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OA/ID Number: 13569
Folder ID Number: 13569-007

Folder Title:
West Point Commencement 6/1/91 [OA 6033]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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91 MAY 30 A10: 53

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 1991

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

FROM: LEE S. LIBERMAN *LSL*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: West Point Speech

In addition to Nelson's comments, I had a few suggestions on the speech which I have not discussed with Boyden and which mainly go to avoiding charges of insensitivity. I give them to you for your consideration, but you should ignore them if you think they are a bad idea.

P. 4, last paragraph: replace Nelson's (and your) first sentence with the following:

It may be an overstatement to say that in the Army -- or even here at West Point -- that one day has arrived. But today's military comes closer to reflecting King's dream than almost any other society I know of. From the time President Truman ended the segregation of the Armed Services to today, the American military has led the nation in proving that people of different races can live together in a society based on mutual respect.

P. 9, first full paragraph, first sentence: although the rhetoric is powerful, I think the attack on "the politics of the angry fist" would be perceived as an insult to the civil rights movement itself, and is not worth the controversy it would engender. The sentence works, although not as well, by deleting "of the angry fist" and the dashes, putting everything on the list that follows in the plural, deleting the "the's" and replacing them with "of's".

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 30 All : 04

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *See comments. Thanks,
Noly Williamson
5-30-91*

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

CLOSE HOLD

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and ^e Impossible Dream. // ✓

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race^{or religion or gender?} Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as ^{symbolic representatives of any race, religion or gender} ~~tokens of a community~~, but as ^{Americans} people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. ^{And while some day this kind of counting will be passé,} The Army and West Point do not

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Justice)

The quotes should be removed - those were not MKKIS exact words.

recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve ^{nation wide} what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. ^{And to assure that end,} ~~Above~~ ^{all}, we must combat the racial ^{mistrust} ~~suspicion~~ ^{too often} that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage

exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people ^{assaulted} ~~maimed~~ / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal ^{hostility} ~~rage~~. //

Racial suspicion ^{torments} ~~inspires~~ stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." //

He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could ^{open} ~~throw~~ wide her heart. //

They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small ^{helpings.} ~~doles~~. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Labor)

These are all examples that convey up ideas of what the Blacks did to the Whites in the 60's -- rather than give examples of the injustices on Black (i.e.) Cross burning, not able to vote etc... Secretary Martin thinks this will inflame rather than soothe. Not sensitive enough to Blacks.

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Justice)

(Justice)

✓
(Labor)
Sec. Martin
a right be

said how can
be redistributed?
A right
is something inherent -
you either have it
or you do not.

~~Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights.~~

They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

✓
(Education)
Is this a
count toward
segregation?
If so,
you might
not want
to use the
example.

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores
 as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may
 not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as
 "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage
 to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that
 blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / ~~Race-norming is, in~~
~~fact, race-baiting.~~ It drives Americans apart instead of
bringing them together. //

✓
 (Labor) FOIA
 Sec. Martin
 do not use
 the words
 "race-baiting"

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to
 adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long
 ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for
 doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat
 them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action.
 To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of
 numbers upon employers. To me, ^{true} affirmative action expresses a → (A)
 duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for
 individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action
 should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it
 should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values
 / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

Justice
 (A)

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned,
 realistic, measured manner. / ^{Our Amer. 2000 Education Strategy is promoting educational choice.}
~~We have promoted educational choice.~~
 This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than
 having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

Education
 It would
 be nice
 to get
 in the
 words
 "Amer. 2000"

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sow the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- ^{mandate} ~~impose~~ equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and ^{gender} ~~sex~~ in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every ^{man & woman} ~~American~~, regardless of ✓
(labor) race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

#

Some general comments from Secretary Martin:

1. You need to get the word "women" mentioned more in the speech. A lot of places you say "Americans" -- maybe interchange that for "men + women."
2. ~~As cited~~ ^{As cited} on page 5, Secretary Martin felt, throughout the speech, there was not enough sensitivity shown to the Blacks, and that tone was one sided. She felt this would inflame the situation rather than soothe ~~the~~ the Black community.

Please also note: We asked Secretary Sullivan to review this as well. They told me we'd have his comments by noon. I will bring them to you asap. Thx HW

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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RESPONSE:

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

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U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
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((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

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technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as tokens of a community, but as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

Racial suspicion inspires stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

This opens us up for criticism, as we still have
the GRE test which is practiced in 33 states
by the Labor Dept.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.

/ Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores
as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may
not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as
"race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage
to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that
blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in
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bringing them together. //

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ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for
doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat
them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action.
To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of
numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action expresses a
duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for
individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action
should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it
should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values
/ affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned,
realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice.
This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than
having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

CRITICAL

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
 TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT

On Saturday May 30th at 10:00 a.m., you will deliver the commencement speech (approximately 17 minutes, teleprompted) in the United States Military Academy's Michie Stadium. You will be introduced by Superintendent General Palmer; you acknowledge him and General Vuono. The 20-25,000 attendees include graduating cadets, their families and friends.

Your remarks briefly examine the American Character, and what makes it unique -- self-reliance, creativity, devotion to freedom, faith, and generosity. You then begin a larger discussion on civil rights, stressing the importance of "character," not "color." You focus on how this approach has given us an army that is not only effective, but also one of the most integrated institutions in the country. You discuss the dangers of quotas and race norming, and call attention to the merits of your 1991 Civil Rights Bill. Other means of empowering the individual are highlighted as necessary to equality of opportunity.

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Nine
9 p.m.
WEST.TS3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. Secretary Stone, General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he said, "in the evening of my memory, always I come back to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((You know, it's really something to look out over this outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

We meet this morning not as members of opposing teams -- but as one people called Americans. / Americans who know that -- like the memorial at Pearl Harbor, or the Air Force Academy, its

silhouette reaching toward the sky -- this ground at West Point reflects our deepest values, and our principles as a country. //

Look around you here -- at the majestic cadet chapel / at the four statues in the mess hall / at sites that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one decade to another. // Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

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

Today, I wish to talk of the American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. //

This character has many elements, the first and foremost of which is our devotion to freedom. The love of liberty drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not fibrillating.)) // A central tenet of this devotion -- freedom of religion -- creates a special place for values, for morals, for worshipping faiths and causes larger than ourselves./

Next, our character bursts with self-reliance and creativity -- two qualities that propel us from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow.

Indeed, to this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // American technology and know-how put them there.//

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

You at West Point have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds, people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or national origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race and religion? No. You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as white, black, red, or brown but as one people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency and respect. Martin Luther King dreamed of an America in which one day our children "will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of

their character." In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. //

In the years since the Army became a volunteer force, it has become a model for what happens when you combine strict rules of equal opportunity and equal treatment with high entrance standards and high expectations. / As a result, we have the best educated military in our history. The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled -- as has the number of minority supervisors. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. //

Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Laos. Yet the Army and West Point do not recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any country could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve nationally what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / To assure that end, we must destroy the racial mistrust that threatens our national character as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. / We all have seen images of rage exploding in America: the assaults / the burning crosses / the stores destroyed by vandals / the flashing lights and nightsticks. Too often, these tragedies occur because one person reads motives into the color of another's skin -- or uses race as an easy excuse for unleashing rage and fury. //

We also have seen the little examples of mistrust: avoiding strangers simply because of the color of their skin; resorting to patronizing or demeaning stereotypes. Racial mistrust can cause stranger to hate stranger -- hurling people of all colors into mindless conflict. // We cannot afford to let it continue. We must identify and overcome discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- which rips the fabric of our society.

Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s deplored intolerance / demanded equality / and knew that only opportunity could sustain America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. They knew, too, as we do, that government can only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in tiny doses. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / That approach dehumanizes each of us; demeans us. What it demands -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony. //

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to mere statistics. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster who was ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with room for everyone -- everyone, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he is black.

Last year I vetoed a so-called "civil rights" bill that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race, it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have promoted division.

This year some in Congress have returned to the issue with a bill that would do more of the same. It even has a provision that claims to outlaw quotas, but in truth makes them virtually inevitable.

Here's another interesting thing. If you listen closely, you will hear supporters of this bill boast that the measure makes it easier for people to sue others.

Is that the road to harmony?

No. / It invites strife without getting at the heart of the matter. The same is true for other practices that make discord their bequest. / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look

at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the system known as "race norming," which seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers -- but instead contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or Hispanics just can't compete. / Race norming is, in fact, race baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

This is not the way to achieve justice and equality. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to the "better angels of their nature."

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To me, true Affirmative Action expresses a duty of citizenship -- good-faith efforts to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit -- to give people of humble means and real potential a chance. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements or informal quotas. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

That is why our Administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. We have called for a revolution in education with our America 2000 strategy. We have tried to reform the public housing system -- turn it into an ownership system -- with a program we call HOPE. We have proposed enterprise zones, to plant seeds of growth amid the ruins of crumbling cities and

dusty rural areas. / We have offered tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. We have advocated community opportunity areas -- to shift power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family.//

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

In that spirit, consider our civil rights package. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill would forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas or facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This Administration will strike at discrimination wherever it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- all kinds of prejudice. // Yet laws and lawsuits cannot create true harmony. True civil rights ultimately depend on the everyday deeds of normal citizens -- not on edicts issued from on high. I have spoken this morning of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure

unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

So let us cast off the politics of division -- the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, sex, color, background, or political affiliation to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let's build a society in which people respect each other, work with -- not against -- each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character. //

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

You know, many of the servicemen and women who performed brilliantly during Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm have become points of light at home. // They have returned to their own communities and urged young people to follow their lead -- to work hard -- stay in school -- stay away from drugs.

