. If we want to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, we must abandon the stale slogans of redistribution or ~~false compassion~~. We must look instead to compassion that works. <sup>IMPUNGING MOTIVES?</sup>

DEFENSE  
EDUCATION  
FEDERAL RESERVE  
LAW ENFORCEMENT

HOPE  
HEAD START

We have entered a new industrial revolution, but our government lags behind. If I can risk learning how to use a computer, surely this nation can begin thinking about addressing its problems in new ways. *NO RISK.  
A LITTLE  
TOO CUTE.*

This leads to a second freedom, the freedom to think and speak one's mind. Free speech exposes bad ideas and spreads good ones. It nourishes the diversity upon which our national greatness rests. It allows blacks and whites to share experiences, rich and poor to talk about their needs and frustrations; it removes the blinders of ignorance.

Unfortunately, free speech is under assault throughout the United States, and nowhere more than on college campuses. The tornado of Political Correctness has ravaged many fine colleges and universities. Although it 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. Yet it does not establish new forms of respect. It actually inculcates the arts of creative suspicion. It teaches people how to look for an insult in every casual word, comment, action. It attempts to force everyone into a conformist mold, to salute authority mutely. In its own Orwellian way, it crushes diversity in the name of diversity.

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

certainly shouldn't prefer the empty etiquette of PC to honest and rigorous inquiry.

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

But it would be wrong to suggest that incivility has been confined to our campuses. The trend toward intellectual bullying flourishes everywhere. Too often liberals and conservatives resort to fighting words -- to taunts and epithets that are supposed to intimidate their opponents, to make people afraid to speak.

This is outrageous, and not worthy of ~~us~~ <sup>GREAT</sup> as a nation. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to openness and tolerance. We must trust our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice.

You can lead the way. Free speech lets us share our thoughts, our hopes, our experiences. Only when we share good times and bad, joys and hardships, can we truly understand and appreciate one another. If harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony -- rather than a new Inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another, equally important dimension of freedom -- freedom of spirit. In recent ages, often with noble intentions, we have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom

can I sue? And many would-be Samaritans must ask: Who can sue me?

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. Franklin Roosevelt once described the dole -- his word, not mine -- as a narcotic. Every time Washington presumes to improve the quality of people's souls, individuals discard their own sense of responsibility. They say: Why should I help the homeless? I'm already paying taxes to help them. Why should I help the poor? I'm already paying taxes to help them. And who can blame voters for feeling this way. After all, <sup>WHEN</sup> ~~every time~~ Congress passes a bill to address a social issue, it promises to solve that problem. When taxpayers complain, they're simply saying that government didn't keep its word. Yet while politicians demand higher taxes and taxpayers demand better results, the sad fact is that good deeds go undone. TDO  
STRONT

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

He believed that small cadres of experts could 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.

But bare numbers don't tell you much. Dollars don't ~~always~~<sup>4</sup> guarantee progress, and the politics of coercion -- the politics of virtue on demand -- have backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony have generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty have ~~invited them to stay.~~<sup>CREATED DEPENDENCE</sup> Although the calculations behind these programs seemed elegant and defensible, they just didn't make sense.

We now must decide whether we want an America by the numbers -- an America defined by equations, and exposed to the tiresome politics of division and derision -- or an America defined by its peoples virtues, desires, dreams.

I choose the latter. Our government ought to tell the people: We believe in you. Not: prove yourselves to our courts, our tax collectors, our meter readers, our agents and agencies.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation in my inaugural address, I wasn't trying to create a slogan: I was serious. An effective government must be gentle, kind, firm and humble. It must know its limitations -- and respect its people's capabilities.

But the flip side of limited government is the fourth (face?) of freedom -- responsibility.

Any introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. People who accept freedom also must accept responsibility for preserving it -- for building a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to PC talk, environmental stewardship to plunder.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT NUMBERS  
BUT A LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY.

I have been accused of lacking agendas or vision. If by that someone means that I don't propose vast or costly new programs, I plead guilty. I don't measure dreams in terms of <sup>DOLLARS</sup> tax ~~expenditures~~. <sup>SPENT.</sup> My vision for America depends heavily on you, for you are the men and women who will shape our future. You must decide how to defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

~~Politics too often demands nothing but money.~~ I challenge you to use your talents in service of goodness. We don't need a Great Society, dedicated to taking money and power from the many and placing it at the disposal of the incumbent few. We need a Good Society, one that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The antidote to greed is not a tax increase; it is service. If you want to take a stand against self-centeredness, get involved. If you want a direct role in conquering prejudice, get involved. Don't just wave placards and shout: Have the decency to talk with people, to bring out what is best in them.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship. You don't have to do grand and dramatic things to accomplish this. Get to know your neighbors. Try to 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 yourself. Muster

the courage to be a point of light, to take up the little deeds that enable great things to happen.

Also: define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills, such as want or fear of despair. Focus on freedom's promise -- on your promise.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime -- and perhaps of yours. The old ways of doing things have run their course, and we must find new ways of chasing our destinies. Dare to serve others, and you will serve your nation well.

It may seem a cliché, but you really do hold the future in your hands. Treat it well -- and future generations will revere you as the pioneers of a world blessed with unprecedented vigor, possibility, prosperity and goodness.

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

① Michigan partnership

② Yes. success: traditionally

defining goals - leading toward them  
(a) fed policies

(b) setting a direction - defining goals.

Partnerships

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT FIVE  
MAY 3, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT**  
**MAY 4, 1991**  
**11 a.m.**

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.

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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?" And: "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, 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 protects 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, 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, 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 the 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, action.

