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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 05/07/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY AT TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY
(05/07 4:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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CARLUCCI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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			MACDONALD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

87 MAY 8 48:17

RECEIVED OPL-WW

Rhett Daws
Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/ARD)

May 7, 1987

4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY AT TUSKEGEE
UNIVERSITY
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA
SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1987

Thank you. President Payton, distinguished faculty members, honored guests, graduates-to-be, and, of course, proud parents. It is an honor for me to be here sharing this special day with you.

This is a most fitting day for a graduation ceremony because it coincides with the day we give thanks to the individuals to whom we really owe everything, people who sacrificed and sometimes themselves went without, so we could have happier, more complete lives.

Today, we remember and give thanks to our mothers. I'd like to ask every woman who has a child graduating today to stand. (Pause) Ladies, we honor your children today for their outstanding accomplishments, but we know that you deserve our accolades as well. God bless you and thank you for all you've done to bring this happy day about.

Today, you young people end one phase of your life and begin another. Your parents, your teachers, all of us, are genuinely excited for you. There is a story of a diplomat who caught a taxi in Washington and, on the long ride to Dulles International Airport, struck up a conversation with his cabbie. The young man mentioned he would be graduating in a few weeks, and the diplomat asked what kind of work he intended to pursue. "I don't know," replied the cabbie. "I haven't decided yet."

Once at Dulles Airport, the diplomat caught a plane which took him to Moscow. There he caught a taxi and, speaking fluent Russian, struck up a conversation with his driver. This cabbie, too, would soon be graduating, and when the diplomat asked what line of work he planned to pursue the cabbie replied, "I don't know. They haven't decided yet."

In a free society, as that story suggests, the individual makes the ultimate decision as to the direction of his or her life. This freedom is one of the greatest sources of strength from which this or any country can draw, a wellspring of hope that can be seen in the optimism of free people. And looking at your faces today, one cannot but have confidence in you and in our country's future.

This generation, your generation, of Americans will usher the world into a new era of freedom and progress, a time when our technology and our creativity will carry us beyond anything that we can now imagine. Already computers are expanding our productivity and opening doors of opportunity only dreamed of a short time ago. Small businesses, for example, have computer capabilities formerly reserved for giant corporations.

When I was attending college -- now I know many of you probably think that was back when dinosaurs roamed the Earth -- but actually, it was about the time Moses parted the Red Sea. Seriously, the goals Americans set for themselves in the days of my youth seem so modest: indoor plumbing, electricity, owning a family car, having a telephone or a radio crystal set. Traveling to distant cities was rare, traveling overseas was within reach

of only a few. For my family, even going to a movie was not always in reach.

Today, we explore technology that might someday conquer the remaining threats to our health and increase our longevity. While jet airliners carry passengers, even those of moderate means, from coast to coast and overseas, our engineers are busy developing crafts that one day will take off from a runway and carry us into space, aerospace planes that will deliver us anywhere in the world in a few hours time. Discoveries in the field of superconductivity are coming so rapidly that research results are often out of date before they are in print. Scientists are bringing us to the day of pollution-free electric cars and magnetic trains that carry cargo and travelers at speeds of 300 or 400 m.p.h.

During my teens, one in four Americans was still on the farm, more often than not, toiling to achieve extremely limited production. It took one farmer to feed four Americans in those days. Today, that same farmer can feed 60 Americans and 15 foreigners. Those were also the days when most people, trying to earn a meager living, shut their eyes to the injustices suffered by minority citizens.

It was Thomas Jefferson who once said, "I like dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Americans have never lacked vision, never lacked the desire or the courage to attempt great deeds.

After the Second World War, during another time of tremendous economic and technological progress, our society moved

forward to make a long-overdue commitment to extend freedom to those who had been denied, to make real the dream of a land of freedom and justice for all.

In the 1950's and 1960's, great strides were made through political action. The legal sanctions of bigotry and discrimination were torn away. Laws protecting the civil rights of all Americans were put in place, and racism was, in effect, outlawed. These great achievements did not come easy. They were the result of the struggle and commitment of generations and the outstanding leadership of individuals like Dr. Martin Luther King.

The civil rights movement earned the respect and gratitude of all good and decent Americans, some who may even at first have had reservations about what was happening. Yet, changes in the law -- and the political struggle itself -- brought social progress that enormously strengthened the moral foundation of the United States.

The political and legal battle is obviously not over -- we must remain vigilant, inside and outside of Government. We must maintain our moral solidarity against intolerance and racial hatred. We cannot shrug off incidents of racial violence or inter-racial crime.

Yet today, if black Americans are to progress socially and economically, if they are to be independent and upwardly-mobile, it is imperative that they be part of the great technological and scientific changes now sweeping our country and the world. And

it is just as vital for America that all her citizens march into the future together.

If there is any lesson now being learned it is that there is a relationship between human freedom and the progress of man. The discrimination and prohibitions suffered by minorities in this country were undoubtedly some of the greatest impediments to the forward thrust of our Nation.

One need only look at the invaluable scientific contributions, especially in the area of agriculture, made by George Washington Carver, to wonder what more he might have accomplished had he not been overcoming prejudice, as well as conducting scientific experiments.

An American pioneer in heart surgery was Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a black physician. Another black physician, Dr. Charles Drew discovered a method of storing blood plasma. How many of our countrymen would have lived longer, more productive lives had these outstanding citizens been freer to reach their potential?

The United States, in all these cases and so many more, did not know what it was losing.

Ironically, today America often isn't aware of what it is gaining by having opened doors that were long closed. Our citizens may know of the three black astronauts now in line for upcoming shuttle missions. Yet, how widely known is it that a large portion of NASA's workforce is black, including 422 engineers and scientists?

One of them, David Hedgly, was responsible for a breakthrough in computer graphics a few years ago, solving a problem that had confounded the scientific establishment for years. The press release announcing the accomplishment did not -- as was proper -- mention his race.

Dr. Jewell Plummer Cobb is President of California State University at Fullerton. She's a distinguished scientist whose research has led to discoveries in normal and malignant pigment cells.

There is nothing wrong with the attention focused on black athletes and entertainers. I would be the last one to down play the role of entertainers. However, I think it is high time the media and the rest of America began paying more attention to those black citizens who are prominent in other professions as well.

We must be concerned about the perception children of every race are developing about themselves and about others. Certainly, problems in the black community cannot be covered up or ignored, yet rather than dwelling almost exclusively on the negative, let's make certain our children see stories of black successes and triumphs.

And there are many from which to choose. Today, there are some 843,000 minority-owned businesses in the United States. Over and above what they buy and sell in the private sector, the Federal Government is doing an unprecedented \$6.5 billion in business with them. Black entrepreneurs often overcome great

adversity. Their stories lift the human spirit and give credit to individuals who should serve as role models for our children.

Coming up, for example, is National Small Business Week. An engineering and technical services company named Analysis Group Inc. has been selected for distinction. The president of the company, Arthur Paul, received his bachelors and masters in engineering from Howard University and his doctorate from the University of Virginia.

As our country moves into the 21st century, it is imperative that more young black Americans follow the path of Dr. Paul and of our black scientists, physicists, and mathematicians. America must not be denied the benefits of the creativity and talents of its citizens.

Our Administration is moving aggressively in a number of fronts. We have an agenda aimed not only at overcoming the problems of today, but also preparing the ground for black economic independence in the technological era we are entering. We threw out the old, inefficient CETA program and put in its place the Job Training Partnership Act, which provides more training for every dollar spent. It was Booker T. Washington who said, "The world cares very little about what a man or woman knows; it is what the man or woman can do..."

Well, our new training programs are designed to provide marketable, up-to-date skills.

We've done our best to put in place spending and tax policies that will keep our economy healthy and growing. Certainly, black unemployment has remained far too high and is

totally unacceptable. Yet, there are some figures that give us hope. Black employment has increased 1.7 million since 1980, and today, more black Americans are working than ever before and a higher percentage of the black workforce is employed than at any time in this decade. Since the economic recovery began, about 1 in 6 of all new jobs being created has gone to black Americans.

I care deeply about the unemployed. I saw my father suffer from the pain of not being able to support his family. I witnessed what it did to him, to his self-respect, and to my mother. It is not something I, or anyone in the Administration, take lightly. And I can assure you, we won't be satisfied till every American who wants a job has a job and is earning a decent living.

Our preparation for the next century, of course, goes far beyond our efforts to build an economy that will provide jobs for the unemployed. Part of it is encompassed by our campaign for excellence in education. We have not been offering easy answers in this regard. Instead, we set out to mobilize the public, to get the people involved in their local schools and in the education of their children, to encourage them to insist on high standards and discipline. And let's not kid ourselves, we can't expect children to excel in an environment of drugs and permissiveness. All Americans should stand shoulder-to-shoulder against this evil that undermines the moral fiber of the Nation and attacks our youth. It's time to get drugs off our campuses and out of our school yards.