Let's thank those who have taken this message back to schools and communities. // And let's vow to do more. // I encourage all of you to become points of light. Visit a school or a recreation center or a place of worship and share some of your lives and experiences. / I ask communities to invite these wonderful men and women to speak at schools and other forums. //

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(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Eight
3 p.m.
WEST.TS2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

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That is why our Administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. We have called for a revolution in education with our America 2000 strategy. We have tried to reform the public housing system -- turn it into an ownership system -- with a program we call HOPE. We have proposed enterprise zones, to plant seeds of growth amid the ruins of crumbling cities and

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Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

#

WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

THANK YOU, GENERAL PALMER, FOR THAT INTRODUCTION.
SECRETARY STONE, GENERAL VUONO, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
FAMILIES, FRIENDS, AND CADETS OF THE CLASS OF 1991. //
IT IS AN HONOR TO BE HERE AT THIS SYMBOL OF "DUTY,
HONOR, COUNTRY" -- AND TO KNOW WHAT DOUGLAS MACARTHUR
MEANT WHEN HE SAID, "IN THE EVENING OF MY MEMORY,
ALWAYS I COME BACK TO WEST POINT." BARBARA AND I ARE
PROUD TO BECOME HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE LONG GREY LINE.
//

((YOU KNOW, IT'S REALLY SOMETHING TO LOOK OUT OVER
THIS OUTSTANDING MILITARY AUDIENCE. / NOW I KNOW HOW
BOB HOPE FEELS. / ALSO, LET ME SAY IT WAS GOOD OF YOU
TO INVITE A NAVY MAN TO SPEAK AT WEST POINT. I DIDN'T
WANT TO PRESS MY LUCK, SO I LEFT THE GOAT OUTSIDE.)) //

WE MEET THIS MORNING NOT AS MEMBERS OF OPPOSING
TEAMS -- BUT AS ONE PEOPLE CALLED AMERICANS. /
AMERICANS WHO KNOW THAT -- LIKE THE MEMORIAL AT PEARL
HARBOR, OR THE CHAPEL AT THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY, ITS
SILHOUETTE REACHING TOWARD THE SKY -- THIS GROUND AT
WEST POINT REFLECTS OUR DEEPEST VALUES AND PRINCIPLES. /

LOOK AROUND YOU HERE -- AT THE MAJESTIC CADET
CHAPEL / AT THE FOUR STATUES IN THE MESS HALL / ON
GROUNDS HALLOWED BY GENERATIONS OF MILITARY HEROES. /
THEIR LESSONS LIVE AS ORAL HISTORY -- PASSED FROM ONE
DECADE TO ANOTHER. // MILITARILY AND CULTURALLY /
MORALLY AND SPIRITUALLY / WEST POINT HAS ALWAYS BEEN A
METAPHOR FOR THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. //

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER INSPIRED GENERATIONS OF
IMMIGRANTS TO PUSH BACK THE WILDERNESS, ESTABLISH
SETTLEMENTS, AND SECURE INDEPENDENCE. / ONE GENERATION
PRESERVED THE UNION. / ANOTHER FOUGHT "THE WAR TO END
ALL WARS." / THE GENERATION OF YOUR PARENTS AND
GRANDPARENTS SHOWED THAT THE IRON CURTAIN COULD NOT
HOLD BACK AMERICA'S VALUES, AMERICA'S HOPES, AMERICA'S
EXAMPLE.//

TODAY, I WISH TO TALK OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER -- AND HOW IT MAKES OURS A GREAT NATION. THIS CHARACTER HAS MANY ELEMENTS, THE FOREMOST OF WHICH IS OUR DEVOTION TO FREEDOM. THE LOVE OF LIBERTY DRIVES OUR NATIONAL HEARTBEAT. // ((MIGHT I ADD: THAT BEAT IS REGULAR, NOT FIBRILLATING.)) // A CENTRAL TENET OF THIS DEVOTION -- FREEDOM OF RELIGION -- CREATES A SPECIAL PLACE FOR VALUES, FOR MORALS, FOR FAITHS AND CAUSES LARGER THAN OURSELVES. /

NEXT, OUR CHARACTER BURSTS WITH SELF-RELIANCE AND CREATIVITY -- TWO QUALITIES THAT PROPEL US FROM THE DRAWING BOARDS OF TODAY TO THE LAUNCHING PADS OF TOMORROW. INDEED, TO THIS DAY, THE ONLY FOOTPRINTS ON THE MOON ARE AMERICAN FOOTPRINTS. / THE ONLY FLAG ON THE MOON IS THE STARS AND STRIPES. //

FINALLY, WE DEFINE OUR CHARACTER THROUGH THE SERVICE WE RENDER TO OTHERS, BY ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELFARE OF OUR HOMES, FAMILIES, AND COMMUNITIES. WE MUST SERVE THOSE FOR WHOM THE AMERICAN DREAM STILL SEEMS AN IMPOSSIBLE DREAM. //

YOU AT WEST POINT HAVE ESTABLISHED AN EXAMPLE FOR
THE REST OF THE NATION. // HERE, PEOPLE MEASURE
OTHERS IN TERMS OF MERIT, HEART, AND WILL -- NOT CREED
OR SEX OR COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. //

LOOK TO YOUR LEFT. LOOK TO YOUR RIGHT. WHAT DO
YOU SEE? PEOPLE DIVIDED BY RACE AND RELIGION? NO.
YOU SEE YOUR FRIENDS -- AND YOUR FUTURE. YOU BELONG TO
A MILITARY THAT HAS SHOWN WHAT AMERICANS CAN DO WHEN
THEY SEE THEMSELVES NOT AS WHITE, BLACK, RED, OR BROWN
BUT AS ONE PEOPLE UNITED IN COMMON PURPOSE -- PULLING
FOR EACH OTHER, HELPING EACH OTHER, RELYING UPON EACH
OTHER -- AND GETTING THE JOB DONE. //

MORE THAN THREE DECADES AGO, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT RESHAPED A NATION BY APPEALING TO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. IT INVITED PEOPLE TO JOIN HANDS IN COMMON CAUSE AGAINST EVIL, TO BUILD A SOCIETY UPON COMMON DECENCY AND RESPECT. MARTIN LUTHER KING DREAMED OF AN AMERICA IN WHICH ONE DAY OUR CHILDREN WOULD "NOT BE JUDGED BY THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN, BUT BY THE CONTENT OF THEIR CHARACTER." IN THE ARMY -- AS HERE AT WEST POINT -- THAT "ONE DAY" HAS ARRIVED. //

AS CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN WROTE IN BROWN VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION, THE ROAD TO PROGRESS FOR THE VICTIMS OF PAST DISCRIMINATION IS EQUAL AND EXCELLENT EDUCATION. IN THE YEARS SINCE THE ARMY BECAME A VOLUNTEER FORCE, IT HAS FEATURED EQUAL AND EXCELLENT EDUCATION. / AS A RESULT, WE HAVE THE BEST EDUCATED MILITARY IN OUR HISTORY. THE PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY ENLISTED PERSONNEL HAS NEARLY DOUBLED -- AS HAS THE NUMBER OF MINORITY NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS. / THE NUMBER OF MINORITY OFFICERS HAS ALMOST TRIPLED. //

YOU MAY RECALL THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GULF WAR, SOME COMPLAINED THAT WE HAVE TOO MANY MINORITIES IN THE MILITARY. MY DISAGREEMENT COULD NOT BE MORE CLEAR: THE MILITARY IS THE GREATEST EQUAL-OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER AROUND. AS GEN. COLIN POWELL SAID AT THE TIME: WE HAVE NOTHING TO BE ASHAMED OF. AND WEST POINT CERTAINLY HAS PLENTY TO BE PROUD OF. //

YOUR CLASS BOASTS THE ONE THOUSANDTH BLACK GRADUATE OF THIS INSTITUTION; THE ONE THOUSANDTH FEMALE GRADUATE -- AND THE FIRST GRADUATE FROM AMONG THE HMONG PEOPLE OF LAOS. YET THE ARMY AND WEST POINT DO NOT RECRUIT MINORITIES. THEY RECRUIT SOLDIERS -- THE FINEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS ANY COUNTRY COULD EVER HAVE. //

AMERICA'S TASK IS TO ACHIEVE NATIONALLY WHAT WE CELEBRATE TODAY AT WEST POINT. WE MUST THINK OF OURSELVES NOT AS COLORS OR NUMBERS, BUT AS AMERICANS, AS BEARERS OF SACRED VALUES. / TO REACH THAT END, WE MUST DESTROY THE RACIAL MISTRUST THAT THREATENS OUR NATIONAL WELL-BEING AS MUCH AS VIOLENCE / OR DRUGS / OR POVERTY. / WE ALL HAVE SEEN IMAGES OF RACIAL VIOLENCE: VIVID PICTURES OF FIRE AND DESTRUCTION / FLASHING LIGHTS AND NIGHTSTICKS. BUT WE'VE ALSO EXPERIENCED LITTLE EPISODES OF MISTRUST: PEOPLE SLIPPING ACROSS THE STREET TO AVOID SOMEONE OF A DIFFERENT COLOR; OR PRESSING THEMSELVES WARILY INTO THE BACK OF AN ELEVATOR; THE PRACTICE OF DISTRUSTING STRANGERS BECAUSE OF THEIR RACE OR NATIONALITY; THE HABIT OF USING PATRONIZING OR DEMEANING STEREOTYPES. // LET'S NOT KID OURSELVES -- REGRETTABLY, RACISM AND BIGOTRY STILL EXIST IN THIS COUNTRY. BUT LET THERE BE NO DOUBT, THIS PRESIDENT AND THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL STRIKE AT DISCRIMINATION WHEREVER IT EXISTS. PREJUDICE AND HATE HAVE NO PLACE IN THIS COUNTRY, PERIOD. // THE REAL QUESTION FACING US IS NOT WHETHER TO FIGHT THESE EVILS, BUT HOW.

BLACK AND WHITE, THE GREAT CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS OF THE 1950S AND '60S DEPLORED INTOLERANCE / DEMANDED EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW. / GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY IS TO ENHANCE -- NOT REDISTRIBUTE -- OPPORTUNITY -- TO ENSURE THAT ALL PEOPLE GET A FAIR CHANCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR DREAMS./

TODAY, SOME TALK NOT OF OPPORTUNITY BUT OF REDISTRIBUTING RIGHTS. THEY WOULD PIT ONE GROUP AGAINST OTHER; ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO THINK OF OTHERS AS COMPETITORS, NOT COLLEAGUES.

THIS IS NOT THE WAY TO ACHIEVE JUSTICE AND EQUALITY. WE NEED TO ADOPT A MORE UNIFYING, MORAL AND NOBLE APPROACH. I LEARNED LONG AGO THAT IF YOU WANT SOMETHING DONE, GIVE SOMEONE A REASON FOR DOING IT. DON'T PUT THEM ON THE DEFENSIVE. DON'T BROW-BEAT THEM. APPEAL TO THE "BETTER ANGELS OF THEIR NATURE."

