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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(South Bend, Indiana)

For Immediate Release

May 17, 1981

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY
OF NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY

Notre Dame Athletic and Convocation Center,
South Bend, Indiana

(3:11 P.M. EST)

THE PRESIDENT: Father Hesburgh, I thank you very much and for so many things. The distinguished honor that you've conferred upon me here today, I must say, however, compounds a sense of guilt that I have nursed for almost 50 years. I thought the first degree I was given was honorary. (Laughter.) But it's wonderful to be here today, Governor Orr, Governor Bowen, Senators Lugar and Quayle and Representative Hiler. These distinguished honorees, the trustees, administration, faculty, students, and friends of Notre Dame and most important, the graduating class of 1981. (Applause.)

Nancy and I are greatly honored to share this day with you and our pleasure has been more than doubled because I am also sharing the platform with a long-time and very dear friend, Pat O'Brien. (Applause.)

Pat and I haven't been able to see much of each other lately so I haven't had a chance to tell him that there is now another tie that binds us together. Until a few weeks ago I knew very little about my father's ancestry. He had been orphaned at age six. But now I've learned that his grandfather, my great grandfather, left Ireland to come to America, leaving his home in Ballyporeen, a village in County Tipperary in Ireland and I have learned that Ballyporeen is the ancestral home of the O'Briens. (Applause.)

If I don't watch out, this may turn out to be less of a commencement than a warm bath in nostalgic memories. Growing up in Illinois I was influenced -- (applause) -- I was influenced by a sports legend so national in scope and so almost mystical it is difficult to explain to anyone who didn't live in those times. The legend was based on a combination of three elements: a game, football; a university, Notre Dame; and a man, Knute Rockne. There has been nothing like it before or since. (Applause.)

My first time to ever see Notre Dame was to come here as a sports announcer two years out of college to broadcast a football game. You won or I wouldn't have mentioned it. (Laughter.)

A number of years later I returned here in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knute Rockne -- All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. (Applause.)

MORE

I've always suspected that there might have been many actors in Hollywood who could have played the part better. But no-one could have wanted to play it more than I did. And I was given the part largely because the star of that picture, Pat O'Brien, kindly and generously held out a helping hand to a beginning young actor.

Having come from the world of sports, I'd been trying to write a story about Knute Rockne. I must confess that I had someone in mind to play the Gipper. On one of my sports broadcasts before going to Hollywood, I had told the story of his career and tragic death. I didn't have very many words on paper when I learned that the studio that employed me was already preparing a story treatment for that film. And that brings me to the theme of my remarks.

I'm the fifth President of the United States to address a Notre Dame commencement. The temptation is great to use this forum as an address on a great international or national issue that has nothing to do with this occasion. Indeed, this is somewhat traditional. So, I wasn't surprised when I read in several reputable journals that I was going to deliver an address on foreign policy or on the economy. I'm not going to talk about either. (Applause.)

But by the same token, I'll try not to belabor you with some of the standard rhetoric that is beloved of graduation speakers. (Applause.) For example, I'm not going to tell you that "You know more today than you've ever known before or that you'll ever know again." (Laughter.) And the other standby is "When I was 14, I didn't think my father knew anything. By the time I was 21, I was amazed at how much the old gentleman had learned in seven years." And then, of course, the traditional and the standby is that "A university like this is a storehouse of knowledge because the freshmen bring so much in and the seniors take so little away." (Laughter. Applause.)

You members of the graduating class of 18 -- or 1981 -- (laughter) -- I don't really go back that far -- (laughter) -- are what behaviorists call achievers. And while you will look back with warm pleasure and your memories of these years that brought you here to where you are today, you are also, I know, looking at the future that seems uncertain to most of you but which, let me assure you, offers great expectations.

Take pride in this day. Thank your parents as one on your behalf has already done here. Thank those who've been of help to you over the last four years. And do a little celebrating. You're entitled. (Applause.) This is your day and whatever I say should take cognizance of that fact. It is a milestone in life and it marks a time of change.

MORE

Winston Churchill during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great causes are on the move in the world ... we learn we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

Now, I'm going to mention again that movie that Pat and I and Notre Dame were in for it says something about America. First Knute Rockne as a boy came to America with his parents from Norway. And in the few years it took him to grow up to college age, he became so American, that here at Notre Dame, he became an All American in a game that is still to this day uniquely American.

As a coach he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed truly that the noblest work of man was building the character of man. And maybe that's why he was a living legend. No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in the Nation that he carved out for himself, not just in sport, but in our entire social structure.

Now, today I hear very often, "Win one for the Gipper," spoken in a humorous vein. Lately I've been hearing it by Congressmen who are supportive of the program that I've introduced. (Laughter.) But let's look at the significance of that story. Rockne could have used Gipp's dying words to win a game any time. But eight years went by following the death of George Gipp before Rock revealed those dying words, his deathbed wish.

And then he told the story at halftime to a team that was losing. And one of the only teams he had ever coached that was torn by dissention and jealousy and factionalism. The seniors on that team were about to close out their football careers without learning or experiencing any of the real values that a game has to impart. None of them had known George Gipp. They were children when he played for Notre Dame. It was to this team that Rockne told the story and so inspired them that they rose above their personal animosities. For someone they had never known, they joined together in a common cause and attained the unattainable.

We were told when we were making the picture of one line that was spoken by a player during that game. We were actually afraid to put it in the picture. The man who carried the ball over for the winning touchdown was injured on the play. We were told that as he was lifted on the stretcher and carried off the field he was heard to say: "That's the last one I can get for you Gipper."

Now, it's only a game. And maybe to hear it now afterward -- and this is what we feared it might sound maudlin and not the way it was intended, but is there anything wrong with young people having an experience, feeling something so deeply, thinking of someone else to the point that they can give so completely of themselves? There will come times in the lives of all of us when we'll be faced with causes bigger than ourselves and they won't be on a playing field.

MORE

This nation was born when a band of men, the founding fathers, a group so unique we've never seen their like since, rose to such selfless heights. Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers, 56 men, achieved security and standing in life but valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Sixteen of them gave their lives. Most gave their fortunes. All preserved their sacred honor.

They gave us more than a nation. They brought to all mankind for the first time the concept that man was born free, that each of us has inalienable rights ours by the grace of God; and that government was created by us for our convenience, having only the powers that we choose to give it.

This is the heritage that you're about to claim as you come out to join the society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years or some of us by a great many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying that may make it sound quite old. But let's look at it from another viewpoint or perspective. A few years ago someone figured out that if you could condense the entire history of life on earth into a motion picture that would run for 24 hours a day, 365 days -- maybe on leap years we could have an intermission -- this idea that is the United States wouldn't appear on the screen until 3-1/2 seconds before midnight on December 31st. And in those 3-1/2 seconds not only would a new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but more than half the activity, economic activity in world history, would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans, men and women, in 3-1/2 seconds, would perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world had never seen.

As you join us out there beyond the campus, you know there are great unsolved problems. Federalism, with its built in checks and balances, has been distorted. Central government has usurped powers that properly belong to local and state governments. And in so doing, in many ways that central government has begun to fail to do the things that are truly the responsibility of a central government.

All of this has led to the misuse of power and preemption of the prerogatives of people and their social institutions. You are graduating from a great private or, if you will, independent, university. Not too many years ago such schools were relatively free from government interference. In recent years government has spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives. The independent and church-supported colleges and universities have found themselves enmeshed in that network of regulations and the costly blizzard of paperwork that government is demanding.

MORE

Today 34 congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level alone. Almost every aspect of campus life is now regulated -- hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fundraising and to some extent curriculum and educational programs.

I hope when you leave this campus that you will do so with a feeling of obligation to your alma mater. She will need your help and support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities like Notre Dame give way to and are replaced by tax-supported institutions, the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost. (Applause.)

And we're troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency and prohibitive taxes, and burdensome regulations. The cost of stagnation in human terms, mostly among those least equipped to survive it, is cruel and inhuman.

Now, after those remarks, don't decide that you'd better turn your diploma back in so that you can stay another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this. Because the people of America have said, "Enough already. (Applause.) We who had preceded you had just gotten so busy that we let things get out of hand. We forgot that we were the keepers of the power, forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principle vehicle of social change, forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

Well, at last we are remembering: remembering that government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well; that it can be responsive to the people that it can be humane and compassionate; but that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province, it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

For too long, government has been fixing things that aren't broken and inventing miracle cures for unknown diseases. (Applause.)

We need you. We need your youth. We need your strength. We need your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. Now, I know that this period of your life, you have been and are critically looking for mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. May I suggest don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization was built simply because they are old.

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More important don't let today's doom criers and cynics persuade you that the best is past -- that from here on it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation that preceded it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You're going to have opportunities beyond anything that we've ever known.

The people have made it plain already that they want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy -- an end to the burdensome and unnecessary regulations and a punitive tax policy that does take "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

They want a government that can not only continue to send men across the vast reaches of space and bring them safely home, but that can guarantee that you and I can walk in the park of our neighborhood after dark and get safely home. (Applause.)

And finally, they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would seek to pull it down. (Applause.)

And all of this, we the people can do. Indeed a start has already been made. There's a task force under the leadership of the Vice President George Bush that is to look at those regulations I've spoken of. They have already identified hundreds of them that can be wiped out with no harm to the quality of life and the cancellation of just those regulations will leave billions and billions of dollars in the hands of the people for productive enterprise and research and development and the creation of jobs. (Applause.)

The years ahead are great ones for this country, for the cause of freedom and the spread of civilization. The West won't contain communism, it will transcend communism. (Applause.) It won't bother to dismiss or denounce it, it will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

William Faulkner at a Nobel Prize ceremony some time back said man "would not only endure: he will prevail" against the modern world because he will return to "the old verities and the truths of the heart." And then Faulkner said of man, "He is immortal, because he alone among creatures has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One can't say those words "compassion, sacrifice and endurance" without thinking of the irony that one who so exemplified them -- Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness-- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

MORE

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical on mercy and justice, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric of class struggle to justify injustice. He said, "In the name of an alleged justice the neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, or deprived of liberty or stripped of fundamental human rights."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show to the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values, are not -- like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies -- just a face of strength. It is time for the world to know our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all strength, a belief in a Supreme Being, and a law higher than our own. (Applause.)

When it is written, the history of our time won't dwell long on the hardships of the recent past. But history will ask and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years, did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

If history asks such questions, it also answers them. And the answers are to be found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record, that in the third century the American nation came of age, affirmed its leadership of free men and women, serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people, and humanity at peace. (Applause.)

A few years ago an Australian Prime Minister, John Gordon, said, "I wonder if anybody ever thought what the situation for the comparatively small nations in the world would be if there were not in existence the United States, if there were not this giant country prepared to make so many sacrifices." This is the noble and rich heritage rooted in great civil ideas of the West and it is yours.

My hope today is that in the years to come -- and come it shall -- when it's your time to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them their promise of the future, that you'll recall the truths and traditions of which we've spoken. It is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. And now they're yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you: When you do speak to the next generation about these things that you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, to find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

3:45 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR RELEASE AT 3:00 pm EDT
2:00 pm EST

MAY 17, 1981

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY
OF NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY;

Nancy and I are greatly honored to be here today sharing this day with you. Our pleasure is more than doubled because we also share this platform with a long-time good friend, Pat O'Brien.

I haven't had a chance to tell Pat that I've only recently learned of another something we hold in common. Until a few weeks ago, I've known very little about my ancestry on my father's side. He had been orphaned at age 6. Now I've learned my great grandfather left the village of Ballyporeen in Ireland to come to America. Ballyporeen is also the ancestral home of Pat O'Brien.

If I don't watch myself this could turn out to be less a commencement than a warm bath in nostalgic memories. During my growing-up years in nearby Illinois, I was greatly influenced by a sports legend so national in scope and so almost mystical, it is difficult to explain to any who did not live in those times. The legend was based on the combination of three elements -- a game, football; a university, Notre Dame; and a man, Knute Rockne -- there has been nothing like it before or since.

My first time to ever see Notre Dame was to come here as a sports announcer only two years out of college to broadcast a football game. You won or I wouldn't have mentioned that.

A number of years later I returned in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knute Rockne -- All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. There were probably others in the motion picture industry who could have played the part better. There were none who could have wanted to play it as much as I did. And I was given the part because the star of the picture, Pat O'Brien, kindly and generously held out a helping hand to a beginning young actor.

Having come to Hollywood from the world of sports, I had been trying to write a story treatment based on the life of Knute Rockne. And I must confess my main purpose was because I had someone in mind to play the Gipper. On one of my sports broadcasts before going to Hollywood, I had told the story of his career and tragic death. I didn't have many words down on paper when I learned the studio where I was employed was already preparing to film that story.

And that brings me to the theme of my remarks. I am the fifth President to address a Notre Dame commencement. The temptation is great to use this forum for an address on some national or international issue having nothing to do with the occasion itself. Indeed this is somewhat traditional so I haven't been surprised to read in a number of reputable journals that I was going to deliver a major address on foreign policy. Others said it would be on the economy. It will be on neither.

MORE

By the same token I will not belabor you with some of the standard rhetoric beloved of graduation speakers over the years. I won't tell you that "You know more today than you have ever known or than you will ever know again," or that other standby: "When I was 14 I didn't think my father knew anything. By the time I was 21 I was amazed at how much the old gentleman had learned in 7 years."

You members of the graduating class of 1981 are what the behaviorists call "achievers." And while you will look back with warm pleasure on the years that led to this day, you are today also looking toward a future which for most of you seems uncertain but which I assure you offers great expectations.

Take pride in this day, thank your parents and those who over the last 4 years have been of help to you, and do a little celebrating. This is your day and whatever I say should take cognizance of that fact. This is a milestone in your life and a time of change.

Winston Churchill during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great causes are on the move in the world...we learn we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

I'm going to mention again that movie Pat and I and Notre Dame were in for it says something about America. Knute Rockne as a boy came to this country with his parents from Norway. He became so American that here at Notre Dame he was an All American in a sport that is uniquely American.

As a coach he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed that the noblest work of man was molding the character of man. Maybe that's why he was a living legend. No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in our Nation that he carved out for himself, not just in a sport, but in our entire social structure.

"Win one for the Gipper," has become a line usually spoken now in a humorous vein. I hear it from Members of the Congress who are supportive of the economic program I've submitted. But let's look at the real significance of his story. Rockne could have used it any time just to win a game. But 8 years would go by following the death of George Gipp before Rock ever revealed Gipp's deathbed wish.

Then he told the story at halftime to one of the only teams he'd ever coached that was torn by dissention, jealousy and factionalism. The seniors on that team were about to close out their football careers without ever learning or experiencing some of the real values the game has to impart.

None of them had ever known George Gipp. They were children when he played for Notre Dame. Yet it was to this team that Rockne told the story and so inspired them that they rose above their personal animosities. They joined together in a common cause and attained the unattainable.

We were told of one line spoken by a player during that game that we were afraid to put in the picture. The man who carried the ball over for the winning touchdown was injured on the play. We were told that as he was lifted on the stretcher and taken off the field he was heard to say: "That's the last one I can get for you Gipper."

