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COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES
HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

THANK YOU, PRESIDENT HARVEY. SENATOR WARNER. CONGRESSMAN BATEMAN. MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION, AND ESPECIALLY THE HAMPTON UNIVERSITY CLASS 1991.

ONE OF THE PLEASURES OF COMING HERE IS GETTING TO KNOW YOUR UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT BETTER. YOU ALL PROBABLY KNOW THAT PRESIDENT HARVEY IS AN AVID TENNIS PLAYER. REALLY AVID. WHEN I SHOOK HIS HAND, HE CORRECTED MY GRIP.//

ACTUALLY, I PLAY BOTH TENNIS AND GOLF, AND I'VE BEEN DESCRIBED AS A CROSS BETWEEN JACK NICKLAUS AND JIMMY CONNORS. I PLAY TENNIS LIKE NICKLAUS AND GOLF LIKE CONNORS.//

AT ANY RATE, IT'S A REAL PLEASURE TO JOIN YOU TODAY. I AM THE NINTH PRESIDENT TO VISIT YOUR CAMPUS. I'M PROUD TO SAY THAT EIGHT HAVE BEEN REPUBLICANS.

HAMPTON IS AN ELITE INSTITUTION. IT BOASTS THE LARGEST ENDOWMENT OF ANY HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY IN THE UNITED STATES. ITS GRADUATES CONTRIBUTE DAILY TO OUR NATIONAL PROGRESS AND WELL-BEING. PATRICIA STEVENS FUNDERBURK, HAMTON '71, WHOM YOU HONOR TODAY, SERVES IN OUR DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES. [PATRICIA, CONGRATULATIONS.]

YOU ALL WILL MAKE YOUR MARKS IN THE WORLD. TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THE NEW WORLD THAT YOU WILL ENTER. A WORLD NO LONGER DIVIDED BY SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION, BUT ENGAGED IN ECONOMIC COMPETITION AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

YOU IN THE HAMPTON ROADS AREA UNDERSTAND THIS WORLD BETTER THAN MOST. MORE THAN 100 FIRMS IN THIS REGION CONDUCT BUSINESS BEYOND OUR BORDERS. WHEN MANY OF YOU LEAVE THIS UNIVERSITY, YOU WILL LOOK TO DISTANT SHORES, PLACES WHERE YOU HOPE TO SPREAD AMERICAN INGENUITY -- YOUR INGENUITY.

YOU OUGHT TO BE EXCITED ABOUT YOUR OPPORTUNITIES: I KNOW I AM. WE STAND ON THE VERGE OF A NEW AGE OF FREEDOM. IF WE BUILD UPON OUR STRENGTHS, IF WE JOIN HANDS AS A PEOPLE, WE WILL BUILD A NATION AND A FUTURE UNLIKE ANY EVER SEEN IN HUMAN HISTORY.

OUR FIRST AND GREATEST STRENGTH, OF COURSE, IS OUR INTELLIGENCE. AND OUR GREATEST TOOL FOR DEVELOPING THAT STRENGTH IS OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

BUT WE HAVE TO BE HONEST WITH OURSELVES: OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS SLIPPED IN RECENT YEARS. TEST SCORES CONTINUE TO FALL. DROPOUT RATES SOAR IN MANY OF OUR SCHOOL SYSTEMS. BUSINESSES COMPLAIN THAT SOME HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES DON'T HAVE BASIC READING, WRITING OR MATH SKILLS.

MEANWHILE, OUR ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DON'T COMPARE WELL TO THOSE IN OTHER INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES IN MATH, SCIENCE -- EVEN AMERICAN GEOGRAPHY.

WE'VE GOT TO DO BETTER. WE OUGHT TO IMPROVE OUR SCHOOLS THE OLD-FASHIONED WAY: THROUGH COMMITMENT AND COMPETITION. OUR AMERICA 2000 STRATEGY TRIES TO MAKE A QUALITY EDUCATION AVAILABLE TO EVERY CHILD -- AND EVERY CITIZEN -- WHO WANTS TO LEARN. WE HAVE CHALLENGED AMERICANS TO RE-INVENT THE AMERICAN SCHOOL -- NOT BY TURNING THE TASK OVER TO EXPERTS IN WASHINGTON -- BUT BY INVITING A NATIONWIDE COMPETITION TO CREATE BETTER SCHOOLS.

THE CONCEPT OF CHOICE -- LETTING PARENTS CHOOSE SCHOOLS FOR THEIR CHILDREN -- PLAYS A ROLE. ITS TIME HAS COME: POLLS SHOW THAT 62 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC FAVORS CHOICE. 72 PERCENT OF MINORITY AMERICANS ADVOCATE CHOICE IN THE SCHOOLS.

THIS SHOULD SURPRISE NO ONE. CHOICE MEANS HOPE: IT LETS CHILDREN FROM POOR NEIGHBORHOODS ENROLL IN THE SAME SCHOOLS AS CHILDREN FROM WEALTHIER ONES. IT GIVES PARENTS THE FREEDOM TO FIND GOOD SCHOOLS FOR THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS. IT FREES STUDENTS FROM THE TYRANNY OF INADEQUATE EDUCATION.

WE HAVE ENCOURAGED COMMUNITIES AND BUSINESSES TO ROLL UP THEIR SLEEVES AND HELP: COMMUNITIES, BY TAKING ON CRIME, HUNGER AND OTHER DISTURBANCES THAT MAKE IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO LEARN. BUSINESSES, BY CONTRIBUTING EXPERTISE TO LOCAL SCHOOLS AND BY DEVELOPING EDUCATION PROGRAMS AT THE WORKPLACE.

YOU'VE SET A GREAT EXAMPLE RIGHT HERE WITH HAMPTON HARBOR. YOU'VE BUILT A SUCCESSFUL COMMERCIAL/RESIDENTIAL AREA. AND YOU'RE TURNING THE PROFITS INTO STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS.

WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO SUCH PROGRAMS AS HEAD START, WHICH HELP PREPARE YOUNG STUDENTS FOR SCHOOL. IT WORKS.

THE BUSINESS OF EDUCATION IS THE BUSINESS OF CREATING A BETTER WORLD. A GOOD EDUCATION LETS YOU SEE POSSIBILITIES YOU WOULD NEVER HAVE IMAGINED BEFORE -- AND REACH THEM.

BUT EDUCATION ALSO IS A LABOR OF COMMITMENT AND LOVE. I RECENTLY GOT A LETTER FROM AN ARMY SERGEANT SERVING IN SAUDI ARABIA. HE TALKED ABOUT HIS DAUGHTER. HE WROTE: "I AM VERY PROUD OF HER AND WOULD LIKE FOR HER TO KNOW THIS; I AM THINKING OF HER EVEN AS I SIT IN THE GULF, SERVING MY COUNTRY."

NILKA BACILIO [BU-SILL-EE-OH], WHO WILL RECEIVE A BACHELOR'S OF SCIENCE FROM THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION AND LIBERAL ARTS -- WITH HONORS IN THERAPEUTIC RECREATION -- YOUR FATHER SAYS "HI."//

OTHER PARENTS HERE HAVE WRITTEN TO ME, AND I WANT TO THANK YOU ALL. NOTHING IS MORE NATURAL -- NO FEELING MORE FULFILLING -- THAN HAVING PRIDE IN YOUR CHILDREN. WHEN I TALK ABOUT EDUCATIONAL CHOICE, OR EDUCATIONAL REFORM, I ALWAYS REMEMBER A CRUCIAL TRUTH. WE CAN'T GO ANYWHERE WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLE WHO LOVE US -- WHO BELIEVE IN US. AND IF THERE IS ANY ADVICE I CAN GIVE TODAY, IT IS THIS: CHERISH THOSE WHO GIVE YOU THIS KIND OF LIFT -- AND RETURN THE FAVOR WHENEVER YOU CAN.

LET ME PAUSE TO HONOR DINEE [DIN-AY] RILEY, WHO HAS ACHIEVED THE HIGHEST GRADE POINT AVERAGE OF ANYONE IN THIS CLASS. IT'S MY PRIVILEGE AND HONOR TODAY TO HAND YOU YOUR DIPLOMA. //

[[[HAND HER A DIPLOMA]]]

DINEE [DIN-AY], YOU AND YOUR CLASSMATES SHOULD BE PROUD OF YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS. NOW COMES THE CHALLENGING PART: MAKING USE OF KNOWLEDGE ONCE YOU GET OUT OF SCHOOL.

AS A NATION, WE MUST GIVE <u>EVERYONE</u> A CHANCE TO MAKE FULL USE OF THEIR IMAGINATION AND INTELLIGENCE. OUR ADMINISTRATION DOES THIS BY TRYING TO REMOVE BARRIERS TO PROGRESS.