AS I SEE IT, THIS IS THE CONCEPT BEHIND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. TO ME, TRUE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EXPRESSES A DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP -- GOOD-FAITH EFFORTS TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUALS BASED ON MERIT -- TO REACH OUT AND CREATE TRULY EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED. / SOME THINK AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SHOULD INVOLVE A RUBIK'S CUBE OF WORKPLACE GUARANTEES. I BELIEVE IT SHOULD INSPIRE PEOPLE OF ALL RACES TO NURTURE AFFIRMATIVE VALUES / AFFIRMATIVE VIEWS OF THEMSELVES / AFFIRMATIVE LIVES.

THAT IS WHY OUR ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO A
COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK ON THE PROBLEMS FACING
DISADVANTAGED AMERICANS. WE HAVE CALLED FOR A
REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION WITH OUR AMERICA 2000 STRATEGY.
WE HAVE TRIED TO REFORM THE PUBLIC HOUSING SYSTEM --
TURN IT INTO AN OWNERSHIP SYSTEM -- WITH A PROGRAM WE
CALL HOPE. WE HAVE PROPOSED ENTERPRISE ZONES, TO PLANT
SEEDS OF GROWTH AMID THE RUINS OF CRUMBLING CITIES AND
DUSTY RURAL AREAS. / WE HAVE OFFERED TOUGH ANTI-CRIME
LEGISLATION -- BECAUSE NO AMERICAN IS FREE IF
IMPRISONED BY FEAR OF CRIME. WE HAVE ADVOCATED
COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY AREAS -- TO SHIFT POWER FROM THE
HEAVY HAND OF THE STATE TO THE HANDS THAT RUN THE HOME
AND RAISE THE FAMILY. //

THESE POLICIES GIVE POWER BACK TO THE PEOPLE -- AND
THEY MOVE US TOWARD ACHIEVING THE GOAL OF EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY.

THEY DO NOT -- CANNOT -- ENSURE EQUAL SUCCESS. //

IN THAT SPIRIT, CONSIDER OUR CIVIL RIGHTS PACKAGE. OUR ADMINISTRATION'S 1991 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WOULD FORBID CONSIDERATION OF FACTORS SUCH AS RACE AND SEX IN EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES. / IT WILL ENSURE THAT CONGRESS LIVES BY THE SAME RULES IT PRESCRIBES FOR OTHERS. / IT WILL NOT FORCE EMPLOYERS TO CHOOSE BETWEEN USING QUOTAS OR THE RISK OF COSTLY LITIGATION.

I KNOW THERE'S ANOTHER SO-CALLED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OUT THERE, BUT IT'S A QUOTA BILL -- REGARDLESS OF HOW ITS AUTHORS DRESS IT UP. IT INVITES PEOPLE TO LITIGATE, NOT COOPERATE. AND THAT IS NO WAY TO PROMOTE HARMONY.

CIVIL RIGHTS ULTIMATELY DEPEND ON THE EVERYDAY DEEDS OF NORMAL CITIZENS -- NOT ON EDICTS ISSUED FROM ON HIGH. I HAVE SPOKEN THIS MORNING OF HOW TO SUBSTITUTE THE LADDER OF PRIDE FOR THE CRUTCH OF DEPENDENCY. I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE RIGHTS OF NONE ARE SECURE UNLESS THE RIGHTS OF ALL ARE RESPECTED -- THAT ALL AMERICANS ARE EQUAL AND SHOULD BE TREATED EQUALLY. //

SO LET US CAST OFF THE POLITICS OF DIVISION -- THE TAUNT, THE THREAT, THE UNJUSTIFIED LAWSUIT, THE BULLYING. I INVITE EVERY AMERICAN, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, SEX, COLOR, BACKGROUND, OR POLITICAL AFFILIATION TO EMBRACE THE POLITICS OF THE EXTENDED HAND. LET'S BUILD A SOCIETY IN WHICH PEOPLE RESPECT EACH OTHER, WORK WITH -- NOT AGAINST -- EACH OTHER, AND STRIVE TO ILLUMINATE THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. //

TOMORROW, OUR SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, DR. LOUIS SULLIVAN, WILL ADDRESS THE HIGH SCHOOL IN HIS HOME TOWN OF BLAKELY, GEORGIA. WHAT'S UNUSUAL IS THAT HE WAS NOT PERMITTED TO ATTEND THAT SCHOOL WHEN HE WAS YOUNG. IT WOULD NOT ADMIT BLACK STUDENTS. HE OVERCAME THE BURDENS OF PREJUDICE TO BECOME AN ELOQUENT ADVOCATE OF GOOD EDUCATION AND SOUND VALUES. HE HAS FORGIVEN -- BUT HE -- AND WE -- CAN NEVER FORGET THE TERRIBLE THINGS THAT RACISM AND PREJUDICE CAN DO TO A LAND.

HERE AT WEST POINT, YOU'VE SHOWN THE ESSENCE OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER -- OPPORTUNITY BASED ON MERIT. NOW, LET US BUILD A "WE" -- NOT "ME" -- GENERATION -- BY CARRYING THE IDEALS OF THIS SCHOOL TO THE NATION AND THE WORLD. //

YOU KNOW, MANY OF THE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN WHO PERFORMED BRILLIANTLY DURING OPERATION DESERT SHIELD AND DESERT STORM HAVE BECOME POINTS OF LIGHT AT HOME. // THEY HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES AND URGED YOUNG PEOPLE TO FOLLOW THEIR LEAD -- TO WORK HARD -- STAY IN SCHOOL -- STAY AWAY FROM DRUGS.

LET'S THANK THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN THIS MESSAGE BACK TO SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES. // AND LET'S VOW TO DO MORE. // I ENCOURAGE ALL OF YOU TO BECOME POINTS OF LIGHT. VISIT A SCHOOL OR A RECREATION CENTER OR A PLACE OF WORSHIP AND SHARE SOME OF YOUR LIVES AND EXPERIENCES. / I ASK COMMUNITIES TO INVITE THESE WONDERFUL MEN AND WOMEN TO SPEAK AT SCHOOLS AND OTHER FORUMS. // YOU IN THE CLASS OF 1991 CAN SHOW THAT THE STORY OF THE GOOD SAMARITAN IS MORE THAN JUST AN OBJECT LESSON. IT'S PART OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. //

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, A SON OF WEST POINT, ONCE SAID, "THE SOLDIER, ABOVE ALL OTHER PEOPLE, PRAYS FOR PEACE, FOR HE MUST SUFFER AND BEAR THE DEEPEST WOUNDS AND SCARS OF WAR." // AMERICA'S MAGNIFICENT MILITARY HAS HELPED SECURE THE PEACE ABROAD. OUR CHALLENGE NOW IS TO HEAL THE WOUNDS AND SCARS AT HOME -- AND HELP THE EXTENDED HAND SPUR HARMONY AND BROTHERHOOD, NOT FACTION AND SUSPICION. //

LET US HONOR THE TRUE GRANDEUR OF AMERICA -- THE
DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. // YOU HERE AT WEST POINT
-- YOU ALL LEAD THE WAY. // THANK YOU, AND GOD BLESS
THIS SACRED LAND -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 31 10:54

DATE: 5/30/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY

SUBJECT: SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 MAY 30 PM 9:23

May 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT

On Saturday May 30th at 10:00 a.m., you will deliver the commencement speech (approximately 17 minutes, teleprompted) in the United States Military Academy's Michie Stadium. You will be introduced by Superintendent General Palmer; you acknowledge him and General Vuono. The 20-25,000 attendees include graduating cadets, their families and friends.

Your remarks briefly examine the American Character, and what makes it unique -- self-reliance, creativity, devotion to freedom, faith, and generosity. You then begin a larger discussion on civil rights, stressing the importance of "character," not "color." You focus on how this approach has given us an army that is not only effective, but also one of the most integrated institutions in the country. You discuss the dangers of quotas and race norming, and call attention to the merits of your 1991 Civil Rights Bill. Other means of empowering the individual are highlighted as necessary to equality of opportunity.

91 MAY 30 PM 10:30

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Ten
10 p.m.
WEST.TS3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. Secretary Stone, General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he said, "in the evening of my memory, always I come back to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((You know, it's really something to look out over this outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

We meet this morning not as members of opposing teams -- but as one people called Americans. / Americans who know that -- like the memorial at Pearl Harbor, or the chapel at the Air Force Academy, its silhouette reaching toward the sky -- this ground at

West Point reflects our deepest values, and our principles as a country. The lifetime contributions in public service by West Point graduates, in uniform and in civilian life, are a natural asset.//

Look around you here -- at the majestic cadet chapel / at the four statues in the mess hall / at sites that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one decade to another. // Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

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

Today, I wish to talk of the American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. //

This character has many elements, the first and foremost of which is our devotion to freedom. The love of liberty drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not fibrillating.)) // A central tenet of this devotion -- freedom of religion -- creates a special place for values, for morals, for worshipping faiths and causes larger than ourselves./

Next, our character bursts with self-reliance and creativity -- two qualities that propel us from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow.

Indeed, to this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // American technology and know-how put them there.//

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

You at West Point have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds, people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or national origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race and religion? No. You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as white, black, red, or brown but as one people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to

build a society upon common decency and respect. Martin Luther King dreamed of an America in which one day our children "will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. //

In the years since the Army became a volunteer force, it has become a model for what happens when you combine strict rules of equal opportunity and equal treatment with high entrance standards and high expectations. / As a result, we have the best educated military in our history. The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled -- as has the number of minority supervisors. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. //

Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Laos. Yet the Army and West Point do not recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any country could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve nationally what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / To assure that end, we must destroy the racial mistrust that threatens our national character as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. / We all have seen images of rage exploding in America: the assaults / the burning crosses / the stores destroyed by vandals / the flashing lights and nightsticks. Too

often, these tragedies occur because one person reads motives into the color of another's skin -- or uses race as an easy excuse for unleashing rage and fury. //

We also have seen the little examples of mistrust: avoiding strangers simply because of the color of their skin; resorting to patronizing or demeaning stereotypes. Racial mistrust can cause stranger to hate stranger -- hurling people of all colors into mindless conflict. // We cannot afford to let it continue. We must identify and overcome discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- which rips the fabric of our society.

Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s deplored intolerance / demanded equality / and knew that only opportunity could sustain America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. They knew, too, as we do, that government can only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in tiny doses. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / That approach dehumanizes each of us; demeans us. What it demands -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony. //

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to mere statistics. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster who was ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with room for everyone -- everyone, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he is black.

Last year I vetoed a so-called "civil rights" bill that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race, it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have promoted division.