Yes it was only a game and it might seem somewhat maudlin but is there anything wrong with young men having the experience of feeling something so deeply that they can give so completely of themselves? There will come times in the lives of all of us when we'll be faced with causes bigger than ourselves and they won't be on a playing field.

This Nation was born when a little band of men we call the founding fathers, a group so unique we've never seen their like since, rose to such selfless heights.

Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers -- 56 men in all -- who had achieved security and some standing in life, but who valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Some gave their lives, most gave their fortunes, all preserved their sacred honor.

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This is the heritage you are about to claim as you come out to join a society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years and some of us by many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying it that way could make it sound quite old. But look at it from another perspective. A few years ago someone figured out that if we could condense the history of life on Earth down to a film that would run 24 hours a day for one year, 365 days (on leap year we could have an intermission), this idea we call the United States would not appear on the screen until 3½ seconds before midnight on December 31.

In those 3½ seconds not only would a totally new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but maybe half the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans -- men and women in those 3½ seconds -- would perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world had never seen.

As you join us out there beyond the campus you already know there are great unsolved problems. The careful structure of federalism with built-in checks and balances has become distorted. The Central Government has usurped powers that properly belong to State and local government; and in so doing has in many ways failed to do those things which are the responsibility of the Central Government.

All of this has led to a misuse of power and a preemption of the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions. You are graduating from one of our great private, or if you will, independent, universities. Not many years ago such schools were relatively free of Government interference. But in recent years as Government spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives, our independent and church-supported colleges and universities found themselves included in the network of regulations, and the costly blizzard of administrative paperwork Government demanded. Today 34 congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level. Virtually every aspect of campus life is now regulated -- hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fundraising and to some extent curriculum and educational programs.

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Yes we are troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency, prohibitive taxes, and those burdensome regulations. The cost of that stagnation in human terms mostly among those who are least equipped to survive it, is cruel and inhuman.

Now don't decide to turn in your diplomas and spend another year on campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this -- being done because the people of America have said, "enough already." We just had gotten so busy, that for awhile we let things get out of hand, forgot we were the keeper of the power. We forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change; forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of Government planners.

Well at last we are remembering: remembering that Government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well; that it can be responsive to the people; that it can be humane and compassionate; but that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

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We need you, we need your youth, your strength and your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. I know you have been critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. But don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization is built just because they are old.

More important don't let the doom criers and the cynics persuade you that the best is past -- that from here it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation preceding it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You will have opportunities beyond anything we've ever known.

The people have made it plain they want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy. They want an end to burdensome and unnecessary regulations and to a punitive tax policy that takes "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

They also want a government that not only can continue to send men through the far reaches of space but can guarantee the citizens they can walk through a park or in their neighborhoods after dark without fear of violence. And finally they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would try to pull it down.

All of these things we can do. Indeed a start has already been made. A task force under the leadership of Vice President George Bush has identified hundreds of regulations which can be wiped out with no harm whatsoever to the quality of life. Their cancellation will leave billions of dollars for productive enterprise and research and development.

The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

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"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures...has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

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When it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a Nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

If history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you: that when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful Nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations and God bless you.

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If I don't watch myself this could turn out to be less a commencement than a warm bath in nostalgic memories. During my growing-up years in nearby Illinois, I was greatly influenced by a sports legend so national in scope and so almost mystical, it is difficult to explain to any who did not live in those times. The legend was based on the combination of three elements -- a game, football; a university, Notre Dame; and a man, Knute Rockne -- there has been nothing like it before or since.

My first time to ever see Notre Dame was to come here as a sports announcer only 2 years out of college to broadcast a football game. You won or I wouldn't have mentioned that.

A number of years later I returned in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knut Rockne -- All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. There were probably others in the motion picture industry who could have played the part better. There were none who could have wanted to play it as much as I did. And I was given the part because the star of the picture, Pat O'Brien, kindly and generously held out a helping hand to a beginning young actor.

Having come to Hollywood from the world of sports, I had been trying to write a story treatment based on the life of Knute Rockne. And I must confess my main purpose was because I had someone in mind to play the Gipper. On one of my sports broadcasts before going to Hollywood I had told the story of his career and tragic death. I didn't have many words down on paper when I learned the studio where I was employed was already preparing to film that story.

And that brings me to the theme of my remarks. I am the fifth President to address a Notre Dame commencement. The temptation is great to use this forum for an address on some national or international issue having nothing to do with the occasion itself. Indeed this is somewhat traditional so I haven't been surprised to read in a number of reputable journals that I was going to deliver a major address on foreign policy. Others said it would be on the economy. It will be on neither.

By the same token I will not belabor you with some of the standard rhetoric beloved of graduation speakers over the years. I won't tell you that "You know more today than you have ever known or than you will ever know again," or that other standby: "When I was 14 I didn't think my father knew anything. By the time I was 21 I was amazed at how much the old gentleman had learned in 7 years."

You members of the graduating class of 1981 are what the behaviorists call "achievers." And while you will look back with warm pleasure on the years that led to this day you are today also looking toward a future which for most of you seems uncertain but which I assure you offers great expectations.

Take pride in this day, thank your parents and those who over the last 4 years have been of help to you and do a little celebrating. This is your day and whatever I say should take cognizance of that fact. This is a milestone in your life and a time of change.

Winston Churchill during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great causes are on the move in the world . . . we learn we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

I'm going to mention again that movie Pat and I and Notre Dame were in for it says something about America.

Knute Rockne as a boy came to this country with his parents from Norway. He became so American that here at Notre Dame he was an All American in a sport that is uniquely American.

As a coach he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed that the noblest work of man was molding the character of man. Maybe that's why he was a living legend. No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in our Nation that he carved out for himself, not just in a sport, but in our entire social structure.

"Win one for the Gipper," has become a line usually spoken now in a humorous vein. I hear it from Members of the Congress who are supportive of the economic program I've submitted. But let's look at the real significance of his story. Rockne could have used it any time just to win a game. But 8 years would go by following the death of George Gipp before Rock ever revealed Gipp's deathbed wish.

Then he told the story at halftime to one of the only teams he'd ever coached that was torn by dissention, jealousy and factionalism. The seniors on that team were about to close out their football careers without ever learning or experiencing some of the real values the game has to impart.

None of them had ever known George Gipp. They were children when he played for Notre Dame. Yet it was to this team that Rockne told the story and so inspired them that

they rose above their personal animosities. They joined together in a common cause and attained the unattainable.

We were told of one line spoken by a player during that game that we were afraid to put in the picture. The man who carried the ball over for the winning touchdown was injured on the play. We were told that as he was lifted on the stretcher and taken off the field he was heard to say: "That's the last one I can get for you Gipper."

Yes it was only a game and it might seem somewhat maudlin but is there anything wrong with young men having the experience of feeling something so deeply that they can give so completely of themselves? There will come times in the lives of all of us when we'll be faced with causes bigger than ourselves and they won't be on a playing field.

This Nation was born when a little band of men we call the founding fathers, a group so unique we've never seen their like since, rose to such selfless heights.

Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers -- 56 men in all -- who had achieved security and some standing in life, but who valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Some gave their lives, most gave their fortunes, all preserved their sacred honor.

They gave us more than a Nation. They brought to all mankind for the first time the concept that man was born

free; that each of us has inalienable rights, ours by the grace of God, and that government is created by us for our convenience having only those powers which we choose to give it.

This is the heritage you are about to claim as you come out to join a society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years and some of us by many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying it that way could make it sound quite old. But look at it from another perspective. A few years ago someone figured out that if we could condense the history of life on Earth down to a film that would run 24 hours a day for one year, 365 days (on leap year we could have an intermission), this idea we call the United States would not appear on the screen until $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds before midnight on December 31.

In those $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds not only would a totally new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but maybe half the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans -- men and women in those $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds -- would perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world had never seen.

As you join us out there beyond the campus you already know there are great unsolved problems. The careful structure of federalism with built-in checks and balances has become

distorted. The Central Government has usurped powers that properly belong to State and local government; and in so doing has in many ways failed to do those things which are the responsibility of the Central Government.

All of this has led to a misuse of power and a preemption of the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions. You are graduating from one of our great private or if you will independent universities. Not many years ago such schools were relatively free of Government interference. But in recent years as Government spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives our independent and church-supported colleges and universities found themselves included in the network of regulations and the costly blizzard of administrative paperwork Government demanded. Today 34 congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level. Virtually every aspect of campus life is now regulated -- hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fundraising and to some extent curriculum and educational programs.

I hope when you leave this campus you will do so with a feeling of obligation to this your alma mater. She will need your help and support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities like Notre Dame give way to and are replaced by tax-supported institutions the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost.

Yes we are troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency, prohibitive taxes and those burdensome regulations. The cost of that stagnation in human terms mostly among those who are least equipped to survive it is cruel and inhuman.

Now don't decide to turn in your diplomas and spend another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this -- being done because the people of America have said, "enough already." We just had gotten so busy that for a while we let things get out of hand, forgot we were the keepers of the power. We forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change; forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of Government planners.

Well at last we are remembering: remembering that Government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well; that it can be responsive to the people; that it can be humane and compassionate; but that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

For too long Government has been fixing things that aren't broken and inventing miracle cures for which there are no known diseases.

We need you, we need your youth, your strength and your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. I know you have been critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. But don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization is built just because they are old.

More important don't let the doom criers and the cynics persuade you that the best is past -- that from here it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation preceding it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You will have opportunities beyond anything we've ever known.

The people have made it plain they want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy. They want an end to burdensome and unnecessary regulations and to a punitive tax policy that takes "from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

They also want a government that not only can continue to send men through the far reaches of space but can guarantee the citizens they can walk through a park or in their neighborhoods after dark without fear of violence. And finally they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would try to pull it down.

All of these things we can do. Indeed a start has already been made. A task force under the leadership of

Vice President George Bush has identified hundreds of regulations which can be wiped out with no harm whatsoever to the quality of life. Their cancellation will leave billions of dollars for productive enterprise and research and development.

The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

William Faulkner at a Nobel Prize ceremony some time back said man "would not merely endure: he will prevail" against the modern world because he will return to "the old verities and truths of the heart."

"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One cannot say those words without thinking of the irony that one who so exemplifies them -- Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness -- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical, on mercy and justice, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric of class struggle to justify

injustice; that "in the name of an alleged justice the neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty or stripped of fundamental human rights."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

When it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a Nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

If history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you: that when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful Nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

SUBJECT: Notre Dame Commencement Address, May 17, 1981

Here are the speech cards for your Notre Dame address. They are typed in your shorthand. A typed text is also attached. If the cards are unsatisfactory, we can quickly redo them or do a set of cards without the shorthand.

There is a slight change in the Churchill quote -- research found the original text said "causes" not "forces."

Thank you for your immensely kind telephone call yesterday -- it meant more to us here than we can say. We also learned a lot from reading your draft; it is truly marvelous. Really one for the Gipper.

(RR/DOLAN)

NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS - MAY 17, 1981

N & I .. GREATLY HONR'D .. TODAY SHAR'G ..
DAY W/U. OUR PLESUR .. MORE THAN DOUBLD BCUS ..
SHARE .. PLATFORM .. LONG-TIME GD FRND P. O'B.

HAVEN'T HAD .. CHANC TO TELL PAT .. LERND ..
SMTHNG WE HOLD .. COMN. TIL .. FEW WKS AGO ..
KNOWN LITL .. FATHRs ANCESTRY. ORPHND .. AGE 6.
NOW .. LRND GRT GRNDFTHR LEFT VLG BALLYPOREEN ..
IRELAND .. B. ALSO ANCESTRAL HOME OF PAT O'B.

IF . DON'T WTCH .. TURN OUT TO BE LESS ..
COMMENCEMNT THAN .. WM BATH .. NOSTALGIC MEMS.
GROWNG UP .. ILL. ... INFLUENCED BY SPORTS LEGEND
SO NAT'L .. SCOPE & .. ALMST MYSTICAL,..DIFFCULT
XPLAIN .. ANY WHO DIDN'T LIVE .. THOSE TMS.
LEGEND BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ELEMENTS:
GAME - FOOTBALL; UNIV.- N.D.; & MAN - KNUTE
ROCKNE -- NOTHING LIKE IT BEFORE OR SINCE.

MY 1ST TM .. SEE N.D. .. SPORTS ANNOUNCER
2 YRS OUT OF COLLEGE .. BROADCAST FTBALL GAME.
U WON ... NOT MENT'D THAT.

NUMB.. YRS. LATER, RETD .. COMPANY OF P. O'B.
 & GALAXY OF HOLLYWD STARS .. WRLD PREMIERE ..
 "KNUTE ROCKNE ALL AMERICAN" .. I PLAYED G. GIPP.
 PROBABLY OTHERS CLD HV PLAYED PART BETTER.

.. NONE WHO WANTED TO PLAY IT AS MUCH AS I DID.
 & I .. GIVEN PART BCUS STAR .. PAT O'B. KINDLY
 & GENROUSLY HELD HELPG HAND .. BGNNG YNG ACTOR.

HAVING COME .. H'WD FR. WRLD OF SPORTS ..
 BEEN TRYING .. WRITE STORY .. KNUTE ROCKNE.
 & MUST CONFESS .. PURPOSE BCUS HAD SOMEONE IN
 MIND .. PLAY GIPPER. ON 1 .. SPORTS BROADCASTS
 BFOR H'WD .. TOLD STORY .. CAREER & TRAGC DEATH.
 DIDN'T HAVE MANY WRDS .. PAPER WHEN .. LERND ..
 STUDIO .. EMPLOYD .. ALREADY PREPRG FILM ...

& THAT BRNGS ME TO THEME OF .. REMARKS,
 I .. 5TH PRES. .. ADDRS N.D. COMMENCEMNT. ..
 TEMPTATN .. GRT TO USE .. FORUM .. ADDRESS ..
 NATL OR INTNATL ISSUE .. NOTHG TO DO W/OCCASION ..
 INDEED, .. SOMEWHT TRADITNL .. NOT SURPRISED ..
 READ IN .. REPUTABLE JOURNLS .. GOING TO DELIVER
 ADDRESS .. FOREN POL. .. ECONOMY ... ON NEITHER.

BY SAME TOKN .. NOT BELABOR U W/SM .. STNDRD RHETORIC BELOVED .. GRAD. SPKRS ... "U KNOW MORE TDAY THN U HV EVER KNOWN OR THN U WILL EVER KNOW AGAIN," .. OTHR STANDBY: "WHEN I WAS 14 I DIDN'T THNK FATHR KNEW ANYTHNG. BY .. TIME I WAS 21 .. AMAZED .. HOW MCH THE OLD GENTLEMAN .. LEARNED IN 7 YRS."

U MEMBRs OF GRAD CLASS OF 81 ARE WHAT .. BEHAVIORISTS CALL "ACHIEVERS." & WHILE U WILL LOOK BACK W/WARM PLESUR ON YRS ... U ARE TDAY .. LOOKG .. FUTURE WHCH SEEMS UNCERTN .. MOST OF U BUT WHCH .. OFFERS GRT EXPECTATNS.

TAKE PRIDE .. THS DAY, THNK PARENTS, THOSE WHO HV BN OF HELP TO YOU OVER LAST 4 YRS, & DO .. CELEBRATING. THS IS YOUR DAY & WHATEVER I SAY SHLD TAKE COGNIZANCE OF .. FACT. .. MILESTONE IN LIFE & TIME OF CHANGE.