WE WANT TO FREE PEOPLE NOW TRAPPED BY SELF-DOUBT AND DESPAIR. WE HAVE PUT TOGETHER AN AMBITIOUS HOUSING REFORM PACKAGE -- WE CALL IT H.O.P.E. -- WHICH EXTENDS THE DIGNITY OF HOME OWNERSHIP TO PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN PUBLIC HOUSING COMMUNITIES. THE IDEA IS SIMPLE: GIVE PEOPLE ASSETS. GIVE THEM PERMANENT WEALTH, NOT JUST CONSUMABLE SCRAPS OF PAPER. OFFER PEOPLE INDEPENDENCE. DON'T HOLD THEM IN THE BONDAGE OF DEPENDENCY. H.O.P.E. OFFERS AN ETHIC OF ENCOURAGEMENT. IT ENCOURAGES PEOPLE TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN BUILDING BETTER LIVES FOR THEMSELVES -- FOR US ALL.

WE MUST FREE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN HELD BACK BY BARRIERS OF DISCRIMINATION. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL FIGHT DISCRIMINATION VIGOROUSLY. A KINDER, GENTLER NATION MUST NOT BE GENTLE OR KIND TO THOSE WHO PRACTICE PREJUDICE.//

WE MUST FREE PEOPLE BOUND BY RED TAPE AND UNNECESSARY REGULATION. LAST YEAR, AMERICANS DEVOTED 5.3 BILLION HOURS TO FILLING OUT REGULATORY PAPERWORK -- 5.3 BILLION HOURS! -- AT A COST TO THE ECONOMY OF $185 BILLION. THIS CAN'T CONTINUE.

WE MUST FREE PEOPLE FROM PUNITIVE TAXATION, WHICH TAKES MONEY THAT MIGHT OTHERWISE HELP BUY A HOME, PAY FOR A CHILD'S COLLEGE EDUCATION, ESTABLISH A FAMILY NEST-EGG. THE CONTROVERSIAL BUDGET AGREEMENT WE SIGNED LAST YEAR RESTRAINS THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL SPENDING. IT OFFERS HOPE THAT WORKERS IN THE FUTURE WILL BE ABLE TO SPEND LESS TIME WORKING FOR THE TAX COLLECTOR AND MORE TIME WORKING FOR THEIR FAMILIES.

WE MUST FREE PEOPLE TO CREATE THE NEXT GREAT INVENTION. OUR ADMINISTRATION REPEATEDLY HAS SOUGHT A CUT IN THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX -- A TAX ON THE WEALTH YOU WILL CREATE. THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX IS A TAX ON IDEAS, ON INNOVATION, ON THE AMERICAN DREAM.

BUT MAINLY, WE MUST FREE OURSELVES FROM DOUBTS AND FEARS. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO HIDE FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD BY ERECTING PROTECTIONIST WALLS. IF WE WANT TO LEARN, WE HAVE TO COMPETE. IF WE WANT TO TEST OURSELVES, WE HAVE TO COMPETE. IF WE WANT TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF ALL THE WORLD'S DIVERSE CULTURES, IDEAS AND INNOVATIONS, WE HAVE TO COMPETE.

OUR FUTURE LIES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. LAST YEAR, EXPORTS ACCOUNTED FOR 84 PERCENT OF OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH. BETWEEN 1986 AND 1990, OUR EXPORTS TO THE REST OF THE WORLD INCREASED 73 PERCENT, AND EXPORTS TO OUR MAJOR COMPETITORS GREW EVEN MORE: TO GERMANY, 80 PERCENT; JAPAN, 82 PERCENT; THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, BY 87 PERCENT. WE EXPORTED $673 BILLION IN GOODS AND SERVICES LAST YEAR.

OUR FUTURE DEPENDS ON TRADE. WE HAVE ASKED CONGRESS TO EXTEND THE FAST-TRACK TRADE PROCEDURES THAT PRESIDENTS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO USE SINCE 1974. WITHOUT FAST TRACK, WE WILL HAVE TROUBLE MOVING FORWARD WITH CRITICAL TRADE INITIATIVES, INCLUDING THE URUGUAY ROUND OF GATT TALKS, THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT AND THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE AMERICAS INITIATIVE.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOME OPPONENTS OF FREE TRADE HAVE RESORTED TO SLURS AGAINST OUR MEXICAN NEIGHBORS IN HOPES OF DERAILING FAST TRACK. I CAN THINK OF NO MORE REVEALING CONTRAST BETWEEN A FREE-ENTERPRISE VIEW OF THE HUMAN COMMUNITY AND THE PROTECTIONIST VIEW. PREJUDICE USUALLY IS NOTHING MORE THAN A BREED OF COWARDICE. PEOPLE AFRAID TO TEST THEMSELVES, OR TO RISK CHALLENGING THEIR ASSUMPTIONS, HIDE BEHIND RESTRICTIVE LAWS AND RESTRICTIVE WALLS.

IF WE WANT TO LEAD THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD -- WE MUST NOT BUILD WALLS OF PREJUDICE AND DOUBT. WE MUST INVOLVE OURSELVES IN THE WORLD AROUND US. WE MUST BUILD TIES OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND AFFECTION -- EVERYWHERE.

THE SAME SENTIMENTS OUGHT TO GUIDE US AT HOME. IN THE END, PROSPERITY REQUIRES TRUST. YOU CANNOT BUILD A BUSINESS IF YOU SPEND ALL YOUR TIME WORRYING ABOUT BEING CHEATED, CONNED, ATTACKED. TRUE BROTHERHOOD REPRESENTS THE KEY TO HAPPINESS -- AND GROWTH.

THE PROGRAMS I HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY GIVE EVERY AMERICAN, WHITE OR BLACK OR BROWN, RICH OR POOR OR MIDDLE CLASS, A FAIR CHANCE TO PURSUE HIS OR HER DESTINY. THEY TRY TO HARNESS THE ENGINE OF AMBITION IN SERVICE TO THE COMMON GOOD. THEY DO NOT DIVIDE PEOPLE ALONG RACE OR CLASS LINES; THEY GIVE EVERYONE A SHARED STAKE IN EVERYONE ELSE'S SUCCESS.

WE HAVE A CHANCE TO REKINDLE THE KIND OF OPTIMISM THAT CHARACTERIZED THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE 1960S -- ONE IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES AND BACKGROUNDS JOINED TO PURSUE GOALS WE ALL HOLD DEAR: OPPORTUNITY, PROSPERITY, JUSTICE, FREEDOM, TOLERANCE.

TODAY, YOU ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SHAPING AN INTERNATIONAL COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM. BELIEVE IN YOURSELVES. TRUST IN YOURSELVES. DON'T ABANDON YOUR PASSION FOR IDEAS OR CAUSES. WORK HARD -- BUT SERVE YOUR COMMUNITY. ATTEND TO THE THOUSANDS OF TINY DEEDS THAT CONSTITUTE A GOOD AND DECENT LIFE: TREAT YOURSELF WELL AND RESPECT OTHERS. BE A POINT OF LIGHT. BUILD A TRULY GOOD SOCIETY.

TO YOU, AND TO THE FRIENDS AND FAMILIES WHO HAVE SUPPORTED YOU OVER THE YEARS -- CONGRATULATIONS. THANK YOU FOR LETTING ME SHARE IN YOUR COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES. GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # # #

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 9, 1991

TO: TONY SNOW

FROM: NICK ROSTOW

I've taken you upon your offer to receive thoughts.

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

It's been rumored that I will come here and tell Hampton Graduates "what to do." Nothing could be further from the truth. Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation~~, but defined by economic competition~~.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. Hampton graduates go to work for many

of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

You understand that this nation's future in the international marketplace -- your future -- depends on how well we develop our most precious natural resource: the intelligence and ingenuity of the American people.

As a nation we develop that resource in two ways, education and economic growth. I will discuss both of those paths to opportunity today, and describe the ways in which they not only improve our workforce, but also strengthen the American spirit -- allow us to join hands in common cause and common interest, encourage a harmony of ambitions that drives out the bleak counsels of suspicion, hatred and despair.

Americans always have regarded education as the ladder of opportunity. We were the first nation on earth to provide universal education. The civil rights movement of the 1960s devoted great time and energy to ensuring equal educational opportunity. Our administration has picked up that challenge by developing a strategy for making a quality education available to every citizen who wants one.

Our America 2000 strategy involves four separate but related efforts. The first is to re-invent the school by encouraging people to take an active role in shaping school policies and creating the best school systems possible.

We have advocated educational choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children. This concept has generated a

lot of unnecessary controversy among educational organizations, but it has excited and ignited the hopes and ambitions of Americans, especially in large cities where the schools simply have failed. Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors choice, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it gives parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

Thirteen states have adopted choice proposals of various sorts, and a number of major cities have embraced the concept. The failure of Chicago's schools prompted Mayor Richard Daley to raise the possibility of school vouchers in his inaugural address this week. A poll by the Chicago Defender two days later found that 70 percent of the public liked the idea.

We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools -- one in each congressional district. The idea is to create laboratories for educational excellence -- role models that other systems may want to follow.