This year some in Congress have returned to the issue with a bill that would do more of the same. It even has a provision that claims to outlaw quotas, but in truth makes them virtually inevitable.

Here's another interesting thing. If you listen closely, you will hear supporters of this bill boast that the measure makes it easier for people to sue others.

Is that the road to harmony?

No. / It invites strife without getting at the heart of the matter. The same is true for other practices that make discord their bequest. / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the system known as "race norming," which seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers -- but instead contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or Hispanics just can't compete. / Race norming is, in fact, race baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

This is not the way to achieve justice and equality. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to the "better angels of their nature."

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To me, true Affirmative Action expresses a duty of citizenship - - good-faith efforts to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit -- to give people of humble means and real potential a chance. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements or informal quotas. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

That is why our Administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. We have called for a revolution in education with our

America 2000 strategy. We have tried to reform the public housing system -- turn it into an ownership system -- with a program we call HOPE. We have proposed enterprise zones, to plant seeds of growth amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / We have offered tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. We have advocated community opportunity areas -- to shift power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family.//

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

In that spirit, consider our civil rights package. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill would forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas or facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This Administration will strike at discrimination wherever it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- all kinds of prejudice. // Yet laws and lawsuits cannot create true harmony. True civil rights ultimately depend on the everyday deeds of normal citizens -- not

on edicts issued from on high. I have spoken this morning of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

So let us cast off the politics of division -- the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, sex, color, background, or political affiliation to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let's build a society in which people respect each other, work with -- not against -- each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character. //

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

You know, many of the servicemen and women who performed brilliantly during Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm have become points of light at home. // They have returned to their own communities and urged young people to follow their lead -- to work hard -- stay in school -- stay away from drugs.

Let's thank those who have taken this message back to schools and communities. // And let's vow to do more. // I encourage all of you to become points of light. Visit a school or a recreation center or a place of worship and share some of your lives and experiences. / I ask communities to invite these

wonderful men and women to speak at schools and other forums. //

You in the Class of 1991 can show that the story of the Good Samaritan -- and its equivalents in all religions and ages -- is more than just an object lesson. It's part of the American Character. //

Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." //

America's magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Our challenge now is to heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion. //

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

#

CLOSE HOLD

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 29 P7:47

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

May 29, 1991

RESPONSE: The National Security Council staff has reviewed and concurs with recommended changes.

William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary

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

CLOSE HOLD

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

The lifetime contributions in public service by West Point graduates, in uniform and in civilian life, are a national asset.

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, (^{build homes} ~~establish colonies~~) -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- [~~and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world.~~] // ^a ~~This~~ character ^{that} grows naturally in our hearts, ~~and~~ ^{the} reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a ^{national passion for} ~~second ideal~~ -- ~~the~~ ^{the innovations of Benjamin Franklin} creativity as old as legends ^{of} Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert ^{Storm} ~~Home~~ have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow -- shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems an ~~and~~ Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point ~~/~~ have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not
gender, of creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see?
 People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see
 your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that
 has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see
 themselves ~~[not as tokens of a community, but]~~ ^a as people united in
 common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other,
 relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement
 reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It
 invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to
 build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an
 America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the
 color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has
 arrived. ^{years ago,} // ^{today's} ~~In the years since ours became a volunteer force,~~ ^{non-} ^{commissioned} ^{officers.}
 the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped
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 risen. ~~The number of minority members in the Army has grown to~~
~~nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000.~~ // The percentage of
 minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. ^{as has the number of minority} ^{supervisors} ^{non-} ^{commissioned} ^{officers.} [↑]
 minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the
 one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one
 thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among ^{non}
 the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

Racial suspicion inspires stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, ^{gender}~~sex~~, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." ^{I do to.} ~~I don't like it.~~ It is an ugly word. ^{that reduces} ~~But so is the reduction~~ of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as "race-norming." This system, ^{that} ~~which~~ seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action expresses a duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned, // and realistic, ~~measured~~ manner. We have promoted educational choice. This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

(lots of meaning for that word - many of them)

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and ~~sex~~ ^{gender} in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination ~~where~~ ^{wherever} it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

(1954 Brown vs Board of Education was truly landmark)

civil rights live and die with the ^{everyday} ~~normal~~ deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from ^{on high.} ~~high courts~~. I have spoken today of how ^{my goal to make} ~~to substitute the ladder of pride for the~~ our America ^{Free} ~~crutch of dependency~~ ^{if bias.} I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

#

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

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Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or ^{NATIONAL} origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? ~~[People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies?]~~ // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves ~~[not as tokens of a community, but]~~ as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // ~~In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security.~~ Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

IS THIS NOT A
MARTIN LUTHER
KING QUOTE?
ATtribution
NEEDED.

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MOST CRIME
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TODAY IS
DRUG-RELATED

INSERT A
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INSERT B
[
 Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word.] But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers.] //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ^{PROMOTED} ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores
 as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may
 not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as
 "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage
 to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that
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THEY WILL ATTEND.

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: ~~They~~ encourage businesses to sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - cannot -- ^{ENSURE} ~~impose~~ equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout ^{OUR} ~~the~~ legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a ~~thankless~~ choice between using quotas ^{OR} ~~and~~ facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights ^{ULTIMATELY DEPEND ON} ~~live and die with~~ the normal deeds of normal citizens, -- ~~not with edicts issued from high courts.~~ I have spoken today of how to substitute ^A ~~the~~ ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

MAY APPEAR DEFENSIVE IN VIEW OF HAMPTON COMMENCEMENT

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Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

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Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 MAY 30 9:54
May 30, 1991

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

THROUGH: C. BOYDEN GRAY *mb*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NELSON LUND *nl*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: West Point Academy
Graduation

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

(1) We recommend that changes along the following lines be included in the last paragraph on page 4:

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since the Army became a volunteer force, it has become a model for what happens when strict rules of equal opportunity and equal treatment are combined with high entrance standards and high expectations. Entrance standards have risen, in fact, to the point where all new recruits now have a high school education. At the same time, the percentage of minorities in the enlisted ranks has nearly doubled. / The percentage of minority officers has nearly tripled. // Blacks in particular have joined the Army -- and succeeded in the Army -- in numbers far exceeding their proportion of the population. The Army and West Point do not recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers. Those who have been saying that we need different standards, different tests, different expectations for minorities have been proven wrong. And a few months ago in the Persian Gulf, the whole world saw just how wrong they were.

(2) We also recommend that the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 7 be reworked along the following lines:

This is why our Administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans. The heart of that approach is educational reform. As Chief Justice Earl Warren emphasized in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the real key to progress for the victims of past discrimination is

equal and excellent education. Our experience with the all-volunteer Army -- where everyone now meets high standards of educational achievement -- shows that Chief Justice Warren was right on the mark.

The same high standards used by our military can and should be adopted in the civilian sector. But that can only happen if there are major improvements in our school systems. And that, in turn, can only happen through educational choice -- where parents choose schools for their children, rather than having government dictate the school to families. / We have also asked Congress to extend . . . [rest of paragraph stays the same]

Counsel's office appreciates having the opportunity to review these draft remarks.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 29 8:22

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

2015
585-2622

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as tokens of a community, but as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

Racial suspicion inspires stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action expresses a duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned, realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice. This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sow the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: ~~MAY 30~~ MAY 30 1991
9:37

TO:

Tony Snow

FROM:

CLARK KENT ERVIN
Office of National Service
Room 100, OEOB
x6266

(105)

- Action
- Your Comment
- Let's Talk
- FYI

*Attached are ONS'
Comments on the World Print
Speech.*

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

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CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

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((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

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Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

settlements

(colonies "has a pejorative connotation")

disadvantage

This is very confusing. Are we talking about a list of ideals or freedoms or what? We should pick a theme and stick with it. Is the paradigm for the speech "ideals" or "freedoms"?

pick a theme and stick with it. Is the paradigm for the speech "ideals" or "freedoms"?

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and ~~contribute out of generosity.~~ / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans ~~have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate.~~ //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves ~~also~~ by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of ~~our home,~~ our families, ^{and} our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems ^{the} and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

made service to those in need a hallmark of our national culture.

black and white or brown and red

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as tokens of a community, but as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

one

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and shared principles

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

based

by

100,000

better educated (keep the rhythm)

throughout our society

recruit minorities. They recruits ~~soldiers~~ -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, ~~as bearers of sacred values~~. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

?

Racial suspicion ^{instigates} ~~inspires~~ stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that ~~only~~ opportunity ^{to all} could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew ~~too~~ that government could only ~~enhance~~ -- ~~not~~ ^{help to} redistribute -- opportunity, ^{not guarantee outcomes} Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

??
I don't think you can inspire hatred.

provide called on America to provide

outcomes

emphasize our cosmetic differences, trivializing the

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we ~~dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood~~. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

ties that bind us

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

room for everyone

everyone

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, ^{other than} except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

Costly

So do other things which make that suspicion their request. ?

/ Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

with whites

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to their better selves.

the "kitchen angels of their nature"

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action ~~expresses a duty of citizenship~~ -- a duty to provide opportunity for

individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned, realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice. This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

We have defined "civil rights" more broadly than some of our critics

of opportunity based on merit

us

quotes

practice

and to ~~be~~ reflect

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted ~~anonymity~~. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents ~~real property, not just a scrap of paper.~~ *control over their own lives* / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to ~~see~~ the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation, ~~-- because no~~ *knowing that* American ^s ~~is free if imprisoned by fear of crime.~~ / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - ~~cannot~~ -- ~~impose~~ equal success. // In that spirit, ~~Consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider.~~ *It* Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill, *It* will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a ~~thankless~~ choice between ~~using~~ quotas and ~~facing~~ costly and ~~risky~~ litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

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suffer more from crime than those in neighborhoods

and should not dictate

Combat

Hobson's

consequence

But

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand.

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Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

all people are judged on their merits and not their skin color

just rhetoric

what does that mean?