W. CHURCHILL DURG DARKST PRD. OF BATTLE OF BRITAIN IN WWII: "WHEN GREAT CAUSES ARE ON THE MOVE IN THE WRLD...WE LERN WE ARE SPIRITS, NOT ANIMALS, & THAT SMTHNG .. GOING ON IN

SPACE & TIME, & BEYOND SPACE & TIME WHICH,
WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, SPELLS DUTY."

I'M GOING TO MENTION AGAIN .. MOVIE PAT & I
& N.D. .. IN .. SAYS SOMETHING ABOUT AMERICA.
KNUTE ROCKNE AS BOY CAME .. THS CO. w/PARENTS
FROM NORWAY, .. BECAME SO AMERICAN .. AT N.D.
WAS ALL AMERICAN IN SPORT .. UNIQUELY AMERICAN.

AS A COACH HE DID MORE THAN TEACH YNG MEN
HOW TO PLAY GAME. .. BELIEVD .. NOBLEST WK OF MAN
.. MOLDg .. CHARACTR OF MAN. MAYBE .. WHY ..
LIVg LEGEND. NO MAN CONNECTD W/FTBALL .. ACHIEVD
STATURE OR OCCUPIED .. SINGLAR NICHE IN .. NATN
THT HE CARVD OUT FOR HIMSELF, NOT JUST IN SPORT,
BUT IN ENTIRE SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

"WIN 1 FOR .. GIPPER" ... SPOKN NOW IN ..
HUMORUS VEIN. I HEAR IT FM MEMB. OF CONG. WHO ..
SUPPORTV .. EC. PROG. .. SUBMTd. BUT LET'S LOOK
AT .. SIGNIFCANCE OF HIS STORY. ROCKNE CLD HV
USED IT ANY TM .. WIN A GAME. BUT 8 YRS WLD GO
BY FOLLOWg DEATH OF G. GIPP BFOR ROCK .. REVEALd
GIPP'S DEATHBED WISH.

THN HE TLD STORY .. HALFTIME TO .. ONLY TMS
HE'D EVER COACHD .. TORN BY DISSENTION, JEALOUSY,
& FACTIONALISM. SRS. ON TEAM .. ABT .. CLOSE OUT
THEIR FTBALL CAREERS W/O .. LEARNg OR XPERNCg ..
REAL VALUs .. GAME HAS TO IMPART.

NONE OF THEM .. KNOWN G. GIPP, ..CHILDREN
WHN HE PLAYED FOR N.D. .. THS TM THT ROCKNE
TOLD .. STORY & SO INSPIRD THEM THT THEY ROSE
ABOVE .. PERSONL ANIMOSITIES. .. JOINd TOGETHER
IN COMN CAUSE & ATTAINd THE UNATTAINABLE.

.. TOLD OF 1 LINE SPOKEN BY PLAYER DURING
THT GAME .. AFRAID TO PUT IN PICTURE. THE MAN
WHO CARRIED BALL .. WING T-DOWN .. INJURED ...
AS .. LIFTED ON STRETCHER & TAKN OFF FIELD, ..
HEARD TO SAY: "THAT'S .. LAST 1 I CN GET . U GIP."

.. ONLY GAME .. SEEM MAUDLIN BUT .. ANYTHING
WRONG W/YNG MEN HVg XPERNC .. FEELg SOMETHNG SO
DEEPLY THT .. CN GIVE SO COMPLETELY . THEMSELVS?
THERE WILL CM TIMES IN LIVES OF ALL .. BE FACED
W/CAUSES BIGr THN OURSELVS & THEY WON'T BE ..
PLAYg FIELD.

.. NATN WAS BORN .. BAND OF MEN .. FOUNDg
FATHRS .. GRP SO UNIQUE WE'VE NEVER SEEN THEIR
LIKE SINCE, ROSE TO SUCH SELFLESS HEIGHTS.

LAWYRS, TRADSMN, MERCHNTS, FRMERS -- 56 MEN
.. ACHIEVd SECURTY & STANDg IN LIFE, .. VALUED
FREEDM MORE. .. PLEDGED LIVES, FORTNS, & THEIR
SACRED HONOR. SOME GAVE LIVES - MOST GV FORTUNES
ALL PRESERVd THEIR SACRED HONOR.

GAVE US MORE THAN NATION. .. BROUGHT TO ..
MANKIND .. 1st TM .. CONCEPT .. MAN WAS BORN FREE;
THAT ECH .. INALIENABLE RIGHTS, OURS BY GRACE . GOD,
& THAT GOVT CREATED BY US FOR OUR CONVENIENCE
HVING ONLY .. POWRS .. WE CHOOSE TO GIVE IT.

THIS IS .. HERITAGE U ARE ABOUT .. CLAIM ..
U COME OUT TO JOIN SOCIETY MADE UP .. THOSE WHO
HV PRECEDED U BY A FEW YEARS & SOME .. BY MANY.

THIS XPERMENT IN MAN'S RELATN TO MAN IS A
FEW YRS INTO .. 3rd CENTURY. SAYg THT WAY ..
SOUND QUITE OLD. BUT ... ANOTH. PERSPECTIVE.
FEW YRS AGO SOMEONE FIGURED OUT .. COULD CONDENSE
HISTRY OF LIFE ON EARTH .. FILM .. RUN 24 HRS/DAY

FOR 1 YR, 365 DAYS (LEAP YR .. INTERMISSION),
THIS IDEA .. U.S. WOULDN'T APPEAR ON SCREEN TIL
3½ SECS BFOR MIDNIGHT ON DEC. 31ST.

IN THOSE 3½ SECS NOT ONLY .. NEW CONCEPT OF
SOCIETY CM INTO BEING, A GOLDN HOPE FOR MANKIND,
BUT MAYBE ½ .. EC. ACTIV. IN WRLD HIST. WLD TAKE
PLACE ON THIS CONTINENT. FREE TO XPRES THEIR
GENIUS, INDIVID. AMERCNS - M&W - IN 3½ SECS -
WLD PERFORM .. MIRACLES OF INVENTN, CONSTRUCTN &
PRODUCTN AS WRLD HAD NEVER SEEN.

AS U JOIN US .. BEYOND CAMPUS U .. KNOW,
GREAT UNSOLVED PROBS. .. FEDERALISM W/BUILT-IN
CKS & BALANCES .. DISTORTD. CENTRL GOVT .. USURPED
POWERS THT PROPERLY BELONG TO ST. & LOC. GOVT.
& IN SO DOING .. MANY WAYS.. FAILED TO DO THNGS ..
RESPONSIB'Y OF .. CENTRL GOVT.

ALL .. LED TO MISUSE OF POWER & PREEMPTION ..
PREROGs OF P. & THEIR SOCIAL INSTITUTNS. U ARE GRAD
.. GRT PRIV. OR .. INDEP. UNIV. NOT MANY YRS AGO
SUCH SCHOOLS .. RELATIVLY FREE OF GOVT INTERFERNC.

.. IN RECENT YRS .. GOVT SPAWNED REGS COVERG VIRTU.
 EVERY FACET .. LIVES, .. INDEP. & CHURCH-SUPRTD
 COL. & UNIV. FOUND THEMSELVS .. NETWK OF REGS &
 COSTLY BLIZZARD OF ADMIN. PAPERWK GOVT DEMANDED.
 34 CONG. COMIT. & ALMOST 80 SUBCOM. HV JURISDICTN
 OVER 439 SEP. LAWS AFFECTG ED. AT COL. LEVEL.
 .. EVERY ASPECTS . CAMPUS LIFE .. NOW REGULATD -
 HIRING, FIRING, PROMOTNS, PHYS. PLANT, CONSTRUCTN,
 RECORD KEEPNG, FUNDRAISG & .. SM XTENT CURRICULUM
 & EDUC. PROGRAMS.

I HOPE WHN U LV .. CAMPUS, U WILL DO SO
 W/A FEELG OF OBLIGATN TO .. ALMA MATER. SHE WILL
 ND YOUR HELP & SUPPRT IN YRS TO COME. IF EVER ..
 GRT INDEPENDNT COL. & UNIV. LIKE N.D. GIVE WAY
 TO & ARE REPLACED BY TAX-SUPRTD INSTITUTNS,
 STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE ACADMC FREEDOM .. LOST.

.. TROUBLD TDAY .. EC. STAGNATN, BROUGHT ON
 INFLATED CURRENCY, PROHIB. TAXES & BURDENSM REGS.
 COST OF STAGNATN .. HUMAN TERMS MOSTLY AMONG THOSE
 LEAST EQUIPPED TO SURVIVE IT .. CRUEL & INHUMAN.

DON'T DECIDE .. TURN IN DIPLOMAS & SPEND ANOTH. YR ON CAMPUS. JUST GIVN U BAD NEWS -- GOOD NEWS .. SOMETHNG .. DONE ABOUT ALL THIS -- BCUS THE P. OF AMER.: "ENOUGH ALREADY." .. JUST GOTTEN SO BUSY THT .. LET THINGS GET OUT OF HAND, FORGOT .. KEEPERS OF POWER .. TO CHALLENGE NOTION THT .. ST. IS PRINCIPAL VEHICLE OF SOCIAL CHNG .. THT MILs OF SOCIAL INTERACTNS AMONG FREE INDIVIDs & INSTITUTNS CAN DO MORE TO FOSTER EC. & SOCIAL PROGRESS THAN ALL..CAREFUL SCHEMS OF GOVT PLANNERS.

WELL AT LAST WE ARE REMEMBRg: .. GOVT HAS CERTN LEGIT. FUNCTNS WHCH CAN PERFORM VERY WELL; .. CN BE RESPNSV TO P.; .. CN BE HUMANE & COMPAS.; BT THT WHN IT UNDERTAKES TASKS .. NOT ITS PROPER PROVINCE, .. CAN DO NONE .. AS WELL OR ECONOMICALLY AS .. PRIVATE SECTOR.

FOR TOO LONG GOVT .. FIXg THNGS THT AREN'T BROKN & INVENTg MIRACLE CURES FOR WHCH .. NO KNOWN DISEASES.

WE NEED U, .. YOUTH .. STRENGTH & IDEALISM .. HELP US MAKE RIGHT THAT WHCH IS WRONG. I KNOW U

HV BEEN CRITICALLY LOOKG AT MORES & CUSTOMS OF ..
 PAST & QUESTIONG THEIR VALUE. EVERY GENRATION
 DOES THAT. BUT DON'T DISCARD .. TIME-TESTED
 VALUS UPON WHCH CIVLZATN . BUILT . BCUS .. OLD.

MORE IMPORTANT, DON'T LET DOOM CRIERS &
 CYNICS PERSAUDE U .. BEST IS PAST -- THAT FROM
 HERE IT'S ALL DOWNHILL. EACH GEN. SEES FARTHER
 THAN THE GEN. PRECEDG IT BCUS IT STANDS ON
 SHOULDERS OF THT GENRATN. U WILL HV OPPORTUNs
 BEYOND ANYTHNG WE'VE EVER KNOWN.

THE P. .. MADE PLAIN .. WANT END TO
 EXCESSIV GOVT INTERVENTN IN LIVES & IN ECONy..
 .. END TO BURDENSM & UNNECY REGS. & .. PUNITIVE
 TAX POLICY THAT TAKES "FROM THE MOUTH OF LABOR
 THE BREAD IT HAS EARNED."

.. WANT GOVT THT NOT ONLY CAN CONTIN. TO
 SEND MEN .. FAR REACHS OF SPACE .. GUARANTEE ..
 CITIZENS THEY CAN WALK THROUGH PARK .. IN THEIR
 NEIGHBRHDS AFTER DARK W/O FEAR OF VIOLENCE.
 & FINALY .. KNOW THT THS NATION HAS ABILITY TO
 DEFEND ITSELF AG. THOSE WHO WLD .. PULL IT DOWN.

ALL .. WE CAN DO. INDEED . START .. ALREADY
 BEEN MADE. A TASK FORCE..LDRSHIP OF V.P. G. BUSH,
 .. IDENTIFIED 100s OF REGS .. WIPED OUT W/NO HARM
 .. QUALITY OF LIFE. ..CANCELATN WILL LV BILs OF \$s
 FOR PRODUCTV ENTERPRISE & RESEARCH & DEVELOPMNT.

YRS AHEAD .. GRT ONES FOR CO. .. CAUSE OF
 FREEDM .. SPREAD OF CIVILIZATN. THE WEST WON'T
 CONTAIN COMMUNISM, .. TRANSCEND COMMUNISM. ..
 WON'T BOTHER TO DENOUNCE IT .. DISMISS IT AS
 SAD, BIZARRE CHAPTR IN HUMAN HIST WHOSE LAST
 PAGES ARE EVEN NOW BEING WRITTEN.

WM. FAULKNER AT NOBEL PRIZE CEREMONY SOME
 TM BACK: MAN "WOULD NOT MERELY ENDURE: HE WILL
 PREVAIL" AGNST THE MODERN WRLD BCUS HE WILL
 RETURN TO "THE OLD VERITIES & TRUTHS OF . HEART."

"HE IS IMMORTAL," FAULKNER SAID OF MAN,
 "BCUS HE ALONE AMONG CREATURES .. HAS A SOUL, A
 SPIRIT CAPABLE OF COMPASSN & SACRIFIC & ENDURANCE".

ONE CAN'T SAY .. W/O THINKg OF IRONY THAT ONE
 WHO SO EXEMPLIFIES THEM -- POPE JOHN PAUL II ..
 MAN OF PEACE & GOODNS -- INSPIRATN TO THE WRLD --

WLD BE STRUCK BY BULLET FROM MAN TOWARDS WHOM HE
CLD ONLY FEEL COMPASSION & LOVE.

IT WAS POPE J.P. II .. WARNED LST YR ..
ENCYCLICAL ON MERCY & JUSTICE AGNST CERTAIN
EC. THEORIES THT USE .. RHETORIC OF CLASS
STRUGGLE TO JUSTIFY INJUSTICE; THAT "IN THE
NAME OF AN ALLEGED JUSTICE THE NEIGHBOR IS
SOMETMS DESTROYD, KILLED, DEPRIVED OF LIBERTY
OR STRIPPED OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS."

FOR .. WEST, FOR AMER, THE TM HAS COME TO
DARE .. SHOW . WRLD THT OUR CIVILIZED IDEAS,
OUR TRADITNS, OUR VALUS ARE NOT -- LIKE IDEOLOGY
& WAR MACHINE OF TOTALITARIAN SOCIETIES --
A FACADE OF STRENGTH. IT IS TM .. WRLD KNOW ..
INTELLEC. & SPIRITUAL VALUS ARE ROOTED IN ..
SOURCE OF ALL REAL STRENGTH -- A BELIEF IN
A SUPREME BEING, A LAW HIGHER THAN OUR OWN.

WHEN IT'S WRITTEN, .. HIST. OF OUR TM WON'T
DWELL LONG ON HARDSHPS OF RECENT PAST. BUT HIST.
WILL ASK -- & OUR ANSWER DETERMN FATE OF FREEDOM
FOR 1,000 YRS -- DID NATION BORN OF HOPE LOSE HOPE?