We want to make certain that, by the time young people get to college, they are of sound mind, good character, and have the basic educational skills to carry them into any field they choose.

We are also engaged in an effort to encourage them as to what choice to make. At the college level, we are helping to provide incentives for black Americans to choose math, engineering, and the sciences. Next year, in response to our direction, the National Science Foundation -- whose budget is being doubled -- will move to ensure the widest participation in the sciences. This includes funding comprehensive projects to improve the teaching of science and engineering to pre-college and undergraduate students in minority schools.

And this isn't just a job for the Government. One of the goals we've set for ourselves in recent years has been to enlist the citizenry and private corporations in such community-building programs. Today, there are partnerships between Texas Engineering Experiment Station and Prairie View A&M University, between Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and Jackson State University, and others that provide hands-on engineering and scientific experience to minority students. We are doing our best to encourage these partnerships, whether they take the form of apprentice programs, consulting arrangements, or joint research.

In the public sector, the full support of our Administration has been thrown behind the effort to greatly strengthen the research capabilities of black institutions of higher learning.

In 1986, 27 Federal agencies and departments invested more than \$600 million in our Nation's Historically Black Colleges, much of it in the form of research grants and projects. One example, Tuskegee competed for, and won, a \$2.25-million Navy contract to help in the development of automobile, aircraft, and spacecraft engine components.

More of Tuskegee's students are enrolled in engineering and architecture than any other area of study. Furthermore, among your faculty and staff, in keeping with the standards established by Dr. Carver, are some of the best higher education has to offer in electrical, mechanical, chemical, and aerospace sciences.

Tuskegee has a tradition of top-quality scientific research from its earliest days. In 1890, Tuskegee received a \$7-million Federal grant for research in the food and agricultural sciences.

Dr. Carver once said, "Race and Creed find no recognition in the eyes of the Deity when He bestows His generous gifts." Dr. Carver not only said that, he proved it.

Tuskegee made history with its agricultural research, which continues even now to be a source of pride. Yet, let me suggest that this fame may someday be surpassed by contributions your institution will make in the field of aerospace engineering.

This potential is the reason the George C. Marshall Flight Center and other similar foundations, as well as private corporations, are humming around here. This is the reason NASA donated to this institution some of its most sophisticated aviation-related computers last year. And, of course, it is the reason that you have received \$9 million in support from the

Department of Education for the opening of this Aerospace Science and Health Education Center, which I was honored to inaugurate shortly before joining you today.

This center, of course, is dedicated to the memory of one of this country's great patriots, a hero of three wars, America's first black four star general, Daniel "Chappie" James. As a youth he washed planes for 25 cents. He earned his degree here at Tuskegee and helped train the famous Tuskegee Airmen, pilots who during the war destroyed 261 enemy aircraft and won a basket full of Distinguished Flying Crosses.

Some of you may be aware that back in 1944, in the midst of that great conflict, I narrated a film about these brave pilots. I can't tell you how proud I am to wear this pin they gave me, making me an honorary Tuskegee Airman.

The skill and courage of these individuals, Chappie James and the Tuskegee Airmen, is part of a heroic tradition: From the Revolutionary War, when some 5,000 black Americans fought gallantly for our country's independence, to Pearl Harbor, where a black seaman named Dorie Miller was one of the first Americans to bring down an enemy aircraft.

Dorie Miller, the Tuskegee Airmen, and others who fought and often paid the supreme sacrifice for their country, did so in a segregated military. Their courage and patriotism undoubtedly helped bring an end to this outrage.

Today, one of the greatest strengths of our military is that it is one of the most successfully integrated institutions in the country, an open door of opportunity to all citizens. Over

10 percent of the Army's officers are black, as are 34 percent of its sergeants. Blacks are in more positions of managerial and command authority in the military than in business, education, journalism, or any other part of government.

Chappie James once predicted, "Someday there will be so many black people doing so many things that are noteworthy that it will no longer be newsworthy." Nowhere is it more apparent than in the Armed Forces.

Seven percent of the Army's active duty generals are black. There have been two black four star generals: Chappie James in the Air Force and Roscoe Robinson, Jr. in the Army. In fact, I have nominated another black general, Bernard Randolph, for his fourth star, and it is now pending congressional approval. Again, Chappie was right. This officer's race no longer even makes the news.

By the way, General Randolph is with us today. General, congratulations.

The military is seen by many as an avenue for advancement, a job where individual merit will be recognized and rewarded. The technological training and skill development provided in the military is some of the best in the country. That could mean learning about car and truck engines. It could also mean learning to build bridges or space stations. Astronaut Guion Bluford was an R.O.T.C. graduate who went into the Air Force after receiving a B.S. from Penn State. While in the service, he earned his doctorate degree in aerospace engineering, with a

minor in laser physics, from the Air Force Institute of Technology.

I might add that he was at the White House on the day we announced the initial grant for the Chappie James Center here in Tuskegee.

Those Americans in the military service of the United States do us proud because of their achievements and because they, like the brave men who went before them, are willing to put their lives on the line to defend our country. With us today are 27 newly-commissioned R.O.T.C. 2nd Lieutenants who will soon be joining the ranks.

Would they please stand?

You young people are a great source of pride to all of us -- your families, your fellow students, and your countrymen. I know I speak for all of us here when I tell you we are confident that you will never let us down. And let me pledge to you, we will never let you down. I consider it an honor to salute you.

(SALUTE) Thank you.

I'd like to close with one story. Being from this campus, you know of Chappie and the Tuskegee pilots. I would like to speak with you of a man whose name is not so well known as these, Ensign Jesse Brown, the first black naval aviator.

He was a husband and father, a deeply religious man, an individual who studied engineering at Ohio State and left college to become a naval aviator. He loved to fly. In December 1950, Ensign Brown was a member of Fighting Squadron 32, aboard an aircraft carrier somewhere off Korea. He flew 20 close-air

support missions, providing cover for our outnumbered Marines at the Chosin Reservoir. The battle was fierce, our men on the ground were in a desperate situation.

On December 4, 1950, Ensign Brown's aircraft was hit while making a strafing run against the enemy. With tremendous skill, he managed to crash land on a rough, boulder-strewn slope. He survived the crash, waving to his friends as they circled overhead. They knew he was in trouble when he remained in the cockpit, even as smoke began to bellow from the wreckage.

Finally, a fellow member of his squadron could stand it no more. As the others attacked and held off advancing enemy troops, Lt.(jg.) Thomas Hudner ignored the dangers of the mountain terrain and enemy troops and made a deliberate wheels-up landing. He ran to Ensign Brown's plane, now erupting in flames, and found his friend alive, badly injured, and trapped in the cockpit. Lt. Hudner shoveled snow with his hands to keep Jesse from the flames, burning his hand badly in the process.

Finally, over the battle-scarred terrain, came a Marine helicopter. Lt. Hudner, joined by a crewman from the helicopter, struggled desperately to get Jesse out.

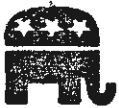
Now, I would like to tell you that they both made it and that, over the years, they have been best of friends, sharing family outings, caring about one another. But that was not to be. Ensign Jesse Brown died on that slope in Korea.

When he risked his life for those besieged Marines, Jesse Brown didn't consider the race of those he sought to protect. And when his fellow pilots saw him in danger, they did not think

of the color of his skin. They only knew that Americans were in trouble. Ensign Brown was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the Purple Heart; Lt. Hudner, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

But perhaps the most moving tribute was paid by Ensign Brown's shipmates. In a memorial printed in the ship's paper they wrote. "We bid farewell to a Christian soldier, a gentleman, shipmate and friend.... He was a credit not alone to the Navy but to our country... His courage and faith in Almighty God shone like a beacon for all to see... Hail and farewell."

Today, you become part of the continuing saga, the history shaped by individuals like Dr. Carver, Chappie James, and Ensign Jesse Brown. What you do with your lives will keep America shining like a beacon of opportunity and freedom for all to see. Thank you for letting me be with you today. Good luck in the years ahead. God bless you.



Republican National Committee

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN

THROUGH: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.
Chairman

FROM: TERRY WADE *W*
Director of Communications

DATE: MAY 7, 1987

SUBJECT: ALABAMA — POLITICAL BRIEFING

This briefing has been created by the RNC Research Department to provide the President with information in preparation for his commencement address at Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama on May 10.

