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March 25, 1980

PRESIDENTIAL CONFIDANTE
POWER BROKER, MORE THAN
JUST A RICH MAN'S WIFE

ELITE

THE
DAILY
MAGAZINE
PRESS SUNDAY MAGAZINE

By Ellen M. Perlmutter

Photographed by Robin Rombach

ELSIE

SHE'S ALWAYS IN A HURRY, ALWAYS A LITTLE LATE, BUT ELSIE HILLMAN MADE PLENTY OF GOOD CONNECTIONS IN HER POLITICAL JOURNEY FROM WARD CHAIRMAN TO THE INNER SANCTUM

ELSIE HILLMAN is angry. No, furious. She has just read an anonymous article in a Republican Party newsletter that suggests money is the root of her political success. "There are some people out there..." She pauses, shakes her head and regains her composure. "They have bigger problems than I do."

She is sitting in her third-floor office at the Westin William Penn Hotel amid a pile of GOP memorabilia and pictures. As a Republican National Committee member, she shares an office suite with the county Republican Committee. By now — 38 years after getting hooked on politics in the first Dwight D. Eisenhower campaign — she feels she should have overcome accusations of dilettante, a well-heeled wife with time to dabble.

"I think, to me, having money sometimes is a burden," she says. "It's more because of what some people expect you should be able to do. It doesn't work that way. It doesn't make everybody happier. It's nicer, but it doesn't solve all the problems."

Less than a year and a half ago, Elsie (everybody calls her by her first name) was credited with putting Pennsylvania in the Republican column for her long-time friend, George Bush, a crowning political achievement. A few weeks after the 1988 election, George and Barbara Bush ate lunch on the Hillman family yacht, the Madcap, off the coast of Florida. A picture of Elsie squinting into the sun, with the president-elect at the wheel, hangs in her office. The day after the inauguration, Elsie and Henry Hillman attended a private dinner at the White House.

The Hillmans have been friends of the Bushes for 40-odd years. They are even extended family of sorts — Elsie's first cousin, Louise Mead, is married to the

president's uncle, John Walker. And Barbara's father once dated Elsie's aunt. Elsie insists it was her admiration for the way Bush, as Republican National Committee chairman, handled Watergate in the early 1970s that convinced her he was presidential material. She began campaigning for Bush in 1979. She didn't stop until election night 1988, when a victorious Bush called her on a loudspeaker telephone so all campaign workers could hear him say thank you, Elsie.

Elsie Mead Hilliard Hillman now has the ultimate power in a power-hungry society — direct access to the president of the United States.

And while she may not have all the money in the world, by most of our standards it appears that she does come close. She is, after all, married to a man with an estimated fortune of \$3 billion, a sum that vaults him above Donald Trump.

"Every time she walks into a room, people want money," says her longtime friend and recently retired personal assistant and secretary, Mary Allison "Cissy" Rylands. "She's besieged daily by people who want her to work on their projects, to give them money. It doesn't work that way. Besides, it's Henry Hillman's money, not hers."

The daughter of a well-to-do steel executive, Elsie was brought up to spend a comfortable life involved in perfectly acceptable volunteer activities typical for a woman of means. Yet while Henry Lea Hillman pursued his successful career expanding on his father's coal and coke brokerage business, his wife went her own, unpretentious way — a route that took her out of the drawing room to the inner sanctums of the Republican Party, and the White House.

In the eyes of Pittsburgh, being the wife of Henry Hillman made her a member of the

power elite. "She is an insider. She is Pittsburgh aristocracy. She moves and grooves with important and famous people," says state Auditor General Barbara Hafer, Elsie's choice for governor.

But Elsie refused to abandon her personal agenda, one she began developing during her early years in the Republican Party. She thoroughly enjoyed being out front, taking up factional issues and pushing GOP candidates. Her dedication was not always without controversy. She joined an anti-war group, called Peace Links, and contributed both money and time to abortion rights organizations.

Despite her difference with Bush on the topic, she has plunged into the abortion rights battle. Last spring she marched in Washington, and this year she formed a coalition called Western Pennsylvanians for Choice.

"I think he would love to heal that rift. He regrets the fact that there is a rift" in the country's feelings about abortion.

In many ways Elsie was an old-fashioned politician who believed in patronage for those who worked hard in the Republican Party. Among those for whom she put her reputation on the line is former county Commissioner Robert N. Peirce Jr., target of an unsuccessful sex-blackmail scheme in 1973. No charges were filed against Peirce, but Elsie was called to testify before a grand jury and the two blackmailers received prison terms in 1978.

Elsie has almost made a career of promoting Republicans for public office and had a stake in the early political aspirations of Sen. John Heinz and U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh.

"Elsie was in Japan when Rep. (Robert) Corbett died (in 1972)," recalls Heinz. "Once the seat was vacant, we had only two to three weeks for each party to nominate a replacement." He contacted Elsie immediately, he





Elsie helped Jim Wray staff Bush headquarters in Downtown Pittsburgh on primary election night.



Henry (second from left) and Elsie Hillman greeted friends at Westminster's commencement last May.

says, and she pledged her support of his nomination.

She was instrumental, through her connections with Sen. Hugh Scott, R-Pa., in Thornburgh's appointment as U.S. attorney in 1969, giving him two hours to decide whether he wanted the nomination. She went on to campaign vigorously for Thornburgh in his subsequent races for governor.

It became a political axiom that Pennsylvania Republicans seek Elsie's support before attempting to secure political appointments. She admits to enjoying the role. "Don't forget. This gives her pleasure," says the Hillmans' eldest daughter, Lea Simonds. She gets a kick out of it."

Elsie had found, however, after the Eisenhower victory in 1952, that she had become active in a party dominated by white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant males. The experience gave her a purpose. "It was just the injustice of things. I wanted to reach out, and I wanted the Republican party to be a very caring party," she says.

She began working her way up from 14th Ward Republican chairman, through county and state leadership positions, to become in 1975 one of Pennsylvania's two Republican National Committee members. But not without knocks and bruises. Here she was, a woman in a man's political game. She also remained steadfastly committed to the early Republican party of moderation while the rest of her colleagues — including Bush and Thornburgh — moved to the right.

Like the Kennedys, like the Rockefellers, and even like the Bushes, Elsie Hillman understood that money gave her a freedom that, if used wisely, could mean something. She realized financial status provided her with an opportunity. Her staff included a cook, housekeeper, laundress, gardener and

all-purpose caretaker to handle the household with husband and four children.

"She was one woman who was in a position to help us," says Arthur Edmunds, executive director of the Urban League of Pittsburgh in the late 1960s and 1970s when Elsie sat on his board. "At that time, we were trying to persuade employers to open up to minorities. We wanted to facilitate meeting with top management to institute programs for minorities. Elsie would say, 'I know so-and-so. I'll get you an appointment.' And she did." Elsie's longtime lawyer, Wendell Freeland, who is black, says, "Blacks almost always looked at Elsie Hillman as our resource, not as Henry's wife."

In those years, black leaders and activists returned her favors by introducing Elsie in the minority communities. For her, they squired Thornburgh and Heinz through the Democratic enclaves of Philadelphia. Black activist Nate Smith says the black community immediately appreciated Elsie. "She's real," he says.

So, if there's one thing Elsie Hillman has learned in her 64 years, it's that she has the ability to effect change. "I just think it's great to be part of the strategy ... I love being recognized as having been successful, and having worked hard at something I like to do. I had a hard time starting out. I guess that's what put fire in me."

As a child, she learned to play tennis and to shoot, but her fear of horses kept her from learning to ride at the family home in Fox Chapel.

Thomas and Marianna Hilliard sent Elsie to Chatham Hall in Virginia after she finished ninth grade at Ellis School. "I had a ball," she says. So much so that she flunked 11th grade. "I flunked five out of six subjects. How many people do you know who do that? Have you

ever heard of anybody? Neither had I. Neither had my mother or father. They were furious. Totally furious. They had five kids to educate. And this one was goofing around. They were just lucky to get me into another school."

She went on to Connecticut's Ethel Walker School and graduated in 1944. Her love of music prompted her to study piano and voice at Westminster Choir College, founded by her Grandmother Talbot in Princeton, N.J. Her education came to an abrupt halt, however. She fell in love with a handsome Navy pilot on leave from Floyd Bennett Field.

The five Hilliard and the seven Hillman children had grown up together. "Henry was sort of in the same crowd as my older sister. His sister was a great friend of my brother's. We'd always known each other," Elsie says. Both families vacationed in Canada, where the Hillmans still spend their summers.

Within a year, Henry asked her parents for permission to marry Elsie. They were wed on May 12, 1945, after making an "emergency" application the day before while Henry was home from the service on leave. Elsie was 19, Henry, 27. Elsie never returned for her second year of college.

Looking back, it was not easy balancing their public-private lives. The family soon got used to the telephone calls at all hours. "I've told Elsie that if they ever come up with an implanted telephone, she'll be the first to have one," Hillman says while sitting in a conference room off his office in the Grant Building, Downtown. As the head of the family business, Henry Hillman, like his father, Hartwell, studiously avoids publicity. His most familiar explanation is that "the whale that spouts gets harpooned."

Hillman says now that neither of them realized how active Elsie would become

"Having a two-career family is an excellent thing," he says. "I love her being active."

Yet as wide open as her life appears, she is a fiercely private individual who protects her family like a mother bear fending off predators. The children — Lea Simonds, Audrey Fisher, Henry Jr. ("Boo" to family) and Bill — have stayed out of politics, and the family business. "They should do exactly what they want to do," Elsie says. "Henry's put together management over the years, and they're older than our kids."

Including his girls in the business "didn't occur to Henry at that stage of the game," Elsie says. "Henry Jr. went out to the West Coast and he's become a professional (businessman). Bill went to business school and graduated cum laude. He wants to do things his way. I'm just glad they don't feel any guilt complex."

"I don't think it's been easy for any of the kids, especially when your parents are such high-profile..."

The family consults a security firm for advice, but its members take no unusual precautions in their daily lives. They moved to their 2½-story brick house in the exclusive Morewood Heights section of Squirrel Hill when their children were young. Now, the house with the sandbox and the giant toy gorilla in the living room seems to have been taken over by the frequent visits of their seven grandchildren.

Elsie drives a 1985 gray Buick Skylark. "I just look for the elephant (hood ornament) on the front and I know it's Elsie," says Elsie's travel agent and friend, Gladys Edmunds, wife of Arthur Edmunds.

A religious woman, Elsie taught Sunday school at Calvary Episcopal Church in Shady-side, where she sang in the choir. She gave up the church activities after becoming involved in politics. For relaxation, the couple practiced on their twin grand pianos in the library, Elsie using sheet music, Henry by ear. They performed for friends, not only music, but short skits and verse. Friends pull out old pictures of the couple, dressed in outrageous costumes, entertaining their guests with funny poems. "We've done foolish things like that together over the years," Hillman says. "I do most of the writing, but Elsie gets the credit for it. I'll take a couple of hours to work on something, and she's the one who gets the compliments."

As far back as their children can remember, their mother was always rushing somewhere — her hair pulled back by her signature hair band, her sleeves sometimes fastened with safety pins because she left her cuff links at home, or a cleaning tag still attached to her dress.

She's involved in a long list of charitable organizations, and forever running late. Always things to do: Stopping off at Murphy's to pick up some cheap magnifying eyeglasses



Elsie with Lee Atwater, Republican National Committee chairman

until she has time to order the reading glasses she just lost, again. Stopping to see a friend, always with the familiar greeting, "Hi, dearie." Transporting her grandchildren, who affectionately call her "Moo."

Some are shocked, others amused, when Elsie sometimes appears slightly disheveled, but perfectly comfortable, in the modest outfits that she often buys out of catalogs.

"I keep reading those articles that people write on time management. I love those articles. I think something is going to hit me. I just get in under the wire," she says.

ELSIE-WATCHERS envy her high-energy levels and ability to get by on no more than six hours of sleep a night. "My eyeballs open up at 5 o'clock. I have my own coffee pot, and I make coffee at 6. I have an office upstairs. I can read or dictate, and open the day's mail. Do whatever. It's my space."

Says former assistant Rylands, "Elsie's not happy sitting still. That's impossible for her, and that may be her liability. Her mind is always going. There are always things to be done."

She is most happy in the kitchen, cooking

and talking and eating with friends. Longtime friend Virginia Ahlbrandt, widow of former Allegheny International CEO Roger Ahlbrandt, is continually amazed at the ease with which Elsie can "whip up" a dinner for 20 of her closest friends.

"You have to let Elsie do things her way. She's not going to change," says Freedland.

And that includes the way she has fun. For example, there was the trip to Johnstown to track down a commode sent as a gag gift from actor Robert Redford to Paul Newman during the filming of the movie, "Slap Shot." Elsie read about the gift, and figured the toilet would be a perfect donation for the WQED-TV auction. She grabbed friend Lela Burgwin, and the two of them drove to Johnstown. Newman handed over the toilet, and Elsie gave it to WQED.

After good friend Walter Curley was named ambassador to France, Elsie dashed off to Paris to help the Curleys decorate their quarters.

There were the costume parties held by the wives of the husbands who were members of the Willie "The Actor" Sutton Society, the name of the investment group the husbands created in the 1950s and named after the notorious bank robber.

And there was the White House visit

through the back door without the knowledge of the president and first lady — this time, Ronald and Nancy Reagan. Elsie helped Johnstown florist George Griffith prepare the water lily centerpieces for a state dinner in 1981. "It was my partner and I and Elsie. The White House staff had no idea who this kooky woman was. But she had a ball. We finished just before they opened the doors for the guests to enter," Griffith recalls. They left down the back stairs of the White House.

The next morning, Elsie took Griffith to the vice president's mansion for breakfast with the Bushes.

"If you think I'm taking this lightly, you're wrong. I think all of this is totally awesome," she says of her experiences.

The Hillmans talk about slowing down. They took off for 42 days last fall to fly around the world. This spring, they spent five weeks in Nassau playing golf, a game she enjoys immensely. The one time she made a hole-in-one, the family celebrated.

Elsie secretly wished that maybe 1990 would be a slow political year. But instead of disengaging, she has leaped with both feet into the most thankless political issue of the decade — abortion. It is not an easy battle for her, considering the president's 180-degree turn from abortion rights advocate to anti-abortion in the mid-1980s. "Eight to 10 years ago, he was pro-choice," she says. "It is one basic issue on which we disagree."

But, as Barbara Bush explains in a telephone interview, "It doesn't make a difference (to the president) because, on the big issues, the fiscal problems, on the foreign affairs, they agree. They both respect each other's right to do or think what they want to, and I have enormous respect for that. I feel it's a little bit ... it's like asking Elsie or George to change their religion."

"They've thought it out. They're very sensitive about it, and having said that, they still have respect for the other person's beliefs. They have discussed it, but I think they've agreed to disagree on that."

Elsie agrees, but remains committed to the issue. As she told a group of supporters the night she received a special achievement award from Women's Health Services:

"If we allowed one issue to dictate our politics, our system as we know it would go down the chute. I'm very much in favor of what I'm doing, of what I believe in."

As for everything that has happened, she adds: "Could you ask for anything more. We have been really blessed. We're very fortunate people. Looking back, I probably wouldn't have taken as much time away from the family."

"But, honestly, there isn't a whole lot I'd do differently."

(Ellen M. Perlmutter is a Pittsburgh Press staff writer.)

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With two of her seven grandchildren, Elsie watched games being played at her granddaughter's 10th birthday party; on a tour bus in D.C. with the Pennsylvania contingent, she sat behind staffers Bea Habrie and Sandy Johnston.

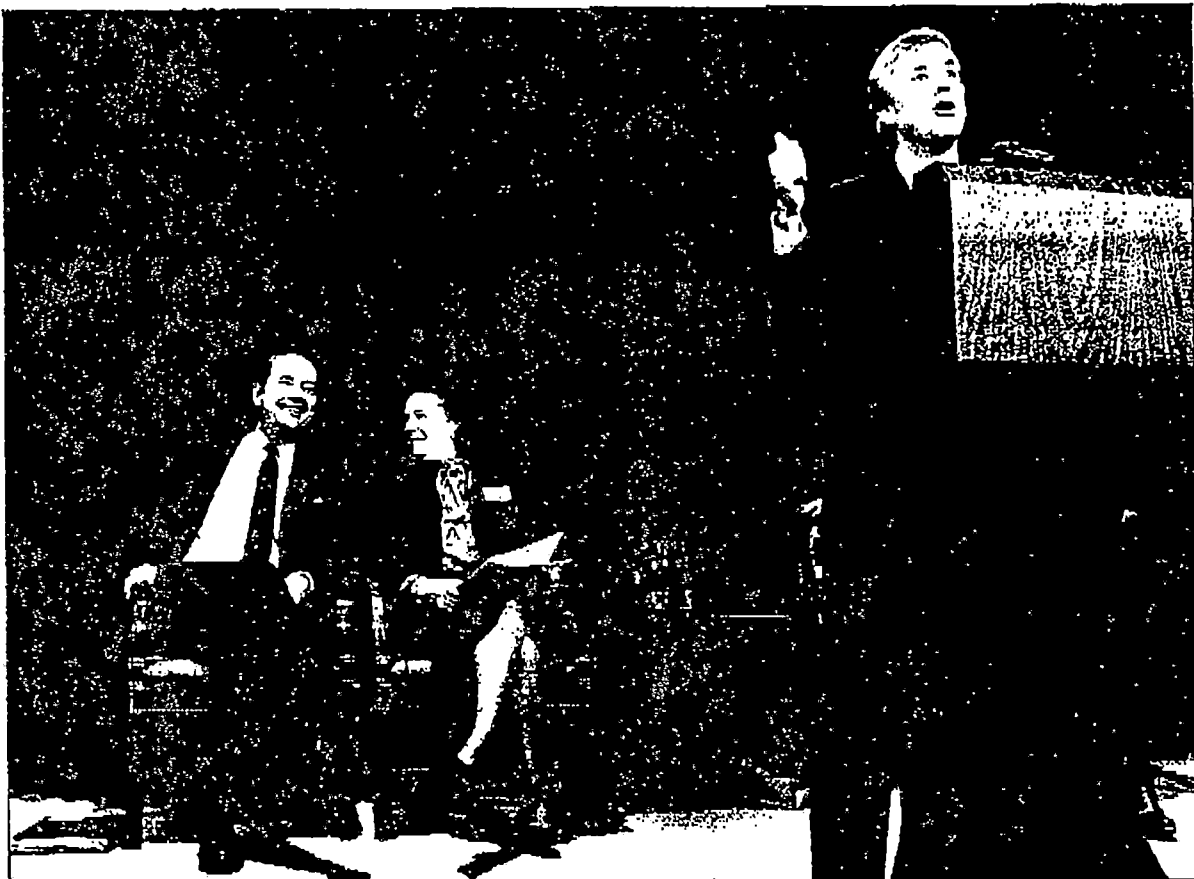




FREEDOM

Elsie bid Barbara Bush goodbye after a White House reception for Pennsylvania supporters, hosted a granddaughter's birthday party at the Hillman home in Squirrel Hill and shared the head table with Sue Roselle, executive director of Women's Health Services, during a dinner at The Pittsburgh Hilton and Towers feting Elsie for abortion rights support.

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Last December in Washington, D.C., Elsie Hillman joined Attorney General Dick Thornburgh on-stage as Vice President Dan Quayle addressed her group of 180 George Bush supporters from Pennsylvania. In May, while waiting to receive an honorary law degree at Westminster College, she turned to joke with friend Stanley Gumberg and those behind him in line.



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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS
GEORGIA WORLD CONGRESS CENTER
MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1990
10:00 A.M.

IT'S GOOD TO SEE PRESIDENT EDDIE FRITTS, WALT
WARTHEL, HANK ROEDER, RORY BENSON, AND I SEE THAT ABOUT
THIRTY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE WITH US TODAY.

((HOLY COW, HARRY CARAY.\\ THAT WAS SOME PITCH.\\
BUT WHEN IT COMES TO SINGING, DON'T QUIT YOUR DAY JOB.

((YOU KNOW, I STARTED OUT IN BASEBALL IN COLLEGE,
AND NOW GEORGE JUNIOR IS TURNING IT INTO A FAMILY
TRADITION WITH THE TEXAS RANGERS. THE CARAYS ARE DOING
THE SAME -- WITH "SKIP" CARAY RIGHT HERE IN ATLANTA
ANNOUNCING FOR THE BRAVES. AND NOW I UNDERSTAND THAT
SKIP'S SON IS GETTING INTO THE ACT. BUT YOU KNOW
SOMETHING, HARRY -- SKIP HAS GOT A NICE, LAID-BACK
STYLE.

((IN FACT, IF HE WAS A RADIO STATION, HE'D BE EASY
LISTENING.\\ AND YOU'D BE HEAVY METAL.))\\

Rory
Benson
+

Young
mans
Adv.

IT'S A PRIVILEGE TO BE BACK BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS. I CAN'T HELP BUT MARVEL AT THE HUGE SCREENS AROUND US -- ((YOU KNOW, IF I WERE AS LARGE AS MY IMAGE ON THESE SCREENS, IMAGINE HOW EASY IT WOULD BE FOR ME TO GET MY WAY WITH CONGRESS)).\ \ AND THIS CONVENTION IS ALSO DISPLAYED ON MONITORS THROUGHOUT THIS ARENA; AND FROM HERE, BEAMED AROUND THE WORLD.

BUT THERE WAS A TIME WHEN MOST AMERICANS KNEW THEIR PRESIDENTS DISTANTLY, FROM WOODCUT PRINTS IN THEIR WEEKLY NEWSPAPER. THE CIRCLE OF DEMOCRACY IN ANCIENT ATHENS AND ROME WAS EVEN MORE LIMITED, JUST TO THOSE WITHIN HEARING RANGE OF THE DEBATES INSIDE THE PARTHENON OR THE FORUM. BUT TODAY, THROUGH FREE, OVER-THE-AIR BROADCASTS, YOU HAVE BROUGHT MILLIONS OF LIVING ROOMS WITHIN HEARING RANGE; YOU HAVE MADE EVERY HOME A PART OF THE AMERICAN FORUM.

IN FACT, ON THIS VERY DAY, YOU ARE PROVIDING --
FOR THE 6,000 FOREIGN BROADCASTERS IN ATTENDANCE,
THROUGH YOUR INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS AND THROUGH USIA'S
WORLDNET -- A SEMINAR FOR THE WORLD. TELEVISION, WHICH
BEGAN AS THE AMERICAN FORUM, HAS BECOME THE WORLD
FORUM.

AND SO WHEN A LONE BRAVE MAN STOOD UP TO A COLUMN
OF TANKS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE, THE WORLD STOOD WITH
HIM.\\ WHEN THE PEOPLE OF PRAGUE SANG THE FIRST
CHRISTMAS CAROLS IN OVER FORTY YEARS, THE WORLD SANG
WITH THEM.\\ AND WHEN THE FIRST GERMAN TOOK THE FIRST
HAMMER TO THAT WALL OF SHAME IN BERLIN, THE WORLD
SHARED IN AN HISTORIC ACT OF COURAGE.\\

WE ALL KNOW THAT GOVERNMENTS CAN CENSOR.\\
GOVERNMENTS CAN SILENCE.\\ BUT THE VOICE OF FREEDOM
WILL NOT BE STILLED AS LONG AS THERE IS AN AMERICA TO
TELL THE TRUTH.\\

THESE SOUNDS AND IMAGES OF THE REVOLUTION OF '89
BELONG TO THE WORLD. BUT IT WAS HERE IN AMERICA THAT A
FREE PEOPLE FIRST EXPLORED HOW TO PUT THE AIRWAVES INTO
THE SERVICE OF DEMOCRACY.

WE ACCEPT REGULATION. BUT WE FIRMLY REJECT
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMING.\\ WE REJECT GOVERNMENT-
OWNERSHIP OF STATIONS.\\ AND MOST OF ALL, WE REJECT
CENSORSHIP.\\\ THE FREEDOM YOUR ASSOCIATION ENJOYS IS
A MODEL FOR THE WORLD.

IN MY STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, I SPOKE OF THE
CORNERSTONES OF A FREE SOCIETY. DEMOCRACY. PRIVATE
INVESTMENT. COMPETITIVENESS. STEWARDSHIP. WE WILL
SEE WHAT COMPETITIVENESS MEANS JUST THIS AFTERNOON,
WHEN WE VISIT A GENERAL-ELECTRIC PLANT IN CINCINNATI,
WHERE FREE WORKERS TRANSFORMED FOREIGN INVESTMENT INTO
FOREIGN BUSINESS. TOMORROW, WE WILL GO TO INDIANAPOLIS
TO PROMOTE STEWARDSHIP, WHERE THE CITY WORKS WITH
CITIZENS TO CULTIVATE AN URBAN FOREST. BUT THESE ARE
NOT ISOLATED WHISTLESTOPS. AMERICA'S IDEAS ARE
POWERFUL; AND THROUGH THE POWER OF COMMUNICATION, WE
CAN SHARE THEM WITH THE WORLD.\\\

AFTER ALL, WE LIVE IN A TIME WHEN COMMODITY PRICES, TRAVEL RESERVATIONS AND FAST-BREAKING NEWS FLASH FROM HONG KONG TO TOKYO, TOKYO TO BONN, BONN TO BOSTON, ALL IN THE BLINK OF AN EYE. ROAM AMONG THE HUNDREDS OF EXHIBITS IN THIS CONVENTION CENTER AND YOU WILL FIND 22 FOOTBALL FIELDS CHOCKED FULL OF THE LATEST GADGETS IN TELECOMMUNICATIONS: PERSONAL COMPUTERS AND MODEMS, FAX MACHINES, LASERS, OPTICAL FIBERS, SATELLITES -- ALL STRANDS IN A GROWING WEB OF WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, A GROWING NETWORK LINKING ALL OF US, "A GLOBAL VILLAGE."

THE INFORMATION INDUSTRY IS NOT AN ADORNMENT TO MODERN LIFE. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF WHO AND WHAT WE ARE. IT IS TRULY AN INFORMATION AGE.

LAST MAY, I DISCUSSED THE FUTURE OF EUROPE WITH THE CITIZENS OF MAINZ, A GERMAN CITY NESTLED IN THE GREEN HILLS ALONG THE RHINE. AND IT WAS WHILE I WAS THERE THAT I APPRECIATED ANEW THE BIBLICAL EXPRESSION: "IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD." FOR IT WAS IN THAT GERMAN TOWN THAT THE INVENTOR OF THE PRINTING PRESS, JOHANN ((YO-HAN)) GUTENBERG ((GOOT-TEN-BERG)), FIRST PUT THE SCHOLARSHIP OF THE AGES INTO THE HANDS OF MILLIONS OF KNOWLEDGE-HUNGRY READERS.

HIS ONE INVENTION MADE POSSIBLE ALL THE PAMPHLETS AND JOURNALS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION -- FROM THE CALL TO ARMS OF THOMAS PAINE TO THE COOL LOGIC OF THE FEDERALIST PAPERS. YOU MIGHT ARGUE THAT OUT OF THAT ONE INVENTION SPRANG THE VERY IDEA CALLED AMERICA.

TODAY, ALONG WITH THE WORD, WE HAVE THE IMAGE -- IMAGES PROJECTED ON COLOR TELEVISION, AND EVOKED BY THE SOUNDS OF RADIO. BUT WHILE WESTERN DEMOCRACY BROADENED AS OUR KNOWLEDGE BROADENED, THE CIRCLE OF DEMOCRACY AND KNOWLEDGE NARROWED UNDER COMMUNIST REGIMES THAT TOOK POWER ON MANY CONTINENTS.

FOR THESE NATIONS, TRUTH WAS SOMETHING TO BE
TWISTED AND STRETCHED BY THE BRUTAL HANDS OF AUTHORITY,
MANIPULATED BEYOND RECOGNITION. THE CZECH AUTHOR,
MILAN KUNDERA, CALLS THIS TIME THE "KINGDOM OF
FORGETTING" -- WHEN WHOLE NATIONS ALMOST FORGOT THEIR
HEROIC HISTORIES AND FINEST TRADITIONS. FROM HAVANA TO
PRAGUE TO PHNOM PENH, THE PEOPLES OF THESE LANDS NEVER
FULLY GAVE IN TO AMNESIA, BECAUSE EVEN IN THE WORST
HOURS OF REPRESSION, THEY COULD ALWAYS COUNT ON A
FRIENDLY VOICE TO REMIND THEM OF THE TRUTH -- RADIO
MARTI ((MAHR-TEE)), RADIO LIBERTY, RADIO FREE EUROPE --
AND, GOD BLESS IT, THE VOICE OF AMERICA.\\

TO FULLY APPRECIATE WHAT THESE BROADCASTS MEAN, YOU NEED ONLY ASK SOMEONE WHO LISTENED TO THEM. SICHAN SIV, NOW WITH MY WHITE HOUSE STAFF, IS A CAMBODIAN-AMERICAN WHO LIVED THROUGH THE HORROR OF THE KILLING FIELDS. AND HE HAS TOLD ME THAT WHEN THE KHMER ROUGE TOOK CONTROL OF A VILLAGE, THE VERY FIRST ITEMS THEY CONFISCATED WERE THE RADIOS; FOR IF THEY RESPECTED AND FEARED ANYTHING, IT WAS THE POWER OF FREE INFORMATION. BUT EVEN UNDER THE THREAT OF DEATH, MEN AND WOMEN LIKE SICHAN WERE SO HUNGRY FOR NEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD THAT THEY WOULD TURN ON A HIDDEN TRANSISTOR RADIO AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE VOLUME, AND PUT IT FLUSH TO ONE EAR.\\ WE TAKE FREE NEWS BROADCASTS FOR GRANTED IN AMERICA. BUT SOME PEOPLE RISKED DEATH TO HEAR THE TRUTH. SOME PEOPLE STILL DO. AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO LET THEM DOWN.\\

IN THE REALM OF IDEAS AND IDEALS, THERE ARE NO BORDERS. \\\ NO GOVERNMENT SHOULD FEAR FREE SPEECH, WHETHER IT'S FROM ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS OR ACCURATE, UNBIASED NEWS ABOUT WORLD EVENTS. THAT IS WHY CONGRESS STRONGLY SUPPORTED TV MARTI ((MAHR-TEE)) AND WHY I STRONGLY SUPPORT TV MARTI. WE WILL SCRUPULOUSLY ADHERE TO THE LETTER OF THE LAW; BUT LET ME SAY IT AGAIN -- THE VOICE OF FREEDOM WILL NOT BE STILLED AS LONG AS THERE IS AN AMERICA TO TELL THE TRUTH.\\\

I DO UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS SOME OF YOU HAVE ABOUT THIS. BUT I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT YOU REPRESENT THE VERY PRINCIPLE TV MARTI EXISTS TO SERVE -- THE FREE FLOW OF IDEAS. BEFORE WE ARE BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN -- BEFORE WE ARE DOCTORS, LAWYERS OR MECHANICS -- WE ARE AMERICANS. AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS STOOD FOR FREE SPEECH AND WE ALWAYS WILL.

SO I HAVE COME HERE TO ASK SOMETHING OF YOU. I ASK YOU TO STAND BY YOUR TRADITIONS -- THE BEST TRADITIONS OF AMERICA. I ASK YOU, ONCE AGAIN, TO STAND FOR TV MARTI, TO STAND FOR FREEDOM.\\\

IF WE BROADCAST FREEDOM, OUR MESSAGE WILL BE HEARD. AFTER THE BLOODSHED AT TIANANMEN SQUARE -- AND THE EXPULSION OF VOA FROM CHINA -- I WAS HEARTENED TO SEE THAT BEIJING RELENTED, AND PERMITTED A VOA CORRESPONDENT TO RETURN. IN THE SOVIET UNION, PUBLICATIONS THAT ONCE VILIFIED THE VOICE OF AMERICA NOW PRAISE IT. WARM WORDS OF SUPPORT EVEN COME FROM IZVESTIA. A COMMENTATOR IN MOSCOW NEWS THANKS VOA, AND SAYS THAT IT USES ((AND I QUOTE)): "OUR OWN BROADENING SOURCES OF INFORMATION BETTER THAN WE DO AND WITHOUT DELAY RETURN TO US WHAT THEY HAVE GATHERED."

AND NOW RADIO FREE EUROPE HAS BUREAUS IN WARSAW AND BUDAPEST, AND VOA EVEN HAS ONE IN MOSCOW -- AN UNTHINKABLE DEVELOPMENT JUST A FEW YEARS AGO. THE VERY FACT THAT IT IS NO LONGER CONSIDERED REMARKABLE FOR USIA'S WORLDNET TO LINK LIVE PROGRAMS FROM WASHINGTON TO KIEV, OR FROM CHICAGO AND NEW YORK TO GDANSK AND WARSAW IS, IN ITSELF, REMARKABLE.

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN? IT HAPPENED IN PART BECAUSE OF THE POWER OF TRUTH. CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S PLAYWRIGHT-PRESIDENT, VACLAV HAVEL, PAID A VERY PERSONAL TRIBUTE TO THIS POWER ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON, WHEN HE VISITED THE VOICE OF AMERICA, AND MET THE EMPLOYEES OF ITS CZECH DIVISION. IT WAS A VERY POIGNANT ENCOUNTER -- FOR THOUGH HAVEL DIDN'T RECOGNIZE ANY OF THEM BY FACE, HE KNEW THEM ALL BY NAME THE INSTANT HE HEARD THEM SPEAK.\\

AND IT IS MOMENTS LIKE THAT, THAT CONVINCED ME OF ONE SURE THING: I AM DETERMINED THAT AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO BEAR WITNESS TO THE TRUTH. AMERICA MUST NEVER LOSE ITS VOICE.\\\ JUST AS PRESIDENT HAVEL AND OTHERS ONCE UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION HAVE THANKED US; I AM CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF CUBA WILL THANK US WHEN THEY TOO WIN THE LIBERTY THEY YEARN FOR.\\

STILL, WE CAN ENVISION A TIME WHEN THE PURPOSE OF RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY COULD BE UTTERLY FULFILLED. BUT FOR NOW, THESE NETWORKS, ALONG WITH USIA'S WORLDNET AND VOA, MUST CONTINUE IN EASTERN EUROPE UNTIL CHANGE IS COMPLETE. FREE STATIONS AND NEWSPAPERS ARE STILL STRUGGLING TO TAKE ROOT. THEIR ACCESS TO THEIR WESTERN COLLEAGUES IS STILL ERRATIC. WE NEED TO BE THERE NOW MORE THAN EVER BEFORE -- TO DESCRIBE AND EXPLAIN OUR OWN TWO CENTURIES OF EXPERIENCE IN BUILDING A DEMOCRACY.

WE CAN ALSO ASSIST THE EASTERN EUROPEANS IN SHARING AMONG THEMSELVES THEIR OWN EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY. AFTER ALL, EASTERN EUROPEANS NEED MORE THAN ROBERT'S RULES OF ORDER. THEY NEED TO KNOW HOW THE PROCESS OF REFORM IS WORKING WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS. SO IF ONE NATION ADOPTS A NOVEL PATH TO REFORM, A POLLUTION CONTROL, OR CURRENCY LAW, THE OTHERS NEED TO BE ABLE TO BENEFIT FROM THAT EXPERIMENT.

AND, WE MUST ALSO LOOK AHEAD TO THE CHALLENGES OF A NEW CENTURY. TO PREPARE FOR OUR FUTURE ROLE, I HAVE DIRECTED THAT AN INTERAGENCY REVIEW BE CONDUCTED OF U.S. GOVERNMENT INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING. AND, OF COURSE, WE WILL BE LOOKING FOR ADVICE FROM MANY OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT.