DID PEOPLE FORGED BY COURAGE FIND COURAGE WANTING?
 DID GENRATN STEELED BY HARD WAR & HARSH PEACE
 FORSAKE HONOR AT MOMENT OF GREAT CLIMACTIC
 STRUGGLE FOR THE HUMAN SPIRIT?

IF HIST. ASKS SUCH "??s", .. ALSO ANSWERS THM.
 ANSWERS .. FOUND IN HERITAGE LEFT BY GENRATNS OF
 AMERICANS BEFORE US. THEY STAND IN SILENT WITNESS
 TO WHAT THE WRLD WILL SOON KNOW & HIST. SOMEDAY
 RECORD: THT IN .. 3RD CENTURY, AMER. NATION CAME
 OF AGE -- AFFIRMg ITS LDRSHIP OF FREE M&W --
 SERVING SELFLESSLY A VISION OF MAN WITH GOD,
 GOVT FOR PEOPLE & HUMANITY AT PEACE.

THIS IS NOBLE, RICH HERITAGE ROOTED IN GREAT
 CIVILIZED IDEAS OF WEST -- & IT IS YOURS.

MY HOPE TDAY IS .. WHEN YR TM COMES --
 & COME IT SHALL -- TO XPLAIN TO ANOTHER GENRATN ..
 MEANg .. PAST & THEREBY HOLD OUT TO THEM PROMISE
 OF .. FUTURE, U WILL RECALL ... TRUTHS & TRADITNS
 OF WHICH WE HAVE SPOKEN. IT IS THESE Ts & Ts THAT
 DEFINE OUR CIVILIZATN & MAKE UP NATL HERITAGE. NOW,
 THEY ARE YOURS TO PROTECT & PASS ON.

.. 1 MORE HOPE FOR U -- WHN U DO SPEAK TO NEXT
GENRATN ABOUT THESE THNGS, U WILL ALWAYS
BE ABLE TO SPEAK ... AMER. THAT'S STRONG & FREE,
.. FIND IN YOUR HEARTS ... UNBOUNDED PRIDE IN
THIS MUCH-LOVED CO., THIS ONCE & FUTURE LAND,
THIS BRIGHT & HOPEFUL NATION WHOSE GENEROUS SPIRIT
& GREAT IDEALS THE WRLD STILL HONORS.

CONGRATS & GOD BLESS YOU.

FACT SHEET -- NOTRE DAME

University Background: Founded in 1842 by Father Edward F. Sorin with about \$300 and 3 log buildings in northern Indiana Wilderness. School chartered in 1844; graduate school founded in 1918; has 42 majors, four colleges.

University had Nation's first Catholic engineering education program, first law school under Catholic auspices in U.S.

University President: Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, completing his 29th year, has announced he'll retire after next school year, marking 30 years' service, longest of any major university president in Nation; has received 74 honorary degrees.

Under 6 Presidents, Hesburgh remained independent politically, loyal to America. Above normal duties Hesburgh has been named by Presidents to many committees; held 6 chairmanships in 1980 alone, including Overseas Development Council, Rockefeller Foundation; asked to be McGovern's running mate, asked to head NASA at inception, and received Medal of Freedom (1964) from Lyndon Johnson.

1981 Commencement: 136th commencement with expected 2,000 graduates, 12,000 guests. Four Presidents have addressed Notre Dame commencements: Carter, Ford, Eisenhower, Franklin Roosevelt.

Former Senator/Secretary of State Edmund Muskie will receive the Laetare Medal, the oldest honor given to American Catholics, highest award presented by Notre Dame.

Notables attending: Congressman John Hiler (R-Ind) representing the district, Senators Dan Quayle (R-Ind) and Richard Lugar (R-Ind), Republican Indiana Governor Robert Orr, and his predecessor, Republican Governor Otis Bowen.

Others receiving honorary degrees:

Alden W. Clausen, president, World Bank

Fr. Rene Dubos, microbiologist, environmentalist,
author

Teddy Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem

Dr. Nikolaus Lobkowski, former member Philosophy
Department, Notre Dame, current President, University
of Munich

Pat O'Brien, actor

Allen S. Rupley, President, Grace Foundation, New York

Barbara Tuchman, historian and author

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General, United Nations

G. Emmett Cardinal Carter, archbishop of Toronto

William H. Webster, Director, FBI

The Fighting Irish: Last year were 9 - 2, with one tie, went to Sugar Bowl with undefeated Georgia and lost, 17-10 (held New Year's Day, Louisiana Superdome, New Orleans).

Indiana Issues: Unemployment at 8.9% (seasonally adjusted, 3-81 figures), higher than national average for same period (7.3%). Two of Indiana's biggest industries are hurt by economic decline, transportation (automobiles) and steel.

Famous Indiana Residents: Hoagy Carmichael, Virgil "Gus" Grissom (one of original Mercury astronauts), President Benjamin Harrison, Cole Porter, Knute Rockne, Wendell Willkie, Wilbur and Orville Wright, along with 4 U.S. vice presidents.

South Bend: First white settler Pierre Navarre, who established trading post in 1820. As settlement grew, name changed several times until 1830, when it became South Bend. Population is now around 125,000.

Mock 1980 Presidential Election at Notre Dame: Held 10-2-80, Reagan-45%, Anderson-35%, Carter-16%, others-4%.

Famous Notre Dame Alumni:

Richard V. Allen, National Security Adviser	
Alexander Haig, Secretary of State (attended one year, before transferring to West Point)	
Thomas Corcoran (R-Ill), Member of Congress	
Joseph Gaydos (D-Pa)	"
Daniel Lundgren (R-Ca)	"
David Martin (R-NY)	"
Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky)	"
Joseph McDade (R-Pa)	"
Ronald Mottl (D-Oh)	"

NOTE: Six of these seven Congressman voted for President's economic program.

Additional Note: Governor Orr has been a strong supporter of budget reductions -- ordered State officials not to complain about cuts but to assist the Administration.

Tony:

I talked with Teresa a few minutes ago to give her an update on the speech.

She suggested that in the memo to the President you might ask him if he remembers where that story (about the history of life on film) comes from.

But, more importantly, she suggests we ask the President if he remembers the source on the 34 committees, 80 subcommittees having jurisdiction over 439 laws affecting education at the college level. She said even though Secretary Bell has put his blessings on it, we should get a source because this is the type of figure the President will probably use time and time again. And press people will undoubtedly question us for a source.

Thanks,

Misty
#1

P.S. I'll get you the Solzhenitsyn quote in the original text on Monday. By the way, his researcher is joining the Hoover Institution next month as a Senior Fellow, was quite pleasant, and said we should call any time we have a question.

*P.S. I am reachable at home or
on the beeper.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/15/81

Nance:

Attached is the speech. As you can see the changes are minor, and mostly style.

I worded the Churchill quote verbatim, if the President changes it, we'll know next time to just drop the quotes and leave as is.

There are three things left to check. Two I can take care of first thing in the a.m. with phone calls.

The third is a little sticky. The President wrote (and I checked his hand copy) that his father was orphaned at age 3. Back in March, during his St. Pat's Day remarks, he told a group at the Irish Embassy, his father was orphaned at 6.

over

I've checked his autobiography,
and it isn't mentioned. I think
I'll mention it to Dave. They may
want to ask him, just to get the
story straight. We don't need
the press picking up the inconsistency.

Anyhow, I'll be in about 8:30 am.
I've gone over the fact sheet,
but I'd like to look at it again
first thing with a fresh mind.

See you then.....

me

NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS - MAY 17, 1981

*all scheduling memo
25-31 advance office
ended 7/25/81
Nancy's new letter (Nancy
re) March 1981, p. 1
and Conklin, Detection
information, note June
1283-7367 - starts 3pm
ms of RR, p. 101-104
p. 75*

Nancy and I are greatly honored to be here today sharing this day with you. Our pleasure is more than doubled because we also share this platform with a long-time good friend, Pat O'Brien.

*all free, pp. 311-312
Pato Day March 3-17-81
2-1-81 p. 61 it's a
way from Tipperary*

I haven't had a chance to tell Pat that I've only recently learned of another something we hold in common. Until a few weeks ago, I've known very little about my ancestry on my father's side. He had been orphaned at age 3. Now I've learned my great grandfather left the village of Ballyporeen in Ireland to come to America. Ballyporeen is also the ancestral home of Pat O'Brien.

*my American
1-7, p. 378
agen Bro, p. 1
McNally Atlas p. 26
p. 75*

If I don't watch myself this could turn out to be less a commencement than a warm bath in nostalgic memories. During my growing-up years in nearby Illinois, I was greatly influenced by a sports legend so national in scope and so almost mystical, it is difficult to explain to any who did not live in those times. The legend was based on the combination of three elements -- a game, football; a university, Notre Dame; and a man, Knute Rockne -- there has been nothing like it before or since.

*agen Bro p. 121
agen Bro p. 1*

My first time to ever see Notre Dame was to come here as a sports announcer only 2 years out of college to broadcast a football game. You won or I wouldn't have mentioned that.

heres the rest of me
autobiography p. 90-95, 97
lms of RR, p. 101-104
file p. 60

A number of years later I returned in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knute Rockne -- All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. There were probably others in the motion picture industry who could have played the part better. There were none who could have wanted to play it as much as I did. And I was given the part because the star of the picture, Pat O'Brien, kindly and generously held out a helping hand to a beginning young actor.

heres the rest of me
autobiography p. 95
R bio, p. 1-2
file p. 60

Having come to Hollywood from the world of sports, I had been trying to write a story treatment based on the life of Knute Rockne. And I must confess my main purpose was because I had someone in mind to play the Gipper. On one of my sports broadcasts before going to Hollywood I had told the story of his career and tragic death. I didn't have many words down on paper when I learned the studio where I was employed was already preparing to film that story.

inter, 5/27/77, pp. 954-62
d, 3/17/75, pp. 353-61
unnon, 6/4/80, pp. 461-7
sault, 7/9/35, pp. 423-6
file p. 182, 53
New American, 4/7/38
Interweek, 5-14-81, p. 21.
5-4-81, p. 11 Same piece

And that brings me to the theme of my remarks. I am the fifth President to address a Notre Dame commencement. The temptation is great to use this forum for an address on some national or international issue having nothing to do with the occasion itself. Indeed this is somewhat traditional so I haven't been surprised to read in a number of reputable journals that I was going to deliver a major address on foreign policy. Others said it would be on the economy. It will be on neither.

By the same token I will not belabor you with some of the standard rhetoric beloved of graduation speakers over the years. I won't tell you that "You know more today than you have ever known or than you will ever know again," or that other standby: "When I was 14 I didn't think my father knew anything. By the time I was 21 I was amazed at how much the old gentleman had learned in 7 years."

Handwritten: 3-81, p. 1
You members of the graduating class of 1981 are what the behaviorists call "achievers." And while you will look back with warm pleasure on the years that led to this day you are today also looking toward a future which for most of you seems uncertain but which I assure you offers great expectations.

Handwritten: p. 181
Take pride in this day, thank your parents and those who over the last 4 years have been of help to you and do a little celebrating. This is your day and whatever I say should take cognizance of that fact. This is a milestone in your life and a time of change.

Handwritten: Churchill, Condoleezza, V. 6, p. 6425-7
Winston Churchill during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great ^{causes} forces are on the move in the world we learn we are spirits and not animals ^{and that} something is going on in time and space and beyond time and space which whether we like it or not spells duty." ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~

Handwritten: 101-104
I'm going to mention again that movie Pat and I and Notre Dame were in for it says something about America.

Handwritten: 101-104
Radio 2, 1981
V. 6, p. 6425-7
Condoleezza

Knute Rockne as a boy came to this country with his parents from Norway. He became so American that here at Notre Dame he was an All American in a sport that is uniquely American.

As a coach he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed that the noblest work of man was molding the character of man. Maybe that's why he was a living legend. No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in our Nation that he carved out for himself, not just in a sport, but in our entire social structure.

"Win one for the Gipper," has become a line usually spoken now in a humorous vein. I hear it from Members of the Congress who are supportive of the economic program I've submitted. But let's look at the real significance of his story. Rockne could have used it any time just to win a game. But 8 years would go by following the death of George Gipp before Rock ever revealed Gipp's deathbed wish.

Then he told the story at halftime to one of the only teams he'd ever coached that was torn by dissention, jealousy and factionalism. The seniors on that team were about to close out their football careers without ever learning or experiencing some of the real values the game has to impart.

None of them had ever known George Gipp. They were children when he played for Notre Dame. Yet it was to this team that Rockne told the story and so inspired them

that they rose above their personal animosities. They joined together in a common cause and attained the unattainable.

We were told of one line spoken by a player during that game that we were afraid to put in the picture. The man who carried the ball over for the winning touchdown was injured on the play. We were told that as he was lifted on the stretcher and taken off the field he was heard to say: "That's the last one I can get for you Gipper."

Yes it was only a game and it might seem somewhat maudlin but is there anything wrong with young men having the experience of feeling something so deeply that they can give so completely of themselves? There will come times in the lives of all of us when we'll be faced with causes bigger than ourselves and they won't be on a playing field.

This Nation was born when a little band of men we call the founding fathers, a group so unique we've never seen their like since, rose to such selfless heights.

Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers -- 56 men in all -- who had achieved security and some standing in life, but who valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. ~~Some~~ ^{Some} gave their lives, most gave their fortunes, all preserved their sacred honor.

They gave us more than a nation. They brought to all mankind for the first time the concept that man was born

free; that each of us has inalienable rights, ours by the grace of God, and that government is created by us for our convenience having only those powers which we choose to give it.

This is the heritage you are about to claim as you come out to join a society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years and some of us by many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying it that way could make it sound quite old. But look at it from another perspective. A few years ago someone figured out that if we could condense the history of life on Earth down to a film that would run 24 hours a day for one year, 365 days (on leap years we could have an intermission), this idea we call the United States would not appear on the screen until 3½ seconds before midnight on December 31.

In those 3½ seconds not only would a totally new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but half the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans -- men and women in those 3½ seconds -- would perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world had never seen.

As you join us out there beyond the campus you already know there are great unsolved problems. The careful structure of federalism with built-in checks and balances has become

EECV Program
181, 2125, p. 4-21
2. 46, 56, 47
2. of Independence
manual, p. 9

distorted. The central government has usurped powers that properly belong to state and local government. And in so doing has in many ways failed to do those things which are the responsibility of the central government.

Notes of Information
Notilane's p. 6-8
2. 46, 56, 47
2. of Independence
manual, p. 9

All of this has led to a misuse of power and a preemption of the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions. You are graduating from one of our great private or if you will independent universities. Not many years ago such schools were relatively free of government interference. But in recent years as government spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives our independent and church-supported colleges and universities found themselves included in the network of regulations and the costly blizzard of administrative paperwork government demanded. Today 34 congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level. Virtually every aspect of campus life is now regulated -- hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fundraising and to some extent curriculum and educational programs.

Notes of Information
Notilane's p. 6-8
2. 46, 56, 47
2. of Independence
manual, p. 9

I hope when you leave this campus you will do so with a feeling of obligation to this your Alma Mater. She will need your help and support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities like Notre Dame give way to and are replaced by tax-supported institutions the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost.