STATE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

- o Presidential election results: (9 electoral votes)
 - 1984 statewide: Reagan 60.8% Mondale 39.2%
 - 1984 Macon County: Reagan 16.4% Mondale 83.6%
 - 1980 statewide: Reagan 50.0% Carter 48.7% Anderson 1.3%
 - 1980 Macon County: Reagan 15.1% Carter 84.4% Anderson 0.5%
- o Republicans have:
 - won four of the last nine presidential elections (Reagan, 1984 and 1980; Nixon, 1972; Goldwater, 1964).
 - elected only three Republican U.S. senators in Alabama history.
 - elected the first GOP U.S. senator in a century in 1980. (Jeremiah Denton)
 - elected the first GOP governor since Reconstruction in 1986.
- o Alabama will hold its 1988 presidential preference primary on March 8, 1988, along with the majority of southern states.
- o The February 1987 not-seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in the state was 9.9%, compared to the national unemployment rate of 7.2%.

STATE POLITICAL SUMMARY

U.S. SENATE:

- o Alabama's senior U.S. senator, Democrat Howell Heflin (1985 group ratings: Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)-25; American Conservative Union (ACU)-74), was first elected in 1978. Heflin defeated GOP former U.S. Rep. Albert Lee Smith in 1984 by a 63%-36% margin.
- o Republican Jeremiah Denton (1985 ratings: ADA-5; ACU-91), a former Vietnam prisoner of war, made a spectacular political debut in 1980, defeating Jim Folsom, Jr. by a 50%-47% vote margin to become Alabama's first Republican senator in a century.

1986 ELECTION:

- o Denton was defeated in his 1986 re-election bid by Democrat U.S. Rep. Richard Shelby (7th C.D.). Shelby defeated Denton by a narrow 51%-49% margin
- o Shelby has taken seats on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Select Committee on Aging in the 100th Congress.
- o Shelby has come under criticism recently for comments about Tennessee Valley Authority Chairman Charles "Chili" Dean (R); Shelby has criticized Dean and the TVA for mismanagement. Shelby was quoted in the Huntsville Times (4/17/87) as saying that Dean liked to play golf, "and you can't play golf every day and run TVA."

GOVERNOR:

- o George Wallace, Alabama's controversial Democrat governor, did not seek a fifth term in 1986.

1986 ELECTION:

- o Republican Guy Hunt became the first GOP governor elected in Alabama since Reconstruction in 1865. Hunt defeated Democrat Lieutenant Governor Bill Baxley by a 56%-43% margin, taking advantage of a largely disgusted and divided Democrat electorate.
- o The Alabama Democrats fought a bitter battle over their gubernatorial nominee. Conservative Attorney General Charles Graddick actually defeated Baxley in the Democrat runoff. After many court battles and accusations that he encouraged Republicans to crossover and vote in the Democrat runoff, Graddick was denied the nomination.
- o Hunt was the Alabama campaign chairman for President Reagan's election in 1980 and 1984, and he was appointed by the President in 1981 to be state executive director of the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

- U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

- STATE LEGISLATURE:

- o In 1986, all state legislative seats were up for election. Republicans gained one seat in the state Senate and three seats in the House.
- o A special election in the state Senate has been set to fill the vacancy caused when state Sen. Loyd Coleman of Arab resigned in mid-April. Coleman pleaded guilty in court on April 13 to 15 counts of theft and forgery stemming from his real estate business. The primary will be held May 19 and the general election on June 2.
- o Former Democrat state Sen. Hinton Mitchem is likely to be a candidate for the seat, he represented the district until he resigned to run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 1986. Other possible candidates include: Democrat Randy Jones of Guntersville, and Republicans George Gainer and Mrs. Nell Skidmore.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY:

- o The depressed textile industry is a major political issue in Alabama. The influx of cheap imported materials has caused the shutdown of textile plants and the loss of jobs in Alabama. Textile and apparel jobs account for almost one-third of the state's manufacturing work force. Overall unemployment, however, has gone down in Alabama and economic conditions have begun to improve.

- o On March 11, GOP Gov. Guy Hunt announced TNS Mills were going to begin construction in March on a \$25 million textile plant in Eufala, Alabama. The 15,000 square foot mill, with an estimated annual payroll of \$1.75 million, is expected to open in early 1988. TNS is a Japanese firm which has invested heavily in Alabama in the past few years. The firm purchased Alabama's Avondale mills in 1985. Also, Union Yarn Company, the yarn manufacturing division of Fruit of the Loom, announced in February it was buying a closed textile plant in Leesburg.

VOTER REGISTRATION BY PARTY:

- o The state GOP's steering committee voted Feb. 21 to petition the Alabama Legislature to change the state law to require voter registration by party. Currently Alabama voters are not required to register by party in order to vote, a system which caused havoc in the 1986 gubernatorial election. In the 1986 election, Democrat state Attorney General Charles Graddick was found guilty by a federal court of soliciting Republican votes for the Democrat primary runoff.
- o Republican Gov. Guy Hunt has stated his opposition to party registration at this time. State Democrats favor a system requiring voters to sign master sheets when they cast ballots in a primary. The names could then be compared in a runoff election, and voters would not be allowed to crossover or vote in one party's primary and the other party's runoff.

STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFICIALS

STATE CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN

Emory Folmar
Perry O. Hooper
Jean Sullivan

REAGAN-BUSH '84 STATE CHAIRMAN
CO-CHAIRS

Rep. Jack Edwards
Mrs. Adrian (Judy) Bewley

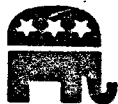
Mr. Jim Hicks

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
CO-CHAIR

Senator Jeremiah Denton
Honorable Emory Folmar
Catherine Caldwell Cabaniss

This report was prepared by Christopher Kearney under the direction of J. Ben-Joseph.


0783N




Republican National Committee

Terry Wade
Director of Communications

MEMORANDUM FOR HOWARD BAKER

THROUGH: FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR. 
Chairman

FROM: TERRY WADE 
Director of Communications

DATE: MAY 7, 1987

SUBJECT: ALABAMA — POLITICAL BRIEFING

This briefing has been created by the RNC Research Department to provide Mr. Baker with information in preparation for the President's trip to Tuskegee, Alabama on May 10.

STATE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

- o Since 1952, Alabama has voted Republican in four of the nine presidential elections (Reagan, 1984 and 1980; Nixon, 1972; Goldwater, 1964).
- o Alabama elected a GOP governor, Guy Hunt, in 1986 for the first time since Reconstruction. In 1980, Jeremiah Denton became Alabama's first popularly-elected Republican U.S. senator in the state's history. During Reconstruction, Alabama was represented by two Republican U.S. senators; George Spencer (1868-1879) and Willard Warner (1868-1872).
- o In this century, Democrats have always controlled the state Legislature.
- o From 1960 to 1980, Black voter registration increased from 14% of eligible Blacks to 58%, and between 1980 and 1984, 132,000 new Black voters registered to vote in Alabama. The number of Black elected officials increased from zero in 1960 to 375 in 1985.
- o The February 1987 not-seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in the state was 9.9%, compared to the national unemployment rate of 7.2%.

TUSKEGEE

- o The Tuskegee Institute was founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington, it is one of the nation's first Black Colleges. It has a student population of 3,736. The city of Tuskegee has a population of 13,327.
- o Tuskegee is in the 3rd Congressional District and is represented by ten-term Democrat U.S. Rep. Bill Nichols.
- o Tuskegee is located in Macon County. A majority of the city's population is Black. The county is 84% Black and is the city one in the 3rd C D. with a Black majority population. Blacks make up 28% of the population in the district.
- o In 1968, Tuskegee elected the first Black sheriff in the South and the first two Black members in the Alabama Legislature.
- o Macon County has not been carried by a Republican President since Eisenhower in 1956. President Reagan lost this county (16%-84%) in 1984 and (15%-84%) in 1980.

STATE ISSUES

TEXTILE INDUSTRY:

- o The depressed textile industry is a major political issue in Alabama. The influx of cheap imported materials has caused the shutdown of textile plants and the loss of jobs in Alabama. According to the Alabama Textile Manufacturers Association, the state lost 22 textile mills and 82 apparel companies between 1981 and mid-1986. Textile and apparel jobs account for almost one-third of the state's manufacturing work force. Overall unemployment, however, has gone down in Alabama and economic conditions have begun to improve.
- o On March 11, GOP Gov. Guy Hunt announced TNS Mills were going to begin construction in March on a \$25 million textile plant in Eufala, Alabama. The 15,000 square foot mill, with an estimated annual payroll of \$1.75 million, is expected to open in early 1988. TNS is a Japanese firm which has invested heavily in Alabama in the past few years. The firm purchased Alabama's Avondale mills in 1985. Also, Union Yarn Company, the yarn manufacturing division of Fruit of the Loom, announced in February it was buying a closed textile plant in Leesburg.