We have called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches makes the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. Once liberated from the monopoly that public schools

now enjoy, we will create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The controversial budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs.

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.

In order to create opportunities for people who have few of them today, we also have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: We want to give people assets, sources of

permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They encourage consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to scurillous examples of race baiting. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny in the marketplace of ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
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of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

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continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches makes the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. Once liberated from the monopoly that public schools

now enjoy, we will create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The controversial budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs.

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.

In order to create opportunities for people who have few of them today, we also have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: We want to give people assets, sources of

permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They encourage consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to scurillous examples of race baiting. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny in the marketplace of ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 10 P1:36

DATE: 5/10/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☐	☑
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☑	PORTER	☐	☑
DARMAN	☐	☑	ROGICH	☐	☑
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☐	☑
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☐	☑
GRAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

91 MAY 10 PM 12:49

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but defined by economic competition.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. When many of you leave this university, you cast your eyes upon distant shores, places where you hope to spread American ingenuity -- your ingenuity.

You ought to be excited about your opportunities: I am. We stand on the verge of a new age of freedom. If we build upon our strengths, and if we join hands as a people, we can build a nation and a future unlike any ever seen in the annals of human history.

If we want to compete in the new world that faces us, we must unleash our better selves. We must identify and cultivate our strengths as Americans -- and we must attack the sources of weakness -- self-doubt, hatred, discrimination, despair.

Our first and greatest strength, of course, is our intelligence, and our greatest tool for developing that strength is our educational system.

But we have to be honest with ourselves: Our educational system has slipped in recent years. Test scores continue to fall. Dropout rates soar in many of our cities. Businesses complain that high school and sometimes college graduates don't have basic reading, writing or mathematics skills.

The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Another study ranked our fifth graders eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders 14th in science, and our 12th graders in horrible shape: last in biology 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. In some systems, as much as two thirds of

the educational dollar vanishes in bureaucracy; only 30 cents or so actually reaches the classroom. We can stem this tragic tide the old-fashioned way: through commitment and competition. Our America 2000 strategy strives to extend the benefits of education to every child -- and every citizen -- who wants to learn. Perhaps our most ambitous proposal involves re-inventing the American school -- not by turning the task over to a group of experts in Washington, but by inviting a nationwide competiton to create better schools.

The concept of choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children -- also plays a role. Certainly its time has come: Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors choice, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it gives parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

We also have called upon communities and businesses to roll up their sleeves and contribute: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate

in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

The business of education is the business of creating new and better worlds. A good education enables you to see possibilities that you would never have imagined before -- and to devise ways of reaching those possibilities. But education also is a labor of love and commitment. Parents vest their fondest hopes in it; they struggle to give their children access to the best education possible. Nations vest their futures in it.

I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father says "hi."//

I know other parents, some of whom are here today, also have written me, praising their children. That is natural. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

But education alone won't let us lead the world. We must be able to make use of our knowledge once we get out of school.

We must build a society in which everyone has a chance to make full use of their imagination and intelligence. Our administration does this by trying to free people from unnecessary encumbrances and barriers to progress.

The term "economic growth" often seems stale and dull, but the daily business of innovation is anything but. Nations stoke the fires of growth not just through wise policies, but also by cultivating a spirit of imagination, by encouraging people not simply to dream, but to act.

We want to free people now trapped in hoplessness and despair. We have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: Give people assets, sources of permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Offer people independence; don't hold them in the bondage of dependency. HOPE replaces traditional welfare with an ethic of encouragement. It gives poor residents a stake in ownership -- and in prosperity.

We must free people who want to work, but who have been held back by barriers of discrimination. This administration will fight discrimination vigorously. A kinder, gentler nation cannot afford to be gentle or kind to those who withhold opportunity from people because of their race, their sex, their background. Ours is a land of opportunity.

We must free people who want to work, but who have been bound by red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

We must free people from punitive taxation, which takes money that might otherwise help buy a home, pay for a child's college education, establish a family nest-egg. The controversial budget agreement we signed last year restrains the growth of federal spending -- and provides hope that workers in the future will be able to spend less time working for the tax collecter and more time working for the family.

We must free people who want to create the next great new invention. Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

But mainly, we have free ourselves from doubts and fears. We can't afford to segregate ourselves from the rest of the world by erecting high protectionist walls. If we want to learn, we have to compete. If we want to test ourselves, we have to compete. If we want to take full advantage of the interesting ideas and inspirations that people across the globe have to offer, we have to mix it up in the world marketplace.

Our future lies in the world economy. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth and out trade with other nations grows each year. Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our future depends on trade. We have asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Without fast track, we will be hard pressed to move forward with a number of critical trade initiatives, including the Uruguay Round of GATT talks, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Enterprise for the Americas initiative. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have resorted to slurs against our Mexican neighbors in hopes of derailing fast track.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Prejudice usually is nothing more than a breed of cowardice. People afraid to test themselves, or to risk challenging their own assumptions, hide behind restrictive laws and restrictive walls.

Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

If we want to lead the world that freedom has spawned, we will have to avoid the temptation to segregate ourselves behind walls of doubt and prejudice. We will have to involve ourselves in the lives and deeds of all the peoples of the world. We will have to step beyond our front doors and take full advantage of the richness and diversity they world offers to us. The very same sentiments, of course, ought to guide us at home. Here, we also ought to stop and take full advantage of the many and varied people in this land.

In the end, economic growth relies on trust. You cannot build a business if you must worry constantly about attacks from others. Societies divided by suspicion and strife can never move ahead. In the end, true brotherhood represents the key to happiness -- and prosperity.

The programs I have discussed today give every American, white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. They do not divide people along race or class lines; they give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We all have a duty to renew that optimism. Our country always has been a land of hope and adventure. When our first settlers landed -- not far from here -- they dedicated themselves to the values of freedom and toleration.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you have a chance to shape a new worldwide commonwealth of freedom. Your diplomas certify your achievements and bestow responsibilities. Don't stop learning now: You intellectual adventures have just begun. Don't abandon your passion for ideas or causes. Work hard -- but serve your community. Attend to the thousands of tiny deeds that constitute a good and decent life: Treat yourself well and respect others. Be a point of light.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations on earning degrees from this fine and historic institution. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/8/91 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

91 MAY 9 A9:07

Hinchliffe/Blymire
May 9, 1991 9 a.m.
A:P6 Draft FOUR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
May 10, 1991
11 a.m.

[[Thank you, President Shapiro. Governor Florio; Members of Congress; Mrs. Shapiro; Board of Trustees Chairman Henderson; Dean Williamson; Associate Dean Morrow.]] I'm delighted to help dedicate this impressive complex. Though I must say I'm glad this is May, and not the first snowfall. I don't think Barbara would let me take part in your Olympics. //

Seriously, I'm delighted to receive an honorary degree from Princeton. After all, Washington said "no college has turned out better scholars or more estimable characters." Certainly, it's the only school that can claim as alumni the last two Secretaries of State. Both have been outstanding public servants. Both love this school. But only one has the tattoo to prove it.///

I'll always remember the first time I saw the globe inside the Woodrow Wilson School lobby. Anywhere you touch it, you set off vibrations across the rest of its surface. I can't think of a more appropriate symbol for this nation's role in the world. When we act, we do set off tremors across the globe.

I would like to talk today about an American achievement that has inspired men and women worldwide -- most recently, in Eastern Europe. I'm speaking of our Constitution -- and in particular, the separation of powers. In the interests of brevity, I will confine my remarks to the Constitutional

relationship between the two branches of government in which I have had the honor to serve, the legislative and executive departments.

Politicians in those branches of government face an unpleasant challenge these days. People have lost faith in government because government has become incomprehensible to them. The Washington of the civics textbook seems to bear little resemblance to the Washington we read about in newspapers or magazines, or see on the television screen. What in theory is a nicely orchestrated system of government, takes on the appearance in reality of a three-ring mud-wrestling match, in which behemoths struggle for superiority. The concept of separated powers has given way to the view that politicians struggle over a single, amorphous power.

We can restore faith in government by restoring the balance of powers that forms its core. Consider the President's role in this effort. Thomas Jefferson once noted that the President "commands a view of the whole ground," while Congress necessarily adopts the narrower views of its constituents. A number of important duties flow from the President's special status.

For instance, the President bears the unique burden for guiding and directing foreign policy. Our founders noted the necessity of his conducting foreign affairs with "secrecy and dispatch," when necessary. The President also serves as commander-in-chief -- as I did in the Persian Gulf.

This does not mean that the executive may conduct foreign business in a vacuum. Indeed, it makes sense to work cooperatively with Congress wherever possible. I solicited Congressional support before entering the Gulf War, and I am working now with members of both parties to obtain extension of our fast-track trade procedures. So while a President bears special foreign policy obligations, those obligations do not imply any liberty to keep Congress in the dark.

The president's view of the whole ground includes a second responsibility, which is to set a national domestic agenda. Presidents do this annually by submitting budgets to Congress. They carry this duty further by proposing legislation, developing policies, and mobilizing support for their programs.