Capitalized Alma Mater
refers to Notre Dame

DISSEMINATION PROGRAM
28, SECT 2-5, p. 4-21

Yes we are troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency, prohibitive taxes and those burdensome regulations. The cost of that stagnation in human terms mostly among those who are least equipped to survive it is cruel and inhuman.

Now don't decide to turn in your diplomas and spend another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this. Being done because the people of America have said, "enough already." We just had gotten so busy that for a while we let things get out of hand, forgot we were the keepers of the power. We forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change; forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

DISSEMINATION PROGRAM
28, SECT 2-5, p. 4-21
28, SECT 2-5, p. 4-21

Well at last we are remembering; remembering that government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well; that it can be responsive to the people; that it can be humane and compassionate, but that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

DISSEMINATION PROGRAM
28, SECT 2-5, p. 4-21
28, SECT 2-5, p. 4-21

For too long government has been fixing things that aren't broken and inventing miracle cures for which there are no known diseases.

We need you, we need your youth, your strength and your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. I know you have been critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. But don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization is built just because they are old.

More important don't let the doom criers and the cynics persuade you that the best is past that from here it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation preceding it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You will have opportunities beyond anything we've ever known.

The people have made it plain they want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy. They want an end to burdensome and unnecessary regulations and to a punitive tax policy that takes from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

They also want a government that not only can continue to send men through the far reaches of space but can guarantee the citizens they can walk through a park or in their neighborhoods after dark without fear of violence. And finally they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would try to pull it down.

All of these things we can do. Indeed a start has already been made. A task force under the leadership of Vice

President George Bush has identified hundreds of regulations which can be wiped out with no harm whatsoever to the quality of life. Their cancellation will leave billions of dollars for productive enterprise and research and development.

The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

William Faulkner at a Nobel Prize ceremony some time back said man "would not merely endure; he will prevail" against the modern world because he will return to "the old verities and ~~the~~ truths of the heart."

"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One cannot say those words without thinking of the irony that one who so exemplifies them -- Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness -- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical, on ~~mercy~~ and ~~justice~~, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric and class struggle to justify injustice; that "in the name of an alleged justice the

2-26-81, p. 5
see Admin. Resolutions
11-27-81 up, D1
2-26-81, p. 23-24
see GLE report on
2-26-81, p. 5

11-27-81, p. 63-65
2-26-81, p. 65

11-27-81, p. 63-65
see, Dec 19, 1980
see, Dec 19, 1980

11-27-81, p. 63-65
see, Dec 19, 1980
see, Dec 19, 1980

11-27-81, p. 63-65
see, Dec 19, 1980
see, Dec 19, 1980

11-27-81, p. 63-65
see, Dec 19, 1980
see, Dec 19, 1980

neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty
~~and~~ stripped of fundamental human rights."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare
to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions,
our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of
totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time
the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values
are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in
a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

When it is written, the history of our time will not
dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history
will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for
a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope?
Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a
generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake
honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the
human spirit?

If history asks such questions, history also answers
them. These answers are found in the heritage left by
generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent
witness to what the world will soon know and history someday
record: that in its third century the American Nation came
of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women --
serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for
people and humanity at peace.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you?

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations and God bless you.

275286050
not in book

NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS - MAY 17, 1981

Nancy and I are greatly honored to be here today sharing this day with you. Our pleasure is more than doubled because we also share this platform with a long-time good friend, Pat O'Brien.

I haven't had a chance to tell Pat that I've only recently learned of another something we hold in common. Until a few weeks ago, I've known very little about my ancestry on my father's side. He had been orphaned at age 3. Now I've learned my great grandfather left the village of Bollyporeen in Ireland to come to America. Bollyporeen is also the ancestral home of Pat O'Brien.

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Winston Churchill during the darkest period of the "Battle of Britain" in World War II said: "When great forces are on the move in the world we learn we are spirit and not animal. Something is going on in time and space and beyond time and space which whether we like it or not spells duty."

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Lawyers, tradesmen, merchants, farmers -- 56 men in all -- who had achieved security and some standing in life, but who valued freedom more. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Sixteen gave their lives, most gave their fortunes, all preserved their sacred honor.

They gave us more than a nation. They brought to all mankind for the first time the concept that man was born

free; that each of us has inalienable rights, ours by the grace of God, and that government is created by us for our convenience having only those powers which we choose to give it.

This is the heritage you are about to claim as you come out to join a society made up of those who have preceded you by a few years and some of us by many.

This experiment in man's relation to man is a few years into its third century. Saying it that way could make it sound quite old. But look at it from another perspective. A few years ago someone figured out that if we could condense the history of life on Earth down to a film that would run 24 hours a day for one year, 365 days (on leap years we could have an intermission), this idea we call the United States would not appear on the screen until $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds before midnight on December 31.

In those $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds not only would a totally new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but half the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. Free to express their genius, individual Americans -- men and women in those $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds -- would perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world had never seen.

As you join me out there beyond the campus you already know there are great unsolved problems. The careful structure of federalism with built-in checks and balances has become

distorted. The central government has usurped powers that properly belong to state and local government. And in so doing has in many ways failed to do those things which are the responsibility of the central government.

All of this has led to a misuse of power and a preemption of the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions. You are graduating from one of our great private or if you will independent universities. Not many years ago such schools were relatively free of government interference. But in recent years as government spawned regulations covering virtually every facet of our lives our independent and church-supported colleges and universities found themselves included in the network of regulations and the costly blizzard of administrative paperwork government demanded. Today 34 congressional committees and almost 80 subcommittees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting education at the college level. Virtually every aspect of campus life is now regulated -- hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fundraising and to some extent curriculum and educational programs.

I hope when you leave this campus you will do so with a feeling of obligation to this your Alma Mater. She will need your help and support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities like Notre Dame give way to and are replaced by tax-supported institutions the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost.

Yes we are troubled today by economic stagnation, brought on by inflated currency, prohibitive taxes and those burdensome regulations. The cost of that stagnation in human terms mostly among those who are least equipped to survive it is cruel and inhuman.

Now don't decide to turn in your diplomas and spend another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this. Being done because the people of America have said, "enough already." We just had gotten so busy that for a while we let things get out of hand, forgot we were the keepers of the power. We forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change; forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

Well at last we are remembering; remembering that government has certain legitimate functions which it can perform very well; that it can be responsive to the people; that it can be humane and compassionate. But that when it undertakes tasks that are not its proper province it can do none of them as well or as economically as the private sector.

For too long government has been fixing things that aren't broken and inventing miracle cures for which there are no known diseases.

We need you, we need your youth, your strength and your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. I know you have been critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. But don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization is built just because they are old.

More important don't let the doom criers and the cynics persuade you that the best is past; that from here it's all down hill. Each generation sees farther than the generation preceding it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You will have opportunities beyond anything we've ever known.

The people have made it plain they want an end to excessive government intervention in their lives and in the economy. They want an end to burdensome and unnecessary regulations and to a punitive tax policy that "takes from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

They also want a government that not only can continue to send men through the far reaches of space but can guarantee the citizens they can walk through a park or in their neighborhoods after dark without fear of violence. And finally they want to know that this Nation has the ability to defend itself against those who would try to pull it down.

All of these things we can do. Indeed a start has already been made. A task force under the leadership of Vice

President George Bush has identified hundreds of regulations which can be wiped out with no harm whatsoever to the quality of life. Their cancellation will leave billions of dollars for productive enterprise and research and development.

The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

William Faulkner at a Nobel Prize ceremony some time back said man "would not merely endure, he will prevail" against the modern world because he will return to "the old verities and the truths of the heart."

"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One cannot say those words without thinking of the irony that one who so exemplifies them -- Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness -- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical, on Mercy and Justice, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric and class struggle to justify injustice; that "in the name of an alleged justice the

neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty and stripped of fundamental human rights."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

When it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

If history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us. They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you.

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations and God Bless You.

1
Nancy & I are greatly honored to be here today sharing this day with you. Our pleasure is more than doubled because ^{we} share this platform with a long time ^{good} friend Pat O'Brien.

I haven't had a chance to tell Pat ~~that I've~~ ^{another something we hold in common.} ~~that I've~~ ^{Until} ~~ago I've~~ ^{a few weeks} known very little about my ancestry on my father's side. ~~He had been~~ ^{He} orphaned at age 3. Now I've ~~learned~~ ^{learned} my

great grandfather ~~reported~~ left the village of Ballyforen in Ireland to come to America. Ballyforen is also the ancestral home of Pat O'Brien.

~~As I don't watch myself this could turn out to be LESS.~~
A COMMENCEMENT THAN A WARM BATH IN NOSTALGIC MEMORIES.

~~DURING MY GROWING UP YEARS IN NEARBY ILL. I WAS GREATLY INFLUENCED BY A~~
~~SPORTS LEGEND SO NATIONAL IN SCOPE AND SO MYSTICAL IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN~~
~~TO ANY WHO DID NOT LIVE IN THOSE TIMES THE LEGEND WAS BASED ON THE COMBINATION~~
~~OF 3 ELEMENTS - A GAME, FOOTBALL A UNIVERSITY NOTRE DAME AND~~
~~A KNUTE ROCKNE. THERE HAS BEEN NOTHING LIKE IT BEFORE OR SINCE.~~

~~My first time to ever~~
~~SEE NOTRE DAME WAS TO COME HERE~~
~~a sports announcer only 2 years out of college~~
to broadcast a ~~KNUTE ROCKNE~~ ^{FOOTBALL} game. You even ~~mentioned~~ ^{MENTIONED} PAT.

A number of years later I returned in the company of Pat O'Brien and a galaxy of Hollywood stars for the world premiere of "Knute Rockne - All American" in which I was privileged to play George Gipp. There were probably others in the motion picture industry who could have played the part better. There

~~were none who could have wanted to play it as much as I did.~~
~~And I was~~
given the part because the star of the picture Pat O'Brien kindly & generously held out a helping hand to ^{A BEGINNING} ~~a~~ young actor.

Having come to Hollywood from the world of sports I ^{I HAD BEEN} ~~was~~ trying to write a story treatment based on the life of Knute Rockne. ^{AND I MUST CONFESS MY MAIN PURPOSE WAS BECAUSE I HAD SOMEONE IN MIND} ~~to play the part~~ ^{BEFORE GOING TO HOLLYWOOD} ~~to play the part~~ ^{TO PLAY} ~~the part~~ ^{THE STORY OF HIS CAREER & TRAGIC DEATH} ~~the part~~ ^{HAD TOLD}

②

Dr. J. B. ...

Remarks
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When
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mountain
there.

and
your
-deep
Do me of
charge.

and on

in life it or not a special duty."

~~Don't~~ ^{Don't} mention again that movie Post¹ and
Nette Dore were in for it says something about
America. Kate Parker as a boy came to this
country with his parents from Norway. He became
an American that day at Nette Dore the first
an all American in a ~~the~~ about that is uniquely
American.

Go a coach he did more than teach young men how to play a game. He believed that the noblest work of man was moulding the character of men. Maybe that's why he was a living legend. We men connected with football has ever achieved. He alone occupied the singular niche ^{in our nation} that he carved out for himself, not just in a sport, but in our entire social structure.

"When one for the shipper, has become a line
merely spoken over in a humorous vein. I
hear it from members of Congress and an
outlet of the so. program is unlimited. But this
looks at the real significance of ~~that~~^{this} story. Rather
could have said it any time past to win a game, but
8 yrs. passed for ~~the~~^{following} the death of George Ship
before ~~the~~ was revealed. ~~The ship had no~~
~~of the story~~

Then he told the story at half time to one of the
only teams he'd ever coached ~~and that was from my division~~
Hobart & Gresham - The boys on that team
~~was about 6~~ close out their football career without ever
learning or experiencing some of the ^{best} tricks the game
has to impart. None of them had ever known
George Jeff. They were children when he played
for Notre Dame. Yet it was to this team that
Notre Dame told the story and ^{to} inspired them that
they were above their present limitations. ~~They were~~

a few years and some by many.

This experiment in mass relation to man is ~~being~~ a few years into it's 3rd century - long it ~~has~~ ^{has} not made it round quite yet. But look at it from another perspective. A few years ago some one figured out that if we could condense the history of life on earth down to a system that would run 24 hours a day for one year 365 days (on leap years we could have an intermission). This idea we call The United States would not appear on the screen until 3½ seconds before midnight on Dec. 31st.

In those 3½ seconds not only would a totally new concept of society come into being, a golden hope for all mankind, but half the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. For the express ~~idea~~ ^{idea} of giving individual ^{dominant} ~~men's~~ women in those 3½ seconds ^{would} perform such miracles of invention construction & production as the world had never seen.

So you join me out there beyond the confines you already know. There are great unsolved problems. The complex structure of federalism with built in checks & balances has become distorted. The entire govt. has swayed forward that fearfully long to state & local govt. And in so doing has in many ways failed to do those things which are the responsibility of the central govt.

All of this has led to a misuse of power and a few suspicion of the prerogatives of the states & their social institutions. You are graduating from one of our great private or ^{public} independent universities. Not many years ago such schools were relatively free of govt. interference. But in recent years so govt. appeared negatively covering ^{practically} every facet of our lives our independent & church supported colleges & universities.

found themselves included in the network of regulations and the costly blizzard of administrative paper work govt. demanded. Today 34 Cong. committees and ~~about~~ almost 80 sub-committees have jurisdiction over 439 separate laws affecting ed. at the college level. Virtually every aspect of campus life is now regulated - hiring, firing, promotions, physical plant, construction, record keeping, fund raising & to some extent curriculum & ed. programs.

I hope when you leave this campus you will do so with a feeling of obligation to this your Alma Mater. She will need your help & support in the years to come. If ever the great independent colleges and universities ^(like NOTRE DAME) give way ^{AND ARE REPLACED BY} to tax supported institutions the struggle to preserve academic freedom will have been lost.

Yes we are troubled today by ec. stagnation - brought on by inflated currency, prohibitive taxes and those burdensome regulations. The cost of that stagnation in human terms is mostly among those who are least equipped to survive it is cruel & inhuman.

Now don't decide to turn in your diplomas ^{and} spend another year on the campus. I've just given you the bad news. The good news is that something is being done about all this. Being done because the people of America have said, "enough already." We ^{had gotten} just ~~so~~ so busy that for a while we let things get out of hand, forgot we were the keepers of the power. We forgot to challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change; forgot that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster ec. & social progress than all the careful schemes of govt. planners.

Well ~~at least~~ ^{at least} we are remembering; Remembering that

but can quietly the citizens they can walk (8)
through a park or in their neighborhoods after dark
without fear of violence. And ^(FINALLY) they want to know
that this nation has the ability to defend itself
against those who would try to pull it down.

All of these things we can do. Indeed a start
has already been made. A task force under the
leadership of V.P. George Bush has already identified
hundreds of regulations which can be wiped out
with no harm whatever to the quality of life.
Their cancellation will save billions of dollars for
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William Faulkner at a Nobel Prize Ceremony some
time back said man "would not merely endure, he
will prevail" against the modern world because
he will return to "the old verities and the truths of
the heart." ~~He will~~

"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

One can not say those words without
 Last week we saw an example of such compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

Thinking of the irony that one who exemplifies
~~We can only reflect on the irony that His Holiness,~~

them - Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness -- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

~~But the Holy Father has continued this week his inspiring example -- his courage and grace are testimony to the truths of the heart and the sterility of violence.~~

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical, on Mercy and Justice, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric and class struggle -- ~~theories and rhetoric so often used~~ to justify injustice;

~~He noted~~ that "in the name of an alleged justice the neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty and stripped of fundamental human rights."