AFTER ALL, WHEN IT COMES TO SETTING AN EXAMPLE OF A FREE PRESS, THE BEST EXAMPLE MUST COME FROM YOU. THE PEACE CORPS IS TEACHING ENGLISH IN EASTERN EUROPE AS THE LINGUA FRANCA OF BUSINESS AND JOURNALISM. BUT IT IS NOT TASKED TO OFFER A MODEL OF JOURNALISTIC EXCELLENCE. ONLY THE AMERICAN PRESS CORPS CAN PICK UP WHERE THE PEACE CORPS LEAVES OFF -- AND PROVIDE A MODEL OF ACCURACY, FAIRNESS AND OBJECTIVITY.

AS BROADCASTERS, YOU CAN -- AND YOU ARE --
TRANSFERRING AMERICAN KNOW-HOW TO THE EAST. YOU ARE
WORKING WITH VOA TO TRAIN AND ORIENT FOREIGN
BROADCASTERS VISITING THE UNITED STATES. IN FEBRUARY,
THE DIRECTOR OF POLISH RADIO AND TELEVISION VISITED
YOUR HEADQUARTERS, IN PART TO SEEK THE COUNSEL AND
ASSISTANCE OF AMERICAN BROADCASTERS. AND YOU HAVE SENT
YOUR REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN
THE SOVIET UNION.

AND ON TOP OF THIS, YOU ARE HELPING AMERICANS TO
INVEST IN JOINT VENTURES TO ESTABLISH NEW RADIO AND
TELEVISION NETWORKS IN THE EAST. SO MOST OF ALL, I AM
HERE TODAY TO RECOGNIZE YOUR ENERGETIC INTERNATIONAL
LEADERSHIP.

THE TIMES HAVE CHANGED. WE NEED NO LONGER ACT IN THE FINE TRADITION OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. BUT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF '89, AMERICA REGULARLY RECEIVED THE SPEECHES OF LECH WALSEA, VACLAV HAVEL AND OTHER BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN OF CONSCIENCE ON SMUGGLED TAPES. AND THROUGH THE POWER OF BROADCASTING, AMERICA BECAME THE COURIER OF FREEDOM -- RETURNING THE ELOQUENT WORDS OF THESE LEADERS BACK TO THEIR PEOPLE -- RETURNING HOPE AND THE PROMISE OF LIBERTY TO A HALF-DOZEN LANDS.

THAT WAS OUR VISION THEN. THAT IS OUR VISION TODAY. AND BY WORKING TOGETHER, OUR AMERICAN VISION IS FAST BECOMING A REALITY FOR THE WORLD. THANK YOU, MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

41
- 16
25

135

125th Anniv. Lincoln's

Death / 15th
April

When he died / his special
reflexioning / torch passed
on - 25 p.m. dance -

Geo. - no record yet / his
Geo. Geo. his wife my neighbor
child

Comp for Mrs. City (my neighbor)
Atk. / Black Oak / Estate
number / estimate one on

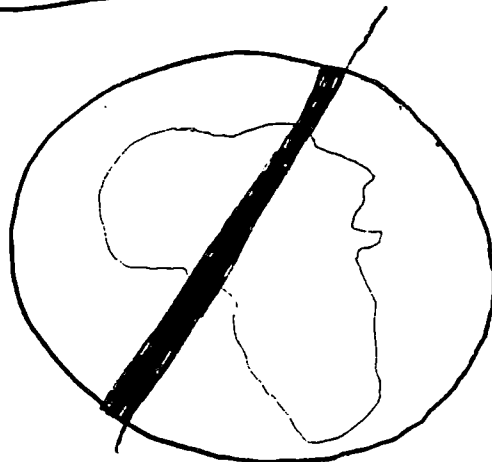
one - special relationship
extends to S.A. 3

Anniv. 125th

MORE PERSONAL KIND OF SPEECH -
HEAD START / BANNER (SAW IT)
GO LOOK IT -

~~DIKINS/WILDER~~
one day ~~of~~ we will
elect - and ~~not~~ remember -
not remarkable -

~~DATA~~
child care
NAACP - LOOK AT



Dinner
12 MINUTE/6P.
~~15 MINUTE~~

more
thematic

WE DON'T ALWAYS

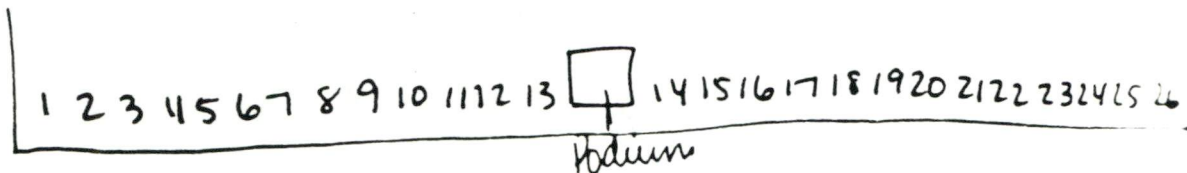
TAB C
Washington, D.C.
Washington Hilton Hotel
Joint Center for
Political Studies
20th Anniversary Dinner
Head Table Diagram
Wednesday, April 4, 1990

~~First Tier~~

- 1 Hannah Diggs Atkins
- 2 Rev. ~~Charles Newsome~~ Clarence
- 3 Jewel Jackson McCabe
- 4 Ira C. Herbert
- 5 Luther Foster
- 6 Eleanor Farrar
- 7 Kenneth Clark
- 8 Elsie Hillman
- 9 Louis Sullivan
- 10 James D. Robinson, III
- 11 Eddie N. Williams
- 12 ~~The Honorable George Bush~~ THE PRESIDENT
- 13 Vernon Jordan

PODIUM

- 14 Wendell Freeland
- 15 Mrs. Bush
- 16 David Kearns
- 17 The Honorable Douglas Wilder
- 18 Andrew F. Brimmer
- 19 Eleanor Holmes Norton
- 20 Norma Asnes
- 21 M. Anthony Burns
- 22 Robert Washington
- 23 Marian Wright Edelman
- 24 Bertram Lee
- 25 George Brown
- 26 Lucius Barker



Audience

KRISTEN
ADURAT LUNCH/
ACTUALLY ACCESS/
GRATEFUL

WAITING FOR THE MOMENT
TOGETHER / PATH / SAME
STONE STEPS

TOGETHER WE
TOGETHER WE

DETAIL

Freedom
DID NOT
and

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

February 21, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT LUNCHEON WITH BLACK NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS

The Roosevelt Room

12:10 P.M. EST

Q Thank you for having us here today. It's indeed a pleasure for us to be here with you. And it's a special day in my life, knowing that I have brought this distinguished group, serving the people we serve, and that, coming together here, we brought the will to the resource that can solve the problems of black America,

I'm sure here that by your showing the concern we know you have and have shown in the past, we will get something done. We would hate to leave here today thinking that we had come, been in your presence and nothing had changed in black America. We have the resources here. We have the men, women working in each community. The frontline black America is right here. We only need the resource we know is here in the White House and across the street. We're sure you will both accommodate us and accommodate black America. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you for those opening remarks. And please, let me just welcome this group here. I look forward to having a little exchange here, respond to the questions, or even more important from my standpoint is your views and what you all see as the pressing problems. And if you have any answers, why, fire them out here, too. God knows we need all the advice and support that we can get. But I am very pleased to have you all here.

I remember going down, when I was Chairman of the Republican National Committee, with Art Fletcher and meeting this group down in -- it was down in Florida somewhere. And I learned a lot from that meeting and we've have several encounters with many of you around the table. But we welcome you. I'm sure all of you met Marlin Fitzwater. He looks like he may be taking off but -- (laughter.)

MR. FITZWATER: I'm getting a tape recorder, I'll be right back.

THE PRESIDENT: He's with the press, day in and day out and so I know he'll be interested in your views. And who else have we got here? Roger Porter, who's our top -- under the Chief of Staff -- but the top policy man in the White House. Dave Demarest, over here, you may have met, who's also highly interested in the issues. Kristin Taylor I think some of you do know. And Jim Pinkerton, also one with whom I've worked over the years, is very sensitive and helpful on issues that concern, in this instance, black Americans, but a lot of others as well.

So that's our team. You've met our Chief of Staff over here, John Sununu, who's off to the Hill for lunch. But when he was the Governor he had strong support from the black community in his state and has been very helpful with the common cause here.

So here we are and I just want to bid you welcome. And I think it's important that you're here, from my standpoint. We want it to be more than just the manifestation of outreach, which it is. It's that. But I learned from -- I don't want to be cut off in this

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White House. And I learned from hearing from people. And we tried -- we've had some of the civil rights leaders in here a time or two. And we're going to continue doing that. But that's a part of the problem -- part of the answer. And can define a part of the problem from these organization's standpoint.

But you've come at it from maybe sharing the same concern, but from a slightly different prospective. So we want to hear from you, as I say, and also try to give you a little news or information that which you might want to pass along. But I want you to feel relaxed and totally frank. And if I agree with you I'll tell you and if I don't I'll tell you why. Take her from there.

Portia, in addition to being good to see you since you're on my right hand -- (laughter.) But seriously, I'm just delighted to see you.

Q Well, I'm delighted to be here.

THE PRESIDENT: What's your concern down there and what do you --

Q Well, first of all, I just want to say that my father, who's -- I think all of us around the table know what my father's done in terms of the black press. He was like a dean, but he wasn't able to come because of health reasons, but he is still working and doing fine.

But I'm really appreciative, as our president said, about this gathering because I feel that black press has done so much in America. And the press itself is so important. As a press itself, we are a struggling press, but we make a difference in America. I like to think of us a moral conscience. It sort of checks -- is a checks and balance of the general press. And since the world has always stood for our principles and standards and that's the same standards that we follow today. And we just hope that this will be a chance that the editors and publishers can tell you that we are deeply concerned about what goes on and we certainly support you and your leadership. And we just want to have a good rapport.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you for those introductory comments. And who is it, tell me, is off to South Africa?

Q That's after I leave here. I leave at 6:00 p.m. tonight.

THE PRESIDENT: You might get that out on the table. And I'd love to here from you all on -- I know the excitement -- I know the excitement that I felt when I talked to Mr. Mandela the other day and to de Klerk as well. And I've invited both of them here. I know that some in the civil rights community maybe don't think I was too smart to do that, but I think it's -- I think that it is the right thing to do. There hasn't been too much criticism, but some feel that maybe de Klerk should do more before he came into this majestic office that you all just left.

But I think the meeting can be helpful to move things forward. I'm told -- our national security people and John Sununu and I talked about it -- that we view the United States is in a really rather unique position because we have a strong and important black community. People feel a heritage, a deep tie with Africa. And yet we don't have some of the burdens of having been a colonial power. We don't have that. And also we've had strong relations with South Africa that have been diminished because of their adherence to apartheid.

But as we see change taking place, we might be in unique position to help on that, help foster change, help foster racial equality. And so I'm interested in knowing from you all how you think we should advance. I've go my own views and they start with

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meeting with both Mandela and de Klerk. And from my standpoint, I don't have a particular hang up on what order it's in. We've invited them both and I want to accommodate their schedules. And I want to see if there's a place for the United States of America, in a very unique position we have, to be of some help to iron out the difficulties that remain. And that's our policy.

I've had some reservations about sanctions. We are not going to unilaterally lift sanctions. We've got requirements in the law on this. But I want to get as many ideas as I can on how we should proceed.

Q Mr. President, we want to thank you. We're happy about Mr. Mandela's release. We're sure that you had much more to do with it than you want to admit and we thank you for it. We're concerned about the relaxing of the sanctions and we feel, just as you have said, they need a lot of working on. They leave a lot to be desired and we don't want them to just be relaxed and overlooked --

THE PRESIDENT: That this is as far as we go and nothing else, right? I understand that.

Q And we'll appreciate your help in getting equality in law.

THE PRESIDENT: I think -- it's very interesting -- I don't know if you all have noted in the last day or two, I almost missed it -- that de Klerk is meeting with the Frontline countries. I think that's a very important thing that he go to Zambia and there can be sitting with a man with whom the country has had differences. But -- and others, too. And I think it could be a very important meeting, very important step. Who would have thought that would have been possible a few months ago, say nothing of years. So things are moving a little bit and, again, I repeat, I think we are in a rather unique position to be a catalyst.

We can't dictate change. He's got a right-wing problem -- de Klerk does. And he's got some hot heads out there that Mandela seems to be doing a marvelous job calming down. People say, look, we're going to get him behind this leader. People that have made statements in the past that have been very inflammatory. But Mandela's come out of here with I think a marvelously principled maturity and a stance that has just captured the imagination of the people all around the world, whether they liked him or not before he was in there.

So that's an interesting development. And, again, I welcome further comments.

Q Mr. President, the reason that I'm going to South Africa today is that we in the black press have gotten views from other people, most particularly, the white press, blacks who work in the white press. I met Jesse Jackson on Saturday morning for a long interview when he came back from Zambia. And when his remarks were reported in the majority press in New York, they missed the major essence of what he had to say or they avoided it entirely and that was when and how does one deal with the economic issues.

You see, what happened with our own civil rights movement here in America is that we negotiated to spend our money somewhere else without negotiating what we would do about entrepreneurship and those kinds of things that hold the underpinnings of the community. So I want to see what is going to happen in terms of plans for the economic underpinnings for the black majority. I'm also going to the homeland. I want to see Mr. Butholesi; I want to see the opposition organization because I want to know what will happen to them.

Mr. Butholesi represents 3.5 million people. And then when you go to the "independent countries" you're talking about almost 10 million people. And so, there is an independence,

allegedly, from South Africa. I want to see whether or not this is so. In a place called Barachu, Botswana they have the biggest -- not gold, what's that other metal?

THE PRESIDENT: Platinum?

Q Platinum.

THE PRESIDENT: Chrome?

Q They own the biggest platinum mine known to man and it's owned by the people of Barachu. I want to see that. And I think that you can be instrumental in holding off on in desire that you might have to lift sanctions until the four pillars of apartheid are taken care of.

Now, that could be done rather quickly and a great deal of progress has been made. And I have no problem with the President inviting anybody the President wants into the White House, in whatever order. But I think that for the rest of the world that it certainly is willing to follow the lead of America, the lifting of sanctions precipitously would do a great deal more harm than good. So I wish that you would be extraordinarily careful in your timing of such an event. And I will let you know when I come back what another view is.

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like to hear from you. Incidentally, I'm also encouraged by the fact that Mandela and Butholesi appeared to be in the process of dialoguing after --

Q Yes --

THE PRESIDENT: And Butholesi is coming here. I've seen him several times when I was Vice President. And a rapprochement there would be very good. Very good. He represents a heck of a lot of people -- important people -- and so that's an encouraging development.

Q It's absolutely valuable. If they want to get together, then the divide and conquer syndrome that we've known so well in so many places will --

THE PRESIDENT: How many Zulus are there?

Q Seven million. Butholesi and his family -- 3.5 million. And then across the southern tip there, you have another four million or so.

Q May I just respond? I think that what we're going to find is that we're going to have a range of views about South Africa around this table, like there are ranges of views in the black community about South Africa. I was in South Africa last May and I had a chance to visit Butholesi in the -- (inaudible.) And it's amazing how, as you say, the media reflects one element of the forces about what's going on in South Africa. So I really encourage everybody to try and go and see for themselves.

And we have an editorial, Mr. President, that did commend you on your stand with sanctions and also on your invitation of inviting both de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to the White House. But I was going to say just one thing -- I agree totally with the President that we're unique in America because if we have a racial problem, we've been through some things that South Africa is now is facing today. And it's for us to help with the leadership and sensitivity of what it's going to take to really dismantle apartheid. And it's not going to be easy. And one thing to help reforms, or to help dismantle a country, certainly, I don't think isolation -- economic isolation is not the answer because they need money and moreso than ever now to get through the reforms.

MORE

I was in South Africa and I talked with a range of views and I really hope that all of you will get a chance to go so you can find out for yourself. I'm not saying lift the sanctions now, but I'm just saying that you have to realize that to economically starve a country, there's no way they can reform.

Q Mr. President, I think you're to be commended for calling Mandela for the significant signal to the black community. And we trust that you will take into consideration all of these views. We know that the sanction thing is really out there. England has taken a stand on it, and we don't know and don't pretend to know what all happened diplomatically, but we feel that you did the right thing there and it was a good signal.

The other one -- and then I'm going to be quiet -- is your State of the Union address. Your message that racial violence will not be tolerated, the bombings and whatever, and the recognition that racism exists in the United States is very significant coming from your level. And my question is whether you got much flack from right-wingers and others about this thing and whether you will continue to give this kind of help. Your wife has certainly someone that we all respect and hope that she'll come along the trip.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, now let me respond. In the first place, on the call in the State of the Union for the antiracism, antibigotry, there was -- that I know of, there was -- if there was any flack it didn't register on a Richter Scale. (Laughter.) Because I think if we pass the time in this country where there's any politics that go the other way at all -- there's no politics in there. And I think people are concerned. I think were appalled at the bombings, for example, that the justice is still trying to get to the bottom of -- and I'm convinced they will, and it's very important that they do.

And so I think we did the right thing in stating that. We got the "hate crimes" bill that we are for that has passed, I think, in both Houses and is coming my way soon. And I will use that occasion to speak out -- and trying to put some emphasis on Black History Month through a couple of critical interviews and some television, why, that is symbolic more, but it certainly doesn't offer hope for the skinheads who are out there, way out in some absurd radical position that -- in fact, there's new action against them by the Justice Department, which I certainly applaud.

So I don't see anything other than equity, fair play on this question. We could have some differences on some aspects of the civil rights bill. Some are pushing -- the civil rights community or some of the organizations -- for little further than I want to go. I want to avoid quotas. I want to avoid -- I've always had that position and I will stay with it. But we're supporting a civil rights package that we sent up there. I must say that I wish I could think of more things to do from the bully pulpit of the Oval Office or whatever to be sure that any vestiges of discrimination are stamped out early. There's no downside to it and it's the right and honorable thing to do.

In terms of Barbara, and as much as you brought up the Silver Fox, why -- (laughter) -- she's doing fine. And she believes and she cares about people. And I think that comes through. I don't think there's any issue particularly, but she goes out and holds in her arms some border baby and it comes from the heart, you see.

Q If, for example, on quotas -- I'm not sure that I take issue with that -- how do you ensure equal access and opportunity?

THE PRESIDENT: By being for affirmative action, which I am. I think that's probably the best answer. But I think it goes a little far in terms of -- if you get into quotas. You say everybody has got to have a certain percentage of anything -- I just am not for

that and won't be for that. But I think affirmative action, I've long supported, and therein lies the answer. The law is full of how that's defined, and I think that -- Roger is not here, but maybe Jim -- do you know the details?

We've sent legislation up that corrects two of the three civil rights -- I mean, in our opinion -- ameliorates two-thirds of the civil rights decisions that the Court hands down, the Supreme Court. But there's one that gets close to quotas that I do not want to see become --

Q Mr. President, on February 7th, I believe Senator Kennedy introduced his Civil Rights Act bill of 1990. And that initiative is intended to address some of the concerns that have arisen as a result of the Supreme Court decision in Richmond, mainly the definition of what minorities are so as to try and attempt or address more effectively the concern to have a more level playing field upon which true equal opportunities can exist. Are you going to support that initiative or are you going to --

THE PRESIDENT: We may support parts of it, but the part that refers to some quotas we don't support. And we've told him this. And so we just have an honest debate going on. And it won't pass in my view -- I don't think. Maybe it will. But it won't pass with the support from us.

In terms of the stated objectives, I think it will have broad support.

Jim, you want to add something on that?

MR. PINKERTON: The two court decisions that we take issue with are the one that concerns harassment on the job. We think that one needs to be overturned. And the other one concerns whether the statute of limitations for discrimination -- can some things expire before an employee comes on the job. So those are the two that we are concerned with.

Q Mr. President, there is legislation that is -- (inaudible) -- that is the DOD, Department of Defense set-aside program that has a provision for -- (inaudible.) And we have not been able to reap any benefits as such from that legislation. We could do a much better job at what we do if we had the resources. We would hope that --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm embarrassed to say I'm not familiar with that specific provision.

Q Well, the set-aside says that a newspaper qualifies for the five percent surtax. Now, I think the problem is --

THE PRESIDENT: Is this for advertising?

Q Yes. Advertising -- for five percent of the Defense Department budget for -- and that goes for everything the Defense Department buys. (Inaudible.) But as far as the news -- spent a lot of money, over \$200 million in advertising. And newspapers do not benefit at all.

THE PRESIDENT: And the provision in the law says they should?

Q Yes. But the problem is -- where we need the help from you is to make sure that that money is spent totally in the black -- the bill would say that if anybody wants this, say, one newspaper, that it satisfies the law. But that wouldn't be fair. We would hope that you would look into that and make sure that the total black press benefits, not just one newspaper or maybe it's one magazine.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Well, in Dick Cheney, you've got a guy who I think is pretty good on these things. But if you would send me a little more specifics, I'd be glad to take it up with him.

Q This is a follow-up to that. The drug problem in the black community -- the people in Birmingham, Alabama, we just feel that we need to do a little more of treatment because -- I don't know how many dead there's been -- these people we feel are sick. And we need to take a complete, new look at how we deal with the drug program and where do they go and what do they do after we treat them.

THE PRESIDENT: We've increased the funding in our National Drug Strategy II for prevention and treatment, whether it's -- given the magnitude of this problem, I can't -- we need even more money on it, but how much is it?

Q It's 80 percent, I believe, over two years. Increase.

THE PRESIDENT: But, again, that's federal. This is also an area where local and state cooperate a lot on it. But, listen, I think what you say is correct. But whether, in building out our Strategy -- which really has gotten pretty good acceptance across a broad spectrum of opinion -- we reached the figure that we have in there. And I'll be out exhorting others to do more, but I can't argue the fact that it is an area where we've got to pay a lot of attention to. We think we're doing it.

But drugs is one place I wish we had more federal resources to bring to bear.

Q Mr. President, I think that you're doing a fantastic job with getting monies to prevent drugs from coming into the country. But the main problem here is we're not doing enough about the ill, the sick person. We can't build enough jails to house this revolving account because the police are putting them in jail and they're being released to go back in jail, and it's like a magnet. Everyone who goes in jail takes one with him. When they come out and go again, they take two more. We need to do something about the debriefing -- most people call it detoxification. We need to utilize some of these army bases that we're closing down to house, educate, and detoxify some of these people that would not be prisoners. They can learn while they're being detoxified.

It's just like putting me in the army for two years. I've got two years to serve. I can pick up a trade while I'm in the service. This could be implemented, and I'm sure it would cost a heck of a lot less than what it costs to house each individual prisoner. And I think that whoever is in charge of these funds should also have your blessing or your overseer to be sure that most of this money is not only used for stopping the drugs from coming in, but preventing the need for the drug.

THE PRESIDENT: I agree with you. One of the things that we ran into at the Cartagena summit was the concept when we got there -- although I'd discussed this with the President of Colombia beforehand -- I sensed that there was the feeling there that they thought we didn't give a damn about demand, the demand in our country. See, they are saying to me, look, if you all didn't use this stuff, why, we wouldn't have any problem. So I go down there to them and say, wait a minute. We understand that. We're trying to cut back on demand through the treatment and prevention once a guy's hooked on it, but prior to that, through education.

And I also said to them, it's beginning to work. We gave them a report, a good report -- I mean, a valid poll or some example on high school seniors, across the spectrum, sociological spectrum -- black, minority, white, rich, poor, whatever. And the high school senior usage, drug usage, is down dramatically. And this is the tip of an iceberg I hope because I hope that, following along with it

will be more progress on the demand.

But I did it and gave them this so these three presidents -- Garcia from Peru, and Paz Zamora from Bolivia, and Barco, Virgilio Barco -- would know that we know we're a part of the problem. We know that -- and we're trying to do something about it. And we're trying to do it through education and cutting down in any way we can on -- through prevention and rehabilitation. And it's not just federal government. It's a -- what I used to get teased about and now I think people understand it a little better -- points of light, where people go out into the communities and just out of love of mankind, try to do a better job in educating the young people.

So it got us off on a better footing with these presidents, because I think they thought I would just emphasize shooting at somebody or some kind of -- you go out and get rid of your crop, or whatever the heck else it is. So it's a very important point, and I take your point, and I think we're trying to do something about it in terms of rehabilitation and prevention and curing. Curing or rehabilitating those that you're talking about.

Q Mr. President, there is an arena that you've not touched yet, and it seems that no one wishes to touch it.

In New York City alone, narcotics is our biggest business, \$80 billion a year. It exceeds the budget of New York City and New York State by about \$6 billion, employing about 300,000 people -- 96 percent of those are themselves addicted. This money flows through banks. This money flows not through black or Hispanics' banks, but it flows through our clearinghouse bank. It flows through our investment companies because certainly with banking limits or the ability to write a check at black banks in New York not exceeding more than \$1.5 million or \$2 million, you cannot flow into those banks the kinds of money that float through those banks and are electronically transferred to the Cayman Islands and many other kinds of places.

Using the recent statutes, using tools that we already have, it would seem to me that the additional point of light, if I may use your expression, that might be used is to follow the money. Money has footprints, and that money can be traced electronically and otherwise, even under the \$10,000 limit.

So I would wish that in all of the things we put together -- treatment, putting people in jail, putting them on army bases -- that we begin to take a look and do something about those who benefit most by the scourge of narcotics. They're not the poor people in this nation, they're the very rich. And as soon as they start going to jail, Mr. President, I think that's going to help a lot in terms of stopping the availability of drugs in this country.

THE PRESIDENT: I want to ask -- maybe you can do this -- I want to send everybody at this luncheon a report, an up-to-date report on the antimoney laundering activities that the federal government is now engaged in. It's not well-known. It is a strong beginning, to get at what Mr. Garth is talking about. Because it's true, it's true. There's been people that have just avoided it, and it is complicated. We're beginning to work much more closely with those countries that have the -- what do you call them -- secret bank accounts and those. Getting much more cooperation from countries like -- that heretofore would do nothing -- Switzerland, for example -- much more cooperation.

We got a strike force on money laundering that is under the heading of the -- comes under the business of the Attorney General. The Treasury Department is has been totally activated. And what we need -- and we had some -- high visibility convictions. But we need a couple of major busts that would finger the kind of guy that you're talking about, no matter what his strata, social strata, wherever they come from. And that's what this program is designed to

MORE

really get at it.

But I'd like to have you look at it, and if it's worthy of reportage in your papers and publishing, I'd like to ask that it be published because I think it's important that people understand that the fight is on all levels. That it isn't just going after some little runner kid out here who can make \$200 and otherwise he'd be broke and maybe he's supporting his mother when she doesn't have any -- so we need to get that in four to seven days from now -- we'll set a time -- into the hands of everybody, Jim, and with statistics and facts and what it is we're doing on this.

MR. PINKERTON: I'll try to get some before the lunch is over.

Q You know, when you talk about what you can do for the black men, what can we do? What do we need to be doing to help you in your job? It's hard to ask a question like this, I guess.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, be kind and gentle. (Laughter.) They've got me in a big fight with the press now. Marlin's out there defending me, it's getting a little tense. But I'm really not. I feel -- I'll start with a broad statement on press relations. And first, Marlin Fitzwater does not draw combat pay -- (laughter) -- and he goes through the darndest, almost a dance in that briefing room, which just goes with the territory -- and does a great job in representing what I believe and what I really feel strongly about.

Secondly, I have no real complaints at all with the press coverage. I think that the White House press corps itself is -- they can get argumentative and we can get -- cross the breakers with them -- but I think, basically, I've tried to have a lot of access, go in there -- we had how many, Marlin, last year? -- 50-some press conferences or something -- and try to be available and try to answer.

Where I've run into some complication is that their job and, to a degree, the reporters that work for you all's job is to get the news out. Get the facts. Find out what it is that needs to be reported at the pace that the newspapers decide. Where I've gotten a little cross-wise is on, like, secrecy. Where I've planned the Gorbachev meeting, or the arms control -- the recent thing we had on reducing conventional forces. Well, I've got a responsibility to see that the allies are all on board before this gets tried and before we get it finished. I had to call Gorbachev. I had to send the two guys over to see President Mitterand and all of this. And yet the reporters are on me a little bit for secrecy.

And I can understand their point, and I think they understand mine. They've been on -- suggesting well, be careful not to deceive us. And I'm trying to be very careful not to deceive, but I've made very clear that I've got to conduct some of the business of this country in confidence.

So I stress that not asking for any support on all of this -- on that area, but to say that I do feel -- and I'm not saying it because you are in the newspaper business -- that we have been reasonably treated. Where people go after me on some editorial, I understand that. I can't keep everybody happy, and I try to level with them and say, hey, I think you're right about this and wrong about that.

I have the underpinning in knowing that I was elected and if the people don't like it, then they're not going to elect me again. So you have -- you get a certain comfort level, even in this big a job -- from that fundamental little civics exercise. Not that you want to get arrogant about it -- I'm going to do it just my way -- not you want to get cut off and can't learn. So generally it's going in terms of the relationship with the people in your business reasonably well.

MORE

And so, to your question perhaps we can do a better job with outreach, which comes under Dave's office, of keeping you informed on things like money laundering. If we could do that, if we could get the information to you, then my appeal would be -- where can you help? -- print it if it looks newsworthy or educational or informational or whatever it is, regardless of what it does for the President. I think in this area we're talking about now, the antinarcotics, there is a need for information. I think it's important that the readers -- back to Mr. Dixon's comment -- in Birmingham understand that we have tripled or whatever the expenditure is -- 60 percent -- for prevention and treatment. Now, then he can editorialize and say that ain't enough, we should have done it sooner, why can't you do more.

But if I can get out the rationale behind our drug strategy or our policy on South Africa or our position on the civil rights bill, that's all I can ask. I can't ask you to rubber stamp my view that two -- only appealing two parts of the Supreme Court decision. But I think -- give a little of what we do to see that on these key issues -- I don't know -- I've long been for affirmative action. I don't know whether most of your readers know that. And they might say, well, if he's for it, how come he hasn't done more about it? But I'm saying, look, I'm for this. Here's my position, here's the position that the President has taken. And then, editorially, come say, hey, that's fine. Let him talk about all that, but this is what he's for, here's what he's done, here's what he said. But our editorial's going to say he ought to do more or shouldn't have done that. You should have done A, you should have done B.

So that's the area where I think we can take you up on the suggestion as to what more can be done. It's more on the informational -- not trying to bamboozle some editorial, but to try to get out there and say this is what the heartbeat of this administration is. I'm trying to change this. We are meeting with these different groups and at least having a --

Q Mr. President, I would think what you said is well taken. And also, while information is coming in one direction, information is a two-way street. What we have here are frontline people with frontline information that needs to be funneled back to you, too. And we need that kind of access to you to let you know what we've found on the frontline and what's going on there with the information that we have in our community, because we do service over 180 different cities in this country where the problem is prevalent. And we need that kind of communication back.

Q Mr. President, when you called this meeting, there arose in the black communities that my newspapers serve a sudden interest in what you were about that I haven't viewed in a long, long time. And it was primarily because of the fact that a lot of the community really never felt that you were talking to them. But as a result of you calling a meeting such as one you've called today, they suddenly are beginning to get the sense that you are growing a lot closer to them, and that you are becoming a part of them.

When we go back and report what you have told us today, a lot of it they probably have already read in the white daily newspapers. But the fact that you have thought enough about the black press and, therefore, about the black readership of the black press to collectively call the publishers here and to personally tell your point of views and also to listen to the publishers point of view means more than what we could ever tell you as far as what your popularity will be and what your understanding or understanding by you as President of the United States to black readers.

THE PRESIDENT: That's interesting to me because I'll be honest with you, I'm not sure I would have focused -- I'm not sure I would have put that kind of emphasis on this meeting. I mean, I

wanted to do it. I believe in what you all are trying to do. I know it's tough financially sometimes out there. I know we -- but I am just beginning after one year in this job to understand not just as it relates to the black press, but what you've said, because it's hard. It's not that -- like Havel yesterday -- I had him over here at the White House and he told me -- this marvelous guy, this playwright in jail a year ago and here he is. He said, "I pinch myself to realize I am the President of Czechoslovakia" and then the same thing when he was in the room that I wanted you all to see, the Oval Office -- he said, "I just can't believe I am here." I mean, he's a quiet, modest man. He's like my son. He's about 42 years old. I think sometimes that I as a person -- as the President -- perhaps underestimate the bully pulpit aspect of the presidency. Or the fact that the presidency has a very special and thus specific role in exhorting or encouraging people to do whatever it is. It's coming through to me a little more.

The other thing I'll point out is -- and this is just rambling here -- but when you go out in the country, sometimes this sophisticated -- the Washington press corps say, what the hell are you going to North Dakota for? Or why -- what does all this mean going off to -- you ought to be sitting here in the White House.

But I learn so much about -- when I do that, just to go somewhere -- go out, as we did in Kansas City to a neighborhood drug program, a tough neighborhood. A guy told me -- he says, "Look, I retired from the Post Office. He said, "I worked for the Post Office for 30 years and then I retired."

I said, "Well, what are you doing?" He said, "Well, I tell you what I wanted to do. I wanted to play golf. I wanted to get my handicap down." But then he said, "I had to get involved in this drug program in this community." And they organized a bunch of people in the community -- not one dime. And it made a tremendous impression on me, seeing not only the effectiveness of the community at work, but the dedication of this one guy that I'd never would have met if I didn't talk to him and said, hey, climb into this big limo here and ride with me down to the convention hall where we were speaking to a couple thousand people.

So it matters to get out into -- and the other thing, I go through areas where I didn't get two votes -- not two. (Laughter.) -- go through there and they're out there and clapping for the President. And it makes a profound -- and it brings home your point. I am the President of the United States. It doesn't have anything to do with the personal thing. It is a really profound impression when you go -- you can take that Kansas City thing. "What the hell, where all the signs? Where's all -- hell, I'm their President. And it was wonderful. And I get it over and over again. So when we get out, we learn some of what you referred to there.

Q Mr. President, I'm from one of those states that you probably did get two votes -- (laughter) -- so I feel quite, frankly, -- from Washington State -- (laughter) -- but to get --

THE PRESIDENT: A few good demonstrators there -- (laughter) -- the priest would get up at the end of the thing -- some priest got up and yelling and screaming, "Bush is a fascist" -- (Laughter.) So I said, "Well, what have you got to say for yourself?" (Laughter.)

Q We do have a major problem with terrorists in that area. I call drugs dealers and gangs and youth violence and all of this -- I call them terrorists because, quite frankly, that's what they are. People -- drive-by shootings in neighborhoods, unsafe, people don't know what to do. It's terrorizing our community. Is there any chance of your administration declaring some of these urban areas in the inner cities as drug-free zones?

One of the problems that we have in addition to that is

the inability to get youngsters to a treatment program. They are located, most of the times, far away from the community, so it is not accessible. And so that was one of my questions -- as part of your drug package of drug-free zones and we could replace them with one of your other projects you used to talk about -- is economic zones or enterprise zones.

THE PRESIDENT: Enterprise zones, yes. But they go hand-in-hand, but I'm not sure how the concept would work. We could declare it.