This sort of leadership doesn't necessarily require new legislation or demands on taxpayers. Our Points of Light campaign, for instance, encourages private service. It exalts the selfless Americans who find new ways of serving their families, their neighbors, their friends -- or even strangers in need. Our policies recognize that a Great Society approach to government -- large programs with vast expenditures -- do not always achieve our goals. Often a Good Society, one in which people exercise their natural virtues, better strengthens our nation and builds a spirit of commitment and responsibility.

Similarly, our America 2000 education strategy involves dramatic reforms that don't make dramatic new claims on taxpayer earnings. It draws on people's common frustration with an

educational system that must do better. It encourages people to use their common sense and good old American ingenuity in creating better schools. It won't help build a new office building in Washington, but it very well may inspire people to build a better future for themselves and their children -- school by school, community by community.

Elsewhere, we have proposed turning programs back to states and localities. This enables people to craft the most appropriate solutions for the problems they confront.

For too long, pundits and special interests have equated vision with bureaucracy. This is irresponsible not only in terms of public policy, but also in terms of constitutional theory. The more a President defines his or her powers strictly in terms of legislation, the more likely it will be that our system of checks and balances will exist only in theory, not in practice.

The President shoulders a final unique obligation -- to "preserve, protect and defend" the Constitution. In this context, the President has an obligation to ensure that Congress stays within its own constitutional boundaries -- which is to say, that it conduct its business thoughtfully and deliberately.

The chief executive pursues this duty in several ways. The most powerful tool, of course, is the veto.

Six times in my presidency, I have vetoed bills that weaken the presidential powers. In each case, I wanted to preserve presidential powers, in accordance with my oath of office.

More often, however, vetoes encourage the legislature to

reconsider its actions. When I vetoed minimum-wage legislation, for instance, I sought to persuade Congress that a slightly lower rate would best serve the public interest -- and in time, Congress agreed. Brady bill

And when Congress bundles up a series of unrelated measures and calls it a "bill," a president has the authority to veto separate measures. On many occasions during my presidency, I have reminded Congress that statutory provisions that violate the Constitution have no binding legal force.

But this phenomenon of bundled legislation has another consequence: It encourages cynicism about government.

Last year, when I asked for $800 million in aid for developing democracies in Panama and Nicaragua, some Senators tacked on a provision that would enable the District of Columbia government to use federal funds for abortions. Another Senator demanded child-care legislation.

In other cases, Congress has tried to slip restrictions on presidential powers into the fine print of large pieces of legislation. This seems not only unduly sly, but it is dangerous. The practice of bundling can leave members of Congress in the dark about the nature of the legislation they enact. It has become an annual sport for reporters to pull peculiarities out of vast spending bills -- such as a federal grant to study cow belches, or a Lawrence Welk Museum -- and ask Congress to defend them.

I have sought -- and will continue to seek -- a line-item

veto to prevent such embarrassments and protect the American people from injudicious Congressional legislation and appropriation.

Finally, a President must protect the powers of the presidency against predictable and perfectly natural incursions by Congress. Although our founders never envisioned a Congress that would churn out hundreds of thousands of pages worth of reports, hearings, documents, and laws, ~~rules and regulations~~ each year, they did understand that legislators would try to accumulate power. James Madison, a Princeton graduate, warned that "The legislative department is everywhere extending the sphere of its activity, and drawing all power into its impetuous vortex... It is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all of their precautions."

Consider a few ways in which Congress has tried to weaken or usurp executive authority within the realm of domestic politics:

Start with the harassments that can waste the time and energy of the executive. Thirty years ago, we devoted nearly 9.5 percent of our gross national product to Pentagon expenditures. Today, Pentagon spending accounts for only 5 percent of our GNP. But Congressional oversight has grown wildly. One hundred seven committees and subcommittees oversee Defense programs and spending. For FY 1989, the Pentagon devoted 500 man-years and over $50 million just to write reports responding to Congressional queries on such items as plans for manning

tugboats, and accounting for the number of military bands. Defense staff has to respond yearly to more than 750,000 Congressional staff inquiries. That's just one example.

In recent years, Congress also has taken aggressive action against specific presidential powers -- including the power to appoint or remove employees who serve at the president's pleasure, the power to execute the laws Congress writes, and even the power to maintain appropriate confidentiality. Congress also has tried to micromanage the executive branch by writing into law too-specific directions about the ways in which the executive is supposed to carry out a particular law.

A President has a duty to rebuff such attempts, not only to preserve the presidency -- but also to ensure the faithful operation of our government.

In closing, let me summarize my view of the presidency. Presidents define themselves through their exercise of presidential power. They must use their special authority to serve the whole nation, in matters of foreign and domestic policy. They must set a tone for governance -- at once leading the people and following their desires. They must preserve, protect and defend the Constitution. And they must encourage deliberative behavior on the part of Congress.

But the responsibility of the President is <u>national</u> not just federal. To be sure we have had our share of important legislative successes. They include a Clean Air Act that invokes the power of the market to help America breathe cleaner air, an

Amercians with Disabilities Act, landmark legislation that enhances the dignity of those with disabilities. A child care bill that puts more power and choice in the hands of parents when it comes to the care of their children.

But the real power of the Presidency lies in the President's ability to frame -- through action, through example, through encouragement -- what we as a nation must do: what is required of communities and institutions -- large and small -- in schools and factories, and the hundreds of daily acts of individuals.

The common thread of commitment -- individual commitment -- runs through all successful efforts to solve our most intractable problems. The individual who cares -- who is determined to change things for the better -- can and will make a difference.

The great joy and challenge of the office I occupy is that the President serves not just as the unitary executive, but also as the unifying executive -- the one promotes the values, goals, and purposes that bind us as Americans.

As President, I feel honor-bound to strengthen the marvelous system of government bequeathed to us, so that we may remain the freest, most moral, most prosperous land in history.

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

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/9

TO: Tony

FROM: JOHN S. GARDNER
Special Assistant to the President
and Assistant Staff Secretary

Pls. see comments from Phil and me on Hampton. I've made some suggestions for shortening.

Thanks,
J.G.

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

It's been rumored that I will come here and tell Hampton graduates "what to do." Nothing could be further from the truth. Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but defined by economic competition.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. Hampton graduates go to work for many

of these institutions, ~~including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.~~

You understand that this nation's future in the international marketplace -- your future -- depends on how well we develop our most precious natural resource: the intelligence and ingenuity of the American people.

As a nation we develop that resource in two ways, education and economic growth. I will discuss both of those paths to opportunity today, and describe the ways in which they not only improve our workforce, but also strengthen the American spirit -- allow us to join hands in common cause and common interest, encourage a harmony of ambitions that drives out the bleak counsels of suspicion, hatred and despair.

Americans always have regarded education as the ladder of opportunity. We were the first nation on earth to provide universal education. The civil rights movement of the 1960s devoted great time and energy to ensuring equal educational opportunity. Our administration has picked up that challenge by developing a strategy for making a quality education available to every citizen who wants one.

Our America 2000 strategy involves four separate but related efforts. The first is to re-invent the school by encouraging people to take an active role in shaping school policies and creating the best school systems possible.

We have advocated educational choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children. This concept has generated a

lot of unnecessary controversy among educational organizations, but it has excited and ignited the hopes and ambitions of Americans, especially in large cities where the schools simply have failed. Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors choice, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it gives parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

Thirteen states have adopted choice proposals of various sorts, and a number of major cities have embraced the concept. The failure of Chicago's schools prompted Mayor Richard Daley to raise the possibility of school vouchers in his inaugural address this week. A poll by the Chicago Defender two days later found that 70 percent of the public liked the idea.

We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools -- one in each congressional district. The idea is to create laboratories for educational excellence -- role models that other systems may want to follow.

We have called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches makes the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. Once ~~liberated from the monopoly that public schools~~

[It's not a monopoly – except in terms of public funding.]

→ our education system is open to choice.

~~now enjoy~~, we will create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert ~~a couple~~ one of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The ~~controversial~~ budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

→ Controversial to whom! We're for it.

In logic, this is the "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" fallacy.

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our heavily own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs. [We're not talking about abolishing the tax, but reducing it.]

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.

In order to create opportunities for people who have few of them today, we also have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: We want to give people assets, sources of

not directly related to ec. growth, so delete for space

permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They encourage consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to scurillous examples of race baiting. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny, ~~in the marketplace of ideas~~ not just ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 9 P1:00

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

OK - S.P. Longer than I think a little 15 min - I should trim a little per conversation I had with POTUS otherwise good. Thanks S.P.

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

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
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[jokes]

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You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

DD comments on Hampton speech in no particular order

In general, the speech is flat and themeless. It has a good opening on the first page or so but never rises to the statement of "discuss the new world that you ...." Instead it reiterates the education proposal, and then a series of loosely hung together domestic proposals under the rubric of economic growth. However, it's a mixed bag that is offered -- with no common philosophical underpinning to the propositions that a) a cap gains cut is good for economic growth just as b) our housing initiative is good for economic growth.