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

#

✓
CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/28/91

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
(05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

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

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

See comments

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert ^{Storm} ~~Home~~ have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

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people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as tokens of a community, but as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to ^{more than} ~~nearly~~ 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

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recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

Racial suspicion inspires stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores
 as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may
 not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as
 "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage
 to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that
 blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in
 fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of
bringing them together. //

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to
 adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long
 ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for
 doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat
 them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action.
 To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of
 numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action expresses a
 duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for
 individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action
 should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it
 should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values
 / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned,
 realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice.
 This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than
 having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

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comments

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
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((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired ^{generations of immigrants} ~~settlers~~ to push back the wilderness, ^{explore new frontiers of freedom,} ~~establish colonies~~ and fight for independence. / ^{later} ~~One generation forged the opening of the West.~~ / Another ^{persevered the Union.} ~~lifted~~ ^{through "the war"} ~~itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material~~ ^{and all wars.} ~~goods, we were never ragged in spirit.~~ // Still a ^{later} ~~generation~~ ^{too many later} ~~showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the~~ ^{the generations of your parents and grandparents endured the Cold W.} ~~values, hopes and dreams that flourish here.~~ //

Today, I wish to talk of this ^R ~~the~~ American Character -- and how it makes ours ^a ~~the~~ ^{greatest} Nation, ~~in the history of the world.~~ // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

^{We are defined by} ~~The first ideal is~~ ^{and creativity} the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow.

// ~~This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the~~ ^{We are defined by the genius} ~~creativity~~ ^{as old as legends} of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton, ^{and Thomas} // Edison.

To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

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shaped by American inspiration

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Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? ^{or religion?} ~~Or your friends and buddies?~~ // ^{No} You see your friends ^{your comrades,} -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves ~~not as tokens of a community, but as people~~ ^{all} united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

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*Wade, or Hispanics, Catholics
of women or Jews*

5

recruit ~~minorities~~. They recruit ~~the~~ soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

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deplored racial intolerance and suspicion. They fought for justice and opportunity for all.

6

Today, ~~ignoring history~~, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. ~~By ignoring history, they play a zero sum game that~~ They ~~would~~ pit one group against other.

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Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. ~~But so is the reduction of brotherhood to~~ ~~bloodless numbers.~~ //

^{BUT} Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

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7

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 duty of citizenship -- ^{good faith efforts to} ~~a duty to~~ provide opportunity for
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 This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than
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8

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to

~~public housing residents~~
~~these who now live in blighted anonymity.~~ Our HOPE Initiative -

~~tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives~~

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American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

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Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation ~~to~~ ~~dedicate themselves~~ to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

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Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // ~~Let us make it our relationship of the heart.~~ //

10

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 27, 1991

FACT SHEET

**EXPANDING CHOICE AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES, AND COMMUNITIES**

In his State of the Union Address, the President said: "The strength of democracy is not in bureaucracy. It is in the people and their communities....We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states and institutions of every kind the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth."

The Administration is committed to strengthening the power and opportunity of individuals and families, to breaking down barriers to independence and self-reliance wherever they exist, and to providing hope to distressed communities.

This means giving people access to jobs and the ability to make choices that will better their lives and the lives of their families. People with access to housing, jobs, and quality education have a stake in their community, and a greater incentive to lead productive lives. More important, people with economic opportunity have hope for the future -- an important and powerful weapon against poverty and despair.

The Administration seeks to use numerous administrative, regulatory, and budgetary means to expand economic opportunity for low-income individuals. In addition to these continuing efforts, the President today announced that he will seek Congressional action to promote choice and opportunity on several fronts:

1. educational choice;
2. educational flexibility;
3. homeownership for low-income persons;
4. enterprise zones;
5. anti-discrimination laws;
6. community opportunity areas;
7. the social security earnings test; and
8. anti-crime efforts.

Legislation, where required, will be transmitted to Congress in the next several weeks to implement these proposals.

GIVING PARENTS AND STUDENTS CHOICE IN EDUCATION:

Choice programs provide parents the opportunity to select the most appropriate school for their children -- based on informed judgments about which school offers the best education. Choice leads to healthy competition among schools by focusing on proven educational quality as the way to attract students. Clearly, parents should have the opportunity to send their children to schools of their choice. Choice can lift the performance and quality of all schools.

The President will propose a new Educational Excellence Act which contains strategic initiatives to improve the learning achievement of all Americans and to restructure the nation's educational system. Initiatives in the Educational Excellence Act will:

- o Stimulate fundamental reform and restructure our education system through promoting educational choice and alternative certification for teachers and principals.
- o Assist educators in their mission to improve student performance by: rewarding schools that demonstrate improved achievement among students; rewarding excellent teachers; and promoting innovation in training school administrators.
- o Provide incentives to school districts to design and implement innovative approaches to mathematics and science education; enhance the endowments of Historically Black Colleges and Universities; and contribute to improving literacy.

PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL FLEXIBILITY IN RETURN FOR ACCOUNTABILITY:

Federal Departments and agencies administer hundreds of separate programs that provide or support education services; each has its own statutory and regulatory requirements. Program requirements can impede the ability of local schools and districts to provide the best possible education. Flexibility in administering Federal education programs will allow Governors, school administrators, teachers, service providers, parents, and others in the community to work together to develop effective education programs that meet the needs of all students, particularly those students who are educationally disadvantaged.

- o The Educational Excellence Act of 1991 would promote local control and innovation in education by providing increased flexibility in the use of Federal funding in exchange for enhanced accountability for results. The Administration's bill will be guided by the following principles:
 - Flexibility should be linked to accountability for improvements in educational outcomes.
 - Flexibility should result in delivering services to current target populations in a more effective manner.
 - Flexibility should retain key protections in current laws (e.g., protection of the disabled).

PROVIDING HOMEOWNERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES:

Low-income Americans have a greater stake in their communities when they have the opportunity to own their own homes. The HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) initiative is a new grant program to increase homeownership opportunities. By offering residents greater control and access to property, the HOPE program will instill pride of ownership and enhance incentives for maintenance and improvement. While HOPE was enacted into law last year, Congress provided no funding for the program in Fiscal Year 1991.

- o The President has requested \$500 million in Fiscal Year 1991 supplemental funding to start the HOPE program immediately. The President's Budget also requests \$1 billion in 1992 for the new HOME program -- a housing block grant program providing States and localities greater flexibility in meeting the housing needs of their low-income residents, with incentives for use of housing vouchers.
- o HOPE Grants will be made on a competitive basis to resident management corporations, resident councils, cooperative associations, non-profit organizations, cities and States, and public and Indian housing authorities. Funding will help participants design and execute their plans for resident management and buyouts of public and assisted housing.
- o The HOPE initiative also targets \$258 million in 1992 for a new "Shelter Plus Care" program to help the homeless. The Shelter Plus Care program will link housing with the full range of services needed by the homeless. The program will combine shelter with the support services -- job training, health care, and drug treatment -- that help people achieve dignified and independent lives.

CREATING JOBS IN ENTERPRISE ZONES:

Enterprise zones will attack poverty by promoting investment in economically distressed neighborhoods. Enterprise zones will attract new seed capital for small business start-ups, create new incentives for entrepreneurial risk-taking, and reduce high effective tax rates on those moving to work from welfare.

- o The Enterprise Zone and Jobs-Creation Act of 1991 will target tax incentives and regulatory relief to some of our nation's most economically depressed areas.
- o The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would designate up to 50 (urban, rural, and Indian) enterprise zones over a four year period. Designation will be based on the level of distress, as well as on the nature and extent of State and local efforts to improve living conditions and to eliminate government burdens to economic activity. Designation will be for a maximum of 24 years.
- o The legislation will provide tax incentives to attract seed capital, stimulate employment, and increase the economic return from work for the working poor:
 - Workers will be eligible for a 5 percent refundable tax credit for the first \$10,500 of wages earned in an enterprise zone business. This will put up to \$525 more income in the pockets of low-income workers. The credit phases out between \$20,000 and \$25,000 of total annual wages.
 - To spur investment, capital gains taxes will be eliminated for gains on investment in tangible property (e.g., buildings and equipment) used in a business located in an enterprise zone for at least two years.
 - To encourage entrepreneurial risk-taking, individuals will be permitted to expense investments in the capital of corporations engaged in enterprise zone businesses. This essentially provides an immediate write-off for investments in enterprise zone businesses. Corporations must have less than \$5 million of total assets. Expensing will be permitted up to \$50,000 annually per investor, with a \$250,000 lifetime limit.
- o The legislation would also give enterprise zone communities priority for free trade area status. Such status would, for example, allow a business in an enterprise zone to import materials duty-free if the materials are used to manufacture products for export to other countries.

Some great examples of enforcement statistics.

- o Enterprise zones would reduce Federal tax revenues by \$1.8 billion over five years.

STRENGTHENING AND ENFORCING ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS:

A vital element in the effort to protect the civil rights of all Americans is the vigorous enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws. Over the past two years, the Bush Administration has moved aggressively to fight hate crimes and combat discrimination in housing, voting, employment, and education. A few examples:

- o Enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act in July 1990 was the most important expansion of civil rights protections in a quarter of a century. The Administration is now pursuing swift implementation of the landmark law.
- o The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is aggressively enforcing the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments which prohibit housing discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, or disability. The Bush Administration has resolved nearly 12,000 of the almost 16,000 fair housing cases.
- o In 1989, the Justice Department prosecuted more than twice as many hate crimes cases as in any previous year. In 1990, the Justice Department had a 100 percent success rate in prosecuting hate crimes.
- o In 1990, the Department of Education received and resolved more civil rights complaints than in any previous year of its history -- and in record time.
- o The largest settlements in the history of the Department of Labor's Federal Contract Compliance cases have been achieved during the Bush Administration. A single case involving employment discrimination against approximately 1,000 women who resulted in a payment of \$14 million back pay settlement of \$3.5 million for approximately 1,000 women who were not hired.

Christina
Pls. give me
a call about
the W. Point
speech. Jim
HW

The Administration is committed to strengthening the strong employment discrimination laws that now exist. These improvements will remove consideration of factors such as sex, race, religion, or national origin from employment decisions. This can be done without encouraging the use of quotas or preferential treatment, without departing from the fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system, and without creating a litigation bonanza that brings more benefits to lawyers than to victims.

- o A major objective of the Administration is to ensure that Federal law provides strong new remedies for harassment based on sex, race, color, religion, or national origin.
- o The Administration will propose to codify a cause of action for "disparate impact," involving employment practices that unintentionally exclude disproportionate numbers of certain groups from some jobs. The burden of proof will be shifted to the employer on the issue of "business necessity."
- o The time has come for Congress to bring itself under the same anti-discrimination requirements it prescribes for others.
- o Other improvements, including changes in certain provisions affecting statutes of limitations and encouragement for the use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, will also enhance the administration of our comprehensive civil rights laws.