Q We've got to drive them out of the area. But if you don't do it from your perspective, the local politicians get offended and it gets messy. And that's a problem that we have. And in Tacoma one of your ranger outfits had a shootout with some drug dealers. His comment this weekend in the local paper was that it was more dangerous in that shootout -- incidentally, he wasn't a very good marksman. We got rid of some of those terrorists -- (laughter) -- they didn't get anybody. But he's saying that he went to Panama as part of the rangers -- far more dangerous in that situation with drugs in the area where he resides with his family than going to Panama.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me comment on that. Part of our national drug strategy is a drug-free workplace. Part of our strategy are our neighborhoods free of drugs. The thing that comes to my mind that we have done is change the HUD regulations in terms of public housing to facilitate getting the drug dealers out of the neighborhoods. That's not directly to your point, but it gets close to it.

I went over across the river here to a minority-dominated community. And there sat with the city councilman -- a black guy elected here right across the river -- it's a major thing here of drug-free. But how we can -- whether there is something we could add to the package to make it more doable I don't know. I welcome suggestions on it. I know Bill Bennett would.

Jim, can you think of anything to add to that?

MR. PINKERTON: Well, one thing that we've done in certain areas, unfortunately, not in -- Washington State is not one of them -- is to create what we call high intensity trafficking areas. That includes New York City, South Boston, and Los Angeles has areas like that. So we have tried to target areas where the problem is especially bad. And it's a question of resources for the rest of the country.

MR. DEMAREST: Also, Mr. President, you might want to mention the effort in trying to get the federal agencies to cooperate better with each other. And something that has not been the case through the years, any special effort --

MR. PINKERTON: And a further point is our crime bill which we're still hoping the Congress will pass.

Q This perhaps, Mr. President, -- another way that we can be helpful to you. I remember when Mr. Moynihan was structuring his bill on the Social Security tax, how it was that we covered his press conference. Not only did we do that, we printed much of what he had to say about it. Then we got letters in response to it. Never a single letter or response from the White House or the President's staff. And perhaps it was because on some levels our papers may not be clipped and responded to as others are. While I may disagree with you, and while I may agree with you, certainly, the opportunity exists there for you to respond on an issue such as this. Because when one talks about the budget and the budget deficit and it's being papered over and you're being blasted as -- it seems to me that your people ought to be responding to papers such as mine that carry. And whether I agree with you or not, Mr. President, your

views as the President of our United States will certainly get into the pages of my papers. And I'm sure that exists around this table. I don't think that we have been used appropriately by your administration.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I appreciate that constructive criticism. I will try to do better on that, because it is -- I mean, it's in our interest. Listen, that's in my own interest to get out our approach to it and then -- yes. So I appreciate that.

Q Mr. President, on behalf of the black press of America, and in conjunction with what Bill says, I'd like to take this opportunity to invite you to our 50th convention which will take place in Chicago in June, which will create the ideal forum -- over 200 black newspapers will be in attendance -- for you to come and say the things you've said to us today and make black America comfortable with the type of outreach the presidency now has.

THE PRESIDENT: I've already confessed that I like to get out. (Laughter.) To reach out. So maybe -- if you'd refer that, to the --

Q We surely will. We surely will and we hope you will find it in your schedule to attend.

Q We realize Chicago's not the greatest place in the world. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. President, getting back to to what we were talking about that set-aside, I would like to put together a piece of -- do something to help put together something to show your administration about that set-aside.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I'd appreciate it.

Q -- and present it to you about some of the things that are happening and the way to deal with the structures. And the way to deal with the structure is that -- it said that you can just advertise in one radio station, you satisfy the bill. But it doesn't -- (inaudible) -- the community at all. And I just want to put something together to show you how, with your support and you to push it, some of the things in there.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we'll see what we can do. How do we get -- who should that come to, Jim or Dave? Tell him how to send it so that it doesn't get lost forever in this 300,000 letter or whatever it is. (Laughter.) The goble-gook from our kids and -- (laughter.)

Q Getting back to the drug force and the trafficking of certain cities that have been targeted, the Prichard-Mobile area is one of the largest drug traffickers in the South and all of that coast. And I know that there have been funds allocated and set aside for the traffickers. But we appreciate any help you can give us in setting aside something for the programs in rehabilitation because in the city of Prichard and Mobile there are no type of facilities for the lower income people. And the ones who are in dire need cannot afford the facilities that are set aside. They just don't have the money to help rehabilitate the addicts.

Q Mr. President, you mentioned earlier black history. I'm a history buff and I'd just like to say to you that you have significantly contributed to black history by having us here today. And I certainly hope that your precedent will continue in your years in the White House in the future and then other presidents who occupy the White House.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we want to put the proper emphasis there. And also I've always -- just glancing at this, I see reference to the historically black colleges. We have tried to do a

little more in that area by increasing the funding. I still come back to -- so much of this comes back to education in whatever we're trying to -- some kid on the drug beat or whether it's some guy that can't get himself a good job when he gets out of high school. And we're trying to help with some endowment funds on the historically black colleges.

Q Mr. President, when you mentioned education -- in the area where I preside, midwest Michigan, the figures are not published a lot, but the figures that I get from the capital and right on down the line says it costs us an average of \$30,000 to \$35,000 a year to house one inmate. So my question would be that perhaps we could take a look at this and study it -- \$30,000 to \$35,000 will put two people through two of the best colleges in America, roughly, for one year apiece. We're looking at roughly \$40,000 per. That probably could be considered because in the end -- and then on top of that, when they get out, based on wherever a social situation -- they can't find a job anyway because who is going to hire them? That should be looked at.

THE PRESIDENT: It should be looked at and how -- whether it's kind of a chicken or egg thing is that the other part of it. I mean, how do you get these young kids, pre-college age kids -- that's the question. It breaks your heart when you see these little guys --

Q On a day-by-day basis the question that pops up is are we spending our money the right way? Should we devote more money to education and how?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I think that's -- and at what levels, too. I mean, it's -- well, let me suggest this -- and this is Black History Month -- and since I saw the joy on Mr. Havel's face when I showed him the room in which Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, I want to invite you to all walk over --

Q Oh, great.

THE PRESIDENT: And if my wife kills me, you guys have to take -- if she's got something going on over there, the invitation's canceled. (Laughter.)

END

1:15 P.M. EST

cool weather
Crazy weather

Openness of meeting - word to W.H.
President N.M.A. opened w/ statement
what it meant to him.

End of luncheon: Beautiful Day
~~Recess~~ walked from Reunion Room,
along South lawn through walk
intercourse - walked up through first
wing - up huge stairs. ~~Recess~~ Perfect.
about 15 - ~~operator~~

One of them was: "Slaves" ~~Liberal~~
[Knew they were new pre -
[E.P.]]

E.P.  Nightwatch

| Re: Grand Horn
Re: Grand Horn

Black Man

E. FREDERIC MORROW

||

in the White House.

A DIARY OF THE EISENHOWER YEARS

BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS,

THE WHITE HOUSE, 1955-1961



Coward-McCann, Inc.

New York

him that this was one of the largest Negro fraternal organizations in the country, that their activities were educational and charitable, and that their scholarships were available to white as well as Negro. He seemed pleased by this, and it gave him a cue for a short speech he wanted to make to them about their activities.

Then, without warning, he said to me, "Tell me, what is the feeling in the country on this fellow Powell?" I was startled for a minute and obviously showed it. He said, "You know—the Congressman in Harlem who won the overwhelming victory against Tammany Hall. What do the people think about his indictment for tax evasion?" I said, "Sir, the common feeling in Harlem is that Adam Powell is being given a 'ride' not only because he bolted and supported you, but because he is such an outspoken individual, not only in Congress, but on every public platform in the country when it comes to speaking out in behalf of civil rights and first-class citizenship for Negroes."

The President seemed interested in this information.

This is the end of one of the busiest weeks in my memory. Catherine and I left Washington last weekend, headed for the wilds of Michigan, with a short two-day stay in Chicago. We had hardly arrived there when telephone calls from the White House suggested my immediate return to cope with very pressing problems. The second day after our arrival in Chicago, Sherman Adams called to ask my assistance in dealing with a request made by Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, for the President to see her and the nine Negro children who had attended Central High School last year. At the present time these nine youngsters have achieved some kind of fame for enduring strife and abuse and even bodily assaults at the high school last year. It was because of them that the President had to order the Army into Little Rock.

Mrs. Bates' request could not have been more ill-timed. At the moment, the country is seething with unrest prior to next month's new school term. Virginia, Arkansas and other southern states have already determined that they will close their schools or risk bloodshed rather than see Negroes in attendance.

9 That strengtheneth the ^{robbed ones}spoiled against the strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the fortress.

10 ^{robbed ones}They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they ^{robbed ones}abhor him that speaketh uprightly.

11 Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them.

12 For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate *from their right*.

13 Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time; for it is an evil time.

14 Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live: and so the LORD, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye have spoken.

15 ^{Robbed ones}Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord GOD of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.

16 Therefore the LORD, the God of hosts, the Lord, saith thus; Wailing shall be in all streets; and they shall say in all the highways, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skillful of lamentation to wailing.

17 And in all vineyards shall be wailing: for I will pass through thee, saith the LORD.

18 Woe unto you that desire the day of the LORD! to what end is it for you? the day of the LORD is darkness, and not light.

19 As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him.

20 Shall not the day of the LORD be darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?

21 I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.

22 Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.

23 Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols.

24 But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.

25 Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?

26 But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chi-un your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.

27 Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus, saith the LORD, whose name is The God of hosts.

CHAPTER 6

The judgment on Israel

WOE to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samar-i-a, which are named chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came!

2 Pass ye unto Cal'-neh, and see; and from thence go ye to Ha'-math the great: then go down to Gath of the Philis'-tines: be they better than these kingdoms? or their border greater than your border?

3 Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near;

4 That lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall;

5 That chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David;

6 That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph.

7 Therefore now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the banquet of them that stretched themselves shall be removed.

8 The Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the LORD the God of hosts, I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his palaces: therefore will I deliver up the city with all that is therein.

9 And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten men in one house, that they shall die.

10 And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue: for we may not make mention of the name of the LORD.

11 For, behold, the Lord commandeth, and he will smite the great house with breaches, and the little house with clefts.

12 Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen? for ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock:

13 Ye which rejoice in a thing which say, Have we not taken by our own strength?

14 But, behold, I will raise you a nation, O house of Israel: the God of hosts; and I will afflict you from the entering in unto the river of the wilderness.

CHAPTER 7

The grasshoppers

THUS hath the Lord GOD said unto me; and, behold, he formed the grasshoppers in the beginning of the latter growth; and, lo, the latter growth after the king's death.

2 And it came to pass, that I had made an end of eating the land, then I said, O Lord, I beseech thee: by whom shall I arise? for he is small.

3 The LORD repented for this, and said, I will not be, saith the LORD.

The fire

4 Thus hath the Lord GOD said unto me; and, behold, the Lord GOD contend by fire, and it devour the deep, and did eat up a part of the land.

5 Then said I, O Lord GOD, seech thee: by whom shall I arise? for he is small.

6 The LORD repented for this, and said, I will not be, saith the Lord GOD.

The plumbline

7 Thus he showed me: and, behold, the Lord stood upon a wall made by a plumbline in his hand.

8 And the LORD said unto me, What seest thou? And I said, A wall. Then said the Lord, Behold, I will not again pass by them.

9 And the high places of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will lay waste the house of Jer-o-bo'am with the wall.

Amos and Amaziah

10 Then Am-a-zi'-ah the priest sent to Jer-o-bo'am king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee, and he will deliver up the land to the king of Assyria: for he is not able to bear all his work.

11 For thus Amos saith, I will die by the sword, and ye will surely be led away captive out of your own land.

12 Also Am-a-zi'-ah said unto

common sense—some would say his military genius—to the winning of the Civil War.

There can be no doubt of Lincoln's deep and sincere devotion to the cause of personal freedom. Before his election to the presidency he had spoken often and eloquently on the subject. In 1854, for example, he said he hated the Douglas attitude of indifference toward the possible spread of slavery to new areas. "I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself," he declared. "I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites. . . ." In 1855, writing to his friend Joshua Speed, he recalled a steamboat trip the two had taken on the Ohio River 14 years earlier. "You may remember, as I well do," he said, "that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were, on board, ten or a dozen slaves, shackled together with irons. That sight was a continual torment to me; and I see something like it every time I touch the Ohio, or any other slave-border."

Yet, as president, Lincoln was at first reluctant to adopt an abolitionist policy. There were several reasons for his hesitancy. He had been elected on a platform pledging no interference with slavery within the states, and in any case he doubted the constitutionality of federal action under the circumstances. He was concerned about the possible difficulties of incorporating nearly 4,000,000 Negroes, once they had been freed, into the nation's social and political life. Above all, he felt that he must hold the border slave states in the Union, and he feared that an abolitionist program might impel them, in particular his native Kentucky, toward the Confederacy. So he held back while others went ahead. When Gen. John C. Frémont and Gen. David Hunter, within their respective military departments, proclaimed freedom for the slaves of disloyal masters, Lincoln revoked the proclamations. When Congress passed confiscation acts (in 1861 and 1862), he refrained from a full enforcement of the provisions authorizing him to seize slave property. And when Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* appealed to him to enforce these laws, Lincoln patiently replied (Aug. 22, 1862):

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

Meanwhile, in response to the rising antislavery sentiment, Lincoln came forth with an emancipation plan of his own. According to his proposal, the slaves were to be freed by state action, the slaveowners were to be compensated, the federal government was to share the financial burden, the emancipation process was to be gradual, and the freedmen were to be colonized abroad. Congress indicated its willingness to vote the necessary funds for the Lincoln plan, but none of the border slave states were willing to launch it, and in any case few Negro leaders desired to see their people sent abroad.

While still hoping for the eventual success of his gradual plan, Lincoln took a quite different step by issuing his preliminary (Sept. 22, 1862) and his final (Jan. 1, 1863) Emancipation Proclamation. This famous decree, which he justified as an exercise of the president's war powers, applied only to those parts of the country actually under Confederate control, not to the loyal slave states nor to the Federally occupied areas of the Confederacy. Directly or indirectly the proclamation brought freedom during the war to fewer than 200,000 slaves. Yet it had great significance as a symbol. It indicated that the Lincoln government had added freedom to reunion as a war aim, and it attracted liberal opinion in England and Europe to increased support of the Union cause.

Lincoln himself doubted the constitutionality of his step, except as a temporary war measure. After the war the slaves freed by the proclamation would have risked re-enslavement, had nothing else been done to confirm their liberty. Something else was done: the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, and Lincoln played a

large part in bringing about this change in the fundamental law. Through the chairman of the Republican National Committee he urged the party to include a plank for such an amendment in its platform of 1864. The plank, as adopted, stated that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, that the President's proclamation had aimed "a death blow at this gigantic evil," and that a constitutional amendment was necessary to "terminate and forever prohibit" it. When Lincoln was re-elected on this platform and the Republican majority in Congress was increased, he was justified in feeling, as he apparently did, that he had a mandate from the people for the Thirteenth Amendment. The newly chosen Congress, with its overwhelming Republican majority, was not to meet until after the lame duck session of the old Congress during the winter of 1864-65. Lincoln did not wait. Using his resources of patronage and persuasion upon certain of the Democrats, he managed to get the necessary two-thirds vote before the session's end. He rejoiced as the amendment went out to the states for ratification, and he rejoiced again and again as his own Illinois led off and other states followed one by one in acting favourably upon it. (He did not live to rejoice in its ultimate adoption.)

Lincoln deserves his reputation as the Great Emancipator. His claim to that honour, if it rests uncertainly upon his famous proclamation, has a sound basis in the support he gave to the antislavery amendment. It is well founded also in his greatness as the war leader who carried the nation safely through the four-year struggle that brought freedom in its train. And, finally, it is strengthened by the practical demonstrations he gave of respect for human worth and dignity, regardless of colour. During the last two years of his life he welcomed Negroes as visitors and friends in a way no president had done before. One of his friends was the distinguished former slave Frederick Douglass. Afterward Douglass wrote: "In all my interviews with Mr. Lincoln I was impressed with his entire freedom from prejudice against the colored race."

To win the war, President Lincoln had to have popular support. The reunion of North and South required, first of all, a certain degree of unity in the North. But the North contained various groups with special interests of their own. Lincoln faced the task of attracting to his administration the support of as many divergent groups and individuals as possible. So he gave much of his time and attention to politics, which in one of its aspects is the art of attracting such support. Fortunately for the Union cause, he was a president with rare political skill. He had the knack of appealing to fellow politicians and talking to them in their own language. He had a talent for smoothing over personal differences and holding the loyalty of men antagonistic to one another. Inheriting the spoils system, he made good use of it, disposing of government jobs in such a way as to strengthen his administration and further its official aims.

The opposition party remained alive and strong. Its membership included war Democrats and peace Democrats, often called "Copperheads," a few of whom collaborated with the enemy. Lincoln did what he could to cultivate the assistance of the war Democrats, as in securing from Congress the timely approval of the Thirteenth Amendment. So far as feasible, he conciliated the peace Democrats. He gave heed to the complaints of one of them, Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York, in regard to the draft quota for that state. He commuted the prison sentence of another, Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, to banishment within the Confederate lines. In dealing with persons suspected of treasonable intent, Lincoln at times authorized his generals to make arbitrary arrests. He justified this action on the ground that he had to allow some temporary sacrifice of parts of the Constitution in order to maintain the Union and thus preserve the Constitution as a whole. He let his generals suspend several newspapers, but only for short periods, and he promptly revoked a military order suppressing the hostile *Chicago Times*. In a letter to one of his generals he expressed his policy thus:

You will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the

Wartime politics

Guard
Tin

Thin

DOUG GAMBLE

March 21/90

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
2 Pages

MICHIGAN FUNDRAISER (Curt Smith)

MICHIGAN PRODUCED THIS YEAR'S MISS USA -- AND IN KEITH BUTLER, DETROIT HAS MR. G.O.P.

LIKE BASKETBALL FANS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, I MARVEL AT THE WIZARDRY OF YOUR WORLD CHAMPION PISTONS. ABOUT THE ONLY THING HIGHER THAN SOME OF THE SCORES THEY'VE RUN UP THIS SEASON ARE MICHIGAN'S PROPERTY TAXES.

WELL, IT LOOKS LIKE WE'LL GET TO THROW OUT THE FIRST BALL IN APRIL AFTERALL, AND THEN IN NOVEMBER WE'LL THROW OUT A FEW DEMOCRATS.

I THINK IT WAS THE NIGHT OF MARCH 18TH WHEN A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BASEBALL OWNERS PHONED SPARKY ANDERSON AND SAID "SPARKY, I'M AFRAID I HAVE BAD NEWS FOR YOU ABOUT THE SEASON. THERE'S GOING TO BE ONE."

SPARKY HAS SOMETHING IN COMMON WITH REPUBLICANS IN MICHIGAN. WE HAVE OUR WORK CUT OUT FOR US.

I THOUGHT THE TIGERS WERE IN FOR A HECK OF A SEASON WHEN I HEARD THEY GOT BO, BUT IT TURNED OUT TO BE SCHEMBECHLER, NOT JACKSON.

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - MICHIGAN GOP (CONT'D)

ACTUALLY, BO SCHEMBECHLER COULD MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE TO THE TIGERS. THEY MIGHT BE THE FIRST TEAM IN BASEBALL HISTORY TO RUN THE QUARTERBACK OPTION PLAY WITH THE BASES LOADED.

A COUPLE OF TIGERS FANS WERE ARGUING ABOUT BASEBALL, AND ONE OF THEM FINALLY GOT EXASPERATED AND SAID "OH GOD." THE OTHER GUY SAID "LET'S LEAVE ERNIE HARWELL OUT OF THIS."

I HEAR THE ONE TEAM THE DETROIT LIONS LOOK FORWARD TO ^{PLAYING} ~~BEATING~~ IS THE NEW ORLEANS SAINTS, BECAUSE THE LIONS HAVE TRADITIONALLY DONE WELL AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

GIVING REAPPORTIONMENT POWER TO THE DEMOCRATS WOULD CREATE AN ELECTORAL FREDDY KRUGER. THEY WOULDN'T ~~JUST~~ JUST RE-ARRANGE THE MAP, THEY'D SLASH IT TO PIECES.



Julian Bond escorts Ethel Kennedy, widow of Robert Kennedy; and John Seigenthaler, publisher and editor of the Tennessean newspaper, around the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery.



Martin Luther King III says his father would be proud of the memorial. Chris McNair (c), whose daughter Denise was killed in a church bombing in Birmingham, addresses audience. At right, Myrlie Evers chats with Georgia Rep. John Lewis.

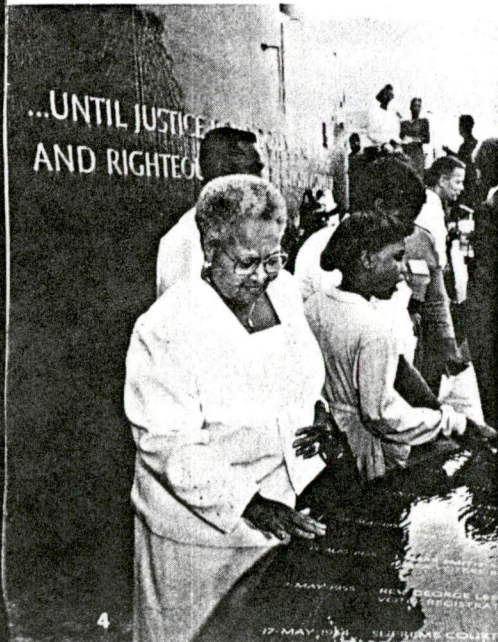
...tive's home. He was shot in the head, his eye was gouged and a 75-pound cotton gin wheel was tied around his neck. Though two White men admitted kidnapping the teen-ager, an all-White jury took about an hour to acquit them of the murder.

Today, Till's name, along with 39 others who died during the Civil Rights Movement, is engraved in granite at a new civil rights memorial. The memorial, recently dedicated in Montgomery, Ala., will be a standing reminder "for the world to see that Emmett's death was not just one of those things," says Mrs. Mamie Till Mobley.

Martin Luther King III, whose father's name is the most celebrated of those etched in the monument, told JET the memorial, which stands in a plaza outside the Southern Poverty Law Center, represents an "opportunity to expose generations yet unborn to a sense and part of our history

that is not taught in our schools. "My father would be equally proud of this," said King, standing in front of a nine-foot-high black granite slab wall with water flowing over Dr. King's words: "Until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

Maya Lin designed the Memorial. Morris Dees conceived the idea.



Set
Nov. 20 '89
pp. 4-5*

Dedicate Memorial To 40 Who Died In Civil Rights Struggle

Text and Photos
By D. MICHAEL CHEERS

Thirty-four years ago when 14-year-old Emmett Till was brutally murdered in Money, Miss., for speaking to a White woman, his death was seen in the Old South as "just one of those things," says his mother. The Chicago youth's bludgeoned body was found at the bottom of the Tallahatchie River, several days after he was abducted from a rela-

Mamie Till Mobley views son's name on the memorial.



Cousins Tyrone Green and James Lawwers (r) attended the memorial. Lawwers is the grandson of Viola Gregg Liuzzo.

Dees First Envisioned Memorial

"But he would also challenge us to move to create what he called 'the beloved community.' A community where racism did not exist, where sexism did not exist. But where decent housing, decent education, and a decent job was provided for all of our children. That was the thrust of his campaign right before he died," King added.

The memorial was the brain-child of Morris Dees, executive director of the Southern Poverty Law Center, who realized that many of the lesser known people who died in the Civil Rights Movement were still unknown to

Rosa Parks, the mother of the Movement attended the ceremonies.

many people. "The memorial was built not only to honor the martyrs of the Civil Rights Movement, but also to help young people feel something of the impact these lives made on the history of our country," Dees said.

The \$700,000 memorial was designed by Maya Lin, who also designed the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Julian Bond, who delivered the unveiling address before a crowd of several thousand people, including about 500 family members and friends of the slain, found irony that the memorial's resting place is Montgomery. "This is the cradle of the Confederacy," Bond said. "We're two blocks from where Jefferson Davis took the oath of office, two blocks from where the telegraph was sent starting the Civil War, five blocks from where Rosa Parks got on the bus and two blocks from where Dr. King first pastored."

For Myrlie Evers and her family, attending the ceremonies was particularly difficult because of the move to reopen the investiga-

(Continued on page 15)



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Forty Freedom Fighters Honored By The Memorial

The Civil Rights Memorial unveiled in Montgomery, Ala., commemorates the achievements of the civil rights era and honors those who died during that struggle.

Rev. George Lee (1903-1955)—Minister killed May 7, 1955, by gunfire from a passing car for leading a voter registration drive in Belzoni, Miss.

Lamar Smith (1892-1955)—Community leader shot in broad daylight while crowd watched, Aug. 13, 1955. Had organized black voters in Brookhaven, Miss.

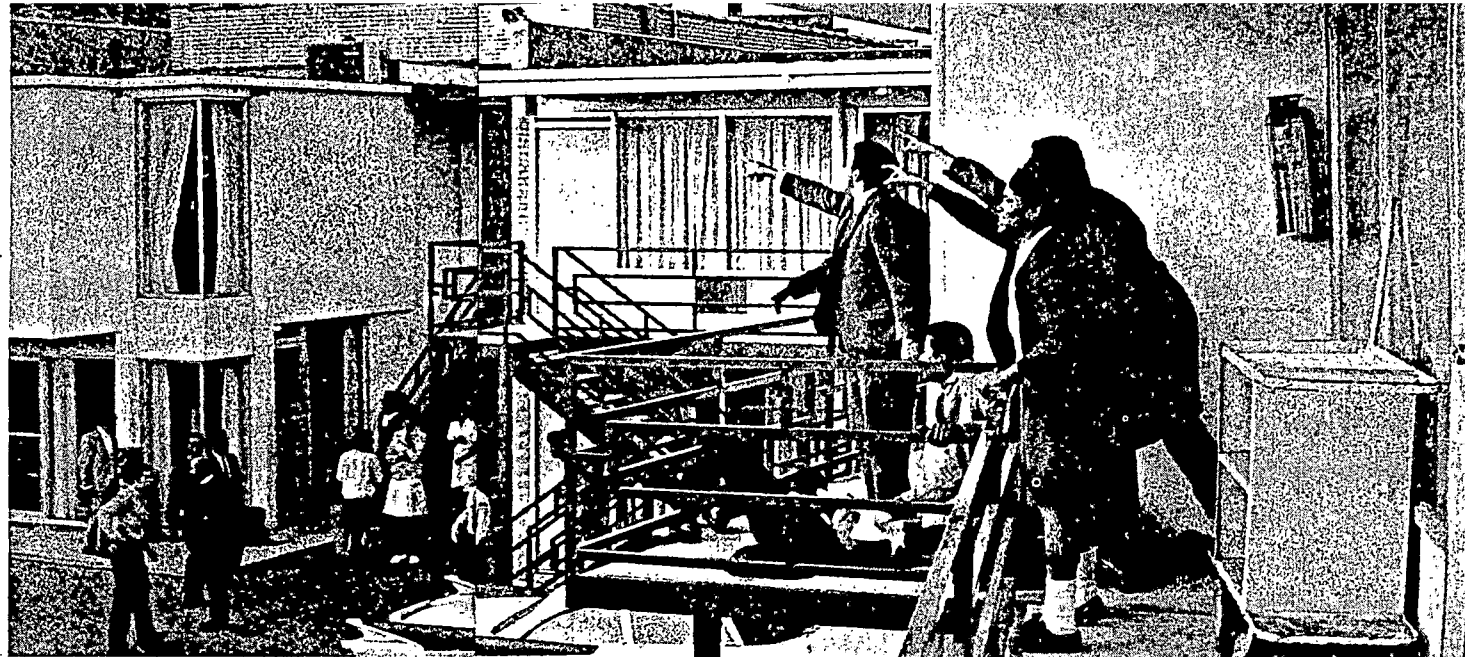
Emmett Louis Till (1941-1955)—Chicago 14-year-old beaten to death for talking to a white woman in Money, Miss., Aug. 28, 1955.

John Earl Reese (1939-1955)—Mayflower, Texas, teen slain Oct. 22, 1955, in a raid by nightriders opposed to black school improvements.

Willie Edwards Jr. (1932-1957)—Truck driver killed Jan. 23, 1967, by Ku Klux Klan in retaliation for Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

Mack Charles Parker (1936-1959)—Awaiting trial when dragged from Poplarville, Miss., jail and lynched by eight masked white men on April 25, 1959.

Among the first to die during civil rights struggle were (l-r) Rev. George Lee, Lamar Smith, Medgar Evers and Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn.



Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. lies mortally wounded on balcony of Lorraine Motel in Memphis as Andrew Young and others point in direction where shot was fired. King is honored in Civil Rights Memorial.

Herbert Lee (1912-1961)—Voter registration worker shot in head Sept. 25, 1961, by white Mississippi state legislator in Liberty, Miss.

Cpl. Roman Ducksworth Jr. (1934-1962)—Black soldier pulled from bus and killed by policeman in Taylorsville, Miss., on April 9, 1962.

Paul Gulhard (1932-1962)—European journalist killed Sept. 30, 1962, while covering James Meredith's enrollment at the University of Mississippi in Oxford.

William Lewis Moore (1927-1963)—White activist slain by gunfire April 23, 1963, in Attala, Ala., during march against segregation.

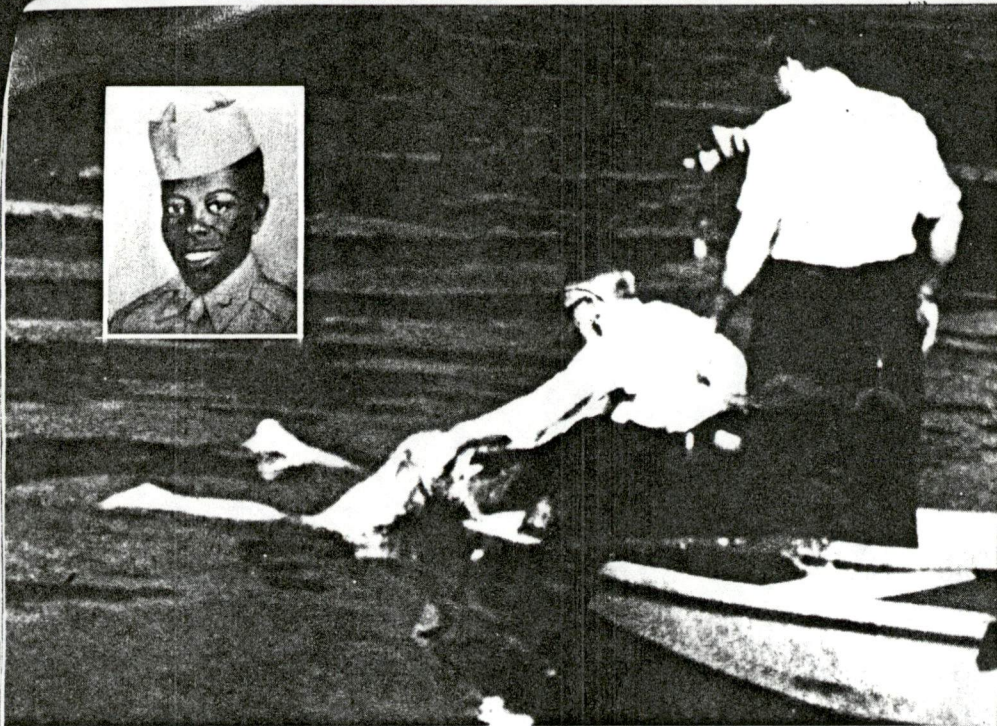
Medgar Evers (1925-1963)—Civil rights leader assassinated in driveway of Jackson, Miss., home on June 12, 1963.

Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson,

Also honored by the Memorial are schoolgirls killed in Birmingham church bombing (l-r) Carol Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, Addie Mae Collins and Cynthia Wesley.

Carol Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, Addie Mae Collins and Cynthia Wesley.





Officials pull the body of Mack Charles Parker (inset) out of the Pearl River after he was lynched by eight White men in Mississippi.

Fallen Fighters Memorialized

Cynthia Wesley (1949-1963), **Denise McNair** (1951-1963)—Schoolgirls killed Sept. 15, 1963, in bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church in **Birmingham, Ala.**

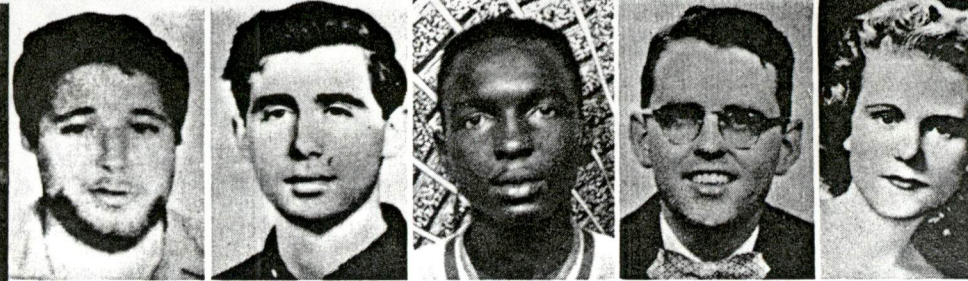
Virgil Lamar Ware (1949-1963)—13-year-old shot while riding bicycle during wave of racist violence in **Birmingham, Ala.**, Sept. 15, 1963.

Louis Allen (1919-1964)—Witness to civil rights worker Herbert Lee's murder assassinated Jan. 31, 1964, in **Liberty, Miss.**

Rev. Bruce Klunder (1937-1964)—White minister run over by bulldozer while protesting construction of segregated school in **Cleveland** April 7, 1964.

Henry Hezekiah Dee (1945-1964), **Charles Eddie Moore** (1944-1964)—Beaten and thrown into Mississippi River by Klan on May 2, 1964, near **Meadville, Miss.**

Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of Emmett Till, views the remains of son. Till was beaten to death.



Others memorialized are (l-r) Michael Henry Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, James Earl Chaney, Rev. James Reeb and Viola Gregg Liuzzo.

James Chaney, Andrew Goodman (1943-1964), **Michael Schwerner** (1939-1964)—Civil rights workers abducted and slain by Klan in **Philadelphia, Miss.**, on June 21, 1964.

Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn (1915-1964)—Army reservist and Washington, D.C., educator killed by Klan while driving north near **Colbert, Ga.**, on July 11, 1964.

Jimmie Lee Jackson (1938-1965)—Civil rights marcher killed by state trooper on Feb. 26, 1965, in **Marion, Ala.**

Rev. James Reeb (1927-1965)—Northern white minister beaten to death March 11, 1965, during **Selma, Ala.**, civil rights march.

Viola Gregg Liuzzo (1925-1965)—White volunteer killed by Klan March 25, 1965, while transporting marchers on **Selma, Ala.**, highway.

Oneal Moore (1931-1965)—Black sheriff's deputy hit by gunfire from nightriders, in **Varnado, La.**, June 2, 1965.

Willie Wallace Brewster (1926-1965)—Factory worker killed by nightriders in **Aniston, Ala.**, on July 18, 1965.

Jonathan Daniels (1939-1965)—White Boston seminary student shot by deputy sheriff in **Hayneville, Ala.**, while working for civil rights, Aug. 20, 1965.

Samuel Younge Jr. (1944-1966)—Student civil rights activist killed Jan. 3, 1966, in dispute over whites-only restroom in **Tuskegee, Ala.**

Vernon Dahmer (1908—1966)—Black community leader killed Jan. 10, 1966, in Klan bombing in **Hattiesburg, Miss.**

Ben Chester White (1899-1966)—Black caretaker chosen at random and shot to death by Klan in **Natchez, Miss.**, on June 10, 1966.

Clarence Triggs (1942-1966)—Civil rights marcher slain by nightriders in **Bogalusa, La.**, on July 30, 1966.