Sununu suggests a cut of about a third. We might start with reducing the education initiative from four pages to two.

To link the economic pieces together there needs to be a segue from the education section that builds some context for a discussion of economics -- one that perhaps talks philosophically about what it takes to generate and maintain economic growth, rather than jumping right into regulatory reform and capital gains, etc.

The listener also might expect what kind of role they might have in all of this (given the opening), but we never bring the audience into the speech until the very end. Perhaps we could weave in more of their hopes and aspirations into what we are trying to achieve with some of our proposals. Any of them hope to start a business of their own? Come from a housing project?

I doubt any of them have a clue as to what Davis Bacon is. I'd drop that.

Tighten, give it some context, some ooomph. Points of light, make a difference to the world could be expanded to make it more Bush-like.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1991

91 MAY 9 P3:35

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS, DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: NELSON LUND
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Hampton University

At the request of Phillip D. Brady, Counsel's office has reviewed the captioned draft remarks.

(1) Our primary concern is with the reference on page 9 to the President's veto of the Kennedy-Hawkins bill last year. It seems unlikely that the President can deal with this issue effectively by mentioning his veto without giving any explanation or justification for it.

Unless necessary to respond to a protest or some such thing, it would seem better not to mention the veto at all. If, however, last year's veto must be mentioned, it may be advisable to insert the following in the last full paragraph on page 9:

> "That bill contained several worthwhile provisions, all of which are also included in the Civil Rights Bill I have proposed to Congress. But the bill I rejected had fatal flaws: some of its provisions would have needlessly stirred up animosity and resentment among various groups of workers -- other provisions were designed to enrich lawyers more than to assist victims -- and the costs of the bill would have fallen primarily on the small businesses that are the greatest source of new opportunities for all our citizens. I have said repeatedly that I want to sign a civil rights bill -- and I call on the Congress to act promptly on the proposal I have submitted."

(2) The President has received a letter from Hampton's President, urging the President to use this occasion to call for a civil rights "summit." We recommend against adopting this suggestion.

(3) Page 8, first full paragraph, first line. The word "even" seems inappropriate since there is nothing extraordinary or even novel about our support for Davis-Bacon reform. In addition, it might make sense to move this paragraph so that it follows the paragraph on page 7 about the recent gains by minority business.

The logical link is that we are attacking this archaic law that is inhibiting further gains by minority enterprises.

Counsel's office appreciates having had the opportunity to review this draft address.

cc: Phillip D. Brady
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 9 P2:15

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
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SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: See comments

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

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

It's been rumored that I will come here and tell Hampton Graduates "what to do." Nothing could be further from the truth. Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but defined by economic competition.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. Hampton graduates go to work for many

of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

You understand that this nation's future in the international marketplace -- your future -- depends on how well we develop our most precious natural resource: the intelligence and ingenuity of the American people.

As a nation we develop that resource in two ways, education and economic growth. I will discuss both of those paths to opportunity today, and describe the ways in which they not only improve our workforce, but also strengthen the American spirit -- allow us to join hands in common cause and common interest, encourage a harmony of ambitions that drives out the bleak counsels of suspicion, hatred and despair.

Americans always have regarded education as the ladder of opportunity. We were the first nation on earth to provide universal education. The civil rights movement of the 1960s devoted great time and energy to ensuring equal educational opportunity. Our administration has picked up that challenge by developing a strategy for making a quality education available to every citizen who wants one.

Our America 2000 strategy involves four separate but related efforts. The first is to re-invent the school by encouraging people to take an active role in shaping school policies and creating the best school systems possible.

We have advocated educational choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children. This concept has generated a

lot of unnecessary controversy among educational organizations, but it has excited and ignited the hopes and ambitions of Americans, especially in large cities where the schools simply have failed. Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors choice, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it gives parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

Thirteen states have adopted choice proposals of various sorts, and a number of major cities have embraced the concept. The failure of Chicago's schools prompted Mayor Richard Daley to raise the possibility of school vouchers in his inaugural address this week. A poll by the Chicago Defender two days later found that 70 percent of the public liked the idea.

We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools -- one in each congressional district. The idea is to create ~~laboratories for~~ exemplars of educational excellence -- ~~role~~ models that other ~~systems~~ schools may want to follow.

We have called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches ~~makes~~ the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

This study employed a seriously flawed methodology

Scully
X5178

Census reports 55% spent on instruction in 1987-88 (latest data; but has no comparable data prior to 1987-88). The National Center for Ed. Statistics, using a different definition of instructional expenditures reports 54% in 1960 55% in 1980, 57% in 1970

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we ~~will not~~ cannot permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. [Once liberated from the monopoly that public schools with renewed dedication + effective leadership,

Important ↓

[Note: Do not play "choice" as an attack on public schools. That has not been the Administration message and is a harmful one. Scully x5178]

~~now enjoy,~~ we ~~will~~ can create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

scully Y5178

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The controversial budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs.

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.

In order to create opportunities for people who have few of them today, we also have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: We want to give people assets, sources of

permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

Note! This was proposed in FY92 Budget but DOL has not yet sent legislation to Congress Martin 4/96

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed shut opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They encourage consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to scurillous examples of race baiting. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny in the marketplace of ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in pursuit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 9 P3:54

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

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MAY 12, 1991
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DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

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RESPONSE:

See comments. Thanks.
Holly Williamson
5-9-91

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

Please note: (1) Final adjustments to the 1990 trade figures are to be released by the Census tomorrow. Commerce can provide them to us in the morning.

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
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May 8, 1991
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See Education's insert (A) (attached in back)

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See Education's insert (B) (attached in back)

We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools -- one in each congressional district. The idea is to create laboratories for educational excellence -- role models that other systems may want to follow.

We have called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, ~~not disciplined by competition~~ with no incentive to improve or compete with other schools, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches ~~makes~~ the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

√Spell out phonetically

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, [redacted], says "hi."//

(Hts)
Don't put her father's name in. Raises questions on the names etc. she will know who he is!

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. Once liberated from the monopoly that public schools

now enjoy, we will create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The controversial budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs.

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, ~~which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.~~

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permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. ~~Last year~~, exports accounted for ~~88~~ percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, ~~80~~ percent; Japan, ~~82~~ percent; the European Economic Community, by ~~87~~ percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They ~~encourage~~ require consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to ~~scurrilous examples of race baiting~~ Scare tactics. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

USTR — should not use "race baiting"

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny, ~~in the marketplace of ideas~~. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

Just the metaphor doesn't really work here.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

EDUCATION INSERTS - HAMPTON SPEECH

Substitute for the last full paragraph on page 2 of the draft:

A.

Our AMERICA 2000 strategy involves four distinct but related efforts. First, to make today's schools better and more accountable, for today's students. (Return to the text--"We have advocated educational choice....")

Substitute for the last two paragraphs on page 3 (beginning with "We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools..."):

B

The second part of the AMERICA 2000 education plan is to create a New Generation of American Schools. America's business community will support the research and development -- a half dozen or so research-and-development teams that will create new concepts, new designs, new and better approaches to schooling. Meanwhile, communities across the country will be asking themselves: "What do we, as a community, have to do to reach the national education goals?"

Communities that devise a plan to answer that question --and act on it -- will be designated as what we call AMERICA 2000 Communities. These communities will then get assistance from the R&D teams in creating their own one-of-a-kind, high-performance New American School.

For these New American Schools to succeed, and for communities to become AMERICA 2000 Communities, they will have to make sure that all children begin school ready to learn. That is the first of national education goals, and we must reach it. I remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which helps prepare children for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

The third part of the AMERICA 2000 strategy involves yesterday's students, today's workforce. We adults of America must become a Nation of students. We must set an example, we must show children that learning is important -- by going back to school, by learning a new skill or new knowledge, to get a better job or to lead a better life.

The fourth part of the strategy is to make our communities places where learning can happen. The AMERICA 2000 Communities competition is designed to do that. Also, we in the Federal government will be working with the States to do a better job of coordinating services to Americans in need. I'm talking about interagency collaboration. Providing assistance in ways that make a difference in people's lives.

Also, to improve our communities, we must all accept the responsibility. Personal responsibility -- and personal initiative -- are the heart and soul of AMERICA 2000.

Those are the four parts of the plan. It can -- and I believe it will -- help us reach our national education goals.

But to keep our efforts on course, we must find sound ways of measuring our progress. (return to the first full paragraph of the draft on page 4)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER RBP

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Commencement Exercises, Hampton University

We have reviewed the attached presidential remarks from a policy standpoint and have noted our comments on the attached draft.

Please let us know if you have any questions or if we may help in any other way.

I will call with some additional corrections.