REDUCING FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AND ESTABLISHING OPPORTUNITY AREAS:

Programs providing social, welfare, health, education, and nutritional services are often delivered in fragmented ways. Allowing services to be integrated will better serve the recipients of these programs and promote self-sufficiency and opportunity.

- o The ~~Community~~ Community Opportunity Act of 1991 will enable local communities to develop "community opportunity systems" and allow them to restructure Federal programs to provide services and benefits in the way the community deems best to meet the needs of the individuals and families served.

- o The legislation would allow a Federal administrator designated by the President to recommend a budget-neutral waiver of most Federal statutory and regulatory requirements for any Federally funded program to be included in the community's opportunity delivery system. The Federal administrator will make recommendations regarding the waiver requests to the relevant Federal agency heads.
- o Communities will be able to develop community opportunity systems in which:
 - services and benefits can be integrated, combined, and restructured at the community level;
 - the system is neighborhood- or community-based, with a specified target group of beneficiaries;
 - the individuals and families served can participate in the design of the system; and
 - the delivery system offers individuals and families in the target group of beneficiaries the maximum choice and control over the range, source, and objectives of the services and benefits to be provided.
- o Each community opportunity system will have clear and measurable goals and will be evaluated with regard to both the short- and long-term outcomes.

EXPANDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER AMERICANS BY LIBERALIZING THE SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS TEST:

If social security recipients aged 65 to 69 wish to supplement their benefits with earnings, they may earn only up to \$9,720 this year before their social security benefits are reduced. Beyond \$9,720, each three dollars of earnings reduces their social security benefits by one dollar.

For retirees with sources of income other than earnings, such as private pensions and investment income, this limitation on allowable earnings may have little effect on their lives. Presently, the earnings test falls most heavily on elderly persons who do not have significant savings or income from pension plans, and can seriously constrain their choices of employment.

- o The President's Fiscal Year 1992 Budget proposes an increase in the amount of allowable earnings for social security recipients aged 65 to 69.
 - For 1992, allowable earnings would be increased \$800, or 8 percent, from \$10,200 to \$11,000.
 - For 1993, the increase would be \$200, from \$10,800 to \$11,000.
 - For 1994, allowable earnings would continue to rise to the level projected under current law, \$11,400.

PROTECTING CITIZENS BY FIGHTING VIOLENT CRIME:

As President Bush has stated in the past, the right to be free from fear in our homes, streets, and neighborhoods is the first civil right of every American. Where streets are not safe and property is not secure, economic opportunity is impossible.

The President announced in his State of the Union Address that the Attorney General will soon convene a Crime Summit of our nation's law enforcement officials. A major objective of the Crime Summit is to strengthen the working relationship between the Administration and State and local law enforcement officials.

The Administration will again propose comprehensive violent crime control legislation to give law enforcement authorities the tools they need to apprehend, prosecute, and incarcerate violent criminals. The legislation will include:

- o A meaningful Federal death penalty for the most heinous crimes with procedures to ensure its fair and colorblind application.
- o Habeas corpus reform to reduce unnecessarily repetitive appeals that clog the courts and delay justice.
- o Exclusionary rule reform to ensure that the evidence gathered by law enforcement officials in a good faith belief that they are acting lawfully can be used to help courts establish the truth.
- o Provisions to strengthen Federal laws concerning the safety of women by modifying rules on the admissibility of evidence in cases of sex crimes, enhancing penalties for the distribution of illegal drugs to pregnant women, increasing penalties for recidivist sex offenders, and offering greater protection for victims below the age of sixteen.

CLOSE HOLD

Document No. 241426

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 MAY 29 P4:14

DATE: 05/28/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT (05/28 8:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

Secretary Stone will also be attending

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

*Secretary
Jones*

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of "duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience. / Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

Look around you here -- at the four statues in the mess hall / the five Stone Warriors / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the American Character. //

The American Character inspired settlers to push back the wilderness, establish colonies -- and fight for independence. / One generation forged the opening of the West. / Another lifted itself from the Depression -- because while poor in material goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. //

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. // This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals that define us as a people. //

The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow. // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the creativity as old as legends of Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. // To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

technology. // The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom that drives our national heartbeat. // ((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots have inspired us from the start to share our bounty and contribute out of generosity. / Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations. We must measure ourselves also by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We must serve those for whom the American Dream still seems and Impossible Dream. //

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see? People divided by race? Or your friends and buddies? // You see your friends -- and your future. You belong to a military that has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves not as tokens of a community, but as people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. // It envisioned an America in which "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // In the years since ours became a volunteer force, the Army has become smarter, better integrated, better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. // The percentage of minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled. / The number of minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

recruit minorities. They recruits soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any Nation could ever have. //

America's task is to achieve what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / Above all, we must combat the racial suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage exploding on our streets. Cars burned / people maimed / stores destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing personal rage. //

Racial suspicion inspires stranger to hate stranger. It hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. // Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." // He knew that we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could throw wide her heart. // They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small dollops. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / If we judge communities, schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood. For what these judgments demand -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ample space -- ample, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

So do other things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores
 as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may
 not be serving our students. / Think of the practice known as
 "race-norming." This system, which seeks to offer an advantage
 to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that
 blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in
 fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of
bringing them together. //

We cannot achieve justice and equality this way. We need to
 adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long
 ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for
 doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat
 them. Appeal to their better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action.
 To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of
 numbers upon employers. To me, affirmative action expresses a
 duty of citizenship -- a duty to provide opportunity for
 individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action
 should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it
 should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values
 / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned,
 realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice.
 This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than
 having government dictate the school to parents and students. /

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- impose equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and sex in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination where it exists. It will assail racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

civil rights live and die with the normal deeds of normal citizens -- not with edicts issued from high courts. I have spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected -- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- with a politics of the extended hand. I invite every American, regardless of race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to dedicate themselves to embrace the politics of the extended hand. Let us create a land in which people respect each other, work with each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

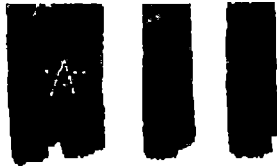
Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us build a "We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this school to the Nation and the world. //

This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war." // Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now, let us heal the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead
the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the
United States of America.

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PARTNERSHIP FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA

JAMES E. BURKE
Chairman

May 30, 1991

Mr. David F. Demarest, Jr.
Assistant to the President for
Communications
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

David,

I am attaching a possible close for the President's speech.

This idea can be accommodated early in the speech - but I really don't think it works very well.

Also, I am including an April 28 article by David Gergen which might provide further "grist for your mill."

Would be happy to discuss further at your convenience.

Sincerely,



J. E. Burke

mah

BEGINNING MIDDLE OF PAGE 9

Here at West Point and throughout our armed forces everywhere...the military has shown us the essence of the American character...opportunity based on merit. Now let us build a "we"...not a "me" generation by reminding the nation (and the world?) of these ideals.

Our magnificent military has helped secure the peace abroad. Now I believe, by their performance and by their example, our military can help us heal the wounds and scars here at home and offer their extended hand to spur harmony and brotherhood...to offer hope and inspiration to our youth.

I say this because I know that many of our wonderful servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert Home have already become "points of light." They are returning to their own communities and urging young people to follow their lead -- to stay in school -- to work hard -- to stay away from drugs.

Because I believe their example is so inspiring and that their experience provides such a unique opportunity, I am asking the commanders of our armed forces to urge all their returning troops whenever and wherever possible to tell the positive story of their lives and their experiences...and I urge the leaders of our communities everywhere to extend an invitation to these wonderful young men and women to come and speak in schools and other public forums.

What better example of today's national character...than these Americans who have served so well in the Persian Gulf...providing important lessons for all of us as we struggle with the difficult process of domestic renewal in every neighborhood across the nation.

God bless you all...and thank you for your leadership.

G2 SUNDAY, APRIL 28, 1991

THE WASHINGTON POST

Bringing Home the 'Storm'

What the Victorious American Military Could Teach the Rest of Us

By David Gergen

IT IS APPARENT to me from recent travels across the country that most Americans, even as they anguish over pictures of dying Kurds, still savor the U.S. military's Operation Desert Storm victory in the Persian Gulf and do not want it to fade so quickly from our national life.

Their instincts are absolutely right. The United States has incurred an enormous moral obligation to the Kurds and other victims of Saddam's madness, but that should not lessen our appreciation for what the American military has accomplished—and for the lessons that holds for the country. In their performance overseas, the people who serve, along with the military itself, have both shown the way toward needed renewal at home. To let this moment slip by without making more of it would waste a rare opportunity for domestic change.

What can be done? For starters, the nation should give returning veterans something more lasting than parades. Why not also invite them—children and officers, women and men—into junior and senior high schools, especially in troubled neighborhoods, to talk about their lives and experiences. They would provide excellent role models and, over time, might become big brothers and sisters.

Unlike many Vietnam War draftees, today's volunteers have an uplifting story to tell. An 18-year-old can't get into the military now without a high school diploma: 98 percent of enlisted men and women are high school graduates, compared to 75 percent of other Americans in their age range. A new recruit can't stay in today's military unless he avoids drugs and alcohol abuse. And he can't make it up through the ranks unless he continues to study. Before the army allows an enlisted person to fire a Patriot missile, it demands an extra year of training.

The turnaround in drug abuse alone is a tale every high school should hear—and apparently some elite universities, too. Ten years ago a Pentagon survey revealed widespread drug abuse in all services. In the Navy, for example, 33 percent of all personnel were using drugs, including 48 percent of young, enlisted sailors. The Navy along with other services cracked down with random

urinalysis tests. One violation brought counseling; a second meant expulsion. Follow-up tests show that by the beginning of this decade, the military had become practically a drug-free workplace.

Today's military can also provide lessons for domestic renewal that stretch far beyond high schools. Vietnam taught the military hard lessons, and since then, it has transformed itself from within, far more successfully than most American corporations, professions such as law and medicine, Congress, the civil service or any other powerful body.

Three features of the modern military, all on display in the Persian Gulf, are especially worthy of study and emulation by civilians:

A demand for education. In the Vietnam era, many thought of "military intelligence" as an oxymoron, but today no other body in America places greater emphasis upon sharpening the mind. The military academies have steadily raised their standards, so that the average combined SAT score for the class of 1993 at West Point was 1213 and at the Naval Academy, 1241—above the averages at Berkeley, Michigan, Vanderbilt and many other top schools. The Air Force Academy provides a computer and keyboard for every student, allowing cadets to write their papers, tune in television programs that can be sent over the computer screen, and communicate through electronic messages. So heavy is the emphasis on learning that a number of professors have a standing rule: Any student sending an electronic message asking about a classroom assignment before 10 p.m. will get a response by 10:30.