Wharlest Jackson (1929-1967)—**Natchez, Miss.**, civil rights leader killed by truck bomb Feb. 27, 1967, after promotion to "white" job.

Benjamin Brown (1945-1967)—Civil rights worker killed when **Jackson, Miss.**, police fired on a group of protesters on May 12, 1967.

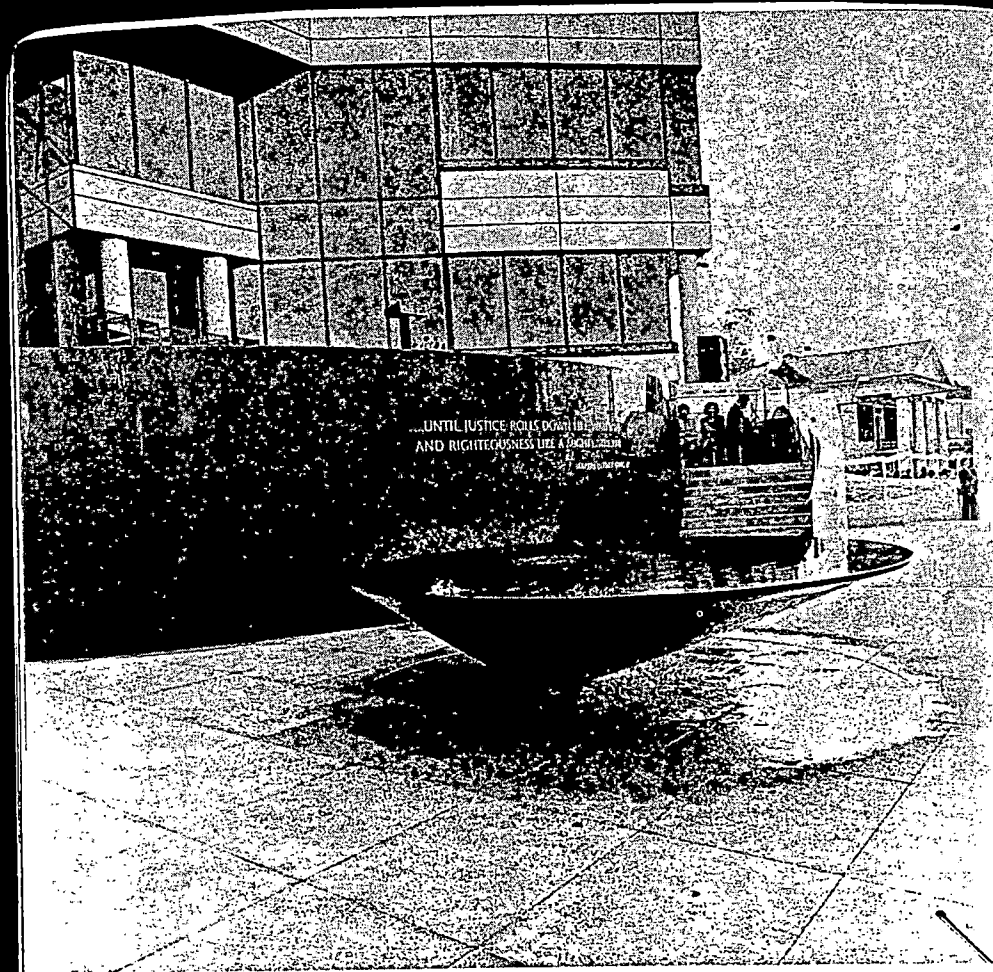
Samuel Hammond Jr. (1949-1968), **Delano Middleton** (1950-1968), **Henry Smith** (1948-1968)—Students killed Feb. 8, 1968 when highway patrolmen fired on protesters in **Orangeburg, S.C.**

Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968)—Civil rights movement leader assassinated in **Memphis, Tenn.**, April 4, 1968.

(Continued from page 8)

tion into the 1963 assassination of Medgar Evers, the first NAACP field secretary in Mississippi (JET, Nov. 13). "We've shared

some anger and some tears," Mrs. Evers said. "But seeing this memorial is a step forward in having Medgar recognized in contribution and deed along with the



The striking \$700,000 memorial sits on a plaza in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala.

Bond Cited Irony In Memorial Being Located In Montgomery

other heroes and heroines of the Movement. It's important that the history of the Civil Rights Movement be kept alive along with the memories of the known and unknown contributors of the Movement."

Walking around the memorial's waterfall, Rufus Lewis, Mark Gilmore and Joseph Dickinson

gazed wistfully at the structure, recalled by gone days and solemnly reflected on the period of history symbolized by the new memorial. "Our names could very well be on this monument," Dickinson said. "We were doing voter registration before Dr. King came to Montgomery. We were fortunate that someone did not kill us."

with bloodshed just outside Selma, Ala. President Johnson then went before Congress to make an impassioned plea for a voting-rights law, and Congress responded with the act of August 6, which permitted federal examiners to register blacks under certain circumstances. The salutary effect of the measure was undeniable; by the summer of 1967 more than half of the eligible blacks had been registered in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina.

To the casual observer, black Americans seemed closer to achieving equal rights than ever before. Then violence erupted again.

Violence and Fragmentation of the Movement. In the Watts (black) section of Los Angeles, an outburst of rioting between Aug. 11 and 15, 1965, resulted in 34 deaths, more than 1,000 injuries, about 4,000 arrests, and \$40 million in property damage. The riot was born of frustration that seemed rooted in urban ghetto conditions: high unemployment, stalling of poverty programs, miserable housing, exploitation by business establishments, ill health, lack of hope, and insufficient efforts to channel frustration into nonviolent directions.

To unskilled and poverty-stricken blacks the various provisions of the 1964 act were a mockery. Such blacks had no training that would enable them to share in a booming technological economy. Many were disheartened and frustrated by the slow results of nonviolence and social disorder; a large number were alienated from the values of middle-class America; communication between them and constituted authorities as well as with civil-rights leaders was poor.

A serious division among civil-rights organizations began to appear in 1966. In May a shake-up in SNCC resulted in the replacement of John Lewis as chairman by the more radical Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael sanctioned retaliatory violence as a legitimate weapon. One month later, James Meredith was shot and wounded while leading a "March Against Fear" in Mississippi. Carmichael, one of the leaders who then took up the march, began to talk of Black Power; he repudiated integration and directed more and more of his appeal to the masses in the ghettos. Many members of both races withdrew from the organization. SNCC gained some ideological identification with the Black Muslims, and Black Power seemed to move toward Black Nationalism. Burning, destruction, rioting, and guerrilla tactics were freely spoken of by Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, who succeeded him in 1967.

CORE, under the national chairmanship of Floyd B. McKissick, had become less conservative. In 1967 it made the first significant move toward becoming the unifying group for activist black organizations when it eliminated "multiracial" from its membership description. McKissick considered the civil-rights movement dead and the "black revolution" under way.

Efforts by King to end discrimination in housing and employment in Chicago through mass demonstrations and marches were unsuccessful in 1966. The SCLC leader found himself caught between the new legalism of NAACP and the growing radicalism of CORE and SNCC. His nonviolent philosophy and intellectualism impaired his chances of becoming a leader of the most alienated elements within the ghettos.

The more militant elements within the black community seemed close to a philosophy of ni-

hilism in the summer of 1967. Registering voters, desegregating lunch counters, and finding a few jobs for blacks had not made significant headway toward curing the ills of the cities. A summer of rioting in Newark, Detroit, and 30 other cities left nearly 100 persons dead and more than 2,000 others injured.

President Johnson appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, with Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner as chairman, to investigate the riots. On March 2, 1968, the commission reported that unemployment and underemployment constituted the most serious grievances, and that unfulfilled hopes and defiance of law helped create a climate that encouraged violence, but that white racism must bear the chief blame for the conditions that sparked riots. The commission denied the conspiracy theory of the riots and cited the strong desire of blacks for a cultural identity within a white society. It warned, however, of a trend toward the creation of two societies. The commission recommended sweeping programs for housing, job creation and training, education, and welfare. The proposals reflected the shifting of focus from guaranteeing rights to an assault on economic barriers.

Dr. King's Death and Its Impact. The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, touched off new rioting in at least 46 cities. On April 11, President Johnson signed a measure providing penalties for those who attempt to interfere with an individual's exercise of civil rights and for those who use interstate and foreign commerce to incite, organize, participate in, or further a riot. The act forbade discrimination in most housing, but this provision was made obsolete in June. The Supreme Court, citing the 1866 Civil Rights Act, prohibited discrimination in the rental and sale of all housing.

Another act, signed on Aug. 1, 1968, authorized the construction or rehabilitation of more than 1.7 million housing units within three years. Federal subsidies would greatly reduce both rental and purchase costs.

The National Urban League took steps to help ghetto residents organize, choose leaders, identify grievances, and work out means of compelling merchants, city officials, and others to take corrective action. The emphasis on self-determination, pride, and self-respect indicated disillusionment with tactics that had led to violence. CORE was shaken in 1968 by dissension between advocates of reform and revolution.

Challenges and Change. The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy succeeded King as president of SCLC and led the Poor People's Campaign that King had conceived. But a two-month encampment in Washington and marches on government offices failed to achieve ill-defined goals. Issues had changed, and the old strategies seemed less effective. However, a strike by sanitation workers in Memphis, Tenn., achieved employee demands. For the first time, in such a confrontation, city officials faced an effective coalition of labor, civil rights, and religious groups.

Dubious of Richard Nixon's commitment to civil rights, blacks overwhelmingly supported Hubert Humphrey for president in 1968. Charges of a "Southern strategy" appealing to whites gained credence when in 1969 the Nixon administration sought to delay integration of certain Southern school districts. Nearly 35% of Southern black students attended desegregated schools by 1970, but tempers flared in both the

NAACP FUNDRAISING
WALDORF, NEW YORK
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1989
8:00 P.M.

THANK YOU, BEN, FOR THAT GRACIOUS INTRODUCTION.

SECRETARY SULLIVAN, GINGER, JOHN AND PATRICIA
KLUGE ((KLU-GEE)), BEN AND FRANCES HOOK, MAYOR-TO-BE
DAVID DINKINS, GOVERNOR-ELECT DOUG WILDER,
CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR VICTORIES. STEVIE WONDER, THE
DUKE ELLINGTON BAND, THANK YOU FOR THE TUNES. NEW YORK
AT CHRISTMASTIME HAS A CERTAIN MAGIC -- ESPECIALLY
DECKED OUT IN ITS FINEST MIRACLE ON 34TH STREET LOOK.

((YOU KNOW, FOR TWO YEARS, WHEN I WAS AMBASSADOR
TO THE UNITED NATIONS, BARBARA AND I LIVED IN THIS VERY
HOTEL, IN ROOM 42 A. AND WHENEVER I COMPLAINED ABOUT
ANYTHING, BARBARA WOULD JUST ROLL HER EYES AND SAY:
"JUST WHERE DO YOU THINK WE LIVE? THE WALDORF
ASTORIA?"))\

THIS IS A TIME WHEN AMERICANS FROM DIFFERENT PROFESSIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES CAN CELEBRATE COMMON IDEALS. NOWHERE ARE THESE IDEALS MORE VISIBLE THAN IN THE COMMITMENT AND SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THIS GREAT ASSOCIATION. SINCE THE EARLY DAYS OF THE NIAGARA MOVEMENT, FOR EIGHTY YEARS, THE NAACP HAS PROVIDED LEADERSHIP -- NOT JUST FOR ONE PEOPLE WITHIN AMERICA -- BUT FOR ALL OF AMERICA.\

YOUR LEADERSHIP WAS BORN OF TROUBLED TIMES, AND SHARPENED BY ADVERSITY. YOU'VE KNOWN PERSECUTION, AND THROUGH IT, YOU GAINED COMPASSION. YOU'VE BEEN WITHOUT POWER, AND THROUGH IT, YOU WON EMPOWERMENT. YOU'VE SUFFERED THE IGNORANCE AND BIGOTRY OF SMALL MINDS, AND INSTEAD, YOU BUILT PRIDE AND RESPECT.\

GO TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, TODAY. STAND BEFORE THE GRANITE WALL OF THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS MEMORIAL. AND THROUGH A VEIL OF FLOWING WATER YOU WILL READ THESE WORDS FROM THE BIBLE: ". . . LET JUDGMENT RUN DOWN AS WATERS, AND RIGHTEOUSNESS AS A MIGHTY STREAM."\\

LIKE A MIGHTY RIVER, JUSTICE CAN CUT A CHANNEL THROUGH THE HARDEST OF STONE. LIKE A MIGHTY RIVER SEEKING THE SEA, JUSTICE WILL, IN THE END, FIND FULFILLMENT. IT HAS BEEN SLOW IN COMING. IT HAS BEEN IMPEDED. BUT ITS JOURNEY IS INEXORABLE BECAUSE JUSTICE CANNOT BE DENIED.\ \

ON NOVEMBER 17, I MET WITH BEN AND THE LEADERS OF THE BLACK LEADERSHIP COUNCIL. YOU CHALLENGED ME WITH THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF YOUR MOVEMENT. NOW LET ME CHALLENGE YOU TO WORK WITH OUR ADMINISTRATION, FROM THIS DAY FORWARD, ON A CAMPAIGN TO BUILD A BETTER AMERICA.\ \

I SEEK A NEW PARTNERSHIP, ONE THAT DRAWS INSPIRATION FROM ACHIEVEMENTS BOTH HOME AND ABROAD -- I SPEAK OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS. FOR AFTER ALL, FROM THE COUNTRY ROADS OF SELMA TWENTY YEARS AGO TO THE CITY STREETS OF EASTERN EUROPE TODAY, A COMMON REFRAIN ECHOES THROUGH THE HISTORY OF OUR TIMES: "WE SHALL OVERCOME." HAS THE WORLD KNOWN MORE IMPROBABLE HEROES THAN ROSA PARKS AND LECH WALESZA? BUT HEROES THEY ARE.

SO LET US EMULATE THEM BY WORKING TOGETHER. FOR IN SOLIDARITY, WE CAN REASONABLY HOPE THAT WE WILL FINALLY ATTAIN THE FONDEST DREAM OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE NAACP -- A SOCIETY BLIND TO BIGOTRY, A SOCIETY OPEN TO ALL.\

THE FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT -- A MISSION THAT HAS SEEN GREAT SUCCESS, BUT A MISSION THAT HAS YET TO BE COMPLETELY FULFILLED. WE KNOW THAT PREJUDICE AND RACIAL TENSIONS STILL EXIST IN AMERICA. THAT IS WHY I SUPPORT, AND INTEND TO SIGN INTO LAW, A MEASURE TO COLLECT AS MUCH INFORMATION AS WE CAN ON CRIMES MOTIVATED BY RELIGIOUS, RACIAL OR ETHNIC ANIMOSITY -- THE HATE CRIMES BILL.

AND THAT IS WHY I WORKED WITH THE CONGRESS IN A BIPARTISAN EFFORT TO REAUTHORIZE THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS.\ I WILL APPOINT TO THAT COMMISSION MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, AND FIGHT FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS.\ YOU HAVE MY WORD ON IT.

$$\begin{array}{r} 29280 \\ \hline 240 \\ 240 \\ 240 \\ 240 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 2400 \\ \hline 480 \\ \hline 2880 \end{array}$$

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$$\begin{array}{r} 4700 \\ \hline 29280 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 80 \\ \hline 55 \\ \hline 135 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned} 1\% &= 800 \\ 3\% &= 2400 \\ 10\% &= 8000 \\ 33\% &= 24000 \\ 33\% &= 28800 \end{aligned}$$

80,000

$$\begin{array}{r} 1400 \\ \hline 1217000 \\ \hline 1400 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 47000 \\ \hline 38000 \\ \hline 85000 \end{array}$$

~~scribble~~

~~scribble~~

AS
BUT THERE ARE OTHER MISSIONS FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE 1990's. FROM NOW ON, THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS MUST ALSO MEAN THE REMOVAL OF ALL BARRIERS TO OPPORTUNITY. OF COURSE, WE CAN BE THANKFUL THAT MANY BLACK AMERICANS ENJOYED ENORMOUS EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME GAINS DURING THE 1980's. BUT THERE ARE FORMS OF POVERTY THAT CANNOT BE MEASURED OR SOLVED BY DOLLARS ALONE.

FIRST AND FOREMOST -- THERE IS A POVERTY OF THE SPIRIT. GOVERNMENT CAN'T TEACH YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO HAVE FAITH IN THEMSELVES IF THEIR MOTHERS AND FATHERS HAVE LOST ALL FAITH. GOVERNMENT CAN'T TEACH THAT ACHIEVEMENT IS TO BE FOUND IN QUIET MOMENTS AND SUBTLE REWARDS, INSTEAD OF THE MURDEROUS MATERIALISM OF EASY DRUG MONEY. BUT, IN A NEW SOLIDARITY, WE CAN INSTILL THESE VALUES. WE CAN CULTIVATE CHARACTER -- AS LEADERS, AS PARENTS, AS TEACHERS, AS COMMUNITIES WORKING WITH OUR CHURCHES.

AND THERE ARE OTHER FORMS OF POVERTY. WHEN PEOPLE, GOING ABOUT THE ORDINARY BUSINESS OF THEIR LIVES -- WAITING FOR A BUS, WALKING TO A CORNER GROCERY STORE -- MUST FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES -- THEN FEAR HAS STOLEN A MOST PRECIOUS POSSESSION -- FREEDOM. LAST WEEK, IN HOUSTON, I SAW SUCH A COMMUNITY WHEN I REVISITED THE DISTRICT I REPRESENTED AS A CONGRESSMAN. I ALSO SAW A COMMUNITY THAT HAD ENOUGH OF FEAR, HAD ENOUGH OF CRIME, HAD ENOUGH OF DOPE. YOU AND I MUST MARCH WITH THEM, SIDE BY SIDE, BLOCK BY BLOCK, CITY BY CITY.\

THEN THERE IS YET ANOTHER KIND OF POVERTY, A GROWING POVERTY OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS. MANY YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN IN THIS COUNTRY -- WHITE, AS WELL AS BLACK -- ARE SIMPLY NOT LEARNING -- NOT LEARNING -- THE BASIC SKILLS THEY NEED TO HOLD DOWN A JOB OR TO RAISE A FAMILY. THAT IS A NATIONAL DISGRACE.\

TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY TO OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, WE NEED NEW AND INNOVATIVE ECONOMIC TOOLS. THE TRAINING WAGE, JUST PASSED BY CONGRESS, IS ONE SUCH TOOL. BUT WE NEED MORE, MUCH MORE, FROM MERIT PAY, TO MAGNET SCHOOLS, TO MORE EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS TO FIGHT ILLITERACY.

I WISH I COULD GO ON, BECAUSE WHAT IS IN MY HEART IS GREATER THAN MY ABILITY TO VOICE IT TONIGHT. BUT IT ALL COMES DOWN THIS: TO TAKE THE LEAD, YOUNG AMERICANS MUST BE HEALTHY, IN BODY AND MIND. THEY MUST BE READY, IN KNOWLEDGE AND PURPOSE. THEY MUST HAVE OPPORTUNITY. THAT WE MUST PROVIDE THEM. LET US WORK TOGETHER TO DO JUST THAT.

AND FINALLY, AND UNEQUIVOCALLY, THEY MUST BE FREE FROM DISCRIMINATION. I WILL USE MY NOBLE OFFICE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST BIGOTRY AND DISCRIMINATION. \\\

I SPOKE EARLIER OF THE BIBLICAL PROVERB THAT COMPARED RIGHTEOUSNESS TO A MIGHTY STREAM. THIS SAME VISION CAN BE FOUND IN A POEM BY LANGSTON HUGHES, WHO COMPARED THE ODYSSEY OF BLACK MEN AND WOMEN TO THE CROSSING OF MANY RIVERS. AND WITH EACH CROSSING, THEIR SOULS HAVE GROWN DEEP -- DEEP, LIKE THE RIVERS.

THIS ODYSSEY SHAPED THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE, AND BECAUSE OF YOUR LEADERSHIP, IT ALSO SHAPED THE SOUL OF OUR NATION. GOD BLESS YOU, GOD BLESS AMERICA -- AND MERRY CHRISTMAS TO YOU ALL.

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gress in 1957 signaled its willingness to help effect change by passing its first civil-rights law in more than 80 years. The act dealt rather ineffectively with voting rights.

By 1957 a significant new organization and the most influential civil-rights leader of the decade had emerged. Continued discrimination on the Montgomery, Ala., buses was met by ministerial leadership in the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association, and a successful boycott of the bus lines followed. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was catapulted to the front, and under his leadership the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was organized in Atlanta in 1957. The charismatic King was totally committed to nonviolent direct action that would "create such a crisis and foster such a tension" that a community which had constantly refused to negotiate would be forced to "confront the issue." King, a moderate, stood between the forces of complacency and the forces of hatred and bitterness that were close to advocating violence. His methods were Gandhian but with more emphasis on love of those guilty of injustice. In contrast to Gandhi, King and his followers were members of a minority group; the success of assertive nonviolence thus depended in great measure on the inherent goodwill of the white majority.

The SCLC tactics were adapted from CORE, which under the leadership of James Farmer began to expand rapidly in the late 1950's. But it took a new organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—which King helped organize—to inject a more zealous tone into the movement. Beginning with four students sitting in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., on Feb. 1, 1960, SNCC was formally organized at Shaw University in Raleigh the following April. The sit-ins, which SNCC was designed to coordinate, had already spread throughout the South, and those engaged in this activity were carefully selected and trained to endure all kinds of verbal and physical abuse without resorting to counterattack. The composure of the blue-denimed youth won much sympathy and admiration, and their actions were upheld by the Supreme Court in December 1961.

By that time a stronger civil-rights bill had been passed in 1960. John F. Kennedy—not yet fully committed to civil rights but providing more moral leadership than his predecessor—had become president, and the Freedom Rides had begun in early 1961. Started by CORE, this action to test segregation in bus terminals serving interstate passengers mushroomed when SNCC joined. It reached jail-overflowing proportions when hundreds of volunteers—white and black—reacted to the burning of one bus and the abuse and beating of the occupants of another. More than 600 federal marshals were sent into the area to protect the riders, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund saved CORE from financial disaster by providing bail bonds and counsel. The next summer, CORE successfully conducted its Freedom Highways campaign aimed primarily at desegregating accommodations in restaurant chains.

The summer of 1962 also saw several organizations form the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), which sought to teach blacks in Mississippi what they needed to know to register to vote, to persuade them to try to register, and through orderly procedures to get officials to reg-

ister them. But rebuffs, reprisals, and dilatory tactics prevented significant numbers of blacks from joining the registration rolls.

Sit-ins, wade-ins, freedom rides, limited boycotts, demonstrations, marches, and other types of creative disorder were gaining public acceptance and convincing many white persons of the legitimacy and morality of the blacks' demands. But events in highly segregated Birmingham, Ala., in April and May 1963 probably did more than any other single thing to gain widespread public support for the civil-rights movement. Picketings and sit-ins at some stores resulted in the jailing of 2,400 persons. Dogs and fire hoses—by order of Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor—were directed at a large crowd of street demonstrators that included many high school and younger students. The photograph of a police dog leaping at the throat of a schoolboy outraged public sentiment, brought nationwide financial and political support, and fostered increased pressure for action by the federal government.

In June 1963, President Kennedy called for new legislation. More than 200,000 people marched in Detroit to demand immediate steps for equality. The degree of public support for civil rights was best exhibited by the march on Washington, D.C., on Aug. 28, 1963. More than 250,000 persons from all over the nation gathered in almost religious attitude at the Lincoln Memorial and demonstrated by their presence the intensity of the nation's "moral crisis."

Even as such nonviolent tactics received wide public support, white extremists in the South stepped up their reprisals. Medgar Evers, field secretary for the NAACP, was shot to death at his home in Jackson, Miss., on June 12, 1963. On September 15, four black girls were killed in a church bombing in Birmingham. The violence continued in 1964. For their "Mississippi Summer," COFO sent 1,000 students, teachers, and other persons into the state to encourage, train, and sustain blacks in registering and voting. Harassed in every way—even by bombings and beatings—the freedom workers endured much. On June 20 three of them were murdered near Philadelphia, Miss.

Congress Responds. The civil-rights bill had made no material progress in 1963. But then, after President Kennedy's assassination on November 22, President Lyndon Johnson called on Congress to pass his predecessor's legislative program. Administration pressure combined with public indignation finally proved effective. A Senate filibuster was broken, and the "Magna Carta" for black Americans, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was passed and signed into law on July 2. The law forbade discrimination in the use of most public facilities. The government at long last had declared for equality.

A "white backlash" against the civil-rights movement developed during the presidential campaign in 1964. Black leaders closed ranks against Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate, who was the beneficiary of the backlash sentiment. The backlash proved not so strong as many had anticipated, and President Johnson was reelected. But the civil-rights movement seemed to be making little progress. Blacks continued to have great difficulty registering in many places, and the situation in Alabama was especially bad. In March 1965 a march to dramatize the demand for voting rights was halted

LANGSTON HUGHES

The Negro Speaks of Rivers

I've known rivers:
I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human
blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.
I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to
New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the
sunset.

I've known rivers:
Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

Fire

Fire,
Fire, Lord!
Fire gonna burn ma soul!

I ain't been good,
I ain't been clean —
I been stinkin', low-down, mean.

Fire,
Fire, Lord!
Fire gonna burn ma soul!

Tell me, brother,
Do you believe
If you wanta go to heaben
Got to moan an' grieve?

Fire,
Fire, Lord!
Fire gonna burn ma soul!

condemnation of Ephraim

the crown of pride, to the
rds of E'-phra-im, whose glo-
y is a fading flower, which are
of the "fat valleys of them that
e with wine!
Nah. 1:10 • *rich*
the Lord hath a "mighty and
which as a tempest of hail and
storm, as a flood of mighty
lowing, shall cast down to the
he hand. 8:7 • 30:30; Ezek. 13:11

n of pride, the drunkards of
hall be trodden under feet;
glorious beauty, which is on
he fat valley, shall be a fading
is "the "hasty fruit before the
ch when he that looketh upon
it is yet in his hand he eateth
:10; Mic. 7:1; Nah. 3:12 • *first ripe fig*
ay shall the LORD of hosts be
of glory, and for a diadem of
the residue of his people,
spirit of judgment to him that
lgment, and for strength to
n the battle to the gate.

also "have "erred through-
ough strong drink are out of
priest and the prophet have
strong drink, they are swal-
ine, they are out of the way
g drink; they err in vision,
in judgment. Hos. 4:11 • *sinned*
es are full of vomit and filthi-
here is no place clean.

ill he teach knowledge? and
make to understand "doc-
t are weaned from the milk,
n the breasts. v. 26 • *the message*
pt must be upon precept,
recept; line upon line, line
a little, and there a little:

stammering lips and another
speak to this people. *strange*
he said, This is the "rest
ay cause the weary to rest;
refreshing: yet they would
:10; 30:15; Jer. 6:16; Mat. 11:28, 29

ord of the LORD was unto
pon precept, precept upon
on line, line upon line; here
re a little; that they might
ward, and be broken, and
en. order • 8:15; Mat. 21:44

usalem warned

near the word of the LORD,
that rule this people which
29:20 • Ezek. 22:27

have said, We have made

a covenant with death, and with hell are
we at agreement; when the overflowing
scourge shall pass through, it shall not come
unto us: for we have made lies our refuge,
and under falsehood have we hid ourselves:

16 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD, Be-
hold, I lay in Zion for a foundation "a stone,
a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure
foundation: he that believeth shall not
"make haste. 1 Pet. 2:6-8 • *be forced to flee* ★

17 "Judgment also will I lay to the line,
and "righteousness to the plummet: and the
hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies,
and the waters shall overflow the hiding
place. Justice • 5:16; 30:18; 61:8; Amos 7:7-9

18 And your covenant with death shall
be disannulled, and your agreement with
hell shall not stand; when the overflowing
scourge shall pass through, then ye shall
be "trodden down by it. *brought into defeat*

19 From the time that it goeth forth it
shall take you: for morning by morning
shall it pass over, by day and by night:
and it shall be a "vexation only to under-
stand the "report. *sheer terror • message*

20 "For the bed is shorter than that a man
can stretch himself on it: and the "covering
"narrower than that he can wrap himself
in it. Num. 32:23 • *blanket • too small*

21 For the LORD shall rise up as in mount
"Per'-a-zim, he shall be wroth as in the
valley of Gib'-eon, that he may do his
work, his "strange work; and bring to pass
his act, his strange act. 2 Sam. 5:20 • *remarkable*

22 Now therefore be ye not "mockers, lest
your "bands be made strong: for I have
heard from the Lord GOD of hosts "a "con-
sumption, even determined upon the whole
earth. *scoffers • bondage • 10:22; Dan. 9:27 • disaster*

23 Give ye ear, and hear my voice;
"hearken, and hear my speech. Prov. 7:24

24 Doth the "plowman plow all day to
sow? doth he "open and break the clods of
his ground? *farmer • turn and harrow the ground*

25 When he hath made plain the face
thereof, doth he not "cast abroad the "fitches,
and scatter the cummin, and cast in the
principal wheat and the appointed barley
and the "rye in their place? *sow • dill • Amos 1:3*

26 For his God doth "instruct him to dis-
cretion, and doth teach him. Jer. 32:33

27 For the "fitches are not threshed with a
threshing instrument, neither is a cart
wheel turned about upon the "cummin; but
the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and
the cummin with a rod. *dill • Mat. 23:23*

28 Bread "corn is "bruised; because he will
not ever be threshing it, nor break it with
the wheel of his cart, nor "bruise it with his
horsemen. *grain • ground • grind*

29 This also cometh forth from the LORD

of hosts, "which is wonderful in counsel,
and excellent in working. Ps. 92:5; Jer. 32:19

CHAPTER 29

c. 730 B.C.

Ariel and her enemies

WOE to "Ar'-i-el, to Ar'-i-el, the city
where David dwelt! add ye year to
year; let them kill sacrifices. *Jerusalem*

2 Yet I will distress Ar'-i-el, and there
shall be heaviness and sorrow: and it shall
be unto me as "Ar'-i-el. *the lion of God*

3 And I will "camp against thee round
about, and will lay siege against thee with
a "mount, and I will raise forts against
thee. *encamp • towers*

4 And thou shalt be brought down, and
shalt speak out of the ground, and thy
speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy
voice shall be, as of one that hath a famil-
iar spirit, out of the ground, and thy
speech shall whisper out of the dust.

5 Moreover the multitude of thy "stran-
gers "shall be like small dust, and the multi-
tude of the "terrible ones shall be as chaff
that passeth away: yea, it shall be at an
instant suddenly. 25:5 • *foes • impressive persons*

6 "Thou shalt be visited of the LORD of
hosts with thunder, and with earthquake,
and great noise, with storm and tempest,
and the flame of devouring fire. 28:2; 30:30

7 "And the multitude of all the nations
that fight against Ar'-i-el, even all that
fight against her and her "munition, and
that distress her, shall be "as a dream of a
night vision. 37:36 • *military equipment • Job 20:8*

8 "It shall even be as when a hungry
man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but
he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as
when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold,
he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold,
he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so
shall the multitude of all the nations be,
that fight against mount Zion. Ps. 73:20

The blindness of Israel

9 Stay yourselves, and "wonder; "cry ye
out, and cry: they are drunken, but not
with wine; they stagger, but not with
strong drink. *wait • take your pleasure and riot*

10 For the LORD hath poured out upon
you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath
closed your eyes: the prophets and your
"rulers, the seers hath he covered. *leaders*

11 And the vision of all is become unto
you as the words of a book that is sealed,
which men deliver to one that is learned,
saying, Read this, I pray thee: "and he
saith, I cannot; for it is sealed: Dan. 12:4

12 And the book is delivered to him that
is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray
thee: and he saith, I am not learned.

First She Looks Inward

Architect **MAYA LIN'S** Viet Nam memorial proved to be a powerful emotional reminder. Now she has created another

BY JONATHAN COLEMAN

Maya Lin was living on New York City's Lower East Side when she received a call from a man in Louisiana in late February 1988. Edward Ashworth, a member of the board of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery, said he was sorry to disturb her at home but hoped she would seriously consider the reason for his call: he wanted to know if she would be open to the idea of creating a memorial to those who had given their lives in the struggle for civil rights. Since she had designed the much celebrated Viet Nam Veterans Memorial, he was certain that she was the right, perhaps only, person to do this. As with Viet Nam, there had never been such a memorial.

"I had told myself," Lin says, "that I was not going to design any more war memorials, but this wasn't that. The idea sounded interesting, and I told him that it would be fine to send me something."

For Maya Lin, the process of creating the Civil Rights Memorial will not only culminate with its dedication in Montgomery this Sunday but will almost certainly thrust her, against her basic wish that her work speak for itself, into the public eye once more.

Seven years have passed since the Viet Nam memorial was dedicated in Washington. Seven years since the heated, at times ugly, controversy that swirled around the design and its designer seemed to evaporate, in an instant, once the nation could witness for itself the overwhelming effect those two walls of polished black granite have on all who visit them, place flags and flowers beside them and touch the more than 58,000 names inscribed on them.

Lin's deceptively simple design—entry No. 1,026 in a contest she never dreamed she would win—had enabled America not only finally to confront the outcome of the Viet Nam War but also to begin the long process of healing. The memorial made it possible for the country to come together and honor those who had served—those who had died and those who had come home to anything but a hero's welcome. Lin was proud of her achievement,

yet disillusioned by the negative reactions her design had initially elicited ("a black gash of shame," to cite one), by the battles she had to wage to keep the "additions" of a flag and statue far away from the memorial, and by the fact that even her Chinese heritage was maligned. Young (she was a 21-year-old senior at Yale when her design was chosen), by her own admission naive, and secretly terrified that perhaps she had accomplished all she was going to accomplish, she left Washington with a brutal understanding of the incompatibility of politics and art.

Her feeling of terror quickly passed. The short answer to the question "What ever happened to Maya Lin?"—a question that makes her bristle—is that she has been obsessively doing what she likes to do most: she has been working. But what she has done, she has done quietly, as is her nature, shirking the celebrity others might have embraced.

"You really can't function as a celebrity," she says, sitting at her drafting table, where she likes to sketch and talk at the same time. "Entertainers are celebrities. I'm an architect, I'm an artist, I make things. I just love the fact that I can make a work and put it out there and walk away from it and then look at it like everyone else."

Her enthusiasm for that work is infectious. In person, she is shy yet affable, serious but quick to smile, and full of energy; she doesn't so much walk as dart. Her private life, centered on a Bowery loft with the sculptor Peter Boynton and a cat named Sam, is something she guards fiercely. Her black hair, which once extended to her waist, has been cut short for quite some time, and her dark eyes draw you to her with their intensity. She dresses simply—T shirts and sneakers whenever possible—is self-conscious about her youthful appearance (she turned 30 in October, and had looked forward to it for months) and prefers reading a Borges short story to anything that might be on television.

As Lin grew up, one of the subjects she excelled in was mathematics. That skill not only led her toward architecture but also shapes her outlook on work. "If you present me with a problem, and if I like it and think I can work with it, I'll do it." That's an understatement. In point of fact, she finds herself driven to solve it, immediately.