VOTER REGISTRATION BY PARTY:

- o The state GOP's steering committee voted Feb. 21 to petition the Alabama Legislature to change the state law to require voter registration by party. Currently Alabama voters are not required to register by party in order to vote, a system which caused havoc in the 1986 gubernatorial election. In the 1986 election, Democrat state Attorney General Charles Graddick was found guilty by a federal court of soliciting Republican votes for the Democrat primary runoff.

- o Republican Gov. Guy Hunt has stated his opposition to party registration at this time. State Democrats favor a system requiring voters to sign master sheets when they cast ballots in a primary. The names could then be compared in a runoff election, and voters would not be allowed to crossover or vote in one party's primary and the other party's runoff.

1988 PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

- o Alabama will hold its presidential preference primary on March 8, 1988, along with the majority of southern states in what has been named the "Super Southern" regional primary. The March 8 date is the same primary date as in 1984.
- o In a March Southern Primary Poll conducted by the Birmingham News, 48% percent of those polled considered themselves Democrats, and 44% of them indicated that they were planning to vote in next year's Democrat primary on Super Tuesday.
- o On April 3, Democrat Sen. Joe Biden was in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Tuscaloosa campaigning and seeking support for his presidential bid. According to press accounts, he feels he can win in Alabama by appealing to Blacks and mainstream conservatives.
- o On April 8, U.S. Rep Jack Kemp (R), as part of his Presidential announcement tour, made a stop in Birmingham. He also addressed reports surrounding state GOP chairman Emory Folmar. Folmar, who is mayor of Montgomery, has been criticized by opponents of trying to line-up Republican delegates for Vice President George Bush. Kemp said Gov. Hunt and Mr. Folmar had told him they would remain neutral during the campaign.
- o On April 25, Democrat Gary Hart kicked off his campaign in Alabama with a stop in the rural town of Eclectic. He said his campaign was going to focus on small towns across the South and the nation.

1984 PRESIDENTIAL RACE

- o Alabama had nine electoral votes in 1984.
- o In 1984, President Reagan carried Alabama by a 60%-39% vote margin, increasing his 1980 showing of 50.0% by 10 percentage points.

STATE POLITICAL SUMMARY

U.S. SENATE:

- o Alabama's senior U.S. senator, Democrat Howell Heflin (1985 group ratings: Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)-25; American Conservative Union (ACU)-74), was first elected in 1978. Heflin defeated GOP former Representative Albert Lee Smith in 1984 by a 63%-36% margin.

- o Republican Jeremiah Denton (1985 ratings: ADA-5; ACU-91), a former Vietnam prisoner of war, made a spectacular political debut in 1980, defeating Jim Folsom, Jr. by a 50%-47% vote margin to become Alabama's first Republican senator in a century.

1986 ELECTION:

- o Denton was defeated in his 1986 re-election bid by Democrat U.S. Rep. Richard Shelby (7th C.D.). Shelby defeated Denton by a narrow 51%-49% margin.
- o Shelby, 52, is a conservative Democrat. His views, including support of President Reagan's economic program, opposition to the Voting Rights Act and to the Martin Luther King, Jr. federal holiday, caused him to lose some support from Black and labor Democrat constituencies during the 1986 campaign. However, Shelby was endorsed by the Alabama Labor Council and by the oldest Black political organization in the state, the Alabama Democratic Conference.
- o Shelby has taken seats on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Select Committee on Aging in the 100th Congress.

GOVERNOR:

- o George Wallace, Alabama's controversial Democrat governor, did not seek a fifth term in 1986.

1986 ELECTION:

- o Republican Guy Hunt became the first GOP governor elected in Alabama since Reconstruction in 1865. Hunt defeated Democrat Lieutenant Governor Bill Baxley by a 56%-43% margin, taking advantage of a largely disgusted and divided Democrat electorate.
- o The Alabama Democrats fought a bitter battle over their gubernatorial nominee. Conservative Attorney General Charles Graddick actually defeated Baxley in the Democrat runoff. After many court battles and accusations that he encouraged Republicans to crossover and vote in the Democrat runoff, Graddick was denied the nomination.
- o Hunt was the Alabama campaign chairman for President Reagan's election in 1980 and 1984, and he was appointed by the President in 1981 to be state executive director of the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.
- o Gov. Hunt gave his State of the State address to the Legislature in April. He again touched on his campaign themes of improved education and economic development for Alabama.

- o Improved education and economic conditions were top issues of Gov. Hunt's 1986 campaign, and a January 12-14 Birmingham News poll showed those as the top concerns for Alabamians. A majority (53%) of those surveyed also believe that Hunt's performance as governor will be better than former Gov. Wallace's performance over the past four years. Fifty-six percent polled said having a Republican governor would have "a positive impact" on the state. Most Alabamians, however, expressed concern over the prospect of the Democrat-controlled Legislature not supporting the new governor. Fifty-three percent felt the Legislature would support Hunt only "some of the time."

LT. GOVERNOR:

- o Democrat Public Service Commissioner Jim Folsom, Jr., son of former Alabama Governor James "Big Jim" Folsom, defeated Republican Don McGriff to become lieutenant governor. He won the Democrat nomination for lieutenant governor after defeating state Senator John Teague in the runoff by a 57%-43% vote margin.

ATTORNEY GENERAL:

- o In 1986, former Secretary of State Don Siegelman won the Democrat nomination with 53.9% of the vote to become Alabama's attorney general. Siegelman had no GOP opposition in the general election.

STATE TREASURER:

- o Democrat George Wallace, Jr., son of former Gov. George Wallace, won the office of state treasurer in 1986. Wallace defeated Jim Zeigler in the Democrat runoff by a narrow 51.8%-48.2% vote margin. Wallace had no GOP opposition in the 1986 general election.

SECRETARY OF STATE:

- o Democrat state Rep. Glen Browder of Jacksonville defeated current state Treasurer Laurie Anne Gunther by a 51.5%-48.5% vote margin to win the Democrat nomination for secretary of state. In the 1986 general election, Browder defeated Republican Jim Watley.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

- o Congressional Delegation: 2 Republicans
 5 Democrats
- o All incumbent representatives were returned to office in 1986, except in the open 7th Congressional District where Democrat Claude Harris was elected to fill Richard Shelby's seat.

1st C.D. Southwest - Mobile

- o Ten-term incumbent Republican Jack Edwards announced his retirement, creating an open seat for the November 1984 elections.
- o Republican H.L. "Sonny" Callahan (1985 ratings: ADA-0; ACU-86), a trucking company executive, defeated Democrat Mobile attorney Frank B. McRight by a 51%-49% margin, retaining the open seat for the Republicans in 1984.
- o Callahan was unopposed in 1986.

2nd C.D. Southeast - Montgomery

- o In 1984, Republican William Dickinson (1985 ratings: ADA-10; ACU-65) defeated Democrat Larry Lee by a 60%-39% margin.
- o Dickinson was re-elected in 1986 over Democrat auto store manager Mercer Stone by a 66%-34% vote margin.

3rd C.D. East - Anniston; Auburn

- o Incumbent Democrat Bill Nichols (1985 ratings: ADA-10; ACU-67) defeated Republican accountant Whit Guerin in 1986 by a wide 81%-19% vote margin. Guerin was Nichols' first Republican opponent in six elections.

4th C.D. North Central - Gadsen

- o Ten-term incumbent Democrat Tom Bevill (1985 ratings: ADA-25; ACU-57) faced no GOP opposition in 1984.
- o Bevill defeated Republican retired businessman Al "Owl" DeShazo in the 1986 general election by a 77%-23% vote margin.

5th C.D. North - Huntsville

- o Democrat Ronnie G. Flippo (1985 ratings: ADA-35; ACU-58) had no primary or GOP opposition in 1984.
- o Incumbent Flippo was renominated with 89.9% of the vote in the 1986 primary and defeated Republican attorney H.R. McCarley by a 79%-21% vote margin in the November general election.
- o Flippo has announced his intention to seek re-election to Congress in 1988. He has also indicated that he is considering running for governor in 1990 because in recent weeks he has been "encouraged to run". He has made speeches around the state and has \$600,000 in his campaign treasury. (UPI, 4/27/87)

6th C.D. Greater Birmingham Area

- o In 1982, Democrat incumbent Ben Erdreich (1985 ratings: ADA-35; ACU-52) became the first Democrat to represent this district in 20 years.
- o In 1984, J.T. "Jabo" Waggoner, a former Democrat state legislator and chairman of the Jefferson County legislative district, was Erdreich's Republican opponent. Erdreich soundly defeated Waggoner by a 60%-40% margin in the 1984 general election.
- o Erdreich defeated Republican attorney L. Morgan Williams by a 73%-27% vote margin in 1986.

7th C.D. West Central - Tuscaloosa; Bessemer

- o Incumbent Democrat Richard C. Shelby (1985 ratings: ADA-25; ACU-67) retired in 1986 to successfully run for the U.S. Senate.
- o Democrat Circuit Judge Claude Harris, Jr. defeated Republican businessman Bill McFarland, son of the state's highway director and a former Democrat, by a slim 51%-49% vote margin in the race to replace Shelby.