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 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 obsessions 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 will 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 -- and quite possibly of yours. The old ways 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. Congratulations. Thank you. Good luck.  
May God bless you and the United States of America.

# # # #

Snow/Grossman  
DRAFT THREE  
MAY 2, 1991  
MI

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 4, 1991  
11 a.m.**

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. That was nearly 27 years ago.

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. We 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 in recent years have banished the doubts that plagued us in the period following the Vietnam War. Self-persecution and malaise have given way to a renewed confidence in American decency, values, abilities. In my recent travels around the country I have felt an idealism -- not self-congratulation, but real idealism -- that I haven't felt in 30 years. People have faith in the future. They ask: "What next?" "How can I help?"

In a real and palpable sense, we have rediscovered the invigorating power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall, and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. The idea and ideal of freedom.

I would like to talk today about the nature of freedom, and how its demands lie at the heart of our domestic agenda.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, 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. This system doesn't merely reward creativity: it encourages it -- but in a very special way.

In past ages, and in other economic systems, people could acquire wealth only by seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It rewards

toil and determination. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and rigorously as ours -- a point the pope made recently in an encyclical about economics.

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 genius of a market. Markets collect and distribute the wisdom of millions of people, each pursuing their destinies in different ways. They make it possible for someone unknown to the high and mighty to become high and mighty.

Thus, the information revolution was hatched in garages and basements. The fast-food chain began as a lonely link on an obscure roadway. My point is simple: Free markets help give everyone access to unexpected discoveries.

Our economic and domestic programs grow out of an appreciation of freedom's special power. In a variety of areas, in a host of ways, we apply the lessons of freedom to the tasks of government.

For example, we have committed ourselves to eliminating rules, red tape and harrassments that prevent good people from doing great things. The Competitiveness Council, chaired by the Vice President, tries to liberate entrepreneurs from unnecessary regulation.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the nation to re-invent the American school, to create communities where learning can happen, to unleash our national genius.

We have proposed anti-crime measures to punish the thugs who shove honest businesses out of neighborhoods in need. 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 repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains tax, so that people with dreams might have access to the capital necessary to turn those dreams into works and deeds. And we have proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that protects the financial system upon which economic growth depends.

We even have proposed extending the dignity of home ownership to people who now live in government-owned apartments - - housing blocks in which residents enjoy no pride of ownership, and in many cases, no rights of protecting their dwellings. Ownership gives people a stake in their neighborhood -- and in our shared future.

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 harness the hope that thrills us all. We must inspire people to pursue ambitions, build fuller lives for themselves.

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. If we want to prevent even greater cynicism about government, we must demand public services that serve the public. We must insist upon compassion that works. Just as our nation has entered a new industrial revolution, so ought our government catch up with the times.

But the power to create rests on other kinds of freedom -- 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 wrestle with ideas, but because free speech helps us separate 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.

One university, for instance, recently tried to outlaw "inappropriately directed laughter" and "conspicuous exclusion of students from conversation." In others, students have tried to settle disagreements by starting fights -- or trying to get their ideological foes kicked out of school.

What begun as a crusade for civility thus has soured into a call for conflict, in which people resort to raw power -- rather than the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micromanage casual conversation have only incited distrust. Invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, 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. Think of cases in which people have tried to discourage smoking in restaurants not by asking others to stop -- but by hailing the police.

Think of political extremists, who arouse emotions by using fighting words -- taunts and charges designed to intimidate opponents and to make people fearful of speaking their hearts and minds.

Such bullying is outrageous, and not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. As Americans we ought to recommit ourselves to the values of honest,

open, probing discussion. We must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry and prejudice. We must fight the temptation to assign bad motives to people who simply disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, we must create an atmosphere in which people can talk freely, honestly, openly. 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 ages, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: Whom can I sue? Many would-be Samaritans ask: Who can sue me? People have avoided such noble arts as medicine for fear of facing unreasonable and undefined liability threats.

At the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families, schools, churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When Washington tries to act in behalf of families or churches, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility -- to argue that only government bears responsibility for helping people in need.

If we have learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Nor can we in Washington solve the nation's woes by decree.

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

He fought vigorously to enact the wisdom of his time. 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.

Somehow, 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 -- and we should begin by affirming our commitment to freedom. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We want to build a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to create a slogan. An effective government must be gentle,

kind, firm and humble. It 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. People who accept freedom must preserve it -- build a society that prefers creativity to envy, brotherhood to faction, plain talk to censorship, environmental stewardship to plunder.

It may be tempting to pretend that truly important matters demand crusades full of expense and drama. It may be comforting to act as humanity's greatest battles unfold on fields shrouded in smoke and soaked with blood -- or in packed hearing rooms where dogged prosecutors unmask villains and cheats.

But that's just not how it works in real life. For most of us, our greatest challenges arise in living rooms, on neighborhood streets, around the dinner table, at the office. And our greatest challengers are our families, friends, colleagues.

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, people will notice.

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. Religious institutions will not make you good or evil. I 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.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must assume responsibility for this nation's future. You must defend the freedoms of creation, expression and spirit. You must build a more prosperous and peaceful society.

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, action.

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 asks only for common decency and commitment. Get to know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles: Live them.

Good Government is an integral part of the Good Society. Our domestic agenda contains many new programs and initiatives, but they involve precise approaches well-defined programs. The idea is simple: limit government to what it can and should do -- and to leave the rest up to you.

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 yourself. 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 obsessions 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 will send a man to the moon.

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

This is your day. Congratulations. Thank you. Good luck. May God bless you and the United States of America.

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