Roger

cc: Phillip D. Brady

Document No. 23669588

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

~~It's been rumored that I will come here and tell Hampton Graduates "what to do." Nothing could be further from the truth.~~ Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. ~~Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that~~ you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a new and different world, a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but defined by economic competition. THIS IS THE WORLD I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. Hampton graduates go to work for many

of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

You understand that this nation's future in the international marketplace -- your future -- depends on how well we develop our most precious natural resource: the intelligence and ingenuity of the American people.

As a nation we develop that resource in two ways, education and economic growth. I will discuss both of those paths to opportunity today, and describe the ways in which they not only improve our workforce, but also strengthen the American spirit -- allow us to join hands in common cause and common interest, encourage a harmony of ambitions that drives out the bleak counsels of suspicion, hatred and despair.

Americans always have regarded education as the ladder of opportunity. We were the first nation on earth to provide universal education. The civil rights movement of the 1960s devoted great time and energy to ensuring equal educational opportunity. Our administration has ~~picked up that challenge~~ carried forward this tradition by developing a strategy for making a quality education available to every citizen who wants one.

Our America 2000 strategy involves four separate but related ~~efforts~~ themes. The first is to ~~re-invent the school by encouraging people to take an active role in shaping school policies and creating the best school systems possible~~ assure better and more accountable schools for today's students.

We have advocated educational choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children. This concept has generated a

lot of unnecessary controversy among educational organizations, but it has excited and ignited the hopes and ambitions of Americans, especially in large cities where the schools simply have failed. Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors ~~^choice~~ GOVERNMENT, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It ~~lets~~ ENABLES children from poor neighborhoods to enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it ~~gives~~ AFFORDS parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

Thirteen states have adopted choice proposals of various sorts, and ~~a number of~~ SEVERAL major cities have embraced the concept. The failure of Chicago's schools prompted Mayor Richard Daley to raise the possibility of school vouchers in his inaugural address this week. A poll by the Chicago Defender two days later found that 70 percent of the public liked the idea.

We also have challenged Americans to create A NEW GENERATION OF SCHOOLS FOR TOMORROW'S STUDENTS -- at least 535 New American Schools, one in each congressional district. The idea is to create laboratories for educational excellence -- role models that other systems ~~may~~ WILL want to follow.

AND FINALLY, THE FOURTH PART OF OUR STRATEGY

~~We have~~ called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

WE NEED TO ADD THIRD THEME: "TEAMS FORMING AMERICA INTO A NATION OF STUDENTS."

 WE MUST MAKE OUR COMMUNITIES PLACES WHERE LEARNING CAN HAPPEN.

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

~~Finally~~, also we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress IN EDUCATION AS WE STRIVE TO MEET THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches makes the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial school system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures THAT ARE one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

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Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

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~~now enjoy, we will~~ create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best ~~suit~~ MEET local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma. ~~That's when the real life of the mind begins.~~ BUT MUST CONTINUE AS A LIFELONG PROCESS.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

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themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

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But more importantly, we ~~will try to~~ must remove the barriers that prevent people with ~~good~~ innovative ideas from making them available to us all. The ~~programs~~ initiatives I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny in the marketplace of ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

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You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Document No. 236695SS ✓was FAXed for the files

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 10 A8:53

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See attachment

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

FAXed to Christina 2:00pm 5/9

DD comments on Hampton speech in no particular order

In general, the speech is flat and themeless. It has a good opening on the first page or so but never rises to the statement of "discuss the new world that you ...." Instead it reiterates the education proposal, and then a series of loosely hung together domestic proposals under the rubric of economic growth. However, it's a mixed bag that is offered -- with no common philosophical underpinning to the propositions that a) a cap gains cut is good for economic growth just as b) our housing initiative is good for economic growth.

Sununu suggests a cut of about a third. We might start with reducing the education initiative from four pages to two.

To link the economic pieces together there needs to be a segue from the education section that builds some context for a discussion of economics -- one that perhaps talks philosophically about what it takes to generate and maintain economic growth, rather than jumping right into regulatory reform and capital gains, etc.

The listener also might expect what kind of role they might have in all of this (given the opening), but we never bring the audience into the speech until the very end. Perhaps we could weave in more of their hopes and aspirations into what we are trying to achieve with some of our proposals. Any of them hope to start a business of their own? Come from a housing project?

I doubt any of them have a clue as to what Davis Bacon is. I'd drop that.

Tighten, give it some context, some ooomph. Points of light, make a difference to the world could be expanded to make it more Bush-like.

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

It is a real pleasure to join you today. As you know, Hampton University has long ties with the presidency. And I am proud to note that of the nine presidents who have visited your campus, eight have been Republicans.

It's been rumored that I will come here and tell Hampton Graduates "what to do." Nothing could be further from the truth. Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Rather than preaching to you, I would like to discuss the new world that you -- and all this year's college graduates -- will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but defined by economic competition.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. The broad waters that surround you flow directly into the Atlantic Ocean, and businesses in this area look abroad for markets and opportunities. More than 100 firms in the Hampton Roads region conduct business beyond our borders; they employ more than 11,000 workers. Hampton graduates go to work for many

of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

You understand that this nation's future in the international marketplace -- your future -- depends on how well we develop our most precious natural resource: the intelligence and ingenuity of the American people.

As a nation we develop that resource in two ways, education and economic growth. I will discuss both of those paths to opportunity today, and describe the ways in which they not only improve our workforce, but also strengthen the American spirit -- allow us to join hands in common cause and common interest, encourage a harmony of ambitions that drives out the bleak counsels of suspicion, hatred and despair.

Americans always have regarded education as the ladder of opportunity. We were the first nation on earth to provide universal education. The civil rights movement of the 1960s devoted great time and energy to ensuring equal educational opportunity. Our administration has picked up that challenge by developing a strategy for making a quality education available to every citizen who wants one.

Our America 2000 strategy involves four separate but related efforts. The first is to re-invent the school by encouraging people to take an active role in shaping school policies and creating the best school systems possible.

We have advocated educational choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children. This concept has generated a

lot of unnecessary controversy among educational organizations, but it has excited and ignited the hopes and ambitions of Americans, especially in large cities where the schools simply have failed. Polls indicate that 62 percent of the American public favors choice, and that 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones; it gives parents the responsibility and freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters; it frees students from the tyranny of poor education.

Thirteen states have adopted choice proposals of various sorts, and a number of major cities have embraced the concept. The failure of Chicago's schools prompted Mayor Richard Daley to raise the possibility of school vouchers in his inaugural address this week. A poll by the Chicago Defender two days later found that 70 percent of the public liked the idea.

We also have challenged Americans to create at least 535 New American Schools -- one in each congressional district. The idea is to create laboratories for educational excellence -- role models that other systems may want to follow.

We have called upon communities and businesses to work together in fostering and improving the quality of education: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other problems that make it difficult to educate our students; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing

continuing education programs at the workplace. We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. Indeed, at least one graduate in this year's nursing class, Margorie Scott, attended the Head Start program in Newport News.

Finally, we want to find sound ways of measuring our progress. If we want to compete effectively in the world economy, our students must do better. The Educational Testing Service reports that our 13-year-olds ranked last among the students of eleven industrialized nations in math and near the bottom in science. Worse, our students seem to become less competitive as they get older. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement indicates that while our fifth graders ranked eighth out of 17 nations in science achievement, our ninth graders ranked 14th, and our 12th graders ranked last in biology, 11th in chemistry and 9th in physics.

Too many schools, not disciplined by competition, have become money burners. Teacher salaries as a percentage of total educational expenditures in elementary and secondary schools have fallen from 55 percent in 1955 to 40 percent today. One recent study indicated that less than one third of the money spent on education in New York City actually reaches makes the classroom. The bulk goes to a 4,000-person educational bureaucracy. At the same time, the city's parochial system outperforms the public schools, despite having only one-hundredth as many administrators

per pupil and per-pupil expenditures one-sixth the size of those in the city schools.

In an age in which this nation needs to develop the minds and imaginations of all its citizens, we cannot afford school systems that don't do their jobs -- and we will not permit the further deterioration of educational quality in the places that most need it -- our rural areas and our inner cities.//

As I leave the topic of education, I would like to pass on a message to another of your graduates. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father, Larry Lynch, says "hi."//

No one can place a price on this kind of love and commitment, and yet this kind of caring plays a vital role in our future. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, keep in mind that we go nowhere without the support of people who love and believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is to cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and to return the favor whenever you can.

Our educational proposals all grow out of an article of faith: that the American people truly, deeply care about education. Once liberated from the monopoly that public schools

now enjoy, we will create the finest schools in the world. We aren't interested in look-alike schools: We want communities to build institutions that best suit local needs and best exploit local strengths.

Furthermore, as our American 2000 strategy notes: Education should not end when you collect your diploma: That's when the real life of the mind begins.

We in government can help improve the quality of that life by trying to stimulate economic growth and job opportunity. Throughout history, we find that communities united by common interest prosper more and fight less than those divided by envy or the desire for conquest. This is true not only on an international scale, but also within nations.