STATE LEGISLATURE:

State Senate:	5 Republicans	29 Democrats	1 Vacancy
State House:	17 Republicans	88 Democrats	

- o In 1986 all state legislative seats were up for election. Republicans gained one seat in the state Senate and three seats in the House.
- o A special election in the state Senate has been set to fill the vacancy caused when state Sen. Loyd Coleman of Arab resigned in mid April. Coleman pleaded guilty in court on April 13 to 15 counts of theft and forgery stemming from his real estate business. The primary will be held May 19 and the general election on June 2.
- o Former Democrat state Sen. Hinton Mitchem is likely to be a candidate for the seat, he represented the district until he resigned to run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 1986. Other possible candidates include: Democrat Randy Jones of Guntersville, and Republicans George Gainer and Mrs. Nell Skidmore.
- o The chairmen of the Democrat and Republican parties have said their parties will hold primaries to choose candidates to run for the seat. If a primary runoff is necessary, it will be held June 2, and the general election will be moved to June 16.

o The state party Executive Committee meeting was held on Jan. 10. State party Chairman Emory Folmar was re-elected to a second term.

o Alabama's old-line Black political organization, the Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), gained some competition with the birth of a Black coalition called the Alabama New South Coalition. The ADC angered many Blacks with its endorsement of losing candidates in the 1978 and 1982 gubernatorial primaries.

STATE CHAIRMAN	Emory Folmar
NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN	Perry O. Hooper
NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN	Jean Sullivan

GOVERNOR Guy Hunt (R) - Elected in 1986.

SENATORS Howell Heflin (D) - Re-elected in 1984.
Richard Shelby (D) - Elected in 1986.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 2 Republicans
5 Democrats

H.L. Callahan	1st District
William L. Dickinson	2nd District

o There are no designated party leaders in the Legislature. Floor leaders for the administration are selected by the governor.

- o In 1980, Alabamians earned only 78% of the national average income -- up from barely 50% in the 1940s. In 1984, Alabamians earned \$2,726 less in personal income than the average American, but that represents a 8.1% increase from the 1983 figure.
- o The 1980 Census rankings for Alabama are as follows:
 - 22nd in population (3,893,888);
 - 13th in Black population (996,335), but 5th in Black percentage (25.6%) of the state's total population;

- 33rd in Hispanic population (33,299), and 40th in Hispanic percentage (0.9%) of the state's total population;
- 47th in percentage (1.0%) of foreign-born residents;
- 24th in percentage (11.3%) of residents age 65+;
- 11th in percentage (29.8%) of residents under 18 years;
- 33rd in median age (29.2 years);
- 46th in percentage (45.1%) of women in the labor force;
- 47th in percentage (12.2%) of college graduates;
- 15th in percentage (63.0%) of married-couple households;
- 47th in median household income (\$13,669);
- 45th in per capita income (\$5,929);
- 14th in percentage (70.1%) of owner-occupied housing;
- 46th in housing value (\$39,800).

ALABAMA VOICES:

- o Gov. Guy Hunt on the bipartisan group of 26 Senate and House Legislators he chose to be his floor leaders:

"We don't ask anyone to be puppets. We've established a line of communication. I think in the main on our broad programs that we're going to present to the Legislature we are all in agreement."

(The Birmingham News, 3/18/87)

- o Paul Hubbert, executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association, on Gov. Hunt's plan not to recommend raises for teachers to this year:

"We've gotten raises before when the governor didn't suggest it."

(The Birmingham News, 3/12/87)

- o Republican state party Chairman Emory Folmar on the many presidential candidates who have recently come to Alabama:

"I think the people of Alabama need to see these people firsthand."

(UPI, 4/13/87)

This report was prepared by Christopher Kearney under the direction of J. Ben-Joseph.

0781N

POOL REPORT

ANDREWS TO TUSKEGEE

May 10, 1987

Reagan bounded up the stairs and waited about 30 seconds for the Thunderbirds to roar overhead. He waved and entered Air Force One.

Underway, Fitzwater and Griscom answered questions. Marlin said he's read New York Times story on McFarlane but declined substantive comment. "Wait until the testimony tomorrow," Marlin said. "...We'll have to wait and see what he says. I prefer to wait and see the first-run version."

To the subject of McFarlane's instructions were Fitzwater said, "I can't go into it yet." He briefly referred to the difference between humanitarian aid and other forms of aid, but said, "I'm not going to venture into that territory until we are very specific." He said he hadn't asked the President if he had made a contribution to the Casey fund.

Going on, re Bush speech: "very well-timed, a good speech," Fitzwater said. Marlin noted that Bush customarily "circulates" his speeches but added that it's not fair to say he cleared it.

Elaborating Fitzwater declined comment on the bishop's remarks yesterday. The President, he said, was "very impressed" with Kirkpatrick's eulogy but Reagan did not express any views on what the bishop said.

Regarding the Bob Hope event, Griscom said that in addition to commemorating the Air Force's 40th anniversary, it is also Bob Hope's 84th birthday and Reagan will add his remarks. "No cue cards," Griscom said.

Said Tommy, outlining the week ahead, "Debt limit is the thing that is starting to move" and the White House will "push hard at trying to keep that debt limit clear."

Asked about Gary Hart, Griscom and Fitzwater initially burst into laughter and declined comment. Then Griscom said he has to "respect somebody's decision" to withdraw and those in public life must "deal with a whole range of issues." "That's my exit line," Marlin said when asked about Hart.

Griscom said the widow of Chappie James will attend today's event.

On board: Senators Heflin and Shelby. Griscom says on the return flight will be both North Carolina senators.

On other matters, Griscom promised a "continual opportunity" for the press to talk to the President but wouldn't go into details.

Senator Heflin, on the hearings: "They've consumed a lot of time." He said reactions will largely depend on "what your viewpoints were going into it." He said the testimony would support members' "prejudged opinions." "It's hard to get to the truth," Heflin added. "I think you'll end up with people coming down on various issues. ... Everybody's going to be trying to find the truth, but the truth is sometimes elusive. I want to find a number of different things. We are charged with finding if there were any illegal acts."

Asked about the accuracy of testimony, without being specific, he said, "because somebody is under oath, it doesn't mean anybody will tell the truth, or not slant the truth."

Second, he said, "started the first two days as a very forthright, honest witness ... a patriot for his cause."

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But, he said, "enough doubts have been generated to question his story." These deal with whether he was out to make a profit "of do what he thought best for his country."

Heflin said he discussed the Contra situation with Reagan on the flight. Neither brought up the hearings, he said. No other details of the conversation. He said they discussed Bishop McGann's remarks, but he would not say what was said.

Ken Walsh, U.S. News

Jim Gerstenzang, Los Angeles Times

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Fayetteville, North Carolina)

For Immediate Release

May 10, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT
BOB HOPE SALUTE TO THE
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
40TH ANNIVERSARY

Pope Air Force Base,
Fayetteville, North Carolina

4:46 P.M EDT

MR. HOPE: I just want to say -- all I want to do, Mr. President -- I just want to welcome you. And I just want to tell you that they've been waiting, you know. They publicized that you were going to be here, so they've been waiting. And they've been waiting -- and since -- they started at 10:00 this morning and they've been waiting for you. And I can't tell you -- I can't tell you how happy I am that you're here, but I thought with this particular crowd that you might drop in by parachute. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Bob, I'll leave that to the experts. (Applause.) If I tried that, I might have landed on your birthday cake. (Laughter.)

MR. HOPE: Yes -- the seat of government would have icing all over it, huh? (Laughter.) But you know, it's great to have you here. I'm just sorry Nancy isn't with you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I was going to ask her but I was afraid she'd just -- just say no. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. HOPE: I want to tell you, Mr. President, with all the travel and all the work you've done, you look just great.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Bob, you -- (applause) -- Bob, you look great, too.

MR. HOPE: You do --

THE PRESIDENT AND MR. HOPE (Simultaneously): Well, I hope I look that good when I'm your age. (Laughter.)

MR. HOPE: You know, if Vaudeville comes back, we're set.

THE PRESIDENT: Robert, I just want to say something to all these people here, and that is that I'm sure that many of them know this has been a career with you. On birthdays, on holidays of all kinds, dating clear back to the draft days before World War II, you were out entertaining our people in uniform -- (applause) -- and then through three wars -- through three wars you went wherever our fighting men and women were to bring a little touch of home to them. And you left and you were there, and now we're at peace and you're still doing it. And I think it's -- it's just great of you. But also, I would like to say on behalf of your audience, nothing in the job I have has made me more proud than these young men and women in uniform. (Applause.) They -- believe me, Bob, they are the finest we've ever had. (Applause.)