The military sees education as a continuing career commitment, especially for officers. An Army second lieutenant is expected to spend at least a year and a half in the classroom during the first five years of service. The service provides special schools that not only stress traditional military doctrine but also widen and deepen an officer's understanding of American political life, international affairs and grand strategy. By the end of a 20-year career, an officer has usually devoted five or six years to study.

The "Great Revival," as some call it, began at the Naval War College in the 1970s under Adm. Stansfield Turner. He took military officers back to basics, and the trend spread to other war colleges. One bond shared by many top officers serving with Army Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf in the gulf is that they

graduated from a high-powered, 10-month program at Washington's National War College. Air Force Gen. Perry Smith, then dean, overhauled its curriculum so that officers being groomed for flag rank would read and engage with many leading figures in diplomacy, Congress and the press. Brent Scowcroft was a regular lecturer. Sam Donaldson entered as a villain and left to cheer. George McGovern talked for two hours about the desperate needs of the poor and got a standing ovation.

It is also expected that an aspiring career officer will earn at least a master's degree from a civilian institution. Schwarzkopf has a masters in mechanical engineering from Southern California. Gen. Colin Powell won an MBA at George Washington University. Powell's predecessor as chairman of the joint chiefs, Adm. William Crowe, held a doctoral degree in politics from Princeton. Army Gen. John Galvin, the four-star in charge of NATO forces, has a master's in comparative literature from Columbia. Answering questions at a recent breakfast sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment, Galvin reeled off a lengthy exchange between Antony and Cleopatra. "And that's from George Bernard Shaw's version," he added, "not Shakespeare's."

How many leaders from civilian America have applied themselves so diligently to continuing education? Not many. A study by the Center for Creative Leadership found in



David Gergen is editor at large of U.S. News & World Report.

FRUM

1988 that among brigadier generals (one-stars), 88 percent held master's degrees compared to only 19 percent of upper-level managers in big companies. With the exception of a few companies—IBM, Xerox, Motorola, for example—corporate America tends to keep its best people in narrow grooves, looking upon outside education as a waste of time. The military long ago learned the folly of that approach.

Abolishing racism. Much has been written about the advancement of minorities in the military and the relatively high degree of racial harmony. Sociologist Charles Moskos of Northwestern University points out that officers' clubs in the army are more integrated today than the faculty club of any major university. Business, education and government all trail the military in management jobs held by blacks.

Only 20 years ago in Vietnam there were bitter divisions between a draft enlisted force that was 14 percent black and an officer corps that was essentially all-white. But the military in recent years has taken two significant stands on race.

It has insisted that its personnel learn to respect each other, regardless of skin color. Military training includes mandatory instruction in race relations, and anti-discrimination rules are enforced with a vengeance.

Secondly, the military has refused to create openings for anyone who isn't fully qualified. There are no quotas and little affirmative action. The bar is held at the same height for everyone, and the result is a special pride in achievement.

Despite the effort, discriminatory patterns remain: Minorities represent 21 percent of the enlisted ranks but only 7 percent of officers. Nevertheless, the military comes clos-

er to a true meritocracy than any other institution in American society.

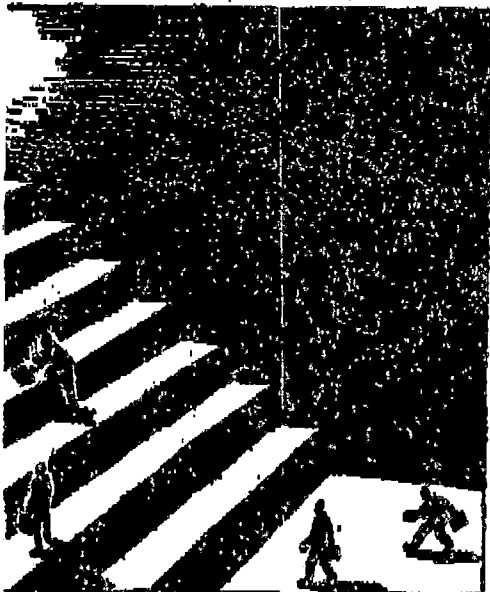
Leadership. If Schwarzkopf had been running General Motors for the past 20 years, would the company be any better off than under Roger Smith? "No way," scoffs a GM board member. "Schwarzkopf could get things done because he had a voluntary army; Smith had the UAW." Other business figures aren't so sure. They think Schwarzkopf would have brought some of the same drive to GM that Fred Smith, ex-Marine platoon commander, now instills at Federal Express, and would have made a better corporate marriage with Ross Perot, an Annapolis graduate who built his EDS with military veterans.

It is clear that the new military has adopted some values that many private companies badly need. Again in reaction to Vietnam, the voluntary army places great emphasis on loyalty and morale. Larry Korb of the Brookings Institution notes that because the force is now volunteer, enlistments last longer (average of four years versus two under the draft) and re-enlistments are up sharply (80 percent versus 10 percent). Enlistees thus can stay in a unit long enough to bond with compatriots. As Schwarzkopf showed in the gulf, loyalty also runs from the top down to the troops. The net result is much higher morale and discipline. Apart from IBM and a few other blue-chip firms, how many private companies can claim as much dedication to employee loyalty? Not many.

David Campbell, a psychologist with the Center for Creative Leadership, has found that in tests of his seminar classes of military brass and business managers, the military officers score the highest of any group on leadership skills, decisiveness, dominance, self-assurance, achievement orientation and psychological health. Even in IQ tests, one-star generals scored in the top 8 percent of the nation, slightly above business executives. Corporate managers score higher than military officers on only one characteristic: flexibility. "Over and over again," says Campbell, "today's military shows superior leadership skills."

The armed services still have obvious faults, of course, exemplified in weapons procurement scandals, bloated middle-management ranks and waste from overlapping activities. Corporate America is far ahead in thinning out its middle ranks. The Goldwater-Nichols reforms have helped to streamline management at the top, as U.S. forces showed in the gulf, but the regular Pentagon budget is far behind business in slashing back unneeded costs.

On balance, however, today's military has proven much more adept than civilian institutions in reforming itself from within. The Great Revival, which proved its worth in the Persian Gulf, should serve as a constant call to



Holly Williamson
 is waiting to
 speak w/ you.
 NB

Document No. 241426

EMORANDUM

NT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 05/30

COMMENCEMENT
 (10:00 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>Roger in meeting 10:30 extensive admin-ments</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TREFRY ATG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>Raddenaker 5026</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>1 hr late</i> HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, 05/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

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

91 MAY 28 PM 10:37

(Smith/Grossman)
May 28, 1991
Draft Six
8:00 p.m.
WEST.TS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WEST POINT COMMENCEMENT
U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY
SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1991
10 A.M.

Secretary Stone

Thank you, General Palmer, for that introduction. General
Vuono, ladies and gentlemen, families, friends, and Cadets of the
Class of 1991. // It is an honor to be here at this symbol of
"duty, honor, country" -- and to know what Douglas MacArthur
meant when he spoke of "coming home to West Point." Barbara and
I are proud to be honorary members of the Long Grey Line. //

((What a sight to see such an outstanding military audience.
/ Now I know how Bob Hope feels. / Also, let me say it was good
of you to invite a Navy man to speak at West Point. I didn't
want to press my luck, so I left the goat outside.)) //

((Returning to West Point reminds me that no one should be
shocked at the fierceness of our fighting ability in any
conflict. // All they have to do is observe what we do to each
other every year in the Army-Navy Game.)) //

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

majestic cadet chapel / at the

Jennifer

Look around you here -- at the ^{sites} four statues in the mess hall / at
 / ~~the five Stone Warriors~~ / the buildings that housed Lee and Ike
 and Pershing. / Their lessons live as oral history -- passed from
 one generation to another. // They teach us what Woodrow Wilson
 knew: "The American Revolution is a beginning . . . never a
 consummation." Militarily and culturally / morally and
 spiritually / West Point has always been a metaphor for the
American Character. //

The American Character inspired ^{generations of immigrants} settlers to push back the
 wilderness, establish ^{settlements} colonies and fight for independence. /
 One generation ^{A later} forged ^{preserved the Union.} the opening of the West. / Another ^{Fourth} lifted
 itself from the Depression -- because while ^{poor} poor in material
 goods, we were never ragged in spirit. // Still a later
 generation showed how the Iron Curtain was no match for the
 values, hopes and dreams that flourish here. // ^{in the hearts of all mankind.}

Today, I wish to talk of this American Character -- and how
 it makes ours the greatest Nation in the history of the world. //
 This character grows naturally in our hearts, and reflects ideals
 that define us as a people. // ^{Many countries are special. America is singular. giving always of itself. Asking little of others. Owing no allegiance to kings or queens, or despots or dictators -- but rather, to a set of ideals that define us as a people.}

^{A first} The first ideal is the self-reliance that moves America from
 the drawing boards of today to the launching pads of tomorrow.
 // This self-reliance expresses itself in a second ideal -- the
creativity as old as legends of ^{the genius of Benjamin Franklin} Eli Whitney and Robert Fulton. //
 To this day, the only footprints on the moon are American
 footprints. / The only flag on the moon is the stars and
 stripes. // The know-how that put it there is American

go to page 3 (A)

Petersmeyer

Demarest

Petersmeyer

Demarest

Demarest

C.S. (we had talked of this)

Scowcroft

(A) We are defined first by our

technology. // ~~The American Character is also rooted in a devotion to freedom, that~~ ^{It} drives our national heartbeat. // ~~One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //~~ ^{fibrillating}

Dennett

((Might I add: That beat is regular, not arrhythmic.)) // One of those freedoms -- freedom of religion -- allows for a faith that shapes our character. //

C.S.
to high

We know, as Lincoln said: "The question is not whether God is on our side -- but whether we are on God's side." // Our religious roots ^{has} have inspired us from the start to share our

C.S.

~~bounty and contribute out of generosity.~~ / ^{exhibit} Think of Operation Provide Comfort for the Kurds in Iraq -- where freedom's flag reads, "Service to Nation, and to neighbor." / Or how here at

Dar. X

home, many servicemen and women returning from Operation Desert Shield and Desert ~~Home~~ ^{Storm} have become points of light. / Talking with students about staying in school // working hard // and turning off drugs. Their example -- which I urge you to follow - - shows how for 200 years, we Americans have lent a hand, tended wounds, and helped the less fortunate. //

Petersinger

Today, more than ever, we must build on these foundations.