We want to build a society in which everyone has a chance to succeed on the basis of his or her merits. To that end, we have worked vigorously to stamp out the residues of discrimination, particularly in the workplace. But we also have tried to plant the seeds of long-term economic growth.

Our regulatory reform proposals, for instance, try to liberate people from red tape and unnecessary regulation. [Insert a couple of glaring examples, to be provided by the vice president's office].

The controversial budget agreement we signed last year at last restrains the growth of federal spending -- thus providing hope that citizens will be able to spend more time working for

themselves and their families, and less time laboring to pay the tax bill.

Our administration repeatedly has pushed for a cut in the capital gains tax, which -- contrary to what political propagandists say -- is not a tax break for the rich. It removes a tax on wealth that has yet to be created -- such as the wealth you will create when you enter the work world. The capital gains tax punishes people for creating wealth and opportunities. It is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

Black-owned businesses in the United States grew nearly 40 percent in the five years following the 1982 capital gains reduction. The number of businesses owned by women increased 56 percent. The growth in such businesses has fallen off since Congress raised the capital gains rate again in 1987.

In a world in which our competitors tax capital gains lightly or not at all, it really makes no sense to tax our own dreamers, innovators, entrepreneurs.

Our economic package also strengthens our banking system, giving it the freedom to create new products and to compete with foreign banks, which can set up business virtually anywhere and can perform a wide range of financial services.

In order to create opportunities for people who have few of them today, we also have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the promise of home ownership to people who now live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: We want to give people assets, sources of

permanent wealth, and not just consumable scraps of paper. Our welfare policies ought to promote independence, not dependency -- and HOPE offers a great place to start.

We even have proposed reforming Davis-Bacon labor restrictions, which have helped freeze small and minority businesses out of the competition for federal construction contracts. This archaic law has slammed opportunity's door long enough: We need to open all our businesses to free and fair competition.

Finally, we have worked aggressively to expand world trade. As the world economy grows, our export capabilities will play an ever more important role in our future. Last year, exports accounted for 88 percent of our economic growth, and reduced trade barriers in places such as Mexico have produced great dividends for us -- and for our trading partners.

Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and our exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Economic Community, by 87 percent.

Our administration has asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Fast track procedures allow us to build ties of good faith with Congress and with our trading partners. They encourage consultation between the administration and Congress; they build faith with our trading partners by assuring them that we will not alter agreements that negotiators have reached at the

bargaining table. They ensure that Congress will vote yes-or-no on the exact agreements our negotiators have reached.

Most Americans appreciate the value of free trade, and fast track is a vital tool in helping us create free and fair trade around the globe. Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have tried to derail fast track by resorting to scurillous examples of race baiting. Some have suggested, for example, that a free trade agreement with Mexico would somehow jeopardize American health, and poison food and water along our border areas with Mexico.

I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

I know some of you had intended to mount a protest today against my veto of the 1990 Civil Rights bill. Let me say simply that the best civil rights policy is one that not only knocks down barriers to discrimination, but also opens up doors of opportunity and prosperity. We will seek out and convict those guilty of discrimination wherever we can. [figures from Justice on the number of discrimination prosecutions]

But more importantly, we will try to remove the barriers that prevent people with good ideas from making them available to us all. The programs I have discussed today give every American,

white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny in the marketplace of ideas. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. Rather than trying to create racial or class animosities, they try to give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

I really believe that Americans more than ever share the desire to make ours a true land of opportunity. Poll numbers show it. Community activities demonstrate it. The appearance of thousands and thousands of what I call points of light -- people who serve their communities -- prove it.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the civil rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue a common cause, a right cause -- in purusit of the goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice.

We have learned a great deal about what works and doesn't work in educating students, creating jobs, knocking down barriers of discrimination. We also have gained a fuller appreciation of the fact that the free enterprise system creates more than mere products. It really does create a special spirit of cooperation.

Today, as you take your diplomas, you acquire responsibilities and opportunities. You will have a chance to learn from past policy successes and failures. You will have a chance to improve schools, build new businesses, and wrestle with

the truly exciting opportunities that abound in the post-Cold War world.

I encourage you to make the most of the chances you have. Work hard. Build strong, committed families. Serve your communities. And most of all, do not flinch from the tough challenges the work world will present to you.

You would not be here if you were not intelligent and industrious. Your college education provides you with a good start to life. Now, make it work as only you can.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

3454

Document No. 236695SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/8/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/9/91 2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	BOSKIN	☑	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 2:00 p.m., THURSDAY, MAY 9, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

91 MAY 9 P8:12

RESPONSE:

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW May 9, 1991

The NSC staff concurs with the presidential remarks as amended. The suggestions include changes recommended by the State Department.

Brent Scowcroft

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

cc: Phillip D. Brady

RECEIVED
91 MAY 9 A 9:45

91 MAY -8 PM 6:11

Snow/Dooley
Draft One
May 8, 1991
HAMPTON.TS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

[Introductory acknowledgments]

[jokes]

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of these institutions, including AT&T, Panasonic, Johnson & Johnson and IBM.

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I can think of no more powerful way to contrast the difference between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Just as a growing economy fosters racial harmony and shared national purpose, a world economy stimulated by free trade builds ties of interest and affection with the rest of the world.

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To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

Snow/Dooley
Draft Four
May 11, 1991
HAMPTON.5

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, HAMPTON UNIVERSITY
MAY 12, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, President Harvey. Senator Warner. Congressman Bateman. Members of the university administration, and especially the Hampton University Class 1991.

One of the pleasures of coming here is getting to know your university president better. You all probably know that President Harvey is an avid tennis player. Really avid. When I shook his hand, he corrected my grip.//

Actually, I play both tennis and golf, and I've been described as a cross between Jack Nicklaus and Jimmy Connors. I play tennis like Nicklaus and golf like Connors.//

At any rate, it's a real pleasure to join you today. I am the ninth president to visit your campus. I'm proud to say that eight have been Republicans.

Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and well-being. Patricia Stevens Funderburk, whom you honor today, serves in our Department of Health and Human Services. [Patricia, congratulations.] Kay James also played an important role as an assistant secretary at HHS.

You all will make your marks in the world. Today, I would like to talk about the new world that you will enter. A world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but engaged in economic competition and international cooperation.

You in the Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. More than 100 firms in this region conduct business beyond our borders. When many of you leave this university, you will look to distant shores, places where you hope to spread American ingenuity -- your ingenuity.

You ought to be excited about your opportunities: I know I am. We stand on the verge of a new age of freedom. If we build upon our strengths, if we join hands as a people, we will build a nation and a future unlike any ever seen in human history.

Our first and greatest strength, of course, is our intelligence. And our greatest tool for developing that strength is our educational system.

But we have to be honest with ourselves: Our educational system has slipped in recent years. Test scores continue to fall. Dropout rates soar in many of our school systems. Businesses complain that some high school graduates don't have basic reading, writing or math skills.

Meanwhile, our elementary and high school students don't compare well to those in other industrial countries in math, science -- even U.S. geography.

We've got to do better. We ought to improve our schools the old-fashioned way: through commitment and competition. Our

America 2000 strategy tries to make a quality education available to every child -- and every citizen -- who wants to learn. We have challenged Americans to re-invent the American school -- not by turning the task over to experts in Washington -- but by inviting a nationwide competiton to create better schools.

The concept of choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children -- plays a role. Its time has come: Polls show that 62 percent of the American public favors choice. 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one. Choice means hope: It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as children from wealthier ones. It gives parents the freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters. It frees students from the tyranny of inadequate education.

We have encouraged communities and businesses to roll up their sleeves and help: communities, by taking on crime, hunger and other disturbances that make it almost impossible to learn. Businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing education programs at the workplace.

You've set a great example right here with Hampton Harbor. You've built a successful commercial/residential area. And you're turning the profits into student scholarships.

We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. It works.

The business of education is the business of creating a better world. A good education lets you see possibilities you would never have imagined before -- and reach them.

But education also is a labor of commitment and love. I recently got a letter from an Army Sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. He wrote: "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this; I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio [Bu-SILL-ee-oh], who will receive a Bachelor's of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts -- with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your father says "hi."//

Other parents here have written to me, and I want to thank you all. Nothing is more natural -- no feeling more fulfilling -- than having pride in your children. When I talk about educational choice, or educational reform, I always remember a crucial truth. We can't go anywhere without the support of people who love us -- who believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is this: Cherish those who give you this kind of lift -- and return the favor whenever you can.

Let me pause to honor Dinee [Di-KNEE] Riley, who has achieved the highest grade point average of anyone in this class. It's my privilege and honor today to hand you your diploma. //

[[[HAND HER A DIPLOMA]]]

Dinee [Di-KNEE], you and your classmates should be proud of your accomplishments. Now comes the challenging part: Making use of knowledge once you get out of school.

As a nation, we must give everyone a chance to make full use of their imagination and intelligence. Our administration does this by trying to remove barriers to progress.