MR. HOPE: Well, we are ready, we are ready down there with -- how about that? You ready? (MUSIC IS PLAYED.) Want to

MORE

thank you very much for coming. You've given us all a great thrill. Where are you off to now?

THE PRESIDENT: Bob, I don't know whether I can do it in a musical background.

MR. HOPE: We've got to talk and dance at the same time. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Bob, in my lapel is a button -- I have just come from Tuskegee University and their commencement over there, and where a gentleman named General Daniel "Cappie"* James was being honored today.

MR. HOPE: No kidding?

THE PRESIDENT: His widow was there.

MR. HOPE: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: This great general.

MR. HOPE: Great man. Right.

THE PRESIDENT: And you all can't see it, but there's a button here in my lapel, and it says that I am an honorary Tuskegee Airman. (Applause.)

But Bob, your birthday and all, and I know that I have to leave, because from here it's Washington. But just before I leave, I just wanted to tell a little story that I thought they might be interested in. You know, Bob does have time to have some fun other than just entertaining like this. Now, for example, in -- out there in Los Angeles, we've got a couple of race tracks and Bob was going to go to the races when Hollywood Park opened, and for three days -- or three nights, I should say, he dreamed of number five. So he went to the track when it opened, and he went right down the program to the fifth race, and then to the number five horse in the fifth race. And it was named "Five By Five." He bet the bundle on it. The horse came in fifth. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. HOPE: I love it. I remember when you gave me a tip years ago at the Kentucky Derby. It's the first horse I ever saw make a pit stop. (Laughter.) Anyway, it's a thrill to have you here. You've thrilled a lot of people here, and they've been waiting for you, as I told you, since 10:00 a.m., and you're awful good to show up.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Bob, thank you for what you continue to do for all these young people. And thank all of you for what you continue to do for our country. (Applause.)

END

4:55 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Tuskegee, Alabama)

For Immediate Release

May 10, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

General Daniel "Chappie" James Center
Tuskegee University
Tuskegee, Alabama

11:35 A.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, President Payton, Governor Hunt, Senator Heflin, Congressman Nichols, Mrs. James, the distinguished faculty members and honored guests; graduates to be; and of course, proud parents. It's an honor for me to be here sharing this special day with you. And President Payton, after having had you and Mrs. Payton on our campus a few weeks ago, let me say, Nancy and I are honored by the invitation to be on yours. She sends her greetings. You know, the First Lady doesn't work for the government -- well, she doesn't get paid by the government, but she works for the government, and she's home packing for a trip they're sending her across the country on.

This is a most fitting day for a graduation ceremony because it coincides with the day we give thanks to the individuals to whom we really owe everything; people who sacrificed and sometimes themselves went without, so that we could have happier and more complete lives.

Today, we remember and give thanks to our mothers. I'd like to ask every woman who has a child graduating today to stand, if they would. (Applause.) Ladies, we honor your children today for their outstanding accomplishment, but we know that you deserve our accolades as well. God bless you and thank you for all you've done to bring this happy day about. (Applause.) And speaking of mothers, Mrs. Punch, would you come up here on the platform for a moment? (Applause.) I know Tuskegee students have had a special one here on campus for 40 years. She's retiring this year. Mrs. Punch, love and thanks are yours today. And Nancy and I would like to give you something on behalf of all of us. (Applause.)

MRS. PUNCH: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Today, you young people end one phase of your life and begin another. Your parents, your teachers, all of us, are genuinely excited for you.

There's a story of a diplomat who caught a taxi in Washington, and on the long ride to Dulles International Airport he struck up a conversation with the cabbie. And the young man happened to mention that he would be graduating in a few weeks. And the diplomat asked what kind of work he intended to pursue. "I don't know," replied the cabbie, "because I haven't decided yet." Well, once at Dulles, the diplomat caught a plane which was taking him straight to the Soviet Union to Moscow. And arriving there, he got in a taxicab and started the long ride in, and he, speaking fluent Russian, struck up a conversation with that cabbie. And asked the cabbie, too, by coincidence said he too would soon be graduating. And when the diplomat asked him what line of work he planned to pursue, the cabbie replied, "I don't know, they haven't decided yet." (Laughter and applause.)

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Well, in a free society, as that story suggests, the individual makes the ultimate decision as to the direction of his or her life. This freedom is one of the greatest sources of strength from which this or any country can draw, a wellspring of hope that can be seen in the optimism of free people. And looking at your faces today, one cannot but have confidence in you and in our country's future.

This generation of -- your generation of Americans will usher the world into a new era of freedom and progress, a time when our technology and our creativity will carry us beyond anything that we can now imagine. Already computers are expanding our productivity and opening doors of opportunity only dreamed of a short time ago. Small businesses, for example, have computer facilities formerly reserved for giant corporations.

When I was attending college -- now I know many of you probably think that that was back when there were dinosaurs roaming the Earth -- actually, they weren't -- it was about the time when Moses was parting the Red Sea. (Laughter.)

Seriously, the goals Americans set for themselves in the days of my youth seem so modest: Indoor plumbing, electricity, a family car, having a telephone or a radio crystal set. Traveling to distant cities was rare, traveling overseas was within reach of only a few. For my family, even going to a movie was not always in reach.

Today, we explore technology that might someday conquer the remaining threats to our health and increase our longevity. While jet airliners carry passengers, even those of modest means, from coast to coast and overseas, our engineers are busy developing crafts that one day will take off from a runway and carry us into space, aerospace planes that will deliver us anywhere in the world in just a few hours time. Discoveries in the field of superconductivity are coming so rapidly that research results are often out of date before they're in print. Scientists are bringing us to the day of pollution-free electric cars and magnetic trains that carry cargo and travelers at speeds of 300 or 400 miles per hour.

During my teens, one in four Americans was still on the farm, more often than not, toiling to achieve extremely limited production. It took one farmer then to feed four Americans in those days. Today, that same farmer can feed 60 Americans and 15 foreigners. Those were also the days when most people, trying to earn a meager living, shut their eyes to the injustices suffered by minority citizens.

It was Thomas Jefferson who once said, "I like dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Well, Americans have never lacked vision, never lacked the desire or the courage to attempt great deeds.

After the Second World War, during another time of tremendous economic and technological progress, our society moved forward to make a long-overdue commitment to extend freedom to those who had been denied, to make real the dream of a land of freedom and justice for all.

In the 1950's and 1960's, great strides were made through political action. The legal sanctions of bigotry and discrimination were torn away. Laws protecting the civil rights of all Americans were put in place, and racism was, in effect, outlawed. The great achievements did not come easy. They were the result of the struggle and commitment of generations, and the outstanding leadership of individuals like Dr. Martin Luther King.

The civil rights movement earned the respect and gratitude of all good and decent Americans, even some who may at first have had reservations about what was happening. Yet, changes in the law -- and the political struggle itself -- brought social progress that enormously strengthened the moral foundation of the United States.

The political and legal battle is obviously not over -- we must remain vigilant, inside and outside of government. We must maintain our moral solidarity against intolerance and racial hatred. We cannot shrug off incidents of racial violence or inter-racial crime.

Yet today, if black Americans are to progress socially and economically, if they are to be independent and upwardly-mobile, it is imperative that they be part of the great technological and scientific changes now sweeping our country and the world. (Applause.) And it's just as vital for America that all her citizens march into the future together. (Applause.)

If there's any lesson now being learned it is that there is a relationship between human freedom and the progress of man. The discrimination and prohibitions suffered by minorities in this country were undoubtedly some of the greatest impediments to the forward thrust of our nation.

One need only look at the invaluable scientific contributions, especially in the area of agriculture, made by George Washington Carver, to wonder what more he might have accomplished had he not been overcoming prejudice, as well as conducting scientific experiments. (Applause.)

An American pioneer in heart surgery was Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a black physician. Another black physician, Dr. Charles Drew, discovered a method of storing blood plasma. How many of our countrymen would have lived longer, more productive lives had these outstanding citizens been freer to reach their potential? (Applause.)

The United States, in all these cases, and so many more, did not know what it was losing. Ironically, today America often isn't aware of what it's gaining by having opened doors that were long closed. Our citizens may know of the three black astronauts now in line for becoming* shuttle missions. Yet, how widely known is it that a large portion of NASA's workforce is black, including 422 engineers and scientists?

*upcoming

MORE

One of them, David Hedgly, was responsible for a breakthrough in computer graphics a few years ago, solving a problem that had confounded the scientific establishment for years. The press release announcing the accomplishment did not -- as was proper -- mention his race.

Dr. Jewell Plummer Cobb is President of California State University at Fullerton. She's a distinguished scientist who's known for her work in cell physiology.