In the seven years since she left Washington, some of which she spent briefly at Harvard and then back at Yale, getting a master's, those "problems" have included the renovation of a Victorian house in Connecticut; the design of a stage set in Philadelphia; a corporate logo for financier Reginald Lewis; an open-air gathering place at Juniata College in Pennsylvania; and, soon, a "playful park" outside the Charlotte Coliseum in North Carolina (using trees shaped like spheres), and for the Long Island Rail Road section of New York's Pennsylvania Station, a glass-block ceiling, featuring fragmented, elliptical rings. In addition, there is her sculpture, which has been part of an exhibit at the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York City. Combining lead (which she loves for its malleability and its "seductive" quality) and broken safety glass, her pieces achieve her goal of being "beautiful but not pretty, strong and tough, yet not intimidating." They are very direct, in the same way she is.

Even though this array of projects suggests an artist who refuses to specialize, who doesn't see limits, who, perhaps most important, doesn't want to be forever catego-

rized as the “designer of the Viet Nam memorial,” her approach to her work is intrinsically the same as it has always been. When she looks at a site, she says, she considers more than the mere physicality of it. She considers the “emotional and psychological context” of the place—the people, the background, the history. Then there is the form itself. “Tactility,” she says suddenly, with such emphasis that it suggests the essence of her perceptions. “Immediate sensations of material. Things are minimal in my vocabulary, so that means *everything* counts. Light counts. Sound counts. Height differences count.

“You don’t see a piece of sculpture without touching it,” she emphasizes. “When I taught a class at Phillips Exeter, I told my students to close their eyes and feel an ob-

poet. Lin’s family in China, which included an architect and a famous lawyer who worked for progressive causes, has been described in Jonathan Spence’s *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980*.

Since she didn’t date, didn’t wear makeup (still doesn’t) and took college classes while still in high school, she didn’t have a typical American adolescence, but says she didn’t care. From childhood on, she could go “for hours and days just playing by myself or reading,” and recalls with pleasure how she would build little towns in her room or beg her father to let her throw a pot, or have spirited games of chess with Tan. “I find it very fun to be thinking all the time, figuring things out. I guess you could say I was somewhat of a nerd,” she laughs.

It wasn’t until she arrived at Yale that she felt she belonged and that her creativity and diligence were fully appreciated. But something happened during her junior year in Denmark to mar that feeling of assimilation. She got on a bus in Copenhagen one day and became acutely aware that people moved away from her. It was the first time in her life that she felt discriminated against.

In ways that he couldn’t have fully imagined, Edward Ashworth found the right person to design the Civil Rights memorial.

When she flew south to Montgomery, the “cradle of the Confederacy,” in May 1988, Lin was excited but apprehensive. The material she had been sent from the law center included videotapes of the PBS series *Eyes on the Prize*, the book that complemented it and a short documentary on the Ku Klux Klan, one of the groups whose activities the SPLC monitors. Before receiving all this, Lin knew very little

about the civil rights movement. She wasn’t even born when Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus in 1955, the arrest that led not only to a yearlong bus boycott but also to the “official” beginning of the nonviolent movement. The first thing she remembered, and not from the time it happened, was an image of Governor George Wallace looming in a doorway at the University of Alabama, unwilling to let any black student enter. The fact that she was neither a participant in the movement nor a well-versed student of it did not prevent her, as it did not prevent her with Viet Nam, from having an intuitive sense of what was needed.

At lunch that day, all she could think about (and all Richard Cohen, the legal director of the center, could recall her talking about) was water. On the flight down, she was particularly struck by a line from Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream” speech, the line, partly borrowed from the Bible, that said, “We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.” It occurred to her that water would be an ideal element for a hot climate, that its calm, soothing



Projects that suggest an artist who refuses to specialize, who doesn't see limits

ject, feel its proportion. Then I would take it away and make them draw it. If you create something unusual, people will take the next step in.”

She pauses, seems lost in thought, then begins again, determined to make her point. “I just don’t think we give enough credit to our public. The Viet Nam memorial was first seen as some sort of elitist statement. It’s like you see it before you really see it. But if you *don’t* have preconceived notions, the presence of the object will touch you in some way, and you’ll be in dialogue with it. I mean, what do you do with people like Tom Wolfe? His fear of modern art is sad. He must have been flogged with a Brancusi somewhere along the way.”

Lin concedes that her artistic vision is “distinctly Asian” in its stark simplicity and virtual requirement to “look inward.” If it, and her almost single-minded devotion to work, can be traced to anything, it is to the close-knit, ascetic world of her family. Her parents fled China just before the Communist takeover in 1949 and eventually settled in Athens, Ohio, where her father, a ceramicist, taught for many years at Ohio University, and where her mother, a poet, still does. Her older brother, Tan, is also a

quality and quiet, constant sound would be perfect for the "contemplative area" she wanted to create in front of the center, a place that would have all the tranquillity of a Japanese garden, a place "to appreciate how far the country has come in its quest for equality and to consider how far it has to go."

What she showed Morris Dees, the SPLC's executive director, and Cohen that day, roughly sketched on a paper napkin, was a slightly curved black granite wall, 8¾ ft. high and 39 ft. long, that would bear part of the King passage. Above it, on what would be the upper plaza, water from a small pool would flow gently down the wall, gently enough that one could easily read the words. To the right of the wall would be a curved set of stairs.

This, she said, was "the universal" element, and she would return with "the specific" to balance it.

When she did, a few weeks later, she brought an unusual-looking model: an asymmetrical black granite disk that would be 11½ ft. in diameter at the top but only 20 in. across its base, an object that from a distance would appear to be floating in air. It would be 2½ ft. high and have water flowing evenly and slowly across its flat surface.

Underneath the water, etched in the stone and looking like points of a sundial, would be the words—the names and the events—that would tell the history of the civil rights era. They begin with 17 MAY 1954 SUPREME COURT OUTLAW SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN BROWN VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION and end with 4 APR 1968 DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. ASSASSINATED MEMPHIS, TN (there will be 53 entries in all, with a conspicuous space before Brown and after King, suggesting the struggle didn't begin with the Brown decision or end with King's death). Anyone, she said—be it someone who had lived through the events or a child who had not—could move around the

piece, putting his hand through the water to touch the words or simply seeing his reflection in the water itself. And by doing so, the person could either remember, or learn for the first time, the history recorded there.

"It's the kind of thing," Lin says, "that requires patience, awareness and added sensitivity. Architecture is like a mythical fantastic. It *has* to be experienced. It can't be described. We can draw it up and we can make models of it, but it can only be experienced as a complete whole. I wanted to put the truth down, just once. Placing it, just once." After all, she asks, "if you don't remember history accurately, how can you learn?"

But in asking that seemingly simple question, she raises a complex issue that will surely not be resolved until the memorial is dedicated, if then: How will the South in general, and Montgomery in particular, feel about this tribute to a painful time? And will Maya Lin find herself and her work surrounded by controversy once more?

"You put that memorial in front of your building, Bubba, and someone is bound to come over and tear it up," Dees was told earlier this year by Calvin Whitesell Sr., an attorney for the city during the Freedom Rides of 1961. "George Wallace once said to me," Whitesell re-

calls, "that the thing that always kept the South down was that the minute the South recovered from the Civil War, they started sending money to the North for bronze statues. We've got a bunch of them here, and I think you'll find that most people don't give a damn about memorials." He sees the real reason for the memorial this way: "A wonderful fund raiser for Morris. He came to Montgomery to do good, and he's done very well."

Dees has heard all this before, and contends that there are people in Montgomery who will never forgive him for successfully filing suit to integrate the city's YMCAs. And while he doesn't rule out the possibility of vandalism (a 1983 fire bombing forced the SPLC's move to its present location), he feels that anything like that would come from outside Montgomery. He feels that way primarily because he believes Montgomery has changed.

"It's like a divorce," he says, sitting in his second-floor office from which can be seen, in the distance, the state capitol at whose steps the historic 1965 march from Selma ended and where the Confederate flag still flies. "For a long time you don't want to talk about it. But after a while the pain is gone; you're able to live with it, discuss it. I think the city is coming around to that now. Montgomery fought the movement at every turn, but I think it can be a very positive, cathartic thing for the city to face up to its past."

One Montgomery resident who agrees with him is Robert Beasley, a black, 75-year-old retired high school principal whose only connection to the memorial is his fear—his fear that without it "much of what happened—the sacrifices that were made—will be forgotten, unless we leave it in stone for generations to see."

As Ken Upchurch, 33, a native of Montgomery whose firm is building the memorial, puts it, "If its purpose is to educate people, it's already worked with me. It's made me aware of a period that I might never have learned about."

And Lin herself, he says, has helped him understand a design that he initially viewed as a contractor's nightmare. Last April, Upchurch finally asked her what he had been meaning to ask for quite some time. He wanted to know how she had come up with it all, curious about the relation of the vast water wall to the low-lying table that will be in front of it, surrounded by a plaza of white granite.

She spoke of aesthetic quality, of "dissimilar elements maintaining equilibrium." She spoke of shapes echoing one another, of objects and concepts coexisting in harmony. "Things can look different," she said softly, "but still be the same."

She might have said people, but didn't. Ken Upchurch understood.

For two weeks now, the memorial has been in place behind the white plywood walls on Washington Avenue. But Lin won't really know if what she envisioned truly works until someone, someone like Calvin Whitesell Sr., can experience it for himself. ■

"I wanted to put the truth down, just once. Placing it, just once . . . If you don't remember history accurately, how can you learn?"

BACKGROUND PAPER
JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

The year was 1968. The Voting Rights Act had recently been passed by Congress; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had been assassinated; and the nation's cities were aflame. Shortly after the fires died down, those protests turned to politics.

In the November 1968 national elections, over 200 blacks were elected to public office. This increase brought the total number of black elected officials to nearly 1,000. By 1970, that number had risen to 1,469.

For many of these elected officials, this was their first encounter with holding a public office. They were in need of resources and assistance in order to meet the responsibilities and demands confronting them. Realizing the need to fill this void, and to further increase black political participation and make black elected officials more effective and influential in the political arena, a group of black leaders, with the backing of the Ford Foundation, founded the Joint Center for Political Studies.

This year, the Center will celebrate its 20th anniversary. Over the years, the Center has become known for its objectivity and unique niche -- providing research and analysis on major public policy issues that affect black Americans, and the nation as a whole.

Joint Center - 1

According to John J. Creedon, chief executive officer of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Since its founding, the Center has pursued its mission, not through an emotional response to inequities, but rather through factual data and solid research."

One of the areas of research, for which it is highly regarded, is political participation. During election years, the Center provides electoral analysis on many of the campaigns taking place across the country. Annually, since 1970, it has published Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, which documents the number of black elected officials in the United States and contains statistical and descriptive data on each state.

To enhance its research in the area of electoral analysis, the Center commissioned the Gallup Organization in 1986 to conduct a survey regarding political attitudes in America. The results of this effort received wide-spread media attention due to the wealth of data it provided, and because it contained responses from an over sample of black Americans -- a method rarely used in nationwide surveys.

Although political participation is a primary area of concentration, the Center, with its interdisciplinary staff and a nationwide network of scholars, fellows and consultants, also

-more-

Joint Center - 2

seeks to find solutions to some of the nation's most pressing economic and social problems. Employment trends, education, family structure, urban and rural poverty, philanthropy and international affairs are among some its major research projects.

Of this Congressional Black Caucus Chairman Congressman Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA) has said, "the Joint Center's sensitivity and responsiveness to the most pressing needs of the day, such as poverty, education, and international affairs, have made it an indispensable resource for black elected officials throughout the country."

To keep the public abreast of its research and analysis, the Center uses its multimedia information program to reach a broad cross-section of leaders in the public and private sectors, and the general public. It publishes a monthly public policy magazine, Focus, which is distributed to over 15,000 individuals and organizations. It also holds conferences, which bring together leading scholars, corporate and foundation executives, and public officials who help to bridge the gap between research and policymaking. And most recently, the Center began an electronic media program which purpose is to develop and produce public policy documentaries and programs.

This wide ranging mission of the organization can be attributed to Eddie N. Williams, the Center's president for the

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past 18 years. Currently, Williams serves as the chairman of the board of directors of the National Coalition on Black Voter Joint Participation and is a member of several board of directors, including the Children's Defense Fund and the Institute for Educational Leadership. In 1988, he was honored by receiving the prestigious MacArthur Foundation Fellowship Award.

Before becoming president of the Center, Williams served as vice president for public affairs and director of the Center for Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. He was also the director of the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and a foreign service reserve officer at the U.S. Department of State.

Under Williams' direction, the Center has moved beyond its founders original concept of 20 years ago. However, it has not forgotten the reason for which it was established.

Today, there are over 7,240 black elected officials, most of whom belong to one of the seven black elected official organizations. In most cases, the Center was instrumental in the the founding of those organizations. The Center continues to work closely with those organizations and its members by sponsoring conferences and providing technical assistance.

As for the future of the Joint Center, Williams "foresees it as a research institution which will continue to provide

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information to black elected officials and encourage them to pursue higher levels of office in greater numbers. Along that same line, we will continue to stress the need for all Americans, black and white, to participate fully in the electoral process. However, as we move forward with our research agenda, and continue to study social and political issues, we intend to focus a great deal of our efforts on the areas of economics, education, and international affairs -- issues which are also have an affect on the stability of the black community."

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1/2
PAGE -

OPPORTUNITY - MORE ON WHAT
THEY'RE DOING - MORE ON
FUTURE.

VVA STAFF GOOD

BUT BEYOND GOV'S ROLE

NOT ENOUGH OF NOV-GOV STAFF.

Rory? / DON'T MENTION
STAFF PEOPLE

CHECK NSC ON RADIO MART!
GORB. - OLD SPEECH?

11/27/83
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232:plenary

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The punishment which the wise suffer who refuse to take part in the gov., is, to live under the gov. of worse men.

Plato

The party of virility rules the hour, the party of ideas & sentiments rules the age.

Emerson

Ideas are, in truth, forces. Infinite, too, is the power of personality. A union of the two always makes history.

Henry James

Emerson said that ideas are forces for change in the world. So are personalities. It is the union of the two that always make history - MLK.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Office of the Curator
May 5, 1989

THE LINCOLN BEDROOM

For much of the 19th century, at least from 1829 to 1902, the rooms at the east end of the Second Floor of the Residence were used for the presidential offices. From 1829-1865, the large southeast room was generally used as the president's office or cabinet room, while the adjacent room to the west (now President's Bush's Residence Office) was used as a waiting room. In 1865, President Andrew Johnson separated the functions, moving the Cabinet to the former waiting room and using the large southeast room as an office. This division was followed until the construction of the West Wing office building in 1902. After that the room was used as a bedroom or a private study for the president.

As President Lincoln's office and cabinet room, this was the scene of many momentous decisions during the Civil War. One important event was the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Lincoln had first shared this document with his cabinet on July 22, 1862, a scene which was recreated by Francis Bicknell Carpenter in an 1864 painting, now at the U.S. Capitol, from which prints were engraved in 1866. One such print, showing the room as it probably looked during the Lincoln administration, now hangs in this room.

In 1945, President Truman conceived of assembling furnishings associated with the Lincolns in the room which President Lincoln had used as his office and cabinet room. These pieces included the massive rosewood bed, the carved rosewood center table, and a walnut chest of drawers, all of which are believed to have been purchased by the Lincolns in 1861 for the principal guest bedroom. Also placed in the room were four walnut side chairs, all that remained of a set of 24 probably acquired 1846-1847, some of which were used around the cabinet table in this room as early as 1861. This White House furniture was supplemented by a fall-front desk transferred in 1931 from Anderson Cottage, the building at the U.S. Soldiers' Home which the Lincolns had used as their summer White House.

The Lincoln Bedroom, to which many other objects depicting or associated with Abraham Lincoln have been added, remains a guest bedroom in the First Family's private quarters. The Brussels carpet was installed in 1952 during the Truman Renovation, as the sort of floor covering appropriate for the White House in the 1860's. In 1973 a Victorian chandelier resembling the one depicted in the Carpenter painting was located and installed. In 1976, green taffeta draperies of an appropriate Victorian design were made and hung at the windows.

FINE ARTS

North Wall

Miss Kennedy (silhouette) by an unknown artist.

Ink on paper, c. 1840-1850. Otherwise unidentified subject.
Gift of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas. 962.220.1

Andrew Jackson engraved by Moseley J. Danforth (1800-1862),
after John Wood Dodge (1807-1893),
published by E. Anthony, New York, N.Y.

Engraving, 1843.

Gift of Mrs. Stanley M. Straus.

963.478.2

Railway Station, Washington

by Lefevre James Cranstone (active 1845-1867).

Watercolor on paper, c. 1860. The old Baltimore & Ohio
Railroad Station built in 1852 north of the U.S. Capitol;
this Italianate structure, where Abraham Lincoln secretly
arrived for his inauguration in 1861, was razed in 1907
when replaced by the current Union Station.

Gift of Wilmarth Lewis in memory of Mrs. Annie Burr Lewis.
961.28.1

President's House, Washington

by Lefevre James Cranstone (active 1845-1867).

Watercolor on paper, c. 1860.

Gift of Wilmarth Lewis in memory of Mrs. Annie Burr Lewis.
961.28.2

George Washington (miniature) by an unknown artist.

Watercolor on ivory, c. 1870.

Gift of Kenneth Garcia.

963.440.2

Abraham Lincoln (miniature) by an unknown artist.

Watercolor on ivory, c. 1870.

Gift of Kenneth Garcia.

963.440.1

Lincoln and Tad (miniature)

by Francis Bicknell Carpenter (1830-1900).

Oil on wood, c. 1864. The artist was a guest at the White
House in 1864 while executing his painting of Lincoln and
his Cabinet during the first reading of the Emancipation
Proclamation.

Gift of The A. Jay Fink Foundation, Inc.

963.500.1

Behind Northeast Doors

Lincoln, The Ever-Sympathetic

by Stephen Arnold Douglas Volk (1856-1935).
Oil on canvas, 1931. The artist's father, Leonard Volk, is best known for his sculpted bust of Lincoln made from life sittings.

Gift of Mrs. Howard E. Hebble and Mrs. Robert B. Jarvis.
966.589.1

Grand Reception of the Notabilities of the Nation at the White House, 1865 by Henry B. Major and Joseph Knapp, published by Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner.

Lithograph, 1865; also pen and ink key. 960.3785.1-2

East Wall

Andrew Jackson attributed to Miner Kilbourne Kellogg (1814-1889).

Oil on canvas, c. 1841. Lincoln especially liked this portrait of President Jackson, and it hung over the fireplace of this room during the Lincoln administration.

960.1542.1

President Lincoln and His Cabinet by an unknown artist.

Watercolor and pencil on paper, 1865-1900. Fanciful group portrait beneath a figure of Liberty holding the chains of slavery being cast off under the Emancipation Proclamation.

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart P. Feld. 973.1021.1

Mary Todd Lincoln [Mrs. Abraham Lincoln]

by Katherine Helm (1857-1937).

Oil on canvas, 1925. The artist, the daughter of Mrs. Lincoln's half-sister, Emily Todd Helm, painted this portrait from photographs. She visited the White House with her mother in 1863.

Gift of the Estate of Mrs. Robert T. Lincoln. 926.1513.1

Untitled Print - Lincoln Family by Adam B. Walter (1820-1875), printed by F. Shell, published by John Dainty, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Engraving, c. 1865.

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence P. Tower. 963.419.1

South Wall

Abraham Lincoln by William Edgar Marshall (1837-1906),
after a photograph by Anthony Berger, published by
Ticknor and Fields, Boston, Massachusetts.
Engraving, 1866. Owned by Frederick Douglass and exhibited
in his study at his District of Columbia home, Cedar Hill
(now a National Park Service site).
Gift of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs,
Inc., in memory of Frederick Douglass. 962.318.1

West Wall

Watch Meeting - Dec. 31st. 1862 - Waiting for the Hour
by William Tolman Carlton (1816-1888).
Oil on canvas, 1862-1864. Given by the artist to President
Lincoln and hung in the White House during the last years of
his administration; depicts slaves and friends waiting on
December 31, 1862 for midnight, when the Emancipation
Proclamation was to be signed into effect by Lincoln.
Gift of the Republican National Finance Committee. 972.842.1

The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the
Cabinet by Alexander H. Ritchie (1822-1895),
after Francis B. Carpenter (1830-1900).
Engraving, 1866. Depicts this room as it was furnished
during the Lincoln administration when it was President
Lincoln's office and Cabinet Room; here on January 1, 1863,
President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation,
which declared freedom for all slaves in the regions then in
rebellion against the Federal government.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Knuth. 972.823.1

Abraham Lincoln by Jeno Juszko (1880-1954).
cast by the American Art Foundry.
Bronze, 1925. Seated figure.
Gift of Bernard C. Heyn. 955.3757.1

Abraham Lincoln by Charles Harry Humphriss (1867-1934)
cast by the Roman Bronze Works, Corona, New York.
Bronze profile bas-relief, 1912. The artist was best known
for his figures of American Indians.
Gift of the White House Historical Association. 975.1194.1

FURNISHINGS

East Wall

ARMCHAIR, mahogany, c.1850-1860, American.

Rococo-revival style; tufted balloon back; uncommon low continuous arms; with sofa and armchairs 954.3470-72, alleged to have been used in the Lincoln White House. Gift of John Witt. 954.3469.1

CENTER TABLES, pair, mahogany and marble, c.1829, Philadelphia, labeled by Anthony Quervelle.

Circular top with black marble inset; pedestal with scroll brackets atop platform on paw feet; with larger matching 829.269.1, purchased for the East Room in 1829, one originally placed under each chandelier. U.S. Government Purchase. 829.239-240

TABLE LAMPS, pair, bronze and brass, c.1952, American.

Electrified reproduction oil-type; frosted glass globe etched with stars; reeded column. Purchased during the Truman Renovation. P52.J01021-1022

SOUP PLATE, porcelain, 1880, Limoges, France,

made by Haviland & Co., designed by Theodore R. Davis. "Harvest Moon" from the Hayes State Service; although twelve different soup bowls were designed, only nine designs were executed for the White House set. U.S. Government Purchase. 880.3840.1.7.1-21

BOX, pressed glass and silverplate, 20th century, American.

Round-ended rectangle; busy star pattern. White House Acquisition Fund. P62.G03450.5

BOX, pressed glass and silverplate, late 19th century, American.

Round-ended rectangle; diamond and diamond-star pattern; deep stars on bottom. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. O.V. Porter. 962.219.1

BED, rosewood, c.1861, American.

The "Lincoln bed"; tall headboard with oval panel; grapevine and exotic birds carved as cresting and on footboard; believed to have been purchased (with center table 861.74.1 and chest 861.61.1) from a Philadelphia retailer in 1861 for the principal guest bedroom in the Lincoln White House; used by President and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and President Woodrow Wilson. U.S. Government purchase. 861.60.1

COVERLET, PILLOW SHAM AND CASES, hand-woven wool, 1978,

Webster, New York, by Mrs. Helen N. Jarvis. 19th-century rose pattern; made expressly for bed 861.60.1. Gift of the maker. 978.1362.1-4

East Wall (cont.)

- SLIPPER CHAIR, mahogany, c.1860, American.
Barrel back, circular seat; turned front legs;
covered in mid-19th-century floral Morris velvet.
U.S. Government Purchase. 960.310.1
- SLIPPER CHAIR, mahogany, c.1860, American.
Flared barrel back; circular seat; turned front legs;
covered in mid-19th-century floral Morris velvet; allegedly
used in the White House during the Lincoln administration;
near pair with long-time White House chair 960.310.1.
Gift of Mrs. Millard Black. 961.32.1
- FABRIC, velvet (on two slipper chairs), c.1870-1890, England.
"Morris" type; fruited-branch pattern in gold, green, and
brown on beige field.
Gift of Mrs. A. Burton Cohen. 961.32.2
- ROCKING CHAIR, walnut, c.1850-1860, American.
Balloon back; heavily scrolled arms; very similar to the one
in which President Abraham Lincoln was sitting when shot by
John Wilkes Booth in Ford's Theatre, April 14, 1865.
Gift of Mrs. Constance Duin. 961.66.1

South Wall

- DRESSING CHEST, walnut and glass, c.1860-1870, American.
Long center mirror with carved crest; four drawers to each
side in cyma-curved front.
U.S. Government Purchase. 869.72.1
- ARGAND LAMPS, pair, brass, c.1825-1830, Philadelphia,
by Louis Veron & Co.
Two burners with frosted vasiform chimneys; urn-shaped oil
font; gilded scrollwork and feet; Veron supplied the White
House with lighting fixtures and other furnishings,
including the Quervelle center tables, in 1829 and 1833.
Gift of R.T. Trump & Co. 972.854.1-2

West Wall

- DESK, walnut, c.1860, American.
Fall front; fitted interior; three lower drawers;
believed used by Abraham Lincoln at the summer White House
at the U.S. Soldiers' Home, Washington, D.C.
Transferred from U.S. Soldiers' Home. 930.70.1

West Wall (cont.)

- DESK SET, bronze, early 19th century, France.
Letter opener and paperweight with eagle head and wing;
small standing eagle paperweight.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J. Stein and Family.
971.747.1-3
- INKSTAND, silver and glass, 1800-1801, London,
By J. Wakelin & Robert Garrard.
Rectangular tray; glass well and jars in frame; Victorian
engraving; presented to Mrs. Grace Coolidge by the Ladies of
the Senate when she left the White House, March 4, 1929.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Coolidge. 982.1506.1
- INKWELL, silver and glass, 20th century, by Black, Starr & Frost.
Square glass body; chased, monogrammed, hinged silver lid.
Acquisition undocumented. P00.D02288.1
- GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, three stationery pages, 1864, Washington,
D.C., by President Abraham Lincoln.
Fifth and final handwritten copy, the only one titled,
signed, and dated November 19, 1863, the day the address was
delivered at the dedication of the National Cemetery at the
Gettysburg battlefield; written for reproduction to benefit
a charity for Civil War soldiers.
Bequest of Oscar B. Cintas. 959.3479.1
- TABLE LAMP, cut glass, c.1893, by Mt. Washington Glass Co.
Spherical cut body and dish base; electrified; original
shade, apparently broken, replaced by diamond-cut globe
from one of sconces 960.1128.1-4.
U.S. Government purchase. 960.1985.1
- SIDE CHAIR, rosewood, c.1860, American.
Serpentine back with oval padded center; leaf-carved
cabriole front legs; believed used in President Abraham
Lincoln's bedroom at the White House.
Gift of Miss Lucy Monroe. 963.497.1
- OCCASIONAL TABLE, walnut and marble, c.1860, England.
Serpentine apron and marble top; double cyma-curved
supports; shelf.
Gift of Mrs. Winifred Jorgensen. 961.133.1
- MANTEL, marble, c.1951, American.
White marble; fluted frieze; molded surround; dark green
marble stile panels and inner surround; bronze plaque
commemorating use of the room by Lincoln.
Purchased during the Truman Renovation. P52.B02287.1
- ANDIRONS, pair, brass and iron, c.1830-1840, American.
Tall heavily-turned brass shaft; bell feet.
White House Acquisition Fund. 962.468.1-2

West Wall (cont.)

FENDER, brass, c.1840, American.

Quatrefoil piercing; believed used in the White House during the Zachary Taylor administration; descended in the Taylor family.

Gift of Admiral and Mrs. Edward J. Foy. 961.60.3

FIRETOOLS, brass and iron, c.1820-1830, American.

Turned brass finial; knop-turnings in shafts.

White House Acquisition Fund. 962.467.1-2

MANTEL CLOCK, marble and gilded bronze, c.1833, France.

Gilt dial and pendulum within four-column architectural housing; believed purchased from Louis Veron & Co., Philadelphia, in 1833 and used on the mantel in this room during the Lincoln administration. 833.3681.1

CANDELABRA, pair, gilded bronze and glass, c.1840-1851,

Philadelphia, attributed to Cornelius & Co.

Four leafy candle arms and central cup atop American Indian chief shaft; the Cornelius firm sold lighting fixtures to the White House in the late 1850's.

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. Pflager. 963.411.1-2

OVERMANTEL MIRROR, one of a pair, gilded wood, c.1899, American.

Architectural; broken pediment with urn finials; double Corinthian columns; purchased for the Blue Room in 1899, removed during the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation of 1902.

U.S. Government purchase. 899.1505.2

SOFA, rosewood. 1850-1860, American.

Rococo-revival style; tufted serpentine back with carved crest; with armchairs 954.3469 and 3471-72, alleged to have been used in the Lincoln White House.

Gift of John Witt. 954.3470.1

CENTER TABLE, laminated rosewood and marble, c.1861, New York, attributed to John Henry Belter.

Circular; marble top; carved apron; four exotic bird legs with nest on stretcher; believed to have been purchased (with bed 861.60.1 and chest 861.61.1) from a Philadelphia retailer in 1861 for the principal guest bedroom in the Lincoln White House.

U.S. Government purchase. 861.74.1

ARMCHAIRS, pair, rosewood. 1850-1860, American.

Rococo-revival style; tufted balloon back with carved crest; with armchair and sofa 954.3469-70, alleged to have been used in the Lincoln White House.

Gift of John Witt. 954.3471-3472

West Wall (cont.)

- OCCASIONAL TABLE, mahogany, c.1830, American.
Drop leaves; two drawers; heavily turned legs.
U.S. Government purchase. 960.266.1
- DINNER PLATE, porcelain, 1880, Limoges, France,
made by Haviland & Co., designed by Theodore R. Davis.
One of twelve dinner plate designs from the Hayes State
Service; "Floating for Deer" - hunters in a boat using a
lantern to attract a deer standing in shallow water.
U.S. Government Purchase. 880.3840.1.2.1-46
- SIDE CHAIRS, set of four, walnut, c.1846, New York,
attributed to J. & J.W. Meeks.
Cyma-curved back with trefoil piercings over Gothic arches;
believed to be from a set of 24 purchased during the Polk
administration, possibly to be the Cabinet chairs; some used
around the Cabinet table during the Lincoln administration.
U.S. Government purchase. 846.173-176
- CARD TABLE, mahogany, c.1830-1840, American.
Acanthus leaf carving on turned pedestal and cyma-curved
legs; brass paw feet.
Transferred from the U.S.S. Mayflower, the presidential
yacht, 1902-1929. 931.653.1
- ASTRAL LAMP, brass and glass, c.1830-1840, American.
Brass columnar shaft; leaf-etched shade; long cut prisms.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Frank. 961.96.2
- BOOKS, 1737-1840, American and British.
A collection of titles known to have been used by Abraham
Lincoln during his self-education; mostly American, 1808-40.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. R.E. Tomlinson. 962.192.1-36

North Wall

- CHEST OF DRAWERS, walnut, c.1860, American.
Triple-arched mirror with small shelves before side panels;
putti cresting; white marble top on four-drawer case;
believed to have been purchased (with bed 861.60.1 and chest
861.61.1) from a Philadelphia retailer in 1861 for the
principal guest bedroom in the Lincoln White House.
U.S. Government purchase. 861.61.1
- PERFUME BOTTLES, pair, cut glass, late 19th century, American.
Hobnail pattern; faceted stopper.
U.S. Government purchase. 960.1995-1996

North Wall (cont.)

CANDLESTICK, brass and lithopane, c.1860, American.
Molded screen of girl with lamb; eagle finial; low cup.
Gift of Mrs. J. Monroe Hewlett. 962.223.5

BOX, pressed glass and gilded metal, 20th century, France.
Square; small diamond pattern; gilt olive branch rims.
White House Acquisition Fund. P62.G03450.3

CARPET, wool, c.1952, American.
Brussels type; yellow and green floral pattern on grey
field. Purchased during the Truman Renovation. 952.3478.1

CHANDELIER, cut glass and brass, c.1860, England.
Twelve S-shaped arms with oil fonts and spherical frosted
globes; diamond-pointed pendants; electrified.
Gift of Nesle, Inc. 973.994.1

"LINCOLN BED"

The massive rosewood bed known as the "Lincoln Bed" is believed to have been purchased by Mrs. Lincoln in 1861 for use in the principal guest bedroom of the White House. The popular reference to it as the "Lincoln bed" is derived not from its use by the Lincolns, but from its acquisition during their occupancy of the White House.

Measuring 8'4" long and 5'10 1/2" wide, it has a very tall headboard, 9'3 1/4" high, featuring an oval center panel surmounted by an open, carved grapevine cresting on which are perched two exotic birds. A similar motif, with only one bird, is carved on the face of the much lower, arched footboard. Grape clusters, like those atop the pointed headboard stiles, are carved on the face of the rounded footposts.

An invoice dated May 29, 1861, from Wm H. Carryl and Bro., a Philadelphia retailer, includes, among other purchases for the White House, "1 Rosewood Bedstead" as part of what appears to have been a 10-piece suite of furniture costing \$800. This is believed to be the "Lincoln bed". Also on this invoice was "1 Rich Rosewood Centre Table" which is believed to be an extant table similarly carved with grapevines and exotic birds.

An 1862 newspaper article quite fully describes this bed in its guest room setting:

"The guests' room, now known as the Prince of Wales' room since that youth occupied it [Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, was received at the White House on October 4, 1860], has been thoroughly ornamented and refurnished... The principal feature of the room is the bed. It is eight feet wide and nine feet long, of solid rosewood. The sides are cushioned and covered with purple figured satin. The head board is a piece of rich carved work, rising eight feet above the bed, and having an oval top. Twenty feet above the floor, overspreading the whole, is a magnificent canopy, from the upper carved work of which the drapery hangs in elegant folds, being in the form of a crown, the front ornament upon which is the American shield with the Stars and Stripes carved thereon."

(Daily Alta California, San Francisco, May 12, 1862).

Although the canopy with its patriotic shield ornamentation was certainly a special commission, it is unlikely that the bedstead itself was. Many examples of very similar beds are known to exist, some bearing makers' marks. This bed, however, is not marked in any way to indicate its manufacturer.

The bed was used in various Second Floor bedrooms, including those of President and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and President Woodrow Wilson.

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FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY
THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1989

*REMARKS BY

LOUIS W. SULLIVAN, M.D.

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

BOTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

THIS TEXT IS THE BASIS OF SECRETARY SULLIVAN'S ORAL REMARKS.

IT SHOULD BE USED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SOME MATERIAL MAY

BE ADDED OR OMITTED DURING PRESENTATION.

Delores, thank you for that warm introduction.

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow members of the NAACP, thank you for the kind invitation to share a few moments together here in the "Motor City."

I am proud to be here today. As is the case with many of you, I've grown up with the NAACP. In the rural town of Blakely, in Southwest Georgia, my father founded and was President of the local chapter of the NAACP.

As young boys in Blakely, my brother and I experienced discrimination and knew of senseless acts of violence. I remember what the NAACP meant then in Blakely as it still does now a strong sense of community for Black Americans, a clear voice for equality of opportunity, for fairness and for justice, and a dependable friend to Americans of all races and creeds.

For each of us as members of the NAACP, opportunity, fairness and justice are not abstract principles. We have looked racism in the eye. We have felt hatred, and violence and the threat of death.

And we are still here, strong as ever, 80 years later, bound by the scars of battle and dedicated to constant struggle wherever injustice appears.

One of my earliest memories was of my father and a dozen or so of his friends getting together to sit vigil at the home of a member who had received a violent threat. I learned early on that the strength of the NAACP our strength could be found in standing tall together, "fighting the good fight."

That is why I am pleased to stand before you today to acknowledge my personal debt to this organization. Your efforts have made it possible for more and more Black Americans to enjoy the full promise of this great country. Your work opened the front doors of the stores, the restaurants, the schools, the hotels and the offices. Your constant presence and the justness of our cause made it possible for Black Americans to move up the economic and social ladder, right into our president's inner circle. Of equal importance, my family and all Americans live in a safer world, with more freedom, dignity and opportunity than was the case in 1909.