We want to free people now trapped by self-doubt and despair. We have put together an ambitious housing reform package -- we call it HOPE -- which extends the dignity of home ownership to people who live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: Give people assets. Give them permanent wealth, not just consumable scraps of paper. Offer people independence. Don't hold them in the bondage of dependency. HOPE offers an ethic of encouragement. It encourages people to take an active part in building better lives for themselves -- for us all.

We must free people who have been held back by barriers of discrimination. This administration will fight discrimination vigorously. A kinder, gentler nation must not be gentle or kind to those who practice prejudice.//

We must free people bound by red tape and unnecessary regulation. Last year, Americans devoted 5.3 billion hours to filling out regulatory paperwork -- 5.3 billion hours! -- at a cost to the economy of $185 billion. This can't continue.

We must free people from punitive taxation, which takes money that might otherwise help buy a home, pay for a child's college education, establish a family nest-egg. The

controversial budget agreement we signed last year restrains the growth of federal spending. It offers hope that workers in the future will be able to spend less time working for the tax collecter and more time working for their families.

We must free people to create the next great invention. Our administration repeatedly has sought a cut in the capital gains tax -- a tax on the wealth you will create. The capital gains tax is a tax on ideas, on innovation, on the American dream.

But mainly, we must free ourselves from doubts and fears. We can't afford to hide from the rest of the world by erecting protectionist walls. If we want to learn, we have to compete. If we want to test ourselves, we have to compete. If we want to take full advantage of all the world's diverse cultures, ideas and innovations, we have to compete.

Our future lies in the world economy. Last year, exports accounted for 84 percent of our economic growth. Between 1986 and 1990, our exports to the rest of the world increased 73 percent, and exports to our major competitors grew even more: to Germany, 80 percent; Japan, 82 percent; the European Community, by 87 percent. We exported $673 billion in goods last year.

Our future depends on trade. We have asked Congress to extend the fast-track trade procedures that presidents have been able to use since 1974. Without fast track, we will have trouble moving forward with critical trade initiatives, including the Uruguay Round of GATT talks, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Enterprise for the Americas initiative.

Unfortunately, some opponents of free trade have resorted to slurs against our Mexican neighbors in hopes of derailing fast track. I can think of no more revealing contrast between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view. Prejudice usually is nothing more than a breed of cowardice. People afraid to test themselves, or to risk challenging their assumptions, hide behind restrictive laws and restrictive walls.

If we want to lead the post-Cold War world -- we must not build walls of prejudice and doubt. We must involve ourselves in the world around us. We must build ties of mutual interest and affection -- everywhere.

The same sentiments ought to guide us at home. In the end, prosperity requires trust. You cannot build a business if you spend all your time worrying being cheated, conned, attacked. True brotherhood represents the key to happiness -- and growth.

The programs I have discussed today give every American, white or black or brown, rich or poor or middle class, a fair chance to pursue his or her destiny. They try to harness the engine of ambition in service to the common good. They do not divide people along race or class lines; they give everyone a shared stake in everyone else's success.

We have a chance to rekindle the kind of optimism that characterized the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s -- one in which men and women of all races and backgrounds joined to pursue

goals we all hold dear: opportunity, prosperity, justice, freedom, tolerance.

Today, you assume responsibility for shaping an international commonwealth of freedom. Believe in yourselves. Trust in yourselves. Don't abandon your passion for ideas or causes. Work hard -- but serve your community. Attend to the thousands of tiny deeds that constitute a good and decent life: Treat yourself well and respect others. Be a point of light. Build a truly Good Society.

To you, and to the friends and families who have supported you over the years -- congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Hampton, Virginia)

For Immediate Release May 12, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT HAMPTON UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Armstrong Field
Hampton University
Hampton, Virginia

10:40 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. President Harvey, Senator Warner, and Congressman Bateman, and members of the University administration, and especially the Class of 1991. (Applause.) May I thank the class president, Carvel Lewis, for his remarks; pay my respects to the faculty, and to Mr. Dillard and this magnificent choir.

My first exposure to music at Hampton was in the year either 1935 or 1936, when one of your predecessor singing groups came to Eastern schools. And this is a magnificent tradition of Hampton.

And let me say to those who graduated 50 years ago, you don't look so old to me. (Laughter.)

One of the pleasures of coming here is getting to know your university president better. You know, President Harvey is an avid tennis player. Really avid. When I shook his hand he corrected my grip. (Laughter.)

At any rate, it's a real pleasure to join with you today. I'm the ninth President to visit your campus -- and I might say that eight of them have been Republicans. (Laughter.)

Hampton is an elite institution. It boasts the largest endowment of any historically black college or university in the United States. Its graduates contribute daily to our national progress and national well-being. Patricia Stevens-Funderburk, Hampton '71, whom you honor today, serves in our Department of Health and Human Services. Patricia, congratulations to you for this fine award. (Applause.)

As President Harvey said and Carvel said, you all will make your marks in the world. And today I'd like to talk about the new world that you will enter -- a world no longer divided by superpower confrontation, but engaged in economic competition and int[illegible]

You in this magnificent Hampton Roads area understand this world better than most. More than 100 firms in this region conduct business beyond our borders. And when many of you leave this university, you'll look to distant shores, places where you hope to spread American ingenuity -- your ingenuity.

You ought to be excited about your opportunities. I know that I am. We stand on the verge -- if you look around the world you'll understand this -- we stand on the verge of a new age of freedom. If we build upon our strengths, if we join hands as a people, we will build a nation and a future unlike any ever seen in human history.

Our first and greatest strength, of course, is our intelligence, and our greatest tool for developing that strength is

our educational system. But we have to be honest with ourselves: Contrary to your tradition of excellence, our educational system as a whole has slipped in recent years. Test scores continue to fall. Dropout rates soar in many of our school systems. Businesses complain that some high school graduates don't have the basic reading, writing or math skills. And meanwhile, our elementary and high school students don't compare well to those in other industrial countries in math, science, and even in American geography.

We've got to do better. We ought to improve our schools the old-fashioned way -- through commitment and competition. Our America 2000 strategy tries to make a quality education available to every child and every citizen who wants to learn. We have challenged Americans to reinvent the American school -- not to improve it, but to reinvent it -- not by turning the task over to experts in Washington, but by inviting a nationwide competition to create better schools.

The concept of choice -- letting parents choose schools for their children -- plays a role. Its time has come. Polls show that 62 percent of the American public favor choice, and 72 percent of minority Americans advocate choice in the schools.

This should surprise no one, because choice means hope. It lets children from poor neighborhoods enroll in the same schools as our children from wealthier ones. It gives parents the freedom to find good schools for their sons and daughters. It frees students from the tyranny of inadequate education.

We've encouraged communities and businesses to roll up their sleeves and help; communities, by taking on crime and hunger and other disturbances that make it almost impossible to learn; businesses, by contributing expertise to local schools and by developing education programs at the workplace. You've set a great example right here with Hampton Harbor. You've built a successful commercial residential area, and you're turning the profits into student scholarships.

We remain committed to such programs as Head Start, which help prepare young students for school. It works. As long as I'm President, it will be adequately funded and it will keep on working. (Applause.)

The business of education is the business of creating a better world. A good education lets you see possibilities you would never have imagined before, and reach them. But education is also a commitment of labor of love.

I recently got a letter from an Army sergeant serving in Saudi Arabia. He talked about his daughter. And he wrote, "I am very proud of her and would like for her to know this: I am thinking of her even as I sit in the Gulf, serving my country."

Nilka Bacilio, who will receive a Bachelor of Science from the School of Education and Liberal Arts, with honors in Therapeutic Recreation -- your dad says, "Hi." (Applause.)

Other parents here have written me, and I want to thank you all. Nothing is more natural, no feeling more fulfilling than having pride in your kids. And when I talk about educational choice or educational reform, I always remember a crucial truth: We can't go anywhere without the support of the people who love us, who believe in us. And if there is any advice I can give today, it is this: Cherish those who give you this kind of lift, and return the favor whenever you can. (Applause.)

Speaking of educational excellence, let me pause now to honor Dinee Riley, who has achieved the highest grade point average of anyone in this class. (Applause.) It is my privilege and honor to hand her her diploma -- a biology major, 3.95. (Applause.) What a magnificent record. Dinee, you and your classmates should be proud of your accomplishments. And now comes the challenging part, making

use of knowledge once you get out of school.

As a nation, we must give everyone a chance to make full use of their imagination and intelligence. Our administration does this by trying to remove barriers to progress. We want to free people now trapped by self-doubt and despair.

We've put together an ambitious housing reform package. We call it HOPE, which extends the dignity of home ownership to people who live in public housing communities. The idea is simple: Give people assets; give them permanent wealth, not just consumable scraps of paper; offer people independence; don't hold them in the bondage of dependency. HOPE offers an ethic of encouragement. It encourages people to take an active part in building better lives for themselves, for us all.

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To you, and to the friends and especially the families who have supported you over the years, congratulations. Thank you for letting me share in your commencement exercises. And may God bless you and God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END 11:00 A.M. EDT