There's nothing wrong with the attention focused on black athletes and entertainers. I would be the last one to play down the role of entertainers. (Laughter and applause.) However, I think it's high time the media and the rest of America began paying more attention to those black citizens who are prominent in other professions as well. (Applause.)

We must be concerned about the perception children of every race are developing about themselves and about others. Certainly, problems in the black community cannot be covered up or ignored; yet rather than dwelling almost exclusively on the negative, let's make certain our children see stories of black successes and triumphs. (Applause.)

And there are many from which to choose. Today, there are some 843,000 minority-owned businesses in the United States. Over and above what they buy and sell in the private sector, the federal government is doing an unprecedented \$6.5 billion in business with them. Black entrepreneurs often overcome great adversity. Their stories lift the human spirit and give credit to individuals who should serve as role models for our children.

Coming up, for example, is National Small Business Week. An engineering and technical services company named Analysis Group Incorporated, has been selected for distinction. The president of the company, Arthur Paul, received his bachelors and masters in engineering from Howard University and his doctorate from the University of Virginia.

As our country moves into the 21st century, it's crucial that more young black Americans follow the path of Dr. Paul and of our black scientists, physicists, and mathematicians. America must not be denied the benefits of the creativity and talents of its citizens.

Our administration is moving aggressively in a number of fronts. We have an agenda that is aimed not only at overcoming the problems of today, but also preparing the ground for black economic independence in the technological era that we're entering. We threw out the old, inefficient CETA program and put in its place the Job Training Partnership Act, which provides more training for every dollar spent. It was Booker T. Washington who said, "The world cares very little about what a man or woman knows; it is what the man or woman can do..." (Applause.) Well, our new training programs are designed to provide marketable, up-to-date skills.

We've done our best to put in place spending and tax policies that will keep our economy healthy and growing. Certainly, black unemployment has remained far too high and is totally unacceptable. Yet, there are some figures that give us hope. Black employment has increased 1.8 million since 1980, and today, more black Americans are working than ever before and a higher percentage of the black workforce is employed than at any time in this decade. Since the economic recovery began, about one in seven of all new jobs being created has gone to black Americans.

I care deeply about the unemployed. I saw my father suffer from the pain of not being able to support his family. I witnessed what it did to him and his self-respect and to my mother. And it's not something I or anyone in the administration take lightly. And I can assure you, we won't be satisfied till every American who wants a job has a job and is earning a decent living. (Applause.)

Our preparation for the next century goes far beyond our efforts to build an economy that will provide jobs for the unemployed. By our campaign for excellence in education, we have not been offering easy answers in this regard. Instead, we set out to mobilize the public, to get the people involved in their local schools and in the education of their children, to encourage them to insist on high standards and discipline. And let's not kid ourselves -- we can't expect children to excel in an environment of drugs and permissiveness. All Americans should stand shoulder-to-shoulder against this evil that undermines the moral fiber of the nation and attacks our youth. (Applause.) It's time to get drugs off our campuses and out of our school yards. (Applause.)

We want to make certain that, by the time young people get to college, they're of sound mind, good character, and have the basic educational skills to carry them into any field they choose.

We're also engaged in an effort to encourage them as to what choice to make. At the college level, we're helping to provide incentives for black Americans to choose math, engineering, and the sciences. And next year, in response to our direction, the National Science Foundation -- whose budget is being doubled -- will move to ensure the widest participation in the sciences. This includes funding comprehensive projects to improve the teaching of science and engineering to pre-college and undergraduate students in minority schools. (Applause.)

And this isn't just a job for the government. One of the goals we've set for ourselves in recent years has been to enlist the citizenry and private corporations in such community-building programs. Today there are partnerships between Texas Engineering Experiment Station and Prairie View A&M University, between Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and Jackson State University, and others that provide hands-on engineering and scientific experience to minority students. We're doing our best to encourage these partnerships, whether they take the form of apprentice programs, or consulting arrangements, or joint research.

In the public sector, the full support of our administration has been thrown behind the effort to greatly strengthen the research capabilities of black institutions of higher learning. In 1986, 27 federal agencies and departments invested more than \$600 million in our nation's historically-black colleges, much of it in the form of research grants and projects. One example, Tuskegee competed for, and won, a \$2.25-million Navy contract to help in the development of automobile, aircraft, and spacecraft engine components. (Applause.)

More of Tuskegee's students are enrolled in engineering and architecture than any other area of study. Furthermore, among your faculty and staff, in keeping with the standards established by Dr. Carver, are some of the best higher education has to offer in electrical, mechanical, chemical, and aerospace sciences. (Applause.) Tuskegee has a tradition of top-quality scientific research from its earliest days.

Dr. Carver once said, "Race and creed find no recognition in the eyes of the Deity when He bestows His generous gifts." (Applause.) Dr. Carver not only said that, he proved it.

Tuskegee made history with its agricultural research, which continues even now to be a source of pride. Yet, let me suggest that this fame may someday be surpassed by contributions your institution will make in the field of aerospace engineering. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Yeah!

THE PRESIDENT: He's ready. (Laughter and applause.) This potential is the reason the George C. Marshall Flight Center and other similar organizations, as well as private corporations, are humming around here. This is the reason NASA donated to this institution some of its most sophisticated aviation-related computers last year. And, of course, it is the reason that you have received \$9 million in support from the Department of Education for the opening of this Aerospace Science and Health Education Center -- (applause) -- this center I was honored to inaugurate shortly before joining you here today.

This center, of course, is dedicated to the memory of one of this country's great patriots, a hero of three wars, America's first black four star general, Daniel "Chappie" James. He has been mentioned here repeatedly. (Applause.) As a youth he washed airplanes for 25 cents. He earned his degree here at Tuskegee and helped train the famous Tuskegee Airmen, pilots who during the war destroyed 261 enemy aircraft and won a basketful of Distinguished Flying Crosses. (Applause.)

Some of you may be aware that back in 1944, in the midst of that great conflict, I narrated a film about these brave pilots. I can't tell you how proud I am to be an honorary Tuskegee Airman. (Applause.) And if they hadn't made me wear this robe, you'd have seen I was wearing the button in my lapel. (Laughter.)

The skill and courage of these individuals, Chappie James and the Tuskegee Airmen, is part of a heroic tradition: From the Revolutionary War, when some 5,000 black Americans fought gallantly for our country's independence, to Pearl Harbor, where a black seaman named Dorie Miller was one of the first Americans to bring down an enemy aircraft.

Dorie Miller, the Tuskegee Airmen, and others who fought and often paid the supreme sacrifice for their country, did so in a segregated military. Their courage and patriotism undoubtedly helped bring an end to this outrage. (Applause.)

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Chappie James' mother once predicted, "Someday there will be so many black people doing so many things that are noteworthy that it will no longer be newsworthy." (Applause.) Well, nowhere is it more apparent than in the Armed Forces.

Twenty-nine of the Army's active duty generals are black. There have been two black four star generals: Chappie James in the Air Force and Roscoe Robinson, Jr. in the Army. And, in fact, I have nominated another black general, Bernard Randolph, for his fourth star. (Applause.) It's now pending congressional approval. Again, Chappie was right. And his mother was right. This officer's race no longer even makes the news. By the way, General Randolph is with us today as you've just seen. And so, General, congratulations. (Applause.)

The military is seen by many as an avenue for advancement, a job where individual merit will be recognized and rewarded. The technological training and skill development provided in the military is some of the best in the country. And that could mean learning about car and truck engines. It could also mean learning to build bridges or space stations. Astronaut Guy Bluford

was an ROTC graduate who went into the Air Force after receiving a BS from Penn State. While in the service, he earned his doctorate degree in aerospace engineering, with a minor in laser physics, from the Air Force Institute of Technology. I might add that he was at the White House the day we announced the initial grant for the "Chappie" James Center here in Tuskegee. (Applause.)

These Americans in the military service of the United States do us proud because of their achievements and because they, like the brave men who went before them, are willing to put their lives on the line to defend our country. With us today are 27 newly-commissioned ROTC 2nd Lieutenants who will soon be joining the ranks. Would they please stand? (Applause.) You young people are a great source of pride to all of us -- your families, and your fellow students, and your countrymen. I know I speak for all of us here when I tell you that we're confident that you will never let us down. And let me pledge to you, we will never let you down. (Applause.) As an old ex-2nd lieutenant of Horse Cavalry, I consider it an honor to salute you. (Applause.) Thank you.

I'd like to close with one story. Being from this campus, you know of Chappie and the Tuskegee pilots. I'd like to speak with you of a man whose name is not so well known as these, Ensign Jesse Brown, the first black naval aviator.