Peters.

We must measure ourselves ~~also~~ by the service we render to others, by assuming responsibility for the welfare of our home, our families, our ^{and} communities. // We must apply our devotion to justice and equality to our neighbors. We ~~must serve~~ ^{serve} those for whom the American Dream still seems ~~an~~ Impossible Dream. //

C.S.

Stowroh

You at West Point, have established an example and a challenge for the rest of the nation. // Within these grounds,

9-11 Desert covers

In the years since the Army became a volunteer force, it has become a model for what happens when strict rules of equal opportunity and equal treatment are combined with high entrance standards and high expectations. Entrance standards have risen to the point where all new recruits now have a high school education. At the same time,

Porter

people measure others in terms of merit, heart, and will -- not creed or color or ^{nationality} origin. //

Look to your left. Look to your right. What do you see?

Justice

People divided by race? ^{religion, and gender?} Or ~~your friends and buddies?~~ ^{No.} You see

Demerol

your friends, -- and your future. You belong to a military that

Petersmeyer

has shown what amazing things Americans can do when they see themselves ^(symbolic) ~~not as tokens of a community~~ ^{whites, black, red, or brown,} but as ^{one} people united in common purpose -- pulling for each other, helping each other, relying upon each other -- and getting the job done. //

More than three decades ago, the Civil Rights movement reshaped a nation by appealing to the American Character. It invited people to join hands in common cause against evil, to build a society upon common decency. ^{and respects} // It ~~envisioned an~~ ^{Martin Luther King} ~~America in which~~ ^{dreamed of an} "one day our children will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

Nelson Lund

In the Army -- as here at West Point -- that "one day" has arrived. // ~~In the years since ours became a volunteer force,~~

Peters. X

~~the Army has become smarter, ^{better educated} better integrated, ^{and} better equipped to meet the demands of world security. Entrance standards have~~

Scowcroft

~~risen. The number of minority members in the Army has grown to ^{more than} nearly 275,000 from fewer than 175,000. //~~

Dar

~~The percentage of~~ ^{as has the number of minority supervisors.} minority enlisted personnel has nearly doubled, // The number of

minority officers has almost tripled. // Your class boasts the one thousandth black graduate of this institution; the one thousandth female graduate -- and the first graduate from among

HW X

the Hmong people of Cambodia. The Army and West Point do not

Yet

Those who said that we need different standards, different tests, different expectations for minorities have been proven wrong. In the Persian Gulf, the whole world saw just how wrong they were. And a few months ago

recruit minorities. They recruit soldiers -- the finest sons and daughters any ^{country} nation could ever have. //

CS

HW

America's task is to achieve ^{nationwide} what we celebrate today at West Point. We must think of ourselves not as colors or numbers, but

HW

as Americans, as bearers of sacred values. / ^{To assure that end,} ~~Above all,~~ we must

HW

combat the racial ^{mistrust} suspicion that threatens our national wellbeing as much as violence / or drugs / or poverty. It hides in the

HW

recesses of the human soul -- unbidden and unseen -- until some occasion triggers it. / We all have seen images of rage ^{in America,} exploding ~~on our streets.~~ ^{crosses burned /} ~~Ears burned /~~ ^{assaulted} people ~~maimed /~~ stores

Democrat

^{flashing lights and nightsticks,} destroyed by vandals. / Too often, these tragedies occur because one person read motives beneath the color of another's skin -- or used it as an easy excuse for unleashing ^{hate and fury} ~~personal rage.~~ //

HW

^{mistrust causes} Racial ~~suspicion~~ ^{causes} inspires stranger to hate stranger. ~~It~~ -- ^{how big} hurls people of all colors into mindless conflict. //

Scavenger

Thirty years ago, Martin Luther King observed, "Injustice anywhere is a danger to justice everywhere." //

HW

He ^{naively} ~~knew that~~ we must end the discrimination -- whether on the basis of race, national origin, ^{gender} sex, religion, or disability -- that tears the fabric of our society. / Black and white, the great civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s realized that only opportunity could feed America's body so that America could ^{open} ~~throw~~ wide her heart. //

CS

They knew, too, that government could only enhance -- not redistribute -- opportunity. Opportunity is not a commodity, doled out in small ^{doses} ~~dollops~~. It must be indivisible -- and infinite. //

Today, ignoring history, some talk not of opportunity but of redistributing rights. They would pit one group against other. Instead of equal rights for all Americans, they would ensure preferential treatment for some. / ^{That judgment} ~~If we judge communities,~~ ^{entirely} ~~schools, or businesses by the numbers, we dehumanize the human enterprise of brotherhood.~~ ^{It} ~~For what these judgments demand~~ -- often explicitly, more often implicitly -- is the use of quotas. Quotas that divide people who ought to -- and usually want to -- work together in racial harmony.

C.S. X
Democrat

Many people hate the word, "quotas." I don't like it. It is an ugly word. But so is the reduction of brotherhood to bloodless numbers. //

Take the story of Mark Nevels, a Kansas City youngster ready for kindergarten. Across the street from his family was a superb "magnet school" with ^{room for everyone} ~~ample~~ space -- ^{everyone} ~~ample~~, that is, except for blacks. // Mark was victimized by a rigid quota system mandating spaces for three blacks for every two whites enrolled. Lacking enough whites, 12 seats went empty -- even with a waiting list of 86 black children -- and Mark was bused past his neighborhood school. Why? Because he was black. //

Last year I vetoed a so-called civil rights measure that would have created powerful incentives for employers to adopt quotas in order to avoid litigation. This bill would have encouraged anyone to "sue-first, ask questions later." Instead of ignoring race, it focused almost entirely on race. It would not have inspired unity; it would have ignited division.

Petersmeyer

Petersmeyer

Porter

promoted

So do other ^{practices} things which make that suspicion their bequest.
 / Think of those who automatically dismiss college test scores as "racist" -- instead of taking a hard look at schools that may not be serving our students. / Think of the ^{system} practice known as "race-norming." ^{It is} This system, ^{that} which seeks to offer an advantage to minority workers, contains a powerful and ugly insult -- that blacks or hispanics just can't compete. / Race-norming is, in fact, race-baiting. It drives Americans apart instead of bringing them together. //

^{This is not the way to} We cannot achieve justice and equality ^{instead,} this way. We need to adopt a more unifying, moral and noble approach. I learned long ago that if you want something done, give someone a reason for doing it. Don't put them on the defensive. Don't brow-beat them. Appeal to their ^{"angels of their nature."} better selves.

As I see it, this is the concept behind Affirmative Action. To some, Affirmative Action should impose an "informal" system of ^{quotas} numbers upon employers. To me, ^{true} affirmative action expresses a duty of citizenship -- ^{good-faith efforts} a duty to provide opportunity for individuals based on merit. / Some think Affirmative Action should involve a Rubik's Cube of entitlements. I believe it should inspire people of all races to nurture affirmative values / affirmative views of themselves / in short, affirmative lives.

~~This administration has approached that goal in a reasoned, realistic, measured manner. We have promoted educational choice. This lets parents choose schools for their children, rather than having government dictate the school to parents and students. /~~

^{For instance,} Our American 2000 Education Strategy promotes educational choice.
 Nelson Mandela: This is why our Administration is committed to a comprehensive attack on the problems facing disadvantaged Americans.

Demarest
 Demarest
 Sawcoff X
 Demarest X

Demarest X
 Perensmeyer X

HU
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 Demarest

X Perensmeyer
 HU
 Porter
 Nelson Mandela

We have asked Congress to extend independence and dignity to those who now live in blighted anonymity. Our HOPE Initiative - - tenant management and homeownership for the poor -- gives public housing residents real property, not just a scrap of paper. / Enterprise zones: They encourage businesses to ⁰ sew the seeds of prosperity amid the ruins of crumbling cities and dusty rural areas. / Tough anti-crime legislation -- because no American is free if imprisoned by fear of crime. / And community opportunity areas -- shifting the power from the heavy hand of the state to the hands that run the home and raise the family. //

These policies will ensure equal opportunity. They do not - - cannot -- ^{ensure} ~~impose~~ equal success. // In that spirit, consider our civil rights package -- one that congressional leaders don't want to consider. Our Administration's 1991 Civil Rights Bill will forbid consideration of factors such as race and ^{gender} ~~sex~~ in employment practices. / It reflects fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout ^{our} the legal system. / It will ensure that Congress lives by the same rules it prescribes for others -- ending Congressional exemption from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. / It will not force employers to make a thankless choice between using quotas ^{or} and facing costly and risky litigation. It will ensure equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

Today I assure every man and woman in this land: This administration will strike at discrimination ^{wherever} where it exists. It will ^{combat} ~~assail~~ racism, sexism -- any kind of prejudice. // Yet

Search
Search
Porter → ultimately depend on ⁹ everyday
civil rights ~~live and die with the normal deeds of normal~~ ^{on high.}
citizens -- not ~~with edicts issued from high courts.~~ I have
spoken today of how to substitute the ladder of pride for the
crutch of dependency. I have tried to make it clear that the
rights of none are secure unless the rights of all are respected
-- that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. //

C.S. (So) Let us replace the politics of the angry fist -- of the
taunt, the threat, the lawsuit, the bullying -- ~~with a politics~~
of ~~the extended hand.~~ ^{insult,} I invite every American, regardless of
race, creed, color, background, or political affiliation to
dedicate ~~themselves to~~ embrace the politics of the extended hand.

Denmark
C.S. (many let us)
C.S. Let us ^{creating} create a land in which people respect each other, work
~~with~~ ^{-- not against --} each other, and strive to illuminate the American Character.

C.S. Here at West Point, you've shown the essence of the American
Character -- opportunity based on merit. Now, let us ^{use it to} build a
"We" -- not "Me" -- Generation -- by carrying the ideals of this
school to the Nation and the world. //

C.S. This challenge issues from passions embedded in our national
soul. Douglas MacArthur, a son of West Point, once said, "The
soldier above all prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear
the deepest wounds and scars of war." // ^{Americas} Our magnificent
C.S. military has helped secure the peace abroad. ^{our challenge is now to} Now, let us heal
the wounds and scars at home -- and help the extended hand spur
harmony and brotherhood, not faction and suspicion.

Let us honor the true grandeur of America -- the dignity of
the individual. // Let us make it our heirloom of the heart. //

And let us realize today: You here at West Point -- you all lead the way. // Thank you, and God bless this sacred land -- the United States of America.

#