~~When Prime Minister Thatcher visited us recently I mentioned the revolution in economic theory that had changed the national direction of both our countries. But I also noted that everywhere in the world the rhetoric of class struggle was fading, that the cult of the state seemed to be dying -- that Marxism, especially in intellectual circles, had lost its force and appeal.~~

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology & war machine of totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time

the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

There are those who question whether the American people are up to this task. They point to our newness in a role of world leadership. They point to the evidence of the difficult years and hard times our Nation has recently seen.

But I believe we must see in our youthfulness a source of strength; and in our national hardships not a sign of decay or a loss of hope but a time of trial and a rite of passage for a young nation and an idealistic people.

But When it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

But If history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us, -- ~~their past is our past, their vision uplifts us, their strength inspires us.~~

They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a

vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

In invoking the names of these generations of Americans, we come to understand the truths they stood for. They believed our republic was founded on the kindness of providence, the virtue and strength of our people, the union of our diverse communities, the simple genius of our Constitution, the artful workings of our Federal system, a vigilant regard for the rights of our minorities, and the neverflagging quest for peaceful relations with all nations.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

When I began, I promised not to burden you with enormous amounts of advice. I will keep that promise.

But I still do harbor a great hope for you. It is a hope that comes to you from across seventy years of life -- a life that has gone through changes and taken turns I could never have dreamed possible when I sat in your place so many years ago at a small college in downstate Illinois.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will think back on this day and recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

(12)

I have one more hope for you.

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

Congratulations & God Bless You

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 13, 1981

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

Here is a draft for Notre Dame (with two pages of light material from Landon Parvin).

The general theme of the speech is uplift--the renewed confidence in America and our political institutions. We note the bipartisan spirit shown during the last week and the new "politics of civility."

There is also an attempt to give the speech a high tone with a slightly philosophical discussion of the "great civilized ideas" of the West and America. It is hoped that this will provide a theoretical framework for the Administration's legislative initiatives.

Finally, there is an attempt to continue the theme in your Thatcher remarks about the inevitable triumph of the human spirit over state power.

We also say the important things about the attempt on the Pope's life.

This draft reflects the careful reading and enormously helpful suggestions of Ed Meese, Mike Deaver and Dick Allen, as well as the careful supervision of Dave Gergen.

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NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS - MAY 17, 1981

Nancy and I are grateful for the opportunity to share with you and with your families the joy of this day.

I know it is customary for commencement speakers to refer to you as "the leaders of tomorrow" and then offer some sage advice about the world and the life you are about to begin.

Believe me, advice-giving, especially from the perspective of seventy years, is easy enough. But today I really have more of a hope for you than I do any wise counsel.

Most of you are graduating today because you are what the social behaviorists like to call "achievers;" you have always had for yourselves: "Great Expectations" and because of that there is temptation to look too quickly to the future to see this occasion as only a first step, a well-anticipated first step, in a long process.

Well, my hope is that you will be patient with us -- your guests, your families and friends -- if we seem a little excessive in our enthusiasm about your graduation. In fact, I hope that sometime today you will take a few moments to gain the perspective those of us who are outsiders have about your accomplishments: you have worked hard, you have achieved much -- take more than a little pride in that, savor this moment and -- after you have thanked your parents and teachers and kissed your favorite aunt -- be sure and do some celebrating.

I think you will agree that this kind of perspective -- in the face of the rush of everyday events -- is not such an easy thing to bring to a college career, or to a presidency.

That is why I am also glad to be here today to renew what has become a tradition among American Presidents. As you know, I am now the fifth President to share with you on this occasion some thoughts about your country, about its place in the world and its aspirations for mankind.

It is not surprising that American Presidents should be drawn to Notre Dame as a place for such reflections.

The very words "Notre Dame" evoke images of distant cheering, of rich, brisk Autumn afternoons, of last-minute exploits borne of the thrill of sport and of the character sport teaches; and of something more: a typically American notion that even against impossible odds all things are possible.

As some of you know, I made a film -- a couple of years ago -- about the popular legend of Notre Dame -- it was a film of course about Notre Dame's football team, and two of her greatest sons, Knute Rockne and George Gipp.

The story told by that picture had many sides to it: it was an account of a young sports hero, of a football coach who was a good man and a dedicated teacher -- it was a story about the sons of immigrants who came to a great university to learn something about themselves and the world.

The story has another side -- and for me it has always been the most significant side -- Knute Rockne waited 8 years to ask his team to "win one for the Gipper" -- and he did it with a team that was supposed to be torn by jealousy and bickering.

Confidence -- a cause, a sense of direction, a belief in things greater than oneself -- can make men forget their personal needs and their differences with each other. It can make them reach and attain what was said to be unattainable.

I believe this willingness to put country over politics or self is very much alive in America today. I believe that, in the workings of our national Government during the past few weeks, we have seen something of this selflessness. We have seen -- in an example of bipartisan leadership and representative democracy at its best -- the executive and legislative branches of Government work together to pass Congressional resolutions that were opposed by old and powerful entrenched interests.

During these weeks, I've been meeting with a good many of the Members of the Congress. One of these Congressmen is from Indiana -- his name is Andy Jacobs. He is not a man of my party nor, strictly speaking, of my political persuasion.

But a little over a week ago, Andy came down to the White House. He said that he had been through five administrations but he noted this was the first time he had been invited into the Oval Office and his views heard out.

He said he was grateful.

The truth is: I was the one who was grateful.

I have to say that conversation made me wonder whether those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget that civility costs very little but changes everything -- and I wonder whether those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget what brought us to the capital in the first place -- not personal nor partisan interest but service to country.

When I spoke of a New Beginning several months ago I also spoke of an era of national renewal and a reaffirmation of America's international leadership.

I outlined then an ambitious program: we would seek budget and tax reductions; we would seek long-term fiscal reforms and a renewed federalism; we would seek a strong defense posture and a consistent foreign policy.

But I also warned this program would not be accomplished instantly; it would take thoughtful preparation, careful planning, and artful timing. It is true that during the past few weeks the national Government has moved boldly. We shall move boldly again. But we shall always attempt to do so deliberately, prudently, wisely.

But I hope that the actions we have taken in recent weeks have done something not just for the morale of those of us in Washington but for the morale of the American people. I hope these events have helped their confidence, uplifted their spirit and renewed their commitment to our political institutions.

For at the heart of all our plans is a reordering of the relationship between citizen and government. We must end the feelings of mistrust and helplessness so many Americans have felt toward their government in recent years. We believe in government by consent, we must demonstrate that government can be controlled by the people and respond to their wishes and their values.

Many Members of the Congress have told me that when they returned home during the Easter recess they heard from their constituents not just words of support for our economic program but also expressions of confidence that the views of the people could count for something in Washington, that their voice could once again be heard in our Nation's capital.

This confidence -- together with the new responsiveness and spirit of cooperation among the branches of government -- can accomplish great things for America. We must build upon the politics of civility; we must strengthen our new governing coalition -- a coalition that I believe reflects one of the greatest of our national traditions: a sense of community, a sense of striving together for the benefit of country and fellowman.

And, on a deeper level, beyond the popular legend -- that is what the "spirit of Notre Dame" is about: human striving, the communal romance that is America, the millions of lonely immigrants who have found their way to our shores. Notre Dame is not just a symbol of the home these immigrants

found here, the prosperity they achieved, the acceptance they carved out for themselves in our private and public institutions. Notre Dame is also a symbol of the intellectual and spiritual heritage they brought with them from the Old World -- a rich heritage that they transplanted here and then nourished, defended and spread.

As students at Notre Dame, you received a special look at that heritage -- a heritage of enduring values -- values that reach deep into the Western past and are the basis of our civilization itself.

It is worthwhile to take a few moments to gain some perspective on that heritage -- to look back to our origins and to find there insight into our present and direction for our future.

This heritage took root when the first great "Notre Dame" was being built in Paris in the 12th century -- for at that moment, another great edifice -- this one a cathedral of civilized ideas -- was also being carefully constructed.

It was an exciting time for scholarship and learning -- that human beings could order their affairs by developing a body of law, that man had a mind that could reason and calculate, the idea that God can and does play a role in human history, all of these -- the insights of the great works of Judaic revelation, Roman Law and Greek rationalism -- were being translated, interpreted and joined together to form the basis for civilized thought.

From this synthesis came many beliefs: the belief that faith and reason complement rather than contradict one another; that compassion and charity towards others is an obligation; that all men -- beyond class and nation -- are brothers and meant to live together in peace.

And from this also sprang important political truths. First, that man was a spiritual being who owed his highest loyalty to the City of God, not a city of man -- that human dignity was a first principle, one that could never be subsumed nor denied by an all-powerful state.

Second, it was understood that a statist Utopia was unattainable -- that men were essentially good but prone to evil -- and because of that the world would always be imperfect. But it was understood equally as well that men and women could, if they strove to follow their maker's will, change the course of history for the better.

This began a flowering of the Western mind: it would lead to the growth of science and of art and culture in the Renaissance. It also provided the foundation for our legal and political institutions and from their development came other great civilized ideas like common law, separation of powers, parliamentary democracy and limited government.

All of this culminated in the American experience -- when a young nation integrated these civilized ideas with its own brief but vibrant political history -- a young nation whose public wisdom is still embodied in the notion that man was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Because of their commitment to these inalienable rights, the founders of the American Nation understood the peril of too much power invested in the state. They had seen their rights, once honored by time and tradition and fortified by reason and learning, suddenly deadened by the unthinking, arbitrary constraints of distant government.

That is why they came together in a craftsman's hall in Philadelphia. Fifty-six men, a little band so unique we have never seen their like since, pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to a cause beyond themselves.

Twenty-four of these men were lawyers and jurists, eleven were merchants and tradesmen, and nine were farmers.

They were soft-spoken men of means and education who had achieved security and standing in life.

But they valued freedom more.

John Hart was driven from the side of his desperately ill wife. For more than a year, he lived in the forest and in caves before he returned to find his wife dead, his children vanished, his property destroyed. He died of exhaustion and a broken heart.

Carter Braxton of Virginia lost all his ships, sold his home to pay his debts, and died in rags. And so it was with Ellery, Clymer, Hall, Walton, Cwinnet, Rutledge, Norris, Livingston and Middleton.

Nelson personally urged Washington to fire on his home and destroy it when it became the headquarters for General Cornwallis. Nelson died bankrupt.

Sixteen of these fifty-six gave their lives in the war that followed the declaration they signed in the craftsman's hall. Most gave their fortunes. All preserved their sacred honor.

They learned from the experiences of crisis war and revolution the meaning of government by consent.

That is why in their plan for a new nation, they assigned to government the task of civil order and common defense but left to the people -- to their separate communities and diverse institutions -- the work of finding and pursuing a creative, just and good society.

That is why they believed in limited government, that is why they developed a system of checks and balances in which the branches of the central government could restrain each other, that is why they developed a system of federalism in which the states and local communities could restrain the central government.

But, in their eyes, the greatest restraint on government power -- indeed the very purpose for a free society -- were the values of family, work, religion and neighborhood and the vitality of the social institutions that embodied these values.

They saw in these private institutions -- educational, religious, economic and cultural -- both a buffer and a bridge between man and the state -- and the real source of our progress as a people.

They believed that the task of government was not to dominate these institutions nor to dictate their values but to provide a climate in which they could flourish, a climate that would set loose and then direct the energy and ingenuity of the American people.

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We have seen in our time how government can misuse this power, how government can preempt the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions, how government can disturb the social ecology and upset the delicate balance between the individual and the state.

We have seen government, as it grows larger and larger, consume more and more wealth while it stifles a spirit of initiative and enterprise among our people and inhibits those economic institutions that "supply" wealth to society.

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And finally we have seen a decline in public confidence in our political institutions. For even as government intruded more and more into our lives it also failed to perform its legitimate functions -- and so it grew more and more distant from the people and unresponsive to their needs.

But today we are witnessing a return to that wisdom, not just a revolution of party and politics but a revolution of ideas -- ideas that reassert the wisdom of limited government and challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change.

This intellectual revolution understands that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

It is also a revolution that reasserts the value of the market place, not just for commercial or economic reasons but because it seeks to extend human freedom by reinvigorating one of the most common expressions of that freedom: the right to a just return for one's work and initiative.

And finally this intellectual revolution also challenges the concept of centralized authority and the all-powerful state -- it seeks instead government that is responsive, humane, compassionate.

One of the most notable expressions of concern about human dignity in the modern society is found in Pope Leo XIII's encyclical about the condition of the working man. In this encyclical, the Pope reminded us of the plight of working men and women in the industrial age and reminded us too of our obligations to social justice.

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These are our objectives. But we can only fully achieve and appreciate them when we realize they spring from the great civilized ideas of our past: human dignity, individual rights, representative democracy -- the pluralistic society, the quest for a humanity at peace under God.

A moment ago, I spoke of the enduring symbols of Western civilization: monuments to worship like the first Notre Dame, monuments to learning like this Notre Dame.

Our age has also had its monuments -- and though they are monuments made not of brick and mortar but terror and barbed wire -- though they are places not of worship and learning but concentrated evil and rehearsed cruelty -- they are also monuments to the dignity of man and the strength of the individual.

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"He is immortal," Faulkner said of man, "because he alone among creatures . . . has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

Last week we saw an example of such compassion and sacrifice and endurance.

We can only reflect on the irony that His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, a man of peace and goodness -- an inspiration to the world -- would be struck by a bullet from a man towards whom he could only feel compassion and love.

But the Holy Father has continued this week his inspiring example -- his courage and grace are testimony to the truths of the heart and the sterility of violence.

It was Pope John Paul II who warned last year in his encyclical, on Mercy and Justice, against certain economic theories that use the rhetoric and class struggle -- theories and rhetoric so often used to justify injustice.

He noted that "in the name of an alleged justice the neighbor is sometimes destroyed, killed, deprived of liberty and stripped of fundamental human rights."

When Prime Minister Thatcher visited us recently I mentioned the revolution in economic theory that had changed the national direction of both our countries. But I also noted that everywhere in the world the rhetoric of class struggle was fading, that the cult of the state seemed to be dying -- that Marxism, especially in intellectual circles, had lost its force and appeal.

I suggested that the time may soon be upon us when the leaders of the West should begin looking, in Churchill's words, to "bright sunlit uplands" and making plans for a world that has known the awful stench of totalitarianism and seeks instead the clean, invigorating air of freedom. A time when the human spirit will demonstrate once again, it is meant not just to endure but to prevail.

That is why I believe that the years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, the West will transcend communism. The West will not denounce communism, it will dismiss communism as an episode, a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

"There are seasons in human affairs," the American spiritual leader Reverend Joseph Channing once said, "of inward and outward evolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. There are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs, when, in truth, to dare, is the highest wisdom."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time

the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

There are those who question whether the American people are up to this task. They point to our newness in a role of world leadership. They point to the evidence of the difficult years and hard times our Nation has recently seen.