I acknowledge my debt to you, and as Secretary of Health and Human Services I pledge to repay that debt, and America's debt to you. I will use my department's authority and power to aggressively address those health and economic security problems which continue to affect Black Americans and continue to perpetuate deep economic and social divisions in our society.

To begin with, I have appointed some very bright, talented, energetic and compassionate people. It is no accident that many of them are Black, or women, or other ethnic minorities.

Many of them are well known to you. Grover Hankins, your former chief counsel, is now my principal Deputy General Counsel. I've asked Grover to come with me to Detroit and keep me out of trouble.

Grover, stand up for a moment.

I have asked several other distinguished Black Americans to join me at Health and Human Services. Many have already accepted the challenge:

- 0 Dr. Audrey Manley is our new Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health;
- 0 Dr. William Robinson, is our new Director of the Office for Minority Health;
- 0 Bonnie Guiton is heading the Office of Consumer Affairs;
- 0 Eunice Thomas is the Director of the Office of Community Services;

0 My Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs is
Kay James, who is also here with me today;
and

0 Everett Wallace, Nancy Silvers and Bob Wilson
are all on my personal staff.

They will be working on issues of importance to all of us,
and President Bush and I are very proud to have them on our
team.

You see, I will use my office to improve the health of all
Americans, I especially will wage war on the health problems
which confront Black Americans, other minorities and the
poor.

The Disparity In Minority Health

There is a large, and growing disparity in the health of
our minority populations and the white population.

Recently, Dr. Robert Blendon and his team of researchers
at the Harvard School of Public Health, using data provided
by the Department of Health and Human Services, reported that
Blacks, on average, have a one-and-a-half times higher death
rate than whites. They found that Blacks generally had less
access to care, regardless of economic circumstances.

The researchers cited many factors which may explain this difference, such as lifestyle, economic considerations, availability of Medicaid, family circumstances and an undersupply of Black physicians.

These findings were graphically confirmed in another report published each year by my department entitled Health United States. In our 1988 issue, we have just released the latest available figures, from 1986, on life expectancy. The good news is, that, in 1986, average life expectancy at birth was up to 74.8 years for the U.S. population as a whole. But the shocking news is that, for the second year in a row, the life expectancy for Black Americans declined falling to 69.4 years in 1986, having been 69.7 years in 1984.

Some might interpret the decline in Black longevity as a slight statistical glitch. It is no glitch. It is a national tragedy. In almost every category of mortality listed, minority deaths are greater than that of the white population. Infant deaths are twice as great among the Black population than among whites. A greater percentage of minorities die of heart disease, diabetes, kidney disease, stroke and cancer than the white population.

Closing this disparity will not be easy. It will require us to address a broad range of health issues. It will also require an acceptance of responsibility from me as the Nation's Chief Health Officer, from you, as the leaders of the Black Community, and from each and every Black man or woman, boy or girl. Each of us can, and must, make a difference. As W.E.B. Du Bois once said, "We must do for ourselves." And we will.

In fact, we discovered many years ago that the most credible health care messengers were not faceless names in Washington or experts on college campuses. Rather, our information indicated that people like you parents, teachers, local community leaders and members of the clergy were the messengers who most often made a difference.

Part of my role, as I see it, is to make the resources and information available to you. Together, we can attack these problems on a wide variety of fronts.

Infant Mortality

Let's look at infant mortality in the United States. The mortality rate for Black infants is twice as high as for white infants, and that is an outrage. Currently, the United States ranks 1st in the amount of money devoted to health care, but still ranks 19th in infant mortality.

Many of these deaths are preventable through adequate maternal and infant health care. Better nutrition, wider availability of prenatal care and better health behavior by the mother, and support by the father could save many of these babies.

Therefore, President Bush and I put forward new proposals to help provide better availability of care and to encourage healthier behavior. Our proposals include:

- 0 Raising the Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women and infants to 130 percent of the poverty level by April 1990;
- 0 Requiring states to cut red tape by implementing a Medicaid presumptive eligibility process for women seeking prenatal care;
- 0 Providing Medicaid coverage for immunization of children under 6 years of age who are eligible for food stamps;
and
- 0 Directing HHS to provide an additional \$20 million in each of the next two fiscal years for grants to states to support demonstration projects to increase the number of successful pregnancies.

These proposals would help make a significant difference. Reducing infant mortality requires the efforts of all of us. But these proposals will support incentives necessary to encourage healthier behavior.

Head Start

One of the best programs for helping children find a better future is Head Start. President Bush and I are committed to this proven, vital program. That is why we have asked for \$250 million more for Head Start in fiscal year 1990.

The additional funds would help increase enrollment, which will expand the range of child care choices available for poor families and equal an important investment in our most valuable resource, our children.

Youth Homicide

One risk our children face is the threat of violence. We need to focus on homicide among youths. This is the second leading cause of death for all 15 to 24 year olds in the United States and the leading cause of death for Black youths. The rate of homicide for Black men in this age group is seven times higher than the overall national rate.

This problem is a public health issue. Therefore, I have directed my department to begin working on an initiative to address the public health aspects of youth homicide. We are preparing a public information campaign and on-site projects to help our youngsters find alternatives to violence in the resolution of disputes.

Illicit Drug Use

One cause of violence is illicit drug use. Some of our cities have become virtual war zones.

The numbers of drug users are staggering. Over 70 million Americans have tried illicit drugs, and some 6.5 Million need treatment for drug abuse.

The users and dealers will be with us as long we tolerate illicit drug use. Too many in our society use drugs, and too many look the opposite way when family members, friends, co-workers, and neighbors use drugs. Intolerance and the end of social acceptance are vital to any successful anti-drug efforts.

George Bush, Bill Bennett and I are committed to ending the terror, the carnage and the wasted lives. One important action is to increase the number of treatment slots available for drug users. The availability of treatment is vital for those who want to say no, but can't.

That is why one of my first acts at Health and Human Services was to announce \$75 million in new grants to help drug treatment facilities expand their services to reduce or eliminate waiting lists.

Alcohol abuse and alcoholism are significant problems too.

Over 100,000 Americans lost their lives in alcohol-related fatalities between 1979-1983, with thousands more suffering from serious, often permanent, injuries.

Certainly, our tolerance for such problems must end. Alcoholism must be confronted and treated.

At Health and Human Services, we are continuing to conduct research on the dangers of alcoholism, the biologic and environmental causes of alcoholism, and potential treatment techniques which could eliminate dependence. Also, we have worked to disseminate our findings to the American public in every forum from newspapers to television to academic conferences.

AIDS

Let me turn for a moment to the problem of AIDS. HIV infection is an epidemic and the numbers increase each year. The Centers for Disease Control have reported that as of June 1, 97,193 people had been diagnosed with AIDS and more than 56,468 people had died.

By the end of 1992, CDC estimates that an estimated 365,000 Americans will have been diagnosed with AIDS, and an estimated 263,000 will have died.

CDC also estimates that up to 1.5 million Americans have already been infected with the HIV Virus. Most do not know that they carry the virus. It is this hidden pool of infection that makes HIV Infection so unique and an urgent challenge to our public health authorities. Infection can last for years before any visible symptoms appear, and during that time the virus can be spread unknowingly.

Simply put, AIDS is devastating the Black community. Although Blacks represent only 12 percent of the U.S. populations, they comprise 26 percent of percent of adult AIDS cases and 53 percent of pediatric AIDS cases.

Because we have no vaccine and no cure, education is our best weapon at this time. We can prevent the spread of this disease.

At Health and Human Services we are working to uncover the mysteries of this disease and to spread the word. HHS spending on research and prevention has grown to \$1.3 billion in fiscal year 1989, which is a dramatic jump from the \$5.6 million spent in 1982.

I have also worked to get potentially helpful drugs into the hands of those Americans with AIDS, such as to prevent life-threatening pneumonia and eye infections.

Also our Public Health Service will hold a National Conference on AIDS and HIV Infection among minority populations, August 14th-17th, in Washington, D.C. I hope many of you will be able to join us.

Access To Care

Now I would like to focus on a broader issue, access to care. We all know that the high cost of health care makes access impossible for millions of Americans, and extremely difficult for millions more. In calendar year 1987 health care cost the American people more than \$500 billion, 11 percent of our gross national product. Some estimates are that these costs will be over \$600 billion in 1989.

What makes this doubly frustrating is that there is some evidence that up to 25 percent of what we spend for health care does not buy needed care nor provide an increased measure of quality.

One reason for the high costs is Medicare payments to physicians, which continue to spiral out of control. While health care costs have risen across the board, Medicare physician spending has risen at compounded annual rates of 16 percent over the last 10 years.

President Bush and I have thus proposed Medicare physician payment reform to address this problem. Under our plan, the rate of growth in physician fees would be reduced. Fees would be more reasonable and equitable. Payments would more closely reflect actual costs.

Also, this change would introduce incentives for physicians to practice in medically-underserved rural areas and inner cities, and would emphasize primary care, which would benefit our minority as well, physician payment reform would free up funds which could be used for other health care needs covered by Medicare.

Let me turn for a moment to another problem -- availability of minority health care professionals. We need more Black physicians, dentists, nurses and other health care professionals. Therefore, I have received assurances from the Office of Management and Budget that the President's fiscal year 1990 budget will include an additional \$43 million for the education of minority health care professionals.

Welfare Reform

President Bush and I also understand that one important factor in health care is economic opportunity. That is why we are committed to Welfare Reform.

I have also recently implemented legislation to provide recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children with the opportunity to take part in education, job training and work activities. Armed with knowledge, skills and increased motivation, the participants will have a realistic opportunity to move from welfare to independence.

Conclusion

In summary, I have talked about some very difficult problems concerning Black health care. I could mention others. But, they are not intractable. We can make a difference.

This summer, here and now, we must renew our commitment to close these health disparities.

That is the message I want to leave with you today. We can help our citizens to live healthier and more productive lives. We can do this by working together.

The doors of the Department of Health and Human Services are open to the NAACP and to each one of you individually. I have built a team which includes people well known to you. Contact me. Contact them. Work with us, so that together we can build a brighter future for all Americans, including our minority citizens^o and the poor.

My father knew the strength of this organization. So do I. In the past, you saved and improved lives in Blakely, Montgomery, Little Rock and all over this country. Today I ask you to work with us to save lives in Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington and elsewhere by carrying a message of disease prevention and health promotion back to your cities and towns.

In spite of the distressing facts I have cited today, my message represents here, of a larger vision, of a brighter tomorrow. Better health information, education and access to health care are the keys to improving the health status of our citizens, including millions of Black Americans. Working together, we can make the lives of all Americans healthier, longer, happier, more productive and more fulfilling.

Thank you, and god bless you.

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FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1989

*REMARKS BY

LOUIS W. SULLIVAN, M.D.

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

NAACP FUND RAISER

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

*THIS TEXT IS THE BASIS OF SECRETARY SULLIVAN'S ORAL REMARKS.
IT SHOULD BE USED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SOME MATERIAL MAY
BE ADDED OR OMITTED DURING PRESENTATION.

There are very few organizations in this country that have the boldness and the sagacity to defy one of the cardinal commandments of American fundraising:-

Do not schedule a major fundraising event between Thanksgiving and the New Year!

But the organizers and sponsors of this Dinner were absolutely right. And very wise.

What better time -- in the very heart of the season of brotherhood, joy and spiritual renewal -- for a fundraiser for the organization that has done more than any American institution to make brotherhood and the spirit of Christmas and Hanukah a reality in American life?

My only regret is that my father could not be in this audience tonight.

Walter W. Sullivan, Sr. -- about half the NAACP's lifespan ago -- founded a chapter of this organization and became its President in the rural, segregated town of Blakely, in southwest Georgia.

Walter W. Sullivan lit a torch for brotherhood and freedom. And because of many other men and women like -- and all of you tonight -- torch has grown brighter and brighter.

How my dad would have reveled -- and wept a little -- to see the President of the United States at the head table of an NAACP fundraiser; how he would have enjoyed being in the presence of all of you.

My father passed his NAACP torch to me. I carry it -- every working hour of my life -- as President Bush's Secretary of Health and Human Services.

My dad and many of you have helped write glorious chapter's in this organization's history -- in American history -- during the last eight decades.

The Bush Administration is going to help you write more:

In our policies, in specific programs we have already begun to make major efforts to improve American's minority health. The infant mortality figures are going to go down; -- and the longevity -- the lifespan -- lines are going to go up!

More minority youngsters are going to get a HEADSTART; we're going to sing and bring the gospel of disease prevention into minority communities and minority lives. Our welfare programs has as their objective, developing job and educational skills which will lead to self-sufficiency and independence, pride and dignity.

The list of our objections is long -- the challenges formidable. But we are determined -- just as the NAACP has been -- throughout its history -- determined. For the cause of good health is -- for the new decade and the new century -- just as important as was the cause of freedom and brotherhood in this century.

We want, and I know we will receive, your partnership as we work to meet those important objectives.

Thanks -- Merry Christmas -- and Happy New Year!

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March 7, 1990, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A3

LENGTH: 1461 words

HEADLINE: Census Bureau Aims to Make Every American Count;
Cast of 425,000 Begins Record-Setting Operation This Week

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

When the counting is done, the nation will know how many homes are equipped with flush toilets, how long its workers commute each morning and how many unmarried couples are living together. There will be a precise, new picture of America's ethnic diversity, its income disparities, housing patterns and educational attainment.

The 1990 Census, the daunting process of gathering all of these numbers and facts, gets under way this week. And with 425,000 workers gathering vital statistics on an estimated 250 million people in 106 million households, it will be the largest peacetime undertaking by any civilian agency of the federal government.

This mammoth exercise will require a combination of technological sophistication and the tried methodology used since the government conducted the first census in 1790 -- pounding the street.

The Census Bureau knows what to expect as its army of street counters begins fanning out this week: If a worker gets attacked by a dog, encounters a broken porch or finds a homeless person asleep on the street, there is a procedure to follow. Counters have been coached on how to phrase questions and reminded to step aside after knocking to avoid getting bashed by a swinging door.

But the bureau has also put to use an altogether new array of technology, using laser-read bar codes to sort questionnaires and a coast-to-coast computerized map. As a result, it is the most automated census -- and, at \$ 2.6 billion, the most expensive.

"It's like a Cecil B. De Mille production," said Marshall Turner, director of the Census Bureau's redistricting data office. "It's years in the making and has a cast of hundreds of thousands."

At the same time, the 1990 Census may also be the most controversial. There are bitter arguments over how best to survey the homeless and minorities, who historically have been undercounted. There will be the inevitable fights over the political boundaries that will be redrawn in its wake, redefining everything from congressional districts to local water zones.

And despite eight years of planning, dozens of test surveys and a full dress rehearsal, there will be hitches. Some have already surfaced: Maps have gone

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out to local governments missing major streets, and the bureau is far behind its hiring goals in Northern Virginia and other areas.

Controversy over the census -- mandated by the Constitution to be taken every 10 years -- is neither new nor unexpected, given the stakes: \$ 38 billion in federal aid is distributed annually on the basis of census data. But that is only part of its impact.

Census information identifies and defines the nation's problems, from homelessness and poverty to the need for child care. The numbers are used by academics as the basis for a vast array of research and by government agencies for work ranging from bus routing to school desegregation to enforcement of fair lending regulations.

In recent years, census data have also driven a huge information industry that is now vital to business and industry, particularly marketers who want to know the specific characteristics of potential consumers.

"Try and imagine life without it," said Carl Haub, a demographer with the Population Reference Bureau, a nonprofit research group. "It tells you where the country is. . . . It's the font."

The counting begins when the Census Bureau mails or delivers more than 106 million questionnaire packages to every household in the country. Most homes will receive theirs March 23, although some hard-to-reach communities, including Alaskan villages, are being counted early. And most households will get a short form, with 14 questions on personal characteristics and housing. Seventeen percent of American households will receive a long form, which asks 45 additional questions.

The bureau expects that 78 percent of the households will complete and return their forms. Those that don't send one back by the April 1 deadline or shortly thereafter will be visited by a census worker.

While the counting takes place over a relatively brief period, it is the culmination of preparations that began in 1982, while data from the 1980 Census were still being tabulated. The bureau held hearings in 65 cities to gather public opinion on how the census might be improved, then tested new questions and ultimately designed a plan for 1990.

In the process, the bureau was lobbied by scores of interests and industries, number of dogs and cats per household, the presence of smoke detectors and the acquisition of compact disc players.

A psychiatric group pushed the bureau to ask whether people dream in color. The swimming pool industry wanted to know the number of backyard pools.

"They compete for the scarce real estate on the questionnaire," said Turner, who has been closely involved in the bureau's 1990 planning effort.

There have been endless diplomatic considerations. Gay-rights groups have complained that, despite a new question asking unmarried couples living together to identify themselves, gay men and lesbians will still be undercounted.

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Mitch Snyder, an advocate for the homeless, has argued that the final tally of homeless people will be significantly low because of insufficient census workers and skepticism among the homeless who are approached on the street.

The low figures, Snyder contends, will be used "to convince the American people that the problem isn't really as big as advocates say it is."

In addition to such touchy community relations problems, the process of counting the homeless has, by itself, required years of planning.

The result is a plan setting aside a single night of counting, March 20, when thousands of census counters, many hired from among the homeless and those who work with the homeless, will fan out across the country. They will visit shelters and low-cost motels from 6 p.m. to midnight, count the homeless on the street from 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. and, from 4 a.m. to 6:30 a.m., stand outside abandoned buildings, counting those who emerge.

Even with the concentrated effort this year -- the bureau has in the past counted those in shelters and on the street as part of its overall survey -- officials say the process will not yield a definitive number.

"None of us think that the count will be perfect," said Peter A. Bounpane, assistant director of the bureau.

Perhaps the most difficult and extracted planning has focused on how to avoid what has become a serious problem of undercounting minorities.

"It's a very serious issue," said Cheryl M. Miller, a visiting scholar at the Joint Center for Political Studies. In 1980, blacks were undercounted by 5 percent, she said, and for young black males in some urban communities, the figure was as high as 30 percent.

New York and several other communities sued to require the Census Bureau to adjust its statistics to compensate for the undercount. And in an out-of-court settlement reached last summer, the bureau agreed to consider such an adjustment.

In preparation for the counting, the agency took on the complex process of producing for the first time computerized maps of every street, highway and rural road in America. The result, known as the TIGER files, for Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing, allows census geographers to call up on a computer screen, at the touch of a wand, any of the 7.5 million census tracts in the nation.

Creation of a standardized mapping system has eliminated the work of drawing maps by hand and, officials predict, will greatly reduce errors caused by reliance on state and local maps.

"It's the equivalent of going from a manual typewriter to a word processor . . . to desktop publishing," said Robert W. Marx, chief of the bureau's geography division. "It's a huge difference."

The computers will ultimately spew out 1.3 million maps, to be carried by counters, used by regional offices and eventually be made available to the public.

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The bureau has also sent out workers to walk or drive virtually every street and road in the country, checking addresses for accuracy. And there are new address lists, purchased from commercial firms for urban areas and compiled by canvassing rural areas where lists were unavailable.

But even with the improved technology, greater promotion efforts than ever before and more involvement from local governments and community groups, the 1990 Census will be the subject of bitter complaint and protracted struggle -- history suggests lawsuits challenging the results will stretch into the next decade.

"I'm convinced we can do a better job of counting, and we will," assistant director Bounpane said. "I'm also convinced people can complain -- and will."

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, IMPORTANT CENSUS DATES, PETER HOEY

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LENGTH: 612 words

HEADLINE: Candidate could be 1 of a kind

BYLINE: By Daniel Egler, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: SPRINGFIELD

BODY:

Although Candice Trees contends that she is not a "banner carrier," she's on a path that could propel her into an elite group of black Republican legislators.

If she is successful in her capital city bid for the Illinois House, Trees could, according to national research organizations, become the only black Republican woman serving in a state legislature in the country.

Trees, the incumbent Sangamon County Circuit Court clerk, and Jim Dunham, a former Springfield city commissioner, are running in the GOP primary on March 20 for the right to challenge four-term Democratic incumbent House member Michael Curran in November.

One of five black Republicans who now hold public office in Springfield and Sangamon County, Trees served seven years as Springfield's city clerk before twice being elected to county office.

"I am not a banner carrier," she said. "If something needs to be done, I do it. I'm not out on the front lines, standing there with signs."

According to the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C., there are five black men now serving in state assemblies as Republicans, and the Rutgers University Center for American Women and Politics says there has not been a black Republican woman in a legislature in the 50 states for at least the last three years.

The Springfield contest is in one of only six districts in the state where the out-of-power party has intraparty contests in choosing its candidate for the November general election. In addition, both parties have several challenges to incumbents and primary races in seven districts where the incumbent lawmaker has decided to leave the legislature.

November will be a crucial time for the Illinois Republican Party as it tries to whittle away at the 16-seat Democratic majority in the House, as the General Assembly heads into one of its most partisan battles - redrawing the boundaries of legislative districts.

Local Republicans say Trees should have few problems winning next month's primary contest with Dunham, who they say has not been actively campaigning.

(c) 1990 Chicago Tribune, February 21, 1990

And they are optimistic about her chances in November, though Curran has handily defeated his last three Republican opponents.

"Candy offers a unique opportunity of having solid Republican support out there and the ability to do an outreach into the East Side community that traditionally would vote for Democrats," said Tony Leone, executive director of the Sangamon County Republican Foundation, the fundraising arm of the local party.

Since the settlement three years ago of a voting rights suit waged by minorities in Springfield, blacks - and black Republicans - have become an increasingly powerful political force. Besides Trees, there are now black Republicans on the Springfield school board, the convention center authority, the community college board and the park district board.

But unlike other minorities who traditionally have gravitated toward the Democratic Party, Trees said she has always been a Republican.

"I assume at one time my father was a Democrat but that was long before I got involved in politics," she said. "The Republican Party has offered me opportunity."

A native of Springfield and former employee of Gov. James Thompson's office, she was appointed Springfield city clerk in 1979 where she served until her election to clerk of the Circuit Court in 1986.

Attempts to reach Dunham, Springfield's finance commissioner from 1967 to 1979 and a businessman who travels extensively, were unsuccessful.

Dunham also was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor in 1983 and ran a losing campaign for city public utilities director in 1987.

TERMS: ILLINOIS; CAMPAIGN; CANDIDATE; BLACK; WOMAN; BIOGRAPHY

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February 18, 1990, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1526 words

HEADLINE: Selma mirrors years of change
Tensions still linger despite black gains

BYLINE: By George E. Curry, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: SELMA, Ala.

BODY:

State troopers were called to Selma again last week to help quell a protest, as they were almost exactly 25 years ago.

This time, no one overreacted.

On March 7, 1965, in one of the bloodiest chapters of the civil rights movement, Alabama state troopers and local law-enforcement officials brutalized civil rights marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge. They beat scores of the nonviolent demonstrators with clubs, kicked them, poked them with electric cattle prods and fired canisters of tear gas, leaving them crying and gasping.

That day in Selma became known as Bloody Sunday, the pivotal event for the movement that won disenfranchised blacks the right to vote through the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

This time, the protesters were high school students angered by the dismissal of the city's first black school superintendent. This time, about one-third of the troopers were black. They did not strike anyone, even when taunted. And when demonstrators prayed, the troopers removed their broad-brimmed hats and joined them in prayer.

But for all the dramatic change represented by the response to the two demonstrations, there is still a painful division between the blacks and whites of Selma. Because of the Voting Rights Act, blacks now make up almost half the electorate, and five of the 11 school board members are black. The vote not to renew the contract of Supt. Norward Roussell was 6-5, split along racial lines.

Selma became a household word 25 years ago because of Bloody Sunday. Inspired by the brutality against the marchers that day, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, rallied thousands of protesters, turning up the pressure for voting rights with a successful 50-mile march along U.S. Highway 80 from Selma to Montgomery.

"A lot has changed in 25 years," said the Alabama-born Lewis, now a Democratic congressman from Georgia. "It's a different country. If someone had told me 25 years ago when I was walking across that bridge that I would now be in Congress, I would have said, 'You're crazy - you're out of your mind.' "

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Lewis, an ordained Baptist minister, was savagely beaten that day. He was struck on the head repeatedly, fracturing his skull.

Lewis's election to Congress was a natural outgrowth of the Voting Rights Act. According to an analysis of the impact of the measure by the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, black voter registration in the South increased 50 percent between the 1964 presidential election, the year before the law was enacted, and the election in 1968.

The black-oriented political think tank said there were no more than 300 black elected officials in the nation in 1964. As of this year, the center reported that there were 7,226 black elected officials, most of them in the South. Alabama led all states with 694.

Still, while the nation's 20.4 million blacks make up 11.1 percent of the nation's voting-age population, they hold only 1.4 percent of the country's elective offices.

The struggle now is not only one of increasing numbers, but of sharing political power. And nowhere is that more evident than in Selma, which tries to bridge the gap between its rich heritages from the Civil War and from civil rights.

Scars from the War Between the States still run deep in Selma, one of the main manufacturing centers of the Confederacy. The city fell to Union Gen. J.H. Wilson in the 1865 Battle of Selma.

Mayor Joe Smitherman, or Joe T. as he is called by many of the city's 27,000 residents, was first elected in 1964. Smitherman, now 60, was a staunch segregationist in his early years.

Now, Smitherman's office at City Hall displays a picture of King as well as autographed pictures of Smitherman with former Gov. George Wallace, who once pledged to support segregation forever.

Like many Southern officeholders, Smitherman says he could not have been elected in the 1960s without playing to the fears of whites.

"We were wrong," he freely acknowledged. "And I don't know how to better say it than that. And I was part of the wrong. But I've done everything I could to try to amend for it."

He ticked off a list of blacks who hold prominent positions in the community. In addition to the five school board members and Roussell, there are the postmaster, the principal of the city's only public high school, the regional director of the Social Security Administration, four of nine members of the City Council and three of the five members of the Dallas County Commission. Even the president of George C. Wallace Community College is black.

But Roussell said Smitherman and other city officials are taking credit for accomplishments in which they played no part.

"The postmaster is a federal appointment and so is the regional director for Social Security," Roussell said. "Wallace Community College is state. I'm the only one who's a local appointee, and I've been fired. The rest of these can't

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be touched or they would have been gone, too."

The board vote not to renew Roussell's three-year contract at the end of the school year was taken Dec. 21. After the vote, the five black members walked out and have not attended a meeting since.

The vote to fire Roussell ostensibly was based on an evaluation that found him lacking in leadership skills.

Students supporting Roussell boycotted classes twice in January, and the superintendent repeatedly denounced the white school board majority. Tiring of this, the board voted two weeks ago to remove him immediately, which heightened racial tensions.

About 150 teenagers occupied Selma High School for five days, leaving only after the board reinstated Roussell until the end of the year. Most of the system's 6,000 students returned to class the next day.

The controversy surrounding Roussell's firing is complicated by the issues of race and political empowerment.

Whites, accustomed to being in power in Selma, are reluctant to relinquish control over the school system, even though 70 percent of the students are black. And for their part, blacks are quick to charge racism while ignoring the fact that even though the white school board majority voted to fire Roussell, that same majority voted to hire him in the first place.

Still, some blacks and whites have managed to look past the issue of race. Jean Martin, who was born in Selma 65 years ago, said the South's enduring racial problem has made many whites like her ashamed of the region's past.

"The South had so much to offer but (the racial problem) was a stigma that set us apart," said Martin, who writes a column for the Selma Times-Journal.

"There are a few people - and they're on both sides - who don't want Selma to grow and to prosper. Economically, we have a lot of needs. When people have jobs, they have self-respect. When you have self-respect, you reach outside of yourself to make it a better community."

Making Selma a better community is exactly what Amelia Boynton Robinson, now 79, had in mind when she marched across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in 1965. She was in the first row of women in the march, behind Lewis and Hosea Williams, an organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"I remember having been hit right back here, across my shoulder," she said, pointing. "The second (blow) was across my neck. I didn't know anything else until I got in the hospital."

She said many changes have occurred in Selma, but not nearly enough.

"There are some things that are better," she said. "But what is better is where I spend my dollars. They opened up restaurants, they opened hotels and motels. They've done all of those things because I have dollars."

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But blacks and whites in Selma, while acknowledging their differences, resent being singled out.

"I've lived up North," Martin said. "I resent so much some of the criticism of the South. I've lived up North, and it's more subtle."

The tensions of Selma represent another stage of the ongoing quest for full equality at the ballot box, according to Linda Faye Williams, a fellow at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

"The first stage was about access," she said. "Now, the second battle is about casting a meaningful ballot."

To help accomplish that and to observe the 25th anniversary of the Selma-to-Montgomery march, Lewis and Joseph Lowery, current president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have organized a series of voter-registration rallies over the next two weeks in Selma and throughout the Black Belt region of southern Alabama.

The 10-county region, known for its fertile black soil, contains all of the state's majority black counties and were the scenes of the most violent resistance to black political participation in the state.

"We're going back to Selma to call attention to the distances we have come and the distances we still must go," Lewis said.

"This is the most difficult part of the struggle, because we're putting together the final piece of the process: getting in those positions where you can extract or negotiate certain demands."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: UPI photo. Black civil rights marcher John Lewis is beaten by an Alabama state trooper on March 7, 1965, during a march in Selma. Lewis is now a member of Congress from Georgia.

PHOTO: AP Laserphoto. Marchers gather outside City Hall in Selma, Ala., Feb. 7 to protest the decision to fire the city's first black school superintendent.

TERMS: ALABAMA; CITY; DATE; HISTORY; RELATION; BLACK; ETHNIC; STATISTIC; OFFICIAL; CHANGE; PROFILE; ANALYSIS; QUOTE

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January 28, 1990, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: OUTLOOK; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 1520 words

HEADLINE: Why Blacks Like Bush;
He's Got the Image -- But Soon He'll Need Results

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Juan Williams

BODY:

AS GEORGE Bush stands before Congress this week to deliver his annual State of the Union message, his political power is made stronger by support from a surprising quarter: black Americans.

Blacks are at the heart of the president's overall popularity, says Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee. At this point in his presidency, Bush enjoys the highest approval level of any post-World War II president. Atwater believes good feelings about Bush in the black community translate into higher approval ratings across the political spectrum.

In fact, Bush has consistently scored high with black voters since taking office. Last February he had a 61 percent approval rating among blacks; that rating has now climbed to 74 percent -- only six points lower than among whites. Even Americans who are not employed, a disproportionate share of whom are black, give the president a 76 percent approval rating.

Here is a paradox. George Bush served for eight years as vice president to Ronald Reagan, the most unpopular president with blacks in modern history. He ran his successful presidential campaign using the face of Willie Horton -- the black rapist and slasher -- as a frightening logo and drew only about 12 percent of the black vote. Yet now he is almost as popular with the black public as with the white.

How can this be? One explanation, offered by Milton Morris, research director for the Joint Center for Political Studies, the nation's major black think tank, is that most black Americans, like most white Americans, like to like their president. Says Morris, "The black community was dying to express support for someone in the White House and George Bush is the lucky beneficiary of that desire. And to his credit he has been accessible and willing to be responsive to black issues and concerns."

Atwater doubts that blacks perceived Bush's Willie Horton ads as racist. "If black voters truly thought it was a racial campaign they wouldn't support him," says Atwater. "Black voters understand the furlough issue, the crime issue."

As for Bush's position as Reagan's successor, it seems to have helped rather than hurt him: To a degree, Reagan's adversarial relationship with blacks was the launching pad for Bush's high ratings. "It has been so easy to stand out in sharp contrast to Ronald Reagan when it comes to black people," says Morris.

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But Bush has also taken positive steps to improve his standing with blacks. Most have involved more public relations than substance -- meeting with national and foreign black leaders, speaking at the National Baptist Convention. But these visible acts of leadership have apparently been important in setting the tone for his administration.

"There is no question in my mind that Ronald Reagan would not have met with Bishop Tutu -- Bush did," says Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP director who met only once with Reagan but has had five meetings with Bush during his first year in office.

"I have the impression," Hooks adds, "that Bush comes from the old-line, moderate wing of the Republican party like his father before him. He doesn't trace his political line to Barry Goldwater who turned Republicans away from black people." Unlike Reagan, Bush has not made himself an opponent of affirmative action. After the Supreme Court struck down a contract set-aside plan last year, Bush said he would "not read into that a mandate to me to stop trying on equal employment and on affirmative action generally."

Bush is also praised for appointing blacks to high-level positions. His most visible choices have been Colin Powell, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Constance Newman as head of the Office of Personnel Management; Fred McClure as head of congressional liaison; and Louis Sullivan as head of the Health and Human Services Department.

Although Powell was originally elevated to the influential position of National Security Adviser by Reagan, Bush has garnered far more credit for his appointments.

"I'll tell you one key difference between Bush and Reagan's black appointees," says Armstrong Williams, vice-president of B&C Associates in Highpoint, N.C. and a former Reagan administration appointee. "Bush puts people there because they are qualified." Instead, Williams feels, Reagan's main interest was "statistics -- so he could rattle off how many blacks worked for him."

"No one who saw [Powell] during the Panama crisis was talking about affirmative action -- they were saying what a strong commander he is," says Williams, "and the man who put those people in place, who gave them responsibility and listens to them is George Bush."

Bush has also pursued a strategy of going beyond black leaders to visit black neighborhoods and homes. Last week he visited a Kansas City community, the week before he was at a public housing project in Alexandria.

"He was comfortable and they were comfortable with him," says Jack Kemp, the housing secretary who accompanied Bush to the housing project.

"They didn't come up and say I want to join the Republican party but they did say 'Keep it up Mr. President -- Don't give up on us.' And when he said to them he wants to do something to reverse 30 years of failed social policy by putting rewards back in life for cleaning up your house, staying in school, and taking jobs, those people are saying to him, 'Yes, sir, we'd be proud to be a part of something that stands for dignity, justice and pride.' "

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Bush's rapport with less-affluent blacks is borne out by the poll numbers. Data taken from a January Washington Post-ABC poll show that about 80 percent of blacks with income under \$ 20,000 approve of Bush compared to 70 percent of blacks with \$ 20,000 or more.

Youth are an important part of Atwater's strategy for Bush and his party. Prior to the 1988 election, data from the Joint Center showed blacks under 30 about twice as likely as their elders to support GOP candidates. Atwater is focusing on young, professional blacks in his effort to off-set the automatic advantage black support now gives Democrats. If Republicans had been able to get 20 percent of the black vote in 1986 instead of 10 percent, Atwater believes the party would not have lost control of the Senate.

The GOP is also focusing on blacks in its fight to keep from losing ground during 1990 redistricting, actively encouraging blacks to demand solidly black congressional districts since these often result in the creation of GOP-dominated white districts.

Barbara Bush is also contributing to the president's success with black Americans, according to White House aides. She has been photographed holding black babies with AIDS and helping out in soup lines and has repeatedly spoken out about the need to fight racism. In a recent interview she said it was up to her and the president to "set a good example," by being intolerant of bigotry. Hooks, of the NAACP, agrees: "She is knowledgeable, frank and honest and most of all has shown concern. How can you not like that?" But while Bush has been open to meeting and talking with blacks he has not done much to address their key problems. His drug war has had questionable impact but it has been Bush's main domestic policy action during his first year in office.

Sar Levitan, director of the Center for Social Policy at George Washington University, notes that the "education president" has not helped stop the decline in blacks attending college.

"There is a difference between popularity and puff," says Jesse Jackson arguing that Bush has yet to do anything to help black Americans. "This is not popularity, this is puff," Jackson adds.