He was a husband and a father, a deeply religious man, an individual who studied engineering at Ohio State and left college to become a naval aviator. He loved to fly. In December 1950, Ensign Brown was a member of Fighting Squadron 32, aboard an aircraft carrier somewhere off Korea. He flew 20 close-air support missions, providing cover for our outnumbered Marines at the Chosin Reservoir. The battle was fierce, our men on the ground were in a desperate situation.

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Finally, over the battle-scarred terrain, came a Marine helicopter. Lt. Hudner, joined by a crewman from the helicopter, struggled desperately to get Jesse out.

Now, I would like to tell you that they both made it and that, over the years, they have been best of friends, sharing family outings, caring about one another. But that was not to be. Ensign Jesse Brown died on that slope in Korea. When he risked his life for those besieged Marines, Jesse Brown didn't consider the race of those he sought to protect. And when his fellow pilots saw him in danger, they did not think of the color of his skin. They only knew that Americans were in trouble. Ensign Brown was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the Purple Heart; Lt. Hudner, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

But perhaps the most moving tribute was paid by Ensign Brown's shipmates. In a memorial printed in the ship's paper they wrote: He bid farewell -- "We bid farewell to a Christian soldier, a gentleman, shipmate and friend. He was a credit not alone to the Navy but to our country. His courage and faith in Almighty God shone

like a beacon for all to see. Hail and farewell."

Today, you become part of the continuing saga, the history shaped by individuals like Dr. Carver, Chappie James, and Ensign Jesse Brown. What you do with your lives will keep America shining like a beacon of opportunity and freedom for all to see. Thank you for letting me be with you here today. Good luck in the years ahead. And God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

12:08 P.M. CDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Release at 11:45 CDT
12:45 EDT
Sunday, May 10, 1987

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Tuskegee, Alabama

It is an honor for me to be here sharing this special day with you. This is a most fitting day for a graduation ceremony because it coincides with the day we give thanks to the individuals to whom we really owe everything, people who sacrificed and sometimes themselves went without, so we could have happier, more complete lives.

Today, we remember and give thanks to our mothers. Ladies, we honor your children today for their outstanding accomplishments, but we know that you deserve our accolades as well. God bless you and thank you for all you've done to bring this happy day about.

Today, you young people end one phase of your life and begin another. Your parents, your teachers, all of us, are genuinely excited for you.

In a free society, the individual makes the ultimate decision as to the direction of his or her life. This freedom is one of the greatest sources of strength from which this or any country can draw, a wellspring of hope that can be seen in the optimism of free people. And looking at your faces today, one cannot but have confidence in you and in our country's future.

This generation, your generation, of Americans will usher the world into a new era of freedom and progress, a time when our technology and our creativity will carry us beyond anything that we can now imagine. Already computers are expanding our productivity and opening doors of opportunity only dreamed of a short time ago. Small businesses, for example, have computer capabilities formerly reserved for giant corporations.

Seriously, the goals Americans set for themselves in the days of my youth seem so modest: indoor plumbing, electricity, owning a family car, having a telephone or a radio crystal set. Traveling to distant cities was rare, traveling overseas was within reach of only a few. For my family, even going to a movie was not always in reach.

Today, we explore technology that might someday conquer the remaining threats to our health and increase our longevity. While jet airliners carry passengers, even those of modest means, from coast to coast and overseas, our engineers are busy developing crafts that one day will take off from a runway and carry us into space, aerospace planes that will deliver us anywhere in the world in a few hours time. Discoveries in the field of superconductivity are coming so rapidly that research results are often out of date before they are in print. Scientists are bringing us to the day of pollution-free electric cars and magnetic trains that carry cargo and travelers at speeds of 300 or 400 m.p.h.

During my teens, one in four Americans was still on the farm, more often than not, toiling to achieve extremely limited production. It took one farmer to feed four Americans in those days. Today, that same farmer can feed 60 Americans and 15 foreigners. Those were also the days when most people, trying to earn a meager living, shut their eyes to the injustices suffered by minority citizens.

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It was Thomas Jefferson who once said, "I like dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Americans have never lacked vision, never lacked the desire or the courage to attempt great deeds.

After the Second World War, during another time of tremendous economic and technological progress, our society moved forward to make a long-overdue commitment to extend freedom to those who had been denied, to make real the dream of a land of freedom and justice for all.

In the 1950's and 1960's, great strides were made through political action. The legal sanctions of bigotry and discrimination were torn away. Laws protecting the civil rights of all Americans were put in place, and racism was, in effect, outlawed. These great achievements did not come easy. They were the result of the struggle and commitment of generations, and the outstanding leadership of individuals like Dr. Martin Luther King.

The civil rights movement earned the respect and gratitude of all good and decent Americans, even some who may at first have had reservations about what was happening. Yet, changes in the law -- and the political struggle itself -- brought social progress that enormously strengthened the moral foundation of the United States.

The political and legal battle is obviously not over -- we must remain vigilant, inside and outside of Government. We must maintain our moral solidarity against intolerance and racial hatred. We cannot shrug off incidents of racial violence or inter-racial crime.

Yet today, if black Americans are to progress socially and economically, if they are to be independent and upwardly-mobile, it is imperative that they be part of the great technological and scientific changes now sweeping our country and the world. And it is just as vital for America that all her citizens march into the future together.

If there is any lesson now being learned it is that there is a relationship between human freedom and the progress of man. The discrimination and prohibitions suffered by minorities in this country were undoubtedly some of the greatest impediments to the forward thrust of our Nation.

One need only look at the invaluable scientific contributions, especially in the area of agriculture, made by George Washington Carver, to wonder what more he might have accomplished had he not been overcoming prejudice, as well as conducting scientific experiments.

An American pioneer in heart surgery was Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a black physician. Another black physician, Dr. Charles Drew discovered a method of storing blood plasma. How many of our countrymen would have lived longer, more productive lives had these outstanding citizens been freer to reach their potential?

The United States, in all these cases and so many more, did not know what it was losing.

Ironically, today America often isn't aware of what it is gaining by having opened doors that were long closed. Our citizens may know of the three black astronauts now in line for upcoming shuttle missions. Yet, how widely known is it that a large portion of NASA's workforce is black, including 422 engineers and scientists?

One of them, David Hedgly, was responsible for a breakthrough in computer graphics a few years ago, solving a problem that had confounded the scientific establishment for years. The press release announcing the accomplishment did not -- as was proper -- mention his race.

Dr. Jewell Plummer Cobb is President of California State University, Fullerton. She's a distinguished scientist who is known for her work in cell physiology.

There is nothing wrong with the attention focused on black athletes and entertainers. I would be the last one to down play the role of entertainers. However, I think it is high time the media and the rest of America began paying more attention to those black citizens who are prominent in other professions as well.

We must be concerned about the perception children of every race are developing about themselves and about others. Certainly, problems in the black community cannot be covered up or ignored, yet rather than dwelling almost exclusively on the negative, let's make certain our children see stories of black successes and triumphs.

And there are many from which to choose. Today, there are some 843,000 minority-owned businesses in the United States. Over and above what they buy and sell in the private sector, the Federal Government is doing an unprecedented \$6.5 billion in business with them. Black entrepreneurs often overcome great adversity. Their stories lift the human spirit and give credit to individuals who should serve as role models for our children.

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I care deeply about the unemployed. It is not something I, or anyone in the Administration, take lightly. And I can assure you, we won't be satisfied till every American who wants a job has a job and is earning a decent living.

Our preparation for the next century, of course, goes far beyond our efforts to build an economy that will provide jobs for the unemployed. Part of it is encompassed by our campaign for excellence in education. We have not been offering easy answers in this regard. Instead, we set out to mobilize the public, to get the people involved in their local schools and in the education of their children, to encourage them to insist on high standards and discipline. And let's not kid ourselves, we can't expect children to excel in an environment of drugs and permissiveness. All Americans should stand shoulder-to-shoulder against this evil that undermines the moral fiber of the Nation and attacks our youth. It's time to get drugs off our campuses and out of our school yards.

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Some of you may be aware that back in 1944, in the midst of that great conflict, I narrated a film about these brave pilots. I can't tell you how proud I am to be an honorary Tuskegee Airman.

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Dorie Miller, the Tuskegee Airmen, and others who fought and often paid the supreme sacrifice for their country, did so in a segregated military. Their courage and patriotism undoubtedly helped bring an end to this outrage.

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Chappie James' mother once predicted, "Someday there will be so many black people doing so many things that are noteworthy that it will no longer be newsworthy." Nowhere is it more apparent than in the Armed Forces.

Twenty-nine of the Army's active duty generals are black. There have been two black four star generals: Chappie James in the Air Force and Roscoe Robinson, Jr. in the Army. In fact, I have nominated another black general, Bernard Randolph, for his fourth star, and it is now pending congressional approval. Again, Chappie was right. This officer's race no longer even makes the news.

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minor in laser physics, from the Air Force Institute of Technology.

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