But I believe we must see in our youthfulness a source of strength; and in our national hardships not a sign of decay or a loss of hope but a time of trial and a rite of passage for a young nation and an idealistic people.

For when it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

But if history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us -- their past is our past, their vision uplifts us, their strength inspires us.

They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a

vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

In invoking the names of these generations of Americans, we come to understand the truths they stood for. They believed our republic was founded on the kindness of providence, the virtue and strength of our people, the union of our diverse communities, the simple genius of our Constitution, the artful workings of our Federal system, a vigilant regard for the rights of our minorities, and the neverflagging quest for peaceful relations with all nations.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

When I began, I promised not to burden you with enormous amounts of advice. I will keep that promise.

But I still do harbor a great hope for you. It is a hope that comes to you from across seventy years of life -- a life that has gone through changes and taken turns I could never have dreamed possible when I sat in your place so many years ago at a small college in downstate Illinois.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will think back on this day and recall some of the truths and traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one more hope for you.

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

(Parvin)

May 12, 1981

COLOR: NOTRE DAME SPEECH

This is the first time Pat O'Brien and I have been invited back together to Notre Dame since the premiere of The Knute Rockne Story nearly 40 years ago. Pat, I guess they didn't like the movie.

* * *

When I was on the football team at Eureka College, boy, we dreamed of playing Notre Dame. Of course, it would have been a slaughter. Our side of the field would have looked like a Florida sinkhole.

* * *

I will not talk for a long time today. When I went to commencements I can always remember thinking: if that guy knows so much, how come he doesn't know when to sit down.

* * *

Being among the Fighting Irish and being Irish myself, I feel free to indulge in the story about the Irishman who, when he became a monk, was warned by the Abbot that the rule of silence was very strict. Three years after he was in, he asked for a carpenter to remove a huge nail sticking up through his plank bed and it was done. After five years more, he asked for a glass of milk because an old stomach ulcer was acting up. Eight years after this, he found he could no longer continue the life and told the Abbot he was leaving.

"Well," said the Abbot, "to tell you the truth, I'm not surprised. You've been complaining ever since you got here."

I know over the years you must have complained about grades and tests and papers, but today makes it all worthwhile.

to Final to RR

NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS -- MAY 17, 1981

Nancy and I are grateful for the opportunity to share with you and with your families the joy of this day.

I know it is customary for commencement speakers to refer to you as "the leaders of tomorrow" and then offer some sage advice about the world and the life you are about to begin.

Believe me, advice-giving, especially from the perspective of seventy years, is easy enough. But today I really have more of a hope for you than I do any wise counsel.

Most of you are graduating today because you are what the social behaviorists like to call "achievers;" you have always had for yourselves: "Great Expectations" and because of that there is temptation to look too quickly to the future to see this occasion as only a first step, a well-anticipated first step, in a long process.

Well, my hope is that you will be patient with us -- your guests, your families and friends -- if we seem a little excessive in our enthusiasm about your graduation. In fact, I hope that sometime today you will take a few moments to gain the perspective those of us who are outsiders have about your accomplishments: you have worked hard, you have achieved much -- take more than a little pride in that, savor this moment and -- after you have thanked your parents and teachers and kissed your favorite aunt -- be sure and do some celebrating.

I think you will agree that this kind of perspective -- in the face of the rush of everyday events -- is not such an easy thing to bring to a college career, or to a presidency.

That is why I am also glad to be here today to renew what has become a tradition among American Presidents. As you know, I am now the fifth President to share with you on this occasion some thoughts about your country, about its place in the world and its aspirations for mankind.

It is not surprising that American Presidents should be drawn to Notre Dame as a place for such reflections.

The very words "Notre Dame" evoke images of distant cheering, of rich, brisk Autumn afternoons, of last-minute exploits borne of the thrill of sport and of the character sport teaches; and of something more: a typically American notion that even against impossible odds all things are possible.

As some of you know, I made a film -- a couple of years ago -- about the popular legend of Notre Dame -- it was a film of course about Notre Dame's football team, and two of her greatest sons, Knute Rockne and George Gipp.

The story told by that picture had many sides to it: it was an account of a young sports hero, of a football coach who was a good man and a dedicated teacher -- it was a story about the sons of immigrants who came to a great university to learn something about themselves and the world.

The story has another side -- and for me it has always been the most significant side -- Knute Rockne waited 8 years to ask

his team to "win one for the Gipper" -- and he did it with a team that was supposed to be torn by jealousy and bickering.

Confidence -- a cause, a sense of direction, a belief in things greater than oneself -- can make men forget their personal needs and their differences with each other. It can make them reach and attain what was said to be unattainable.

I believe this willingness to put country over politics or self is very much alive in America today. I believe that, in the workings of our national Government during the past few weeks, we have seen something of this selflessness. We have seen -- in an example of bipartisan leadership and representative democracy at its best -- the executive and legislative branches of Government work together to pass Congressional resolutions that were opposed by old and powerful entrenched interests.

During these weeks, I've been meeting with a good many of the Members of the Congress. One of these Congressmen is from Indiana -- his name is Andy Jacobs. He is not a man of my party nor, strictly speaking, of my political persuasion.

But a little over a week ago, Andy came down to the White House, and noted in our conversation that he had been asked to ~~the Oval Office for the first time in five Administrations and had been heard out.~~ ^{He said that he had been through five administrations} ^{but he noted the 1st time he had been invited into the Oval Office and his views heard out}

He said he was grateful. ~~The~~ The truth is: I was the one who was grateful.

I have to say that conversation made me wonder whether those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget that civility ^{very little} can cost ~~nothing~~ but ~~change~~ everything -- and I wonder whether

those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget what brought us to the capital in the first place -- not personal nor partisan interest but service to country.

When I spoke of a New Beginning several months ago I also spoke of an era of national renewal and a reaffirmation of America's international leadership.

I outlined then an ambitious program. ~~It would take~~ We would seek budget and tax reductions; we would seek long term fiscal reforms and a renewed federalism; we would seek a strong defense posture and a consistent ~~and a consistent~~ foreign policy.

But I also warned this program would not be accomplished ~~instantly~~ ^{it would take} or without thoughtful preparation, and careful planning. ^{and at the timing} It is true that during the past few weeks the national government has moved boldly. ~~We shall move boldly again.~~ ^{always attempt to} But we shall do so deliberately, prudently, wisely.

^{But} I hope that the actions we have taken in recent weeks have done something ~~special~~ ^{the morale of those} not just for ~~those~~ of us in Washington but for the American people. I hope these events have helped their confidence, uplifted their spirit and renewed their commitment to our political institutions.

^{For} ~~Many~~ At the heart of all of our plans is ~~to reorganize~~ ^a reordering ~~of~~ the relationship between citizen and government. ^{We must} To end the feelings of mistrust and powerlessness helplessness so many American have felt toward government, ^{then} ~~we must~~ ^{in recent years,} ~~we must~~ ^{that} ~~that the people can control government and that government can respond~~ ^{to their wishes and their values.} ^{can be control by the people and}

^{respond} Many members of Congress have told me that when they returned home during the Easter recess they heard from their constituents not just words of support for our economic program but also expressions of confidence that ^{the} ~~their~~ ^{of the people} views could once again count for something

in Washington, that their voice could be heard in the capital. *one again* *our nation's*

This confidence -- together with the new responsiveness and psirit of cooperation ;among the bare hes of government -- can accmplish great things in the ~~years~~ *for our nation's future* ahead. We must build upon the ~~politics~~ *poli*tics of civility ; we must strengthen our new governing coatlilion -- a coaltiiont that I believe reflects ~~a~~ one of the greatest of ~~Amreic a's~~ *our national* treadtions: a sense of community, a sense of striving together for the benefit of ~~our atnional~~ *country* and ~~our~~ fellowman.

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And I hope that in the months and years ahead we can keep
 this politics of civility, ^{want to keep the} and maintain ^{can} this new political coalition --
 a coalition that I believe reflects a ^{much deeper} ^{familiar} American ^{tradition} --
 a sense of community, a sense of striving together
 for the benefit of ^{the people and our fellowman.}

And, on a deeper level, beyond the popular legend -- that
 is what the "spirit of Notre Dame" is about: human striving,
 the ^{communal} romance that is America, the millions of lonely immigrants
 who have found their way to our shores. Notre Dame is not just
 a symbol of the home these immigrants found here, the prosperity
 they achieved, the acceptance they carved out for themselves in
 our private and public institutions. Notre Dame is also a
 symbol of the intellectual and spiritual heritage they brought
 with them from the Old World -- a rich heritage that they transplanted
 here and then nourished, defended and spread.

As students at Notre Dame, you received a special look at
 that heritage -- a heritage of enduring values -- values that
 reach deep into the Western past and are the basis of our civilization
 itself.

5

It is worthwhile to take a few moments to gain some perspective on that heritage -- to look back to our origins and to find there insight into our present and direction for our future.

This heritage took root when the first great "Notre Dame" was being built in Paris in the 12th century -- for at that moment, another great edifice -- this one a cathedral of civilized ideas -- was also being carefully constructed.

It was an exciting time for scholarship and learning -- the

the idea that God can and does play a role in human history, that human beings could order their affairs by developing a body of law, that man had a mind that could reason and calculate, all of these -- the insights of the great works of Judaic revelation, Roman Law and Greek rationalism -- were being translated, interpreted and joined together to form the basis for civilized thought.

From this synthesis came many beliefs: the belief that faith and reason complement rather than contradict one another; that compassion and charity towards others is an obligation;

that all men -- beyond class and nation -- are brothers and that ~~God wills peace among them.~~ *meant to*

And from this also sprang important political truths.

First, that man was ~~a creature of God,~~ *a* spiritual being who owed his highest loyalty to the City of God, not a city of man -- that human dignity was a first principle, one that could never be subsumed nor denied by an all-powerful state.

Second, it was understood that a statist Utopia was unattainable -- that men were essentially good but prone to evil -- and because

of that the world would always be imperfect. But it was understood equally as well that men and women could, if they strove to follow their maker's will, change the course of history for the better.

This began a flowering of the Western mind: it would lead to the growth of science and of art and culture in the Renaissance. It also provided the foundation for our legal and political institutions and from their development came other great civilized ideas like common law, separation of powers, parliamentary democracy and limited government.

the end of the era
Confederacy

All of this culminated in the American experience -- when a young nation integrated these civilized ideas with its own brief but vibrant political history -- a young nation whose public wisdom is still embodied in the notion that man was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Doyle, Carthage, mine, W. H. H. H.

Because of their commitment to these inalienable rights, the founders of the American Nation understood the peril of too much power invested in the state. They had seen their rights, once honored by time and tradition and fortified by reason and learning, suddenly deadened by the unthinking, arbitrary constraints of distant government.

intent →

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That is why they found ^{came} themselves together in ¹⁴ a craftsman's hall in Philadelphia. Fifty-six men, a little band so unique we have never seen their like since, ^{had} pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor ^{to a cause beyond themselves.}

Twenty-four of ^{these men} ~~those men~~ were lawyers and jurists, eleven were merchants and tradesmen, and nine were farmers.

they were soft-spoken men of means and educations ^{who} ~~they~~ had achieved security ^{and stability in life.} But they valued freedom more.

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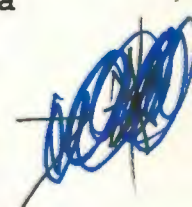
Page 7

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2

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→ insert

When Prime Minister Thatcher visited us recently I mentioned the revolution in economic ^{theory} ~~thought~~ that had changed the national direction of both our countries. But I also noted that everywhere ~~that the rhetoric of class struggle was fading, that~~ in the world the cult of the state seemed to be dying -- that Marxism, especially in intellectual circles, had lost its force and appeal.

I suggested that the time may soon be upon us when the leaders of the West should begin looking, in Churchill's words, to "bright sunlit uplands" and making plans for a world that has known the awful stench of totalitarianism and seeks instead the clean, invigorating air of freedom. ^{It's time} ~~When men will demonstrate~~ ^{the human spirit} ~~again~~ ^{not just endure but to prevail.}

That is why I believe that the years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, the West will transcend communism. The West will not denounce communism, it will dismiss communism as an episode, a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

"There are seasons in human affairs," the American spiritual leader Reverend Joseph Channing once said, "of inward and outward evolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. There are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs, when, in truth, to dare, is the highest wisdom."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of totalitarian societies -- a facade of strength. It is time the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

There are those who question whether the American people are up to this task. They point to our newness in a role of world leadership. They point to the evidence of the difficult years and hard times our Nation has recently seen.

But I believe we must see in our youthfulness a source of strength; and in our national hardships not a sign of decay or a loss of hope but a time of trial and a rite of passage for a young nation and an idealistic people.

For when it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

But if history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us -- their past is our past, their vision uplifts us, their strength inspires us.

They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

In invoking the names of these generations of Americans, we come to understand the truths they stood for. They believed our republic was founded on the kindness of providence, the virtue and strength of our people, the union of our diverse communities, the simple genius of our Constitution, the artful workings of our Federal system, a vigilant regard for the rights of our minorities, and the neverflagging quest for peaceful relations with all nations.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

When I began, I promised not to burden you with enormous amounts of advice. I will keep that promise.

But I still do harbor a great hope for you. It is a hope that comes to you from across seventy years of life -- a life that has gone through changes and taken turns I could never have dreamed possible when I sat in your place so many years ago at a small college in downstate Illinois.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will think back on this day and recall some of the truths and

traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one ~~last~~^{more} hope ~~for~~ you.

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

EDWIN MEESE III
JAMES A. BAKER III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
RICHARD V. ALLEN
MARTIN ANDERSON
DAVID GERGEN
LYN NOFZIGER
RICHARD G. DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

SUBJECT: President Reagan's Notre Dame Speech

Here is a dramatically revised version of the Notre Dame speech. Please note the references to Soviet history, etc. are out. There are also some RR anecdotes a la the Eisenhower College speech.

The speech is keyed to uplift and the new "politics of civility" -- the bipartisan approach of the last week, and the upward road for America. There is also an intent to put our legislative and administrative goals in the context and in the framework of larger Western and American ideas.

I have also attached some one-liners written by Landon Parvin.

Please have your comments, by phone if necessary (x7805), to me by 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, May 13.

(Dolan)

May 12, 1981
Fourth Draft
(Revised)

NOTRE DAME COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS -- MAY 17, 1981

Nancy and I are grateful for the opportunity to share with you and with your families the joy of this day.

I know it is customary for commencement speakers to refer to you as "the leaders of tomorrow" and then offer some sage advice about the world and the life you are about to begin.

Believe me, advice-giving, especially from the perspective of seventy years, is easy enough. But today I really have more of a hope for you than I do any wise counsel.

Most of you are graduating today because you are what the social behaviorists like to call "achievers;" you have always had for yourselves: "Great Expectations" and because of that there is temptation to look too quickly to the future to see this occasion as only a first step, a well-anticipated first step, in a long process.

Well, my hope is that you will be patient with us -- your guests, your families and friends -- if we seem a little excessive in our enthusiasm about your graduation. In fact, I hope that sometime today you will take a few moments to gain the perspective those of us who are outsiders have about your accomplishments: you have worked hard, you have achieved much -- take more than a little pride in that, savor this moment and -- after you have thanked your parents and teachers and kissed your favorite aunt -- be sure and do some celebrating.