Isabel Sawhill, a policy analyst for the Urban Institute, says the administration does have some policy initiatives directed at lowering poverty that would appeal to black voters, such as more money for Headstart programs, enterprise zones to pull businesses into low-income areas and tax credits for children in low-income families.

"The appeal of this administration is quite different from the last one," says Sawhill. "The Reagan administration seemed to think you could get rid of poverty with trickle-down economics. This administration is not that cavalier. They have put forward some small-potatoes proposals to help people. They are small potatoes because they have no money to spend on them. And they don't have a longer term strategy. Their words are definitely kinder and gentler even if their actions are not very good."

Given the absence of substantial programs, the question is how much longer can Bush enjoy unconditional support from blacks. "My sense," says Morris of the Joint Center, "is that folks are quickly going to look past the rhetorical flourishes and the honeymoon won't last long."

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"It will not last," says Michael Frazier, legislative aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). Pointing to pending measures dealing with discrimination in the workplace, the death penalty and South Africa, Frazier predicts that "Bush will have to take stands on issues of importance to black America in the next year. Let's see if he is still popular by the end of this year."

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, PETER ALSBERG

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: BLACK; U.S. PRESIDENT

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

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January 11, 1990, Thursday

SECTION: THE U.S.; Blacks in Politics; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 999 words

HEADLINE: Inauguration of Wilder, Dinkins Signals New Era

BYLINE: John Dillin, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

HIGHLIGHT:

Key to their success lies in broad voter appeal.

BODY:

On Saturday, L. Douglas Wilder will make history. Shortly after noon in Richmond, Va., the former capital of the Confederacy, he takes the oath as America's first elected black governor.

Mr. Wilder's symbolic triumph, moving into a job once held by Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, ushers in a fascinating new era in American politics, in the opinion of some experts.

Already this month, David Dinkins, another black man, took over as mayor of New York, the nation's largest city. Black mayors also govern Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, New Orleans, Cleveland, Seattle, Atlanta, and Washington.

Across the country, more black politicians are proving they can attract voters across racial lines. No longer are they limited to districts and contests where the majority of voters are black.

This year, blacks are expected to battle for governor in at least two Southern states, Georgia and South Carolina. Nationwide, 7,226 blacks now hold elected political office at the federal, state, and local levels. That's up nearly 400 percent in the past 20 years.

Political analysts say that Governor-Elect Wilder and Mayor Dinkins represent a new kind of black politicians who could eventually expand their influence even further. Unlike many previous black leaders, they fashion their appeals toward Americans of all races and persuasions.

"Wilder's election was no fluke," says political scientist Larry Sabato at the University of Virginia. "This is the beginning of a major trend. Wilder, Dinkins, and (US Rep.) Bill Gray (D of Pennsylvania) are representative of the next generation of black politicians."

Since the 1960s, when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led his crusade for civil rights, black political leadership has evolved through three stages, experts say.

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First, there were black politicians who succeeded primarily within their own communities. Using black power at the ballot box, they took over city halls and county commissions, from Detroit to Atlanta to rural Mississippi.

Later came black politicians such as Jesse Jackson, who reached out to whites, but who still drew their primary strength from black voters. They broke important new ground. But in style and substance, their appeal to white voters was limited.

Now there is a third class of black politician - one who can win even when the vast majority of voters are white. Dinkins is one of those. Wilder is another.

'The difference between Wilder and Jesse Jackson is that Wilder can get elected in a general electorate, and Jackson cannot,' Professor Sabato says. 'The secret for Wilder and Dinkins and Gray is they run as moderates who are politicians who happen to be black, rather than as black politicians. Jesse Jackson is a black politician. Doug Wilder is a politician who happens to be black, and there is all the difference in the world to white voters.'

Dinkins illustrated that in New York City. Two years ago, when the Rev. Mr. Jackson campaigned there for the Democratic presidential nomination, the city erupted in controversy. Jackson's previous description of the city as 'Hymietown,' his close association with black separatist Louis Farrakhan, and his fiery, preacher style of speaking raised fears among many white voters, especially Jews. In contrast, Dinkins's campaign for mayor was based on healing and reconciliation. He spoke of pulling the city together.

'Dinkins's calling card from the start was inclusion,' says Lee Miringoff, a public opinion specialist with the Marist Institute. 'In this way, Dinkins was able to fashion a rather broadly based coalition.'

A key factor in both the New York and Virginia elections was that neither Dinkins nor Wilder was an ideologue. Professor Sabato says of Wilder: 'He is a politician who wants to win office. So he is not uncomfortable at all moving, for example, from opposing capital punishment to favoring it.... He does what he needs to win. He is a politician.'

While Dinkins and Wilder succeeded with white voters, partly because of such flexibility, they remain indebted to other, more militant blacks, such as Jackson, who preceded them.

Dr. Miringoff notes it was the massive efforts to register more black voters - efforts fostered by leaders like Jackson - which played a crucial role in the elections of both Dinkins and Wilder.

Cheryl Miller, an analyst with the Joint Center for Political Studies, suggests the success of Wilder and Dinkins should not be overblown. We should not draw too many conclusions from only two elections, Dr. Miller says. Furthermore, it remains to be seen how well they will manage New York City and Virginia.

Earl Black, a professor of government studies at the University of South Carolina, says that a key to Wilder's success was that he took the long route to the governorship. Before running for governor, he first captured the

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lieutenant governorship.

'You need to demonstrate political experience. That is where Jesse Jackson has real difficulty.'

In New York, Dinkins also demonstrated the advantage of political roots. His opponents attacked him as part of the old, New York City political establishment - but such attacks backfired. His association with well-known political figures actually helped.

'Some polls showed that voters thought Dinkins was part of the establishment, but they were comfortable with that. It made him part of the normal political process' - not an unknown, unpredictable outsider trying to push his way into city hall, Miringoff says.

Although experts are impressed with black political progress, they caution that black candidates still face an uphill battle. Dr. Black says: 'Wilder's race, as close as it was, really suggests that just about everything has to be in place to elect a black as governor. There is very little margin for error.'

'If Virginia Republicans had a stronger candidate, ... if the abortion issue hadn't materialized at the precise moment that it did, I am not sure Wilder would have won.'

J+ Center Articles

What about
the RNC black liaison
would, he have any insight?

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Collection:

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Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Joint Center for Policy Studies 4/4/90 [2]

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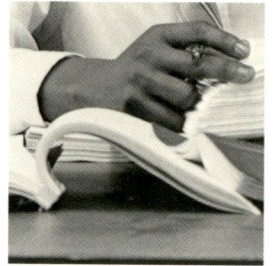
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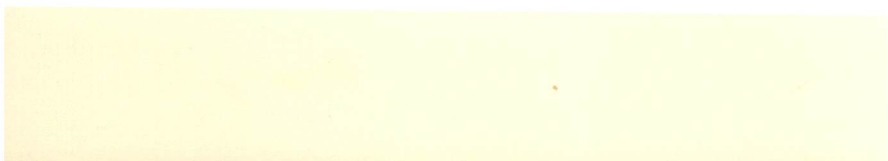


J O I N T C E N T E R F O R P O L I T I C A L S T U D I E S



A N N U A L R E P O R T

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MISSION



The Joint Center for Political Studies contributes to the national interest by helping black Americans participate fully and effectively in the governance of our society.

As a nonpartisan, nonprofit institution, founded in 1970, the Center uses research and information dissemination to accomplish three objectives: to improve the socioeconomic status of black Americans; to increase their influence in the political and public policy arenas; and to facilitate the building of coalitions across racial lines.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND THE PRESIDENT

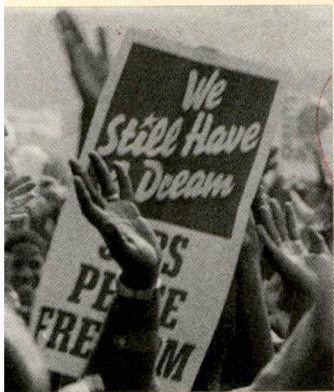


The Joint Center for Political Studies, now in its nineteenth year, is one of the nation's leading public policy research institutions, or "think tanks" as we are popularly called. We are unique, however, in our focus on black Americans.

It is this uniqueness that enables this multi-racial institution to help strengthen the nation's social, economic, and political fabric by helping black Americans participate fully in the governance of our society. This mission is our response to the noblest aspiration of our living Constitution, namely, to help create a more perfect union.

In preparing this report of our recent accomplishments and future goals, one theme impressed us as being especially salient. Two major forces—dramatic changes in our economy and in the labor market—could have profound implications for improving race relations in America.

Former Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter summed up our economic problems recently when they declared: "The United States, which used to be the preeminent economic power in the world, has lost its hegemony." At the very time our economy is being challenged to become more productive and competitive, our labor force



is increasingly composed of individuals who have been the victims of discrimination, particularly in education and employment. Women, minorities, and immigrants will comprise over 80 percent of all new workers by the year 2000, and if present trends continue they will be the least prepared to contribute to a technologically advanced society in a rapidly changing and highly competitive global economy.

It seems to us, therefore, that this set of circumstances, perhaps even more than previous calls to conscience, should bring corporate and government officials to a pragmatic, bottom-line conclusion: the expansion and protection of education and employment opportunities for black Americans are imperatives for a more productive work force and a stronger, more competitive economy. Toward this end, as you will see in this report, the Joint Center not only illuminates problems, but also points the way to their solution.

We are grateful to many corporations, foundations, and individuals for their financial support of our endeavors, and for their advice and encouragement. We are also grateful to a host of individuals, especially scholars, entre-

preneurs, and public officials, who continue to help us think creatively about solving national problems. One such group, of course, is our Board of Governors, whose ranks were augmented this year by three distinguished members: Norma Asnes, a prominent New York City writer; Hannah Diggs Atkins, Secretary of State of Oklahoma; and Charles V. Hamilton, the Wallace S. Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University.

As we approach our twentieth anniversary in 1990, we continue to be proud of our accomplishments; and as we begin the final decade of this century, we are excited by the opportunities that lie ahead.

Wendell G. Freeland
Chairman

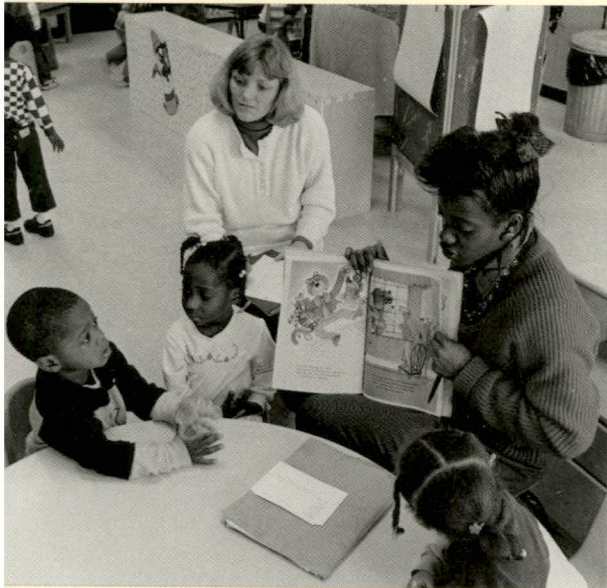
Eddie N. Williams
President

RESEARCH AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATION

H. Street

"This nation cannot continue to compete and prosper in the global arena when more than one-fifth of our children live in poverty and a third grow up in ignorance. And if the nation cannot compete, it cannot lead. If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited human potential. It would be tragic if we allow this to happen."

Children in Need, The Committee on Economic Development, 1987



The Joint Center for Political Studies, through its 54 resident staff members and fellows and its national network of associated scholars and public officials, continues to exert leadership in the search for solutions to some of the nation's most pressing problems. We accomplish our objectives in many ways:

- *through timely research and analyses of major public policy issues.*
- *by hosting carefully planned conferences that bring together leading scholars and public officials who help to bridge the gap between research and policymaking.*
- *through educational workshops designed to improve the effectiveness of black elected officials.*
- *through a multimedia information program aimed at a broad cross-section of leaders in the public and private sectors.*

Our research program, under the direction of Dr. Milton D. Morris, is wide-ranging in both scope and content. Economic trends, education, family structure, urban and rural poverty, philanthropy, and international affairs were among the major subjects studied in 1988. Special attention was given to political participation, especially in the presidential selection process. In each of these areas, the interests of the nation and those of black Americans are converging rapidly and dramatically.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

"The Joint Center for Political Studies has established itself as one of our country's premier institutions for public policy research. By supporting its work, we can help effect lasting, positive change."

Richard M. Morrow
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Amoco Corporation



The economic well-being of black Americans is an overriding concern of the Joint Center. Issues of long-standing interest include equal opportunity in employment and education, the impact of technological changes on the future world of work, and America's competitiveness in the international marketplace. Last year we emphasized two aspects of black involvement in the economy: employment and income trends and entrepreneurship.

Employment and Income

The overwhelming majority of blacks derive their income from employment, so their access to and preparation for well-paying jobs are among the trends we regularly evaluate. During the past year, we analyzed measures used to expand employment opportunities for younger black workers, undertook case studies of current employment training programs, and offered recommendations for extensive reforms in the approach to such programs.

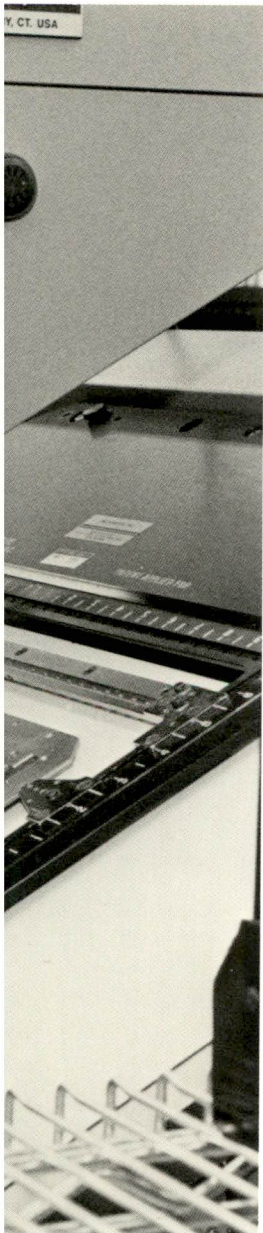
Our analyses of economic trends, conducted by economist Margaret Simms, who is deputy director of research, were published by numerous news organizations and in our monthly magazine, Focus. A monograph written by our Economic Policy Task Force, Black Economic Progress: An Agenda for the 1990s, documents how the economic transformations of the past decade have adversely affected blacks, particularly low-skilled workers, and makes several policy recommendations to improve economic opportunities for this group.

Minority Business Development

Small businesses are an increasingly important source of employment and are now responsible for most of the nation's newly created jobs. Moreover, the ownership of such businesses provides opportunities for self reliance. Not surprisingly, business ownership is increasingly viewed as one means by which minorities can strengthen their position in the economy.

The Center analyzes data on the number and character of black-owned businesses and assesses the distinct problems they face in raising capital and gaining access to desired markets. A forthcoming study, *A Comparison of Minority Business Firms by Ethnicity*, reveals that although blacks own the largest number of minority firms, their businesses had the lowest average receipts of any minority group. Another study, *Black Business Viability in Large Metropolitan Areas*, examines the extent to which minority-owned businesses fare better in cities headed by black mayors than they do in other cities.

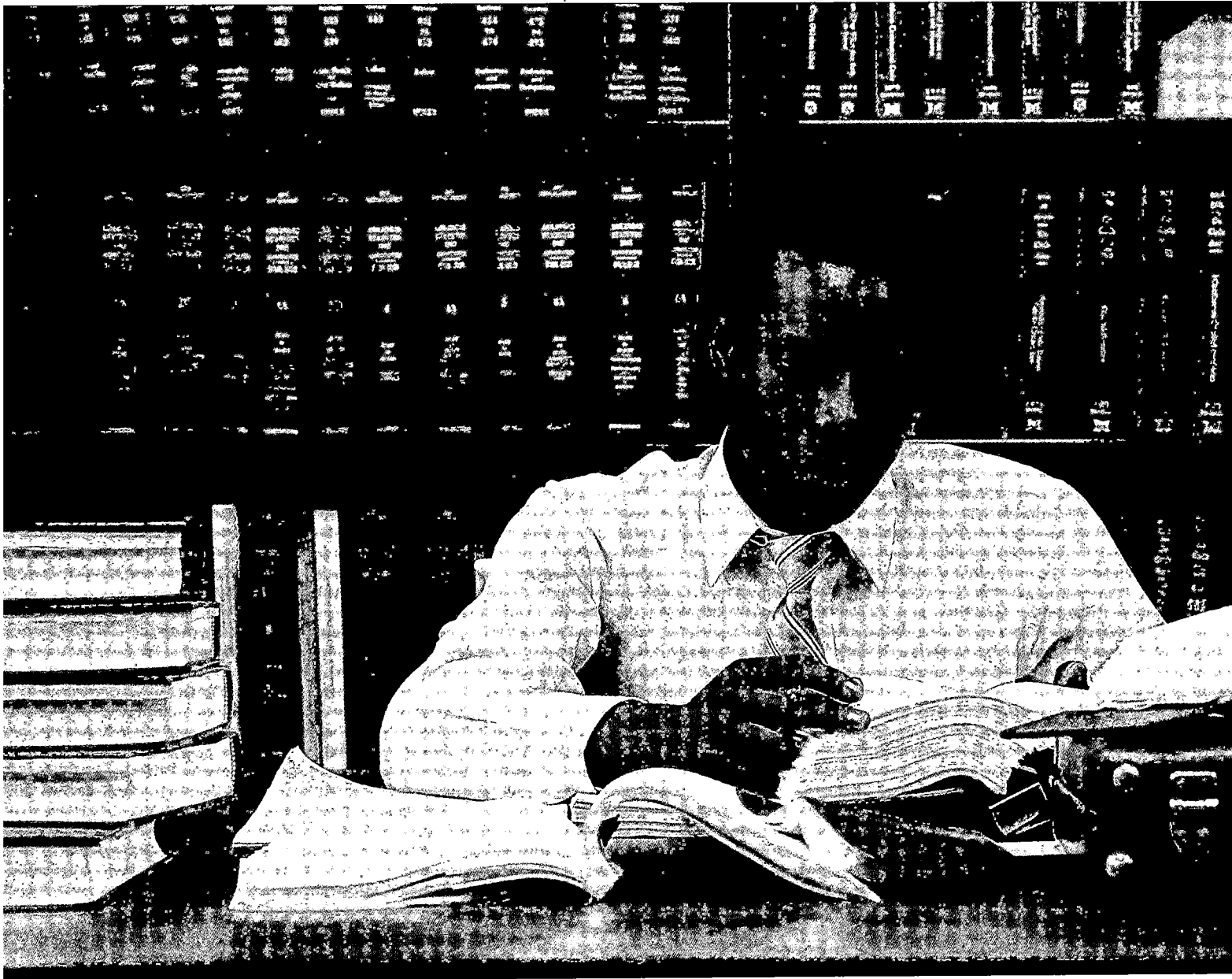
Through 1990, our research will continue to examine the capital needs of and financing options available to black businesses and will evaluate the imminent restructuring of set-aside programs mandated by the recent Supreme Court decision in *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, which found such programs to be unconstitutional in places where past discrimination has not been proven. Conferences and roundtable discussions among black entrepreneurs, venture capitalists, public officials, and other experts were held in 1988 and are planned for 1989 as well.



EDUCATION

"The Joint Center has become an important instrument for strengthening our society and expanding the participation of blacks and other minorities in governmental affairs."

Franklin A. Thomas
President
Ford Foundation



The United States today is seeking to become more productive and competitive in the global economy. An ample, adequately trained work force is essential to our success. However, minorities are a rapidly growing segment of the American work force, and they are not now adequately prepared to meet the country's future labor force needs. This frightening human resource deficit, resulting in a shortage of skilled workers, is, at base, an educational problem.

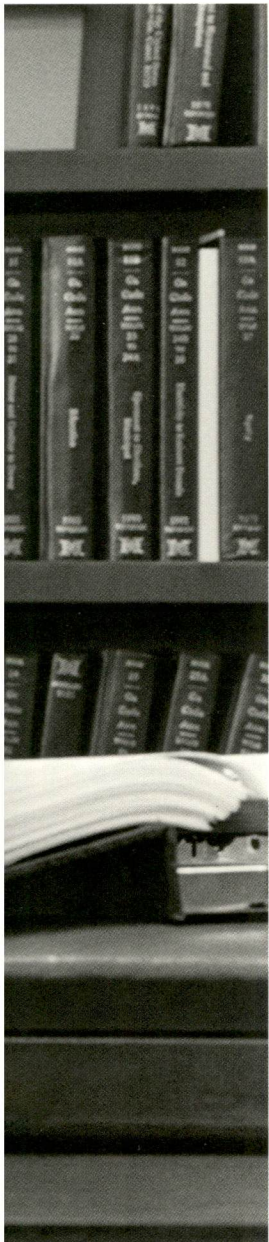
There is abundant evidence that large segments of the nation's public education system are failing to impart the skills needed for effective participation in the work force. This failure is particularly acute in the black community, where the rate of high school dropouts is high and the achievement levels of those who do complete high school are low.

Because blacks are expected to be 12 percent of the labor force by the year 2000, their inadequate education is a severe blow to the economy. Equally important, it is a formidable obstacle to their own economic advancement and life chances. This has caused growing concern among policymakers, educators, and corporate officials. But neither the dimensions of the problem nor the most effective remedies for it are entirely clear.

The Joint Center is conducting research and gathering data in pursuit of answers to the education problem. With the help of Dr. Floretta McKenzie, former superintendent of schools in the District of Columbia and now a consultant to the Joint Center, we are examining the educational achievement of black youth, paying special attention to completion of high school and to college enrollment and

graduation rates. Drawing on available demographic data and our findings about current performance trends, we are developing projections for the next two decades. Finally, through a series of conferences with leading educators, community leaders, policymakers, and concerned corporate executives, we are assessing both public policy options and nongovernmental actions to address the education problem.

Three major publications on education, completed during the past year, will be published in 1989. *Visions of a Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling* examines the barriers to educational attainment by black children, appraises the public schools, evaluates some innovative model programs, and offers recommendations for much needed change. *The Reagan Administration's Abandonment of Civil Rights Enforcement in Higher Education* documents the sharp deterioration during the Reagan administration of the enforcement of affirmative action in higher education. Finally, *Trends in Black Educational Achievement: A Fact Book* compiles data on virtually all aspects of the educational achievement of black children and youth.



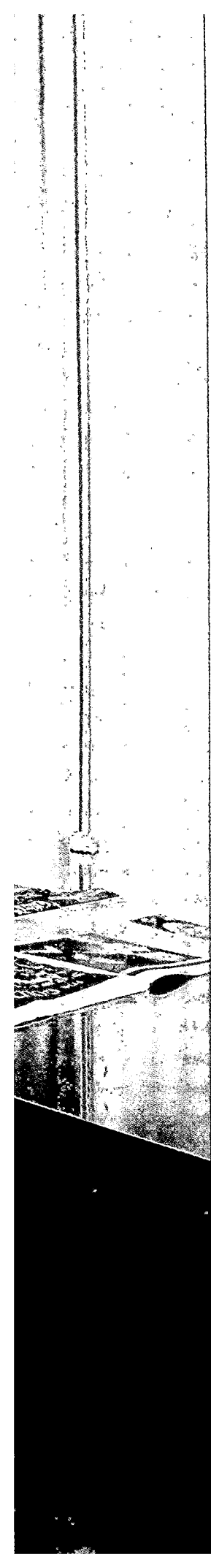
THE FAMILY

"The Joint Center has become a key institution in the black community and in the nation.

As a source of research and information, as an advocate for black political presence, and as a provider of citizenship education services, the Joint Center has become central to black aspirations."

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Esq.





The black family is the subject of widespread concern among analysts, policymakers, and much of the public. Nearly three decades of dramatic increases in the number of separations and divorces among blacks and the proportion of black women who have remained unmarried have resulted in what is widely characterized as a crisis of black female-headed households. By 1985, over half of all black families with children were headed by women, and over half of all black children lived in these families.

The Joint Center's Committee on Policy for Racial Justice provides this perspective:

The crisis of the black family underlies many problems facing the black community, especially entrenched poverty, which is closely correlated to the pronounced vulnerability of the large and growing number of black families headed by single mothers. No strategy designed to improve the status of black Americans can ignore the central position of the black family as the natural transmitter of the care, values, and opportunities for black men, women, and children to reach their full potential as individuals.

The central role of the family is reflected in the life chances it provides for children. The family gives children the basics: food, clothing, and shelter. The family, moreover, shapes their values and aspirations and provides them with the support and encouragement they need to be successful. But black children in America are increasingly being born into families that lack the structure and means to adequately support their development into productive adults. And because black female-headed households are much

more likely than black two-parent households to be in poverty, a rapidly rising proportion of all black children are living in such conditions and are victims of all the unfortunate handicaps associated with poor families.

Evaluating the changing nature of the black family is one of the Joint Center's major undertakings. Our research, conducted by Margaret Simms and Research Associate Cynthia Rexroat, examines changes in black family structure, the likely status of black children over the next two decades, and strategies for strengthening black families.

Although the major subject of our work is families in poverty, we have also been studying black middle class families. Research on this part of the population has been conducted by University of Maryland sociologist Bart Landry, a guest scholar at the Center during 1988. His research documents growth in the number of black middle class families and sheds additional light on their structure and vitality.

Among the initial products of these studies are several working papers, presented by staff members at professional meetings. Work in progress includes a study of the changing black family and its implications for children and a study of the black middle class family, both to be published during the coming year.

POVERTY

"Since its founding, the Center has pursued its mission, not through an emotional response to inequities, but rather through factual data and solid research...."

John J. Creedon
Chief Executive Officer
Metropolitan Life



Blacks continue to be a disproportionately large segment of the nation's poor. In 1988 approximately a third of all blacks lived in poverty. The poverty rate actually increased during the last eight years, a period that is widely viewed as one of economic prosperity. The conditions associated with poverty rob the society of potentially valuable and productive human resources, impose heavy welfare and other human-service costs, and undermine efforts to extend economic benefits to all Americans.

Urban Underclass

There is considerable evidence that the depth and the intensity of poverty in our cities continue to worsen, creating what is often called an "urban underclass." The Joint Center's study on urban poverty, conducted by Research Associate Katherine McFate, is one of our highest priorities. Our special contribution is to monitor and analyze new research in this field through a series of roundtables involving the nation's leading researchers on poverty and social policy. In 1988, we sponsored three conferences that examined determinants of urban poverty, black male labor force participation, and the mushrooming drug culture. Future conferences will examine the implications of the recently passed Family Security Act.

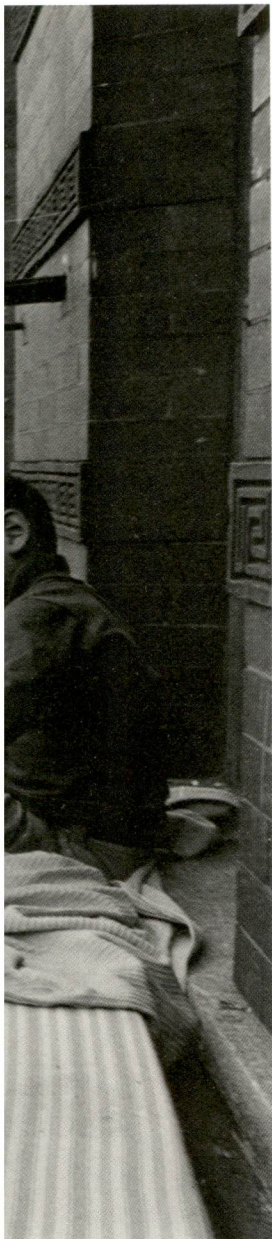
Our research has resulted in the publication of numerous working papers and articles, as well as a monograph entitled *The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America*.

Many of the characteristics of urban poverty that have been of major concern in this country are also becoming more prominent in several Western European countries. As a result, European scholars and policy-makers have become much more attentive to poverty and its implications for public policy. In an effort to broaden and enrich our own work in this field, the Joint Center is directing a collaborative effort between American and European scholars to conduct comparative research on urban poverty. Under the Center's auspices, this collaborative effort is being led by professors William Julius Wilson of The University of Chicago and Roger Lawson of the University of Southampton, England.

Rural Poverty

Unlike the urban poor, the rural poor receive little public attention, largely because they are dispersed across the country in hidden pockets of blight. Yet millions of people in rural America continue to languish in poverty. This is especially true of blacks.

Our research on this population, conducted by economist Joyce Allen, a senior research associate, reveals that a disproportionately large number of rural blacks, 42 percent, are poor, compared to 15 percent of rural whites. Moreover, 61 percent of all rural black children live in poverty. These findings were published in *Focus* and discussed at national conferences on the rural poor. A forthcoming study will examine this group's labor market opportunities and health status and will assess how their needs are being addressed.



PHILANTHROPY

"The Center's research on black philanthropic attitudes and behavior is important ground-breaking work in previously uncharted territory. It serves to fill a long-standing information gap in the charitable community, and should inspire further research in this area."

William Aramony
President
United Way of America



During the past eight years, philanthropy—private giving and volunteering to help others—became a national issue in the wake of steady federal withdrawals from social programs. As policymakers placed more emphasis on private philanthropy to solve pressing social problems, questions inevitably rose about whether and to what extent successful blacks helped those who were less fortunate. A study by Research Associate Emmett Carson has begun to answer some of these questions.

The first phase of this study shows that two-thirds of all blacks give money to charitable organizations and about half volunteer time to such organizations. In these respects, the philanthropic behavior of blacks is very similar to that of whites.

It is also clear that blacks have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, first seen in the 18th century with the founding of schools, banks, and benevolent societies. That tradition continued in the 19th century when the underground railroad rescued escapees from slavery and in the civil rights movement of the past three decades. This continuity of initiative, seen most clearly today in the black church, belies the myth of black indifference and dependency.

Indeed, our studies show that over 68 percent of blacks' financial contributions go to their own churches; another seven percent go to other religious organizations and hospitals and six percent to social welfare organizations. In addition to monetary contributions to religious institutions, 52 percent of blacks contribute food, clothing, or other property to a charitable organization, and

about 70 percent report giving money, food, clothing, or services to the homeless, a needy neighbor, or another individual.

In 1988, the Joint Center released a half-hour videotape documentary on black philanthropy entitled, *A Tradition of Giving*. The documentary presents charitable activities at churches and civic organizations in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Oakland, and Washington, D.C.

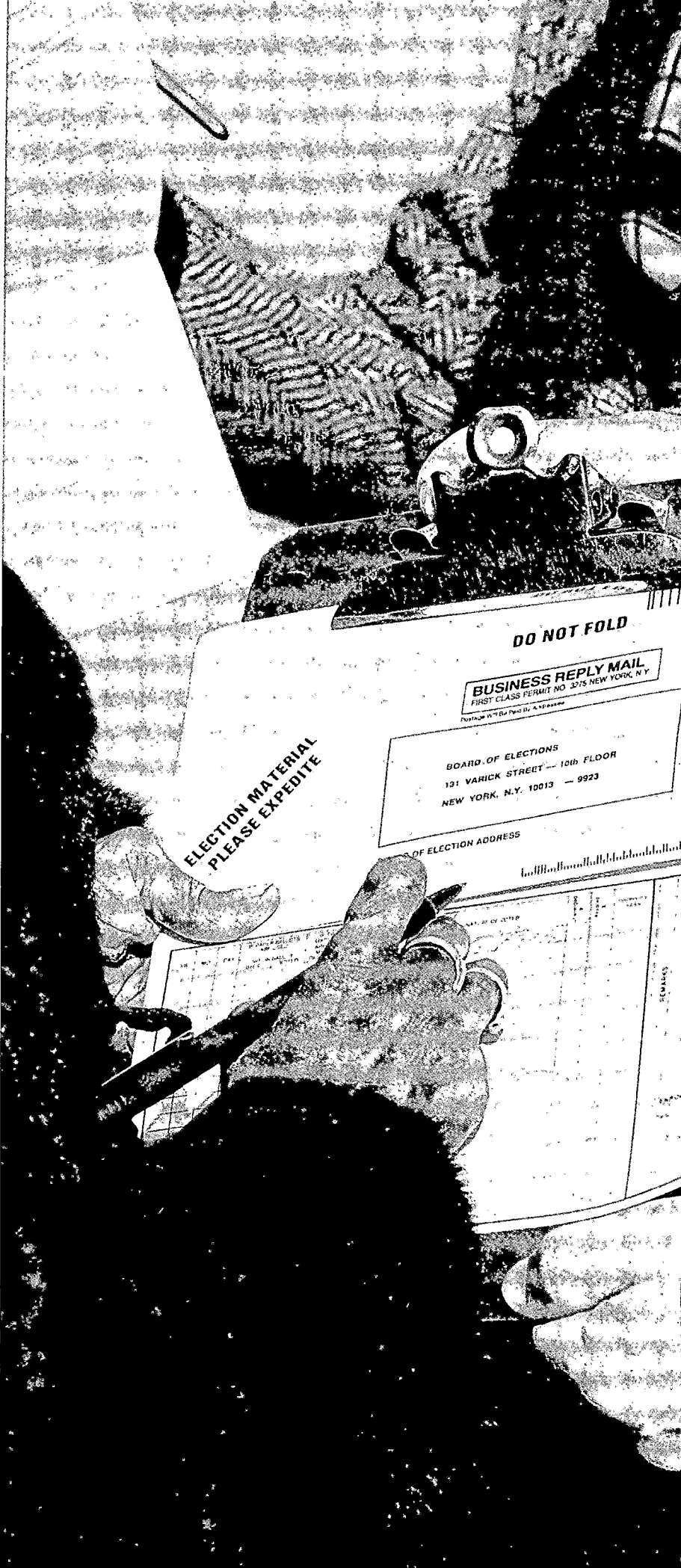
In 1989, our research will yield three publications: *Black Philanthropy in America; The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Blacks and Whites Respond to Different Types of Fundraising Efforts;* and *Black Philanthropy and Health Care.*




POLITICS

"The Joint Center's sensitivity and responsiveness to the most pressing needs of the day, such as poverty, education, and international affairs, have made it an indispensable resource for black elected officials throughout the country."

Congressman Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.)
Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus





Participation in the political arena is an expected and valued form of self help and a way of sharing in the governance of our society. Black Americans have made impressive political advances during the past two decades, and the Joint Center has been associated—directly or indirectly—with many of those advances.

Numerous articles and commentaries by Associate Director of Research Linda F. Williams showed that the influence of blacks in the 1988 presidential nominating and selection process—especially in the Democratic Party—was greater than at any other time in American history. The presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson stimulated a large black voter turnout in many Democratic primaries and resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of black delegates—from 697 in 1984 to 962 in 1988. Blacks were 23 percent of all Democratic delegates and were active participants in all aspects of their convention in Atlanta, Georgia.

On the Republican side, the 61 black delegates were eight fewer than in 1984 and only 2.7 percent of all delegates. Their small numbers and roles at the Republican convention mirrored the limited involvement of blacks in the Republican Party.

As it has done in every presidential election year since 1972, the Joint Center monitored black participation in both political parties, prepared extensive guides to both conventions, and provided informational assistance to black delegates at those conventions. The Center also monitored the presidential election campaign, using national survey data to predict the black vote and

using exit polls to analyze the actual outcome. The Center's 1988 Gallup survey provided a wealth of information on the candidate preferences and issue priorities of black Americans. Survey findings were released at a National Press Club conference which was attended by more than 80 local, national, and foreign journalists.