I think you will agree that this kind of perspective -- in the face of the rush of everyday events -- is not such an easy thing to bring to a college career, or to a presidency.

That is why I am also glad to be here today to renew what has become a tradition among American Presidents. As you know, I am now the fifth President to share with you on this occasion some thoughts about your country, about its place in the world and its aspirations for mankind.

It is not surprising that American Presidents should be drawn to Notre Dame as a place for such reflections.

The very words "Notre Dame" evoke images of distant cheering, of rich, brisk Autumn afternoons, of last-minute exploits borne of the thrill of sport and of the character sport teaches; and of something more: a typically American notion that even against impossible odds all things are possible.

As some of you know, I made a film -- a couple of years ago -- about the popular legend of Notre Dame -- it was a film of course about Notre Dame's football team, and two of her greatest sons, Knute Rockne and George Gipp.

The story told by that picture had many sides to it: it was an account of a young sports hero, of a football coach who was a good man and a dedicated teacher -- it was a story about the sons of immigrants who came to a great university to learn something about themselves and the world.

The story has another side -- and for me it has always been the most significant side -- Knute Rockne waited 8 years to ask

his team to "win one for the Gipper" -- and he did it with a team that was supposed to be torn by jealousy and bickering.

Confidence -- a cause, a sense of direction, a belief in things greater than oneself -- can make men forget their personal needs and their differences with each other. It can make them reach and attain what was said to be unattainable.

I believe this willingness to put country over politics or self is very much alive in America today. I believe that, in the workings of our national Government during the past few weeks, we have seen something of this selflessness. We have seen -- in an example of bipartisan leadership and representative democracy at its best -- the executive and legislative branches of Government work together to pass Congressional resolutions that were opposed by old and powerful entrenched interests.

During these weeks, I've been meeting with a good many of the Members of the Congress. One of these Congressmen is from Indiana -- his name is Andy Jacobs. He is not a man of my party nor, strictly speaking, of my political persuasion.

But a little over a week ago, Andy came down to the White House and noted in our conversation that he had been asked to the Oval Office for the first time in five Administrations and had been heard out.

He said he was grateful. The truth is, I was the one who was grateful.

I have to say that conversation made me wonder whether those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget that civility can cost nothing but change everything -- and I wonder whether

those of us in Washington don't too quickly forget what brought us here in the first place -- not personal or partisan interest but service to country.

I think the events of recent weeks have done a great deal for the American people. I think it has helped their confidence, uplifted their spirit and renewed their commitment to our political institutions.

And I hope that in the months and years ahead we can keep this politics of civility and maintain this new political coalition -- a coalition that I believe reflects a much deeper American trademark -- a sense of community, a sense of striving together for the benefit of all.

And, on a deeper level, beyond the popular legend -- that is what the "spirit of Notre Dame" is about: human striving, the romance that is America, the millions of lonely immigrants who have found their way to our shores. Notre Dame is not just a symbol of the home these immigrants found here, the prosperity they achieved, the acceptance they carved out for themselves in our private and public institutions. Notre Dame is also a symbol of the intellectual and spiritual heritage they brought with them from the Old World -- a rich heritage that they transplanted here and then nourished, defended and spread.

As students at Notre Dame, you received a special look at that heritage -- a heritage of enduring values -- values that reach deep into the Western past and are the basis of our civilization itself.

It is worthwhile to take a few moments to gain some perspective on that heritage -- to look back to our origins and to find there insight into our present and direction for our future.

This heritage took root when the first great "Notre Dame" was being built in Paris in the 12th century -- for at that moment, another great edifice -- this one a cathedral of civilized ideas -- was also being carefully constructed.

It was an exciting time for scholarship and learning -- the idea that God can and does play a role in human history, that human beings could order their affairs by developing a body of law, that man had a mind that could reason and calculate, all of these -- the insights of the great works of Judaic revelation, Roman Law and Greek rationalism -- were being translated, interpreted and joined together to form the basis for civilized thought.

From this synthesis came many beliefs: the belief that faith and reason complement rather than contradict one another; that compassion and charity towards others is an obligation; that all men -- beyond class and nation -- are brothers and that God wills peace among them.

And from this also sprang important political truths. First, that man was a creature of God, a spiritual being who owed his highest loyalty to the City of God, not a city of man -- that human dignity was a first principle, one that could never be subsumed nor denied by an all-powerful state.

Second, it was understood that a statist Utopia was unattainable -- that men were essentially good but prone to evil -- and because

of that the world would always be imperfect. But it was understood equally as well that men and women could, if they strove to follow their maker's will, change the course of history for the better.

This began a flowering of the Western mind: it would lead to the growth of science and of art and culture in the Renaissance. It also provided the foundation for our legal and political institutions and from their development came other great civilized ideas like common law, separation of powers, parliamentary democracy and limited government.

All of this culminated in the American experience -- when a young nation integrated these civilized ideas with its own brief but vibrant political history -- a young nation whose public wisdom is still embodied in the notion that man was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Because of their commitment to these inalienable rights, the founders of the American Nation understood the peril of too much power invested in the state. They had seen their rights, once honored by time and tradition and fortified by reason and learning, suddenly deadened by the unthinking, arbitrary constraints of distant government.

And so in their plan for a new nation, they assigned to government the task of civil order and common defense but left to the people -- to their separate communities and diverse institutions -- the work of finding and pursuing a creative, just and good society.

That is why they believed in limited government, that is why they developed a system of checks and balances in which the branches of the central government could restrain each other, that is why they developed a system of federalism in which the states and local communities could restrain the central government.

But, in their eyes, the greatest restraint on government power -- indeed the very purpose for a free society -- were the values of family, work, religion and neighborhood and the vitality of the social institutions that embodied these values.

They saw in these private institutions, educational, religious, economic and cultural, both a buffer and a bridge between man and the state -- and the real source of our progress as a people.

They believed that the task of government was not to dominate these institutions nor to dictate their values but to provide a climate in which they could flourish, a climate that would set loose and then direct the energy and ingenuity of the American people.

It was Jefferson who envisioned a "wise and frugal government that will restrain men from injuring one another but leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement . . . This is the sum of good government."

This wisdom, born in an agrarian age, has even more meaning for our world. For the era of complex society -- of advanced technology and mass communications -- has given to government a sweeping new dimension of power and an even greater capacity for harm when that power is misused.

We have seen in our time how government can misuse this power, how government can preempt the prerogatives of the people and their social institutions, how government can disturb the social ecology and upset the delicate balance between the individual and the state.

We have seen government, as it grows larger and larger, consume more and more wealth while it stifles a spirit of initiative and enterprise among our people and inhibits those economic institutions that "supply" wealth to society.

We have seen the economic stagnation brought on by an inflated currency, by prohibitive taxes and burdensome regulations; and we have seen the cost of this stagnation in human terms. The worst toll was always among the poor and elderly -- a toll that led to even larger government bureaucracies that fostered even more dependency among the needy.

And finally we have seen a decline in public confidence in our political institutions. For even as government intruded more and more into our lives it also failed to perform its legitimate functions -- and so it grew more and more distant from the people and unresponsive to their needs.

But today we are witnessing not just a revolution of party and politics but a revolution of ideas -- ideas that reassert the wisdom of limited government and challenge the notion that the state is the principal vehicle of social change.

This intellectual revolution understands that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can

do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

It is also a revolution that reasserts the value of the market place, not just for commercial or economic reasons but because it seeks to extend human freedom by reinvigorating one of the most common expressions of that freedom: the right to a just return for one's work and initiative.

And finally this intellectual revolution also challenges the concept of centralized authority and the all-powerful state -- it seeks instead government that is responsive, humane, compassionate.

One of the most notable expressions of concern about human dignity in the modern society is found in Pope Leo XIII's encyclical about the condition of the working man. In this encyclical, the Pope reminded us of the plight of working men and women in the industrial age and reminded us of our obligations to social justice.

But in that same encyclical, Pope Leo also sought to suggest that human dignity can be upheld by a government that is attentive and close to the people.

When he outlined his "principle of subsidiary," Pope Leo stated the functions of government can be performed best and most humanely at the level of government closest to the people.

This is why we seek now to remove government's smothering hand from where it does harm, to make government again responsive to our citizens, to renew our system of federalism and reinvigorate the social and private institutions that make up the independent sector of our economy.

These are our objectives but we only fully achieve and appreciate them when we realize these truths spring from the great civilized ideas of our past: human dignity, individual rights, representative democracy, the pluralistic society and the quest for a humanity at peace under God.

A moment ago, I spoke of the enduring symbols of Western civilization: monuments to worship like the first Notre Dame, monuments to learning like this Notre Dame.

Our age has also had its monuments -- and though they are monuments made not of brick and mortar but terror and barbed wire -- though they are places not of worship and learning but concentrated evil and rehearsed cruelty -- they are also monuments to the dignity of man and the strength of the individual.

From these terrible places have come survivors -- witnesses to the triumph of the human spirit over the mystique of state power; prisoners who learned that their spiritual values made them the rulers of their guards. With their survival, they brought us "the secret of the camps" -- a lesson for our time and for any age: evil is powerless if the good are unafraid.

When he accepted the Nobel Prize for Literature, the chronicler of this suffering, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, said that "the whole world is being flooded with the crude conviction that force can do everything and righteousness and innocence nothing."

But Solzhenitsyn also reminded us that the recourse to violence by the state has proved to the world the "sterility" of such violence and the futility of totalitarian ideology. 🌟

When Prime Minister Thatcher visited us recently I mentioned the revolution in economic thought that had changed the national direction of both our countries. But I also noted that everywhere in the world the cult of the state seemed to be dying -- that Marxism, especially in intellectual circles, had lost its force and appeal.

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Because of their commitment to these inalienable rights, the founders of the American Nation understood the peril of too much power invested in the state. They had seen their rights, once honored by time and tradition and fortified by reason and learning, suddenly deadened by the unthinking, arbitrary constraints of distant government.

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This intellectual revolution understands that millions of social interactions among free individuals and institutions can

do more to foster economic and social progress than all the careful schemes of government planners.

It is also a revolution that reasserts the value of the market place, not just for commercial or economic reasons but because it seeks to extend human freedom by reinvigorating one of the most common expressions of that freedom: the right to a just return for one's work and initiative.

And finally this intellectual revolution also challenges the concept of centralized authority and the all-powerful state -- it seeks instead government that is responsive, humane, compassionate.

One of the most notable expressions of concern about human dignity in the modern society is found in Pope Leo XIII's encyclical about the condition of the working man. In this encyclical, the Pope reminded us of the plight of working men and women in the industrial age and reminded us of our obligations to social justice.

But in that same encyclical, Pope Leo also sought to suggest that human dignity can be upheld by a government that is attentive and close to the people.

When he outlined his "principle of subsidiary," Pope Leo stated the functions of government can be performed best and most humanely at the level of government closest to the people.

This is why we seek now to remove government's smothering hand from where it does harm, to make government again responsive to our citizens, to renew our system of federalism and reinvigorate the social and private institutions that make up the independent sector of our economy.

These are our objectives but we only fully achieve and appreciate them when we realize these truths spring from the great civilized ideas of our past: human dignity, individual rights, representative democracy, the pluralistic society and the quest for a humanity at peace under God.

A moment ago, I spoke of the enduring symbols of Western civilization: monuments to worship like the first Notre Dame, monuments to learning like this Notre Dame.

Our age has also had its monuments -- and though they are monuments made not of brick and mortar but terror and barbed wire -- though they are places not of worship and learning but concentrated evil and rehearsed cruelty -- they are also monuments to the dignity of man and the strength of the individual.

From these terrible places have come survivors -- witnesses to the triumph of the human spirit over the mystique of state power; prisoners who learned that their spiritual values made them the rulers of their guards. With their survival, they brought us "the secret of the camps" -- a lesson for our time and for any age: evil is powerless if the good are unafraid.

When he accepted the Nobel Prize for Literature, the chronicler of this suffering, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, said that "the whole world is being flooded with the crude conviction that force can do everything and righteousness and innocence nothing."

But Solzhenitsyn also reminded us that the recourse to violence by the state has proved to the world the "sterility" of such violence and the futility of ~~Soviet~~ ^{totalitarian} ideology.

When Prime Minister Thatcher visited us recently I mentioned the revolution in economic thought that had changed the national direction of both our countries. But I also noted that everywhere in the world the cult of the state seemed to be dying -- that Marxism, especially in intellectual circles, had lost its force and appeal.

I suggested that the time may soon be upon us when the leaders of the West should begin looking, in Churchill's words, to "bright sunlit uplands" and making plans for a world that has known the awful stench of totalitarianism and seeks instead the clean, invigorating air of freedom.

That is why I believe that the years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, the West will transcend communism. The West will not denounce communism, it will dismiss communism as an episode, a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written.

"There are seasons in human affairs," the American spiritual leader Reverend Joseph Channing once said, "of inward and outward evolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. There are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs, when, in truth, to dare, is the highest wisdom."

For the West, for America, the time has come to dare to show the world that our civilized ideas, our traditions, our values are not -- like the ideology and war machine of the ^{totalitarian} ~~Soviet Union~~ ^{societies} -- a facade of strength. It is time the world know that our intellectual and spiritual values are rooted in the source of all real strength -- a belief in a Supreme Being, a law higher than our own.

There are those who question whether the American people are up to this task. They point to our newness in a role of world leadership. They point to the evidence of the difficult years and hard times our Nation has recently seen.

But I believe we must see in our youthfulness a source of strength; and in our national hardships not a sign of decay or a loss of hope but a time of trial and a rite of passage for a young nation and an idealistic people.

For when it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past. But history will ask -- and our answer determine the fate of freedom for a thousand years -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a hard war and a harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

But if history asks such questions, history also answers them. These answers are found in the heritage left by generations of Americans before us -- their past is our past, their vision uplifts us, their strength inspires us.

They stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American Nation came of age -- affirming its leadership of free men and women -- serving selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

In invoking the names of these generations of Americans, we come to understand the truths they stood for. They believed our republic was founded on the kindness of providence, the virtue and strength of our people, the union of our diverse communities, the simple genius of our Constitution, the artful workings of our Federal system, a vigilant regard for the rights of our minorities, and the neverflagging quest for peaceful relations with all nations.

This is a noble, rich heritage rooted in the great civilized ideas of the West -- and it is yours.

When I began, I promised not to burden you with enormous amounts of advice. I will keep that promise.

But I still do harbor a great hope for you. It is a hope that comes to you from across seventy years of life -- a life that has gone through changes and taken turns I could never have dreamed possible when I sat in your place so many years ago at a small college in downstate Illinois.

My hope today is that when your time comes -- and come it shall -- to explain to another generation the meaning of the past and thereby hold out to them the promise of the future, you will think back on this day and recall some of the truths and

traditions of which we have spoken. For it is these truths and traditions that define our civilization and make up our national heritage. Now, they are yours to protect and pass on.

I have one last hope.

That when you do speak to the next generation about these things, you will always be able to speak of an America that is strong and free, that you will always find in your hearts an unbounded pride in this much-loved country, this once and future land, this bright and hopeful nation whose generous spirit and great ideals the world still honors.