In addition to our election surveys, our annual survey of black elected officials reported that as of January 1988, there were 6,829 such officials in the United States, representing about 1.5 percent of all public officials. The Center's *National Roster of Black Elected Officials* is the nation's most authoritative resource book on this subject.

The Joint Center's continuing studies on black political behavior, including voter participation, partisanship, and political strategies, not only contributed to the political science literature, but was extensively used by the mass media and by groups seeking to stimulate greater citizen participation.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

~~"The Joint Center has brought clarity and insight to a wide range of foreign policy issues—international trade, arms control, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and ethnocentrism, to name a few."~~

Congressman George Crockett
Chair, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee
on Western Hemisphere Affairs





Because Americans' political concerns do not stop at the water's edge, the Joint Center is expanding its research and other activities in the international field. Voters recognize the direct and consequential links between international developments and their domestic concerns. Unemployment, drug trafficking, and the health of the U.S. economy are all tied to developments beyond our shores. Thus, to have greater control over their own economic well-being, blacks, too, have become increasingly concerned with international affairs. This is especially true for black elected officials, who must address a broad array of issues in an international context.

Our international research includes continuing work on military manpower issues, which will result in a book this year entitled *Who Defends America? Race, Sex and Class in the Armed Forces*. This book is edited by Deputy Director of Research Edwin Dorn, who also has produced a national security monograph, *After the Zero Option: Now That Reagan and Gorbachev Have Agreed, What Happens Next?*

Three guest scholars are also conducting research on international affairs: Army Colonel Jack Gerber on U.S. National Security Assistance programs; Temple University international law professor Henry Richardson on black Americans and international law; and Senior Foreign Service Officer Hartford T. Jennings on the Department of State's domestic outreach activities.

During the past year, Edwin Dorn was invited by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs to participate in a

series of NATO briefings in England, Belgium, and West Germany. Milton Morris participated in the Kettering Foundation's meeting of Soviet and American citizens at the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin. In London he participated in a Ditchley Foundation conference on "Political and Economic Problems Facing Western Countries as a Result of Current Population Trends," and at New York's Arden House he participated in a conference sponsored by Columbia University's American Assembly on "U.S. Global Competitiveness."

The Joint Center has also become increasingly involved in the debate over how to halt the proliferation of illegal drugs. In 1988, we convened a forum of more than 40 legislators, policymakers, drug enforcement officials, and representatives from prevention and treatment programs. They agreed that a coordinated national strategy of enforcement, treatment, prevention, and education was needed, and that this strategy required that government officials, business leaders, community groups, and educators work together.

In 1988 the Joint Center initiated a new program under which it provides financial assistance to African organizations seeking to promote democratic reforms in their countries. Grant funds come from the National Endowment for Democracy, an independent, nonpartisan organization founded and funded by the U.S. Congress. The Joint Center serves as the grants administrator for projects in South Africa, Uganda, Senegal, Sudan, and Sierra Leone.

COLLABORATION

"The Joint Center plays a crucial role in bringing people together around critical national issues. Its relationship with the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice is just one example of the Center's talent for enlisting independent thinkers in the search for solutions to problems confronting our society."

John Hope Franklin
James B. Duke Professor of History, Duke University



The Joint Center often collaborates with other institutions in examining public policy issues. In addition to the joint ventures mentioned above, we cosponsored a national conference with the Smithsonian Institution on "Afro-Americans and the Evolution of a Living Constitution," commemorating the bicentennial of the Constitution. A satellite teleconference of this symposium was aired live to 37 colleges nationally and by the Pacifica Radio Network to its stations in Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. The audience totaled over a quarter of a million listeners and viewers. The results of this conference are also being disseminated by the Center, the Smithsonian, the American Bar Association's Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship, and Radio America.

We also collaborated with two universities. In the spring we and Morgan State University cosponsored a conference on "Black Mayors and the Governance of America's Cities." In the fall we cosponsored a conference on urban policy with the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs and the Hispanic Research Center, both at the University of Texas.

One of the Center's principal collaborative efforts, now in its seventh year, is the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. The

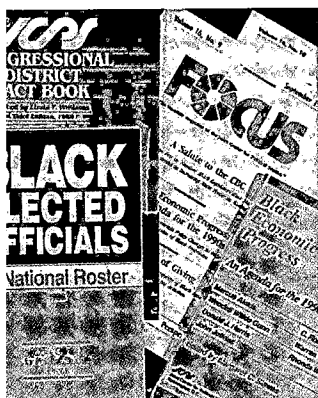
Committee is composed of 29 of the nation's most prominent black scholars and policy analysts, four of whom are recipients of the coveted MacArthur Foundation "genius" award: Children's Defense Fund president Marian Wright Edelman, Harvard University professor Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, Joint Center president Eddie N. Williams, and University of Chicago professor William Julius Wilson. Another member, Princeton University professor emeritus Arthur Lewis, is a Nobel Prize winner.

Under cochairs historian John Hope Franklin and law professor Eleanor Holmes Norton, the Committee produced one book for publication in early 1989: *Visions of a Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling*. Another book, on economic policy, will be published later this year.

Finally, in collaboration with seven national organizations of black elected officials, the Joint Center's National Policy Institute sponsored a policy conference in January 1988 to brief public officials and other leaders on some of the social, economic, political, and international issues expected to be raised during the presidential nominating and election processes and that will confront the black community into the next decade.

Professor Mary Frances Berry, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Director-Counsel Julius Chambers, and Professor John Hope Franklin being interviewed by Washington, D.C., news anchorwoman Renee Poussaint during a satellite teleconference on "Afro-Americans and the Evolution of a Living Constitution."





Forthcoming Releases

***Black Philanthropy in America*
Emmett D. Carson**

Based on national surveys, this study measures the current philanthropic attitudes and giving behavior of black Americans. It identifies the amounts and the recipients of their monetary donations. The study finds that for any given income level, individual blacks donate their time and money at roughly the same rate as whites, and that churches remain the primary vehicle for black contributions. ISBN 0-941410-79-X

***The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Blacks and Whites Respond to Differing Types of Fundraising Efforts*
Emmett D. Carson**

This study details the monetary donations that black Americans made in 1986, identifying where these gifts went, which fundraising techniques were most successful, and how the giving behavior of blacks compares with that of whites. The research is based on national opinion polls as well as in-depth reviews of selected philanthropic organizations in eight cities. ISBN 0-941410-83-8

***Minorities and Privatization: Economic Mobility At Risk*
Robert Suggs**

Based on extensive field studies, this monograph examines how the privatization of municipal services has affected black and Hispanic residents, workers, and businesses in 10 cities. It suggests that minority municipal workers, who often make up a disproportionately large number of those laid off as a result of privatization schemes, are usually unable to obtain comparable jobs in the private sector offering the same wages and benefits. Moreover, minority businesses rarely win privatized contracts. The author suggests measures which municipalities may adopt to soften the harmful effects of privatization. ISBN 0-941410-82-X

***The Reagan Administration's Abandonment of Civil Rights Enforcement in Higher Education*
Gary Orfield**

This study describes in detail the Reagan administration's dismantling of the enforcement of civil rights laws in higher education, a practice that contributed to the

measurable decline in black college enrollment over the past eight years. Research for the study included confidential interviews with staff from federal enforcement agencies. ISBN 0-941410-86-2

***Visions of a Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling*
JCPS Committee on Policy for Racial Justice**

This essay argues that the nation's public elementary and high schools are not so much correcting as reinforcing existing social and racial inequities through ill-conceived administrative and classroom practices. It calls for greater funding for Head Start and Chapter 1, an end to ability streamlining and to overreliance on standardized tests, and the introduction of parent-school partnerships. ISBN 0-941410-76-5

***Who Defends America? Race, Sex, and Class in the Armed Forces*
Edited by Edwin Dorn**

This book presents the views of 11 distinguished scholars and government officials on the role of blacks and other minorities in today's military. Diverse and illuminating opinions are offered to such questions as whether the army is "too black" and whether today's all-volunteer military is adequately recruiting and training women and middle-class whites. Contributors include former national security advisor McGeorge Bundy, House Armed Services Committee chairman Les Aspin, and Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Roger Wilkins. ISBN 0-941410-77-3

Selected Publications

***After the Zero Option: Now that Reagan and Gorbachev Have Agreed, What Happens Next?*
Edwin Dorn, 1988**

This book explores various options American policy makers could pursue in the aftermath of the intermediate nuclear force (INF) treaty signed in 1988 by the United States and the Soviet Union. 16 pp. ISBN 0-941410-66-8

***Black Economic Progress: An Agenda for the 1990s*
Edited by Margaret Simms, 1988**

The JCPS Economic Policy Task Force explains why recent changes in the economy, as well as current economic and social policies, make it difficult for blacks to enter the economic mainstream. The task force recommends several policy changes to help blacks improve their economic condition. 50 pp. ISBN 0-941410-69-2

***Black Elected Officials: A National Roster*
JCPS Office of Research, 1988**

This annual volume lists all black elected officials nationwide, including the mailing address and term of office of each official. The *Roster* also contains tables, charts, and graphs for easy reference and special sections offering statistical and descriptive data on each state. 480 pp. ISBN 0-941410-73-0

***Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility*
JCPS Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, with an introduction by John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton, 1986**

The second in a series of essays by a group of prominent black scholars, this document addresses the problems and circumstances confronting blacks in the context

of black values, the black community, and the role of government. 17 pp. ISBN 0-941410-61-7

Blacks and the 1988 Democratic National Convention
Linda F. Williams, 1988

This is an easy-to-use reference book which identifies each of the 1,231 black Democratic delegates and alternates and members of the various party and convention committees; provides background information on the size, distribution, and voting behavior of the black electorate during the past 20 years; and documents the historic level of black involvement in the 1988 Democratic National Convention. 112 pp. ISBN 0-941410-67-6

Blacks and the 1988 Republican National Convention
Milton D. Morris, 1988

Like the Democratic guide (above), this book lists black delegates and alternates to the 1988 Republican National Convention and contains background on black participation in the G.O.P. 45 pp. ISBN 0-941410-70-6

Elected and Appointed Black Judges in the United States

JCPS Office of Research in Cooperation with the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, 1986

This first directory of all black elected and appointed judges nationwide provides names, titles, jurisdictions, and mailing addresses. 85 pp. ISSN 0-889-3179

A Horse of a Different Color: Television's Treatment of Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign
C. Anthony Broh, 1987

This book reviews the television media coverage of Jesse Jackson's campaign for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, and compares Jackson's coverage with that of the other leading Democratic contenders. The author provides a useful framework for analyzing television coverage of political campaigns. 93 pp. ISBN 0-941410-54-4

How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act (3rd edition)

Barbara Y. Phillips, 1983

This book describes how the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended in 1982, can be used to prevent jurisdictions covered by the act from implementing potentially discriminatory changes in voting procedures. It explains, step by step, the procedures for filing a complaint under the 1982 Voting Rights Act. 93 pp. ISBN 0-941410-27-7

The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America
Edited by Katherine McFate, 1988

This book examines the demographic characteristics of both blacks and whites in the 48 metropolitan areas where black populations exceed 100,000 and presents data on the major indicators of social and economic well-being. 96 pp. ISBN 0-941410-65-X

Minority Vote Dilution

Edited by Chandler Davidson, 1984

This is the nation's leading reader on minority vote dilution, which involves such techniques as at-large elections, gerrymandering, and run-off requirements. It contains 12 essays by leading lawyers, political sci-

tists, historians, and policy makers. 298 pp. (Order from: Howard University Press, 2900 Van Ness Street, NW, Washington, DC 20008.) ISBN 0-88258-156-2

The Nineteen Eighties: Prologue and Prospect
Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin, 1981

This essay reviews the progress made by blacks in recent years and looks at the problems, opportunities, and challenges facing them in the 1980s and beyond. 22 pp. ISBN 0-941410-20-X

A Policy Framework for Racial Justice

Foreword by Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin, 1983

This is the first in a series of essays by prominent black scholars, convened by the Joint Center, who focus on three issues that are critical to further social progress: the economy, the black family, and education. This group later reorganized as the Joint Center's Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. 22 pp. ISBN 0-941410-30-7

Race and Political Strategy

Edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1983

This book includes the edited transcript of a 1983 JCPS roundtable that brought together pollsters, political scientists, and former candidates to look at the challenges black candidates face, especially when running for office in predominantly white districts. 55 pp. ISBN 0-941410-33-1

Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies

Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise A. Alston, 1988

This book examines the various explanations that have been given for Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley's losses in the 1982 and 1986 California gubernatorial campaigns. The authors offer important advice to all black candidates running against white opponents in predominantly white jurisdictions. 96 pp. ISBN 0-941410-63-3

Magazine

Focus, the Joint Center for Political Studies' monthly magazine, presents concise, timely articles on a wide range of political and public policy matters (domestic and foreign). A special feature—*Political TrendLetter*—provides detailed coverage of political events as they unfold each month. *Focus* also contains news about the Joint Center's activities. The contributors include JCPS staff as well as scholars, policy makers, and leaders from all segments of society. 12-16 pp./month, (combined November-December issue). ISSN 0740-0195

Videocassette Tape

A Tradition of Giving, produced in 1988 by Mark Lloyd of the Joint Center, is a 30-minute documentary about black philanthropy. It takes a national look at various churches, fraternal groups, social service agencies, and fundraising organizations dedicated to helping black Americans in need. VHS or 3/4-inch videocassettes are available. Catalog No. 750

Publications may be ordered from: Order Department/JCPS, University Press of America, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Md. 20706; or by writing to the JCPS Publications Office, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

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Milton D. Morris, director since 1979, was previously a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a research fellow at the Joint Center, and an associate professor of political science at Southern Illinois University. Political scientist Morris is the author of *The Politics of Black America* (Harper and Row, 1976), *Curbing Illegal Immigration* (Brookings Institution, 1982), and *Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy* (Brookings Institution, 1986).

Margaret Simms, deputy director since 1986, was formerly chair of the Department of Economics at Atlanta University and formerly program director of the Minorities and Social Policy Program at the Urban Institute. Economist Simms served as editor of the *Review of Black Political Economy* from 1983 to 1988. She is the coeditor, with Julianne Malveaux, of *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women* (Transaction Books, 1986).

Edwin Dorn, deputy director for special programs since 1982, held several senior posts in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1980 to 1981. Dorn, a political scientist, is the author of *Rules and Racial Equity* (Yale University Press, 1979).

Linda F. Williams, associate director, taught political science at Chicago State University, Cornell University, and Howard University before coming to the Center in 1985. She is the author of *Race, Class and Politics: The Impact of the American Political Economy on Detroit's Blacks* (Oxford University Press, 1986).

Joyce Allen, senior research associate, was an economist for the Economic Research Service at the U.S. Department of Agriculture before coming to the Center in 1987. She is the author of several articles on agricultural economics and minority businesses.

Emmett D. Carson, research associate, joined the Center in 1986 after working as an analyst of social legislation with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. He is the author of several articles on black philanthropy.

Katherine McFate, research associate, served as staff director of the Mayor's Special Commission on Poverty in New Haven, Connecticut, before coming to the Center in 1985. She was previously an instructor at Yale University. She is the author of several articles on poverty and the underclass.

Cynthia Rexroat, research associate, was assistant professor of sociology at the University of Florida before coming to the Center in 1987. She is the author of several articles on family demography and women's economic roles.

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Joint Center Management Team: *seated, left to right, Kathy Vander Horst, Frank Dexter Brown, Milton D. Morris; standing, Mark Lloyd, Auriel Pilgrim, Brenda Watkins Noel, Russell Owens, and Eleanor Farrar.*

**Balance Sheet
For the Year Ended March 31**

Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.

The financial information on the following pages has been extracted from financial statements audited by Arthur Andersen & Co. Our board members receive detailed reports of the Joint Center's activities and financial condition each quarter. At the end of each fiscal year, the auditors present to the board the audited financial statements and an evaluation of our internal financial control systems.

The Joint Center's primary sources of support and revenue are contributions and grants from foundations and corporations. In 1988, support from the private sector accounted for 93 percent of the Center's funding. Six percent of our support came from earned income, and one percent from governmental sources.

The Joint Center ended fiscal 1988 with total support and revenue of \$3,237,787; total operating expenditures of \$3,351,510; and a fund balance of \$620.

Copies of the audited financial statements are available upon request.

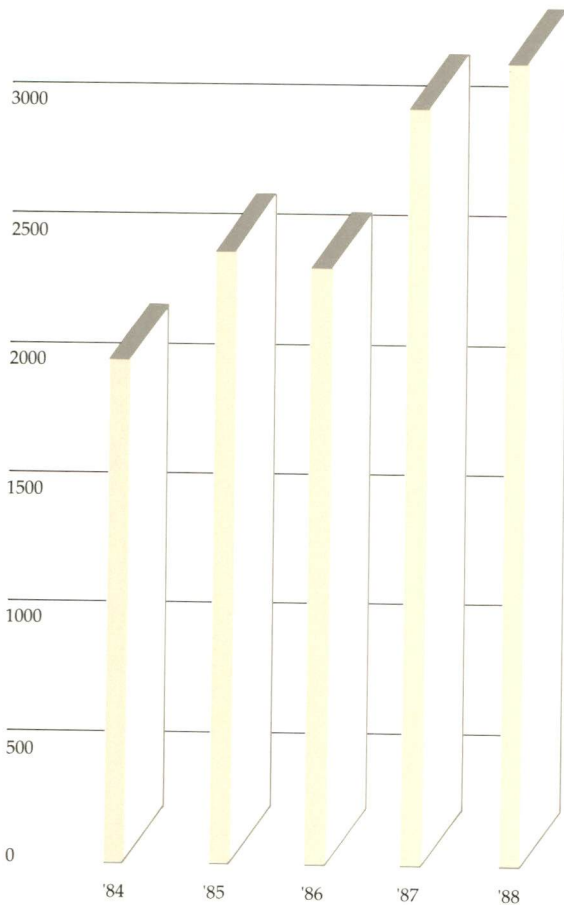
Assets	1988	1987
Cash and Cash Investments	\$346,021	\$1,380,509
Marketable Securities	—	25,000
Grants Receivable	47,565	16,256
Pledges, Publications, and Miscellaneous Accounts Receivable (less allowance for doubtful accounts)	105,563	54,643
Salary and Travel Advances	24,816	27,177
Prepaid Expenses	66,946	45,698
Furniture, Equipment, and Leasehold Improvements (net of accumulated depreciation and amortization)	93,243	65,178
Total Assets	\$684,154	\$1,614,461
Liabilities and Fund Balance		
Liabilities:		
Accounts Payable	\$109,947	\$ 36,696
Accrued Payroll	76,412	57,915
Accrued Vacation Pay	114,700	107,600
Other Accrued Liabilities	54,310	52,583
Unearned Grant Revenue	328,165	1,245,324
Total Current Liabilities	683,534	1,500,118
Fund Balance	620	114,343
Total Liabilities and Fund Balance	\$684,154	\$1,614,461

Statement of Support, Revenues, Expenses and Changes in Fund Balance
For the Year Ended March 31

Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.

JCPS Five Year Growth

Total Support and Revenue in Thousands of Dollars



Support and Revenues	1988	1987
Grants and Contributions	\$2,424,691	\$2,683,758
Fundraising Dinners	626,674	—
Publications Sales	58,260	59,583
Dues and Fees	92,527	41,388
Interest Income	35,635	127,723
Total Support and Revenues	\$3,237,787	\$2,912,452
Expenses		
Program Services:		
Research	\$1,731,314	\$1,208,145
Information Dissemination	1,128,523	721,939
Total Program Services	2,859,837	1,930,084
Support Services:		
Management and Administration	491,673	978,803
Fundraising	—	2,778
Total Support Services	491,673	981,581
Total Expenses	\$3,351,510	\$2,911,665
Excess of Support and Revenues Over Expenses	\$(113,723)	\$ 787
Fund Balance, Beginning of Year	\$ 114,343	\$ 113,556
Fund Balance, End of Year	\$ 620	\$ 114,343

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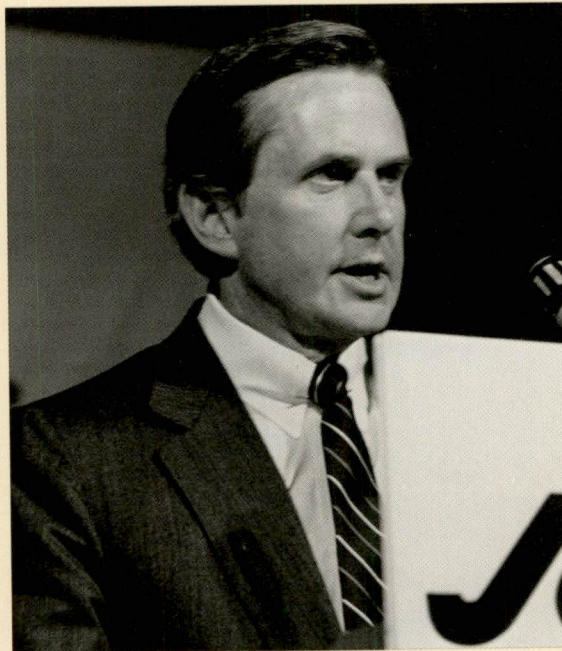
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The Joint Center's bottom line is to examine facts, to raise questions, and to seek national consensus.



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*REMARKS BY

LOUIS W. SULLIVAN, M.D.

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES DINNER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

*THIS TEXT IS THE BASIS OF SECRETARY SULLIVAN'S ORAL REMARKS.
IT SHOULD BE USED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SOME MATERIAL MAY
BE ADDED OR OMITTED DURING PRESENTATION.

1

Good evening. It is a privilege to be in the company of such a distinguished group of leaders. I have long known of the work of the Joint Center for Political Studies and I have admired its commitment to leadership in the quest for solutions to the many problems facing our nation today, in particular those problems of that American, Black or White, Native American or Hispanic, who has been less fortunate than you or I and to whom the American dream is not yet a reality.

In July of 1975, I left my position as professor of medicine at Boston University School Of Medicine and accepted the challenge to found and develop the Medical Education Program at Morehouse College, which was to evolve into the independent Morehouse School of Medicine in 1981.

Atlanta was my home. Morehouse was my alma mater, so the move was not too difficult although it represented a shift in my career focus. This project was something I felt deeply about. It was the opportunity of a lifetime to develop a medical school that would concentrate its energies on the education and training of those minority groups that had so often been overlooked. A chance to help see that young Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans who might not otherwise have an opportunity were given the same opportunities that I had received as a young man.

A school whose graduates would have a special commitment to working in medically under-served areas and inner cities among the poor and our minority communities.

There weren't very many Black doctors when I entered medical school in 1954, the year the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public schools. It seemed, to some, even in 1975 an impossible goal, a terribly idealistic thing, to make medicine a profession as open to the young black man or woman as to anyone else.

What greater challenge could a man ask? What greater opportunity than to develop a school of medicine that is a place where young men and women who are Black, White, Hispanic, Asian-American and Native American are trained in the latest medical techniques with concern, compassion and a commitment to serving their fellow man.

And then one day a friend called from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. So here I am.

There is no other department or agency of our federal government that more directly affects our citizens than Health and Human Services. From the onset of life, through health and sickness, from the foods we eat to the medicines we take, this department touches the daily lives of all Americans.

Our children, our parents, our youth, our seniors, all are affected by the activities of this vast governmental agency.

Like any new secretary there are a number of areas of special concern to me. This evening I would like to share with you some of those ideas, the philosophy, the goals, the hopes and aspirations which President Bush and I hold for the American people and which are executed through the Office of Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services.

As a physician and an American who has come from a proud family of modest circumstances I have a special affinity for the work of this department. During my professional career, I have witnessed remarkable progress in health care and health status in our nation. Programs like Medicare and Medicaid have made available to the elderly and to the poor, services formerly available only to the wealthy.

As an academician, I have seen great strides in our treatment of cancer, polio and other dread diseases through research supported by the National Institutes of Health. The various welfare and other human services under the auspices of hhs have strengthened the lives of millions of our citizens and improved the health of our children.

Much, however, remains to be done. You know as well as I that every dollar for these and other programs must be spent carefully and with a view toward eventual reduction of federal budget deficits. In spite of these limits we can, we must, continue to improve the health and well being of all our people. We cannot afford to do less. By refinement of existing programs and judicious consideration of other endeavors, it can be done.

Our first order of business must be to maintain the ongoing solvency of programs like Social Security and Medicare. Ways must be found to contain escalating medical costs without sacrificing our goal of quality health care for all. There must be further development of health promotion and preventive medicine strategies rather than our current emphasis on treatment and diagnosis of existing medical disorders. An emphasis on being healthy and staying healthy makes good sense and in the long run, is the most cost effective strategy.

We have in place programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Head Start programs which have been so beneficial to our disadvantaged young people indeed. President Bush has called for expansion of Head Start. We must continue to find ways to better serve our nation's poor and help them work their way out of poverty. Therefore, implementation of last year's welfare reform legislation will be one of my earliest and most significant priorities.

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I believe we must do all we can to strengthen family life in our country and to restore our sense of community, our shared sense of responsibility and commitment to each other. Those of us who have been fortunate in having strong families must work together with those less fortunate in this regard. In particular, health promotion, health care and other services must emphasize our children or our nation's future will be lost.

Let me say at this point the issue of drugs in our society must be addressed. This is a problem that affects us all, it eats at the fiber of our families, the stability of our communities, at our very social structure. This is not an issue for personal partisanship. As individuals as leaders, we must do all that we can to halt this terrible epidemic which robs our children of their future and snuffs out the promise of our society.

Strong biomedical research efforts for which HHS is known must continue in our quest to discover a cure for AIDS and other diseases. As the president has said, "We must commit the resources and the will to find a cure. American science must know that we have the resolve to beat this disease." However, in our resolve to rid our land of this terrible disease, this disease which so destroys our youth and our vitality, we must not forget our continued assault against cancer, heart disease, diabetes arthritis, mental illness and the other disorders afflicting our citizens.

In view of our limited resources, it is important to focus our efforts on the poor, the disadvantaged and the neglected in our society. Through careful administration of programs like Medicare and Medicaid we must see that rural and inner city health needs are adequately addressed, that the poor of our nation are cared for properly and with dignity. The health of our minority citizens. Black, Hispanic, Native American and those others who have yet to fully realize the American dream, is of special concern to me.

Finally our president has called for a kinder and gentler nation; a goal which I support with enthusiasm. It is my desire, that during my tenure as secretary of HHS, that the offices of the department have a human face; that the regulations promulgated carry a gentle touch; that HHS employees be bound by the hallmark of service and take their pride in the help and assistance offered their fellow Americans. This may seem an impossible, idealistic goal, but in our lifetime, we have seen the seemingly impossible accomplished more than once.

These are some of our goals for the Department of Health and Human Services. This is the direction in which I would like to move this vast collection of agencies, bureaus, institutes, administrations, programs, hospitals, and research facilities that come together under the umbrella of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Now it may come as a surprise to some that these goals, these ideals, cannot be achieved without your help.

The budget of HHS, this single largest departmental budget of the United States government, is the fourth largest budget in the world. Only the federal government, the Soviet Union, and Japan have larger budgets.

During the past 11 weeks, I have had the opportunity to study the Department of Health and Human Services, to observe some of the many people who make it work. (And it will come as no surprise to you that it is dedicated people who make HHS work.) I have been impressed with most of the employees whom I have met. I have been impressed with the concern and the dedication I have seen. Civil servants, men and women, who have chosen to devote their lives in service to their fellow citizens.

It is this commitment to serve which unifies the 114,000 employees of HHS. But even the dedication and commitment of 114,000 will not be enough.

There was a time when many assumed that Washington could solve all of our society's ills. And indeed there was a time when to some, that assumption appeared to be accurate.

Many of you were born, as I was, during the depth of the Depression, whose stark reality remains vivid within my memory.

The challenge is there to educate our young, to provide meaningful jobs, to provide decent, safe facilities for child care. It will not be easy. It will demand innovation, new ideas, new cooperative ventures. It will demand a deliberate and sustained effort to unify our land, to work for a compassionate society where each individual sees his or her responsibility to his or her fellow man.

You are here tonight because each of you is a leader. But the mantle of leadership does not come without cost. By accepting our respective leadership roles we have each issued to the public an I.O.U., a promissory note which says redeemable on demand and which implies that we will actively seek solutions and find the best answers to the pressing problems which confront our society today, and which loom over tomorrow's horizons.

It would be foolhardy to assume that the public is unaware of that outstanding note of demand, to believe that the American citizen is not aware that he or she holds this I.O.U.

It would be equally foolish for one to assume that because he or she is in the private sector, rather than in a governmental position that their role of leadership does not also carry with it this outstanding debt to the public.

10

In short, by our very assumption of leadership in government and in the private sector we find ourselves in one boat, together. We are bound to each other in one fabric. The responsibility for solutions belongs to us all, to our elected governmental leaders, to the civic and community leader, to the clergy and to the businessman. Our citizen in need does not care whether we are Republican or Democrat, Liberal or Conservative. He or she is not interested in philosophy or political posture, he demands answers, he seeks solutions to those problems which confront him and his family, his community.

We may not be happy about it, we may disagree on the origins of it, but the fact remains the federal government today is constrained by the reality of limited resources. The day of federal largess has passed. Old problems remain, new problems emerge. But the old answers, the old solutions simply no longer work.

The 1950s were a time of relative peace and prosperity and indeed they were for most Americans. But beneath the surface of that urban and suburban calm ran the corrosive waters of racism and bigotry.

11

But one day Rosa Parks was tired. Without warning, with no grand plan with no malice, Rosa Parks cashed in her I.O.U. Her singular act aroused a people and as those other I.O.U.'S came flooding in our society was changed.

There was no particular reason why on that day, in that place, this problem which had been suppressed beneath the calm veneer of our society for so long, should erupt. It did and it is important to note, that when Rosa Parks cashed in her I.O.U., it affected all our leadership, Black and White, preacher and teacher, politician and businessman.

We are challenged by new issues today, to work together, to work with each other, to focus on the raging problems of our economic underclass, our fellow citizens who have not participated in the American dream of upward mobility, self-improvement, those whose ladder of advancement has no rungs.

Herein lies the opportunity.

You and I are all charged to convert those I.O.U.'S held by our less fortunate brothers and sisters, our neighbors, into a series of innovative solutions to strengthen and to unify our society.

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Herein lies the challenge for leadership in our troubled and complex society, leadership for today and tomorrow.

I congratulate the Joint Center for its many contributions and urge each of you here tonight to join the fray. We need your help, your compassion, and your leadership.

SAMPLE NEWS COVERAGE

Community Of Givers: Blacks & Charity

Despite Income Gap, Donations Are High, Survey Finds

By Jacqueline Trescott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Blacks and whites, despite the difference in average income, are equally likely to contribute to charities and donate essentially the same amount, according to a comprehensive look at philanthropic activities of black Americans.

A majority of blacks and whites surveyed by the Joint Center for Political Studies and the Gallup Organization said they contributed between \$100 and \$249 annually to charitable organizations. In the \$100-\$249 range, a significantly higher percentage of black females (20 percent) than white females (14.3 percent) made contributions. Among black and white men there was virtually no difference; about 16 percent of each made charitable contributions. The survey also found that 72 percent of blacks and 69 percent of whites had helped a friend, relative, neighbor or individual unknown to them with money, goods or volunteer time.

Yet, blacks and whites differed in the recipients they chose. For example, 75.4 percent of the money blacks donated went to churches, compared with 67.7 percent of whites' dollars. Six percent of contributions by whites were given to education, compared with 3.8 percent by blacks.

The three-year study was conducted to fill a gap in the research of black behavior and to examine what the lead researcher says are widespread beliefs that blacks are more often the recipients rather than the givers. The 70-page preliminary report released recently studied the patterns of average Americans, not the mega-stars of giving, such as entertainer Bill Cosby, who gave \$20 million to Spelman College; producer and talk show host Oprah Winfrey, who gave \$200,000 to Tennessee State University; and singer Michael Jackson, who gave millions to the United Negro College Fund.

Gallup interviewed 868 blacks and 916 whites in August 1986 in face-to-face meetings nationwide. The margin of error is plus or minus four percentage points. The majority of the respondents were female, married, high school graduates between the ages of 18 and 34. Sixty-seven percent of the black respondents earned less than \$20,000, compared with 44 percent of the whites. That data was supplemented by additional material collected in 1987 and 1988.

Emmett Carson, a sociologist who wrote the study, calls black philanthropy communal. "Blacks use giving as empowerment. It is an activist philanthropy. It is not the most prevalent pattern in the white community of white wealth giving to the poor, a paternalistic philanthropy. There are exceptions, but for most blacks it is people of modest means pooling together," he says. Carson, an assistant program officer for the Ford Foundation, is a

former researcher for the Washington-based Joint Center.

"Blacks have a strong history of giving and they have an understanding of the importance of giving in their community and they are active givers," says Carson. Yet blacks do not feel they should give alone. "The black community very clearly feels the federal government should have a larger role in solving the problems of the poor. In the 1987 survey, 43 percent of blacks said the federal government should have the primary responsibility for helping the poor compared to 24 percent of whites. Notwithstanding that difference in attitude, blacks have shown no less willingness to engage in self-help activities," he says.

Carson has written a book on the preliminary findings titled "The Charitable Appeals Fact Book," and has done another on the final report, to be released early next year.

Overall 80 percent of giving comes from individuals. Carson says the high black activity and the growing minority populations may affect the future of philanthropy. "You have this enormous demographic change going on in society. There are more blacks, Hispanics and Asians than ever before in the workplace. If these new givers have

The only black respondents who gave discernibly less than their white counterparts were the younger black workers who earned between \$30,000 and \$50,000. "We are not talking about a smaller gift, we are talking about they gave no gift compared to their white counterparts. You will find they are a younger group in the black community and that they may suffer from a case of me-itis. That has characterized the '80s. If that is true we need to address that as a community and society," says Carson.

different traditions, cultures and attitudes about who to give to and why, that is seriously going to impact our understanding of philanthropy and how it is going to work tomorrow."

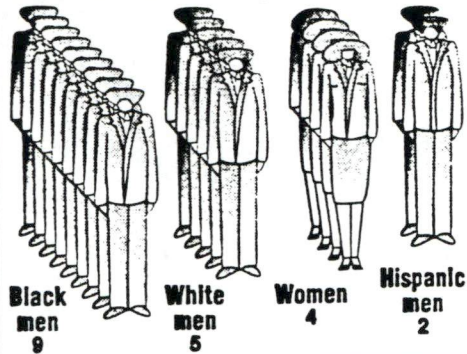
In addition, the survey found blacks participate at a rate 8 percentage points higher than whites in payroll deduction plans. "In 1987, 31 percent of blacks, compared to 36 percent of whites, said they had access to work-site payroll deduction plans. However, 63 percent of blacks, compared to 55 percent of whites participated. The early anecdotal data suggests blacks may be giving far out of proportion than what is returned to the black community," says Carson.

STATESLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

USA's big city mayors

Minority or female mayors now run 15 of the USA's 20 biggest cities. In 1969, all 20 cities were run by men and one was black. Today's breakdown:



Source: USA TODAY research

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

White males lose grip on local politics

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

Blacks, women and Hispanics now have been elected mayors in 15 of the USA's 20 largest cities — a dramatic change from two decades ago when white men ruled.

"Local politics is the entry level for women and minorities moving into the political pipeline," says Sharon Rodine, head of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Although blacks have been big-city mayors for years, Tuesday's elections of New York's David Dinkins and Seattle's Norm Rice prove blacks can win in predominantly white cities. "White voters have come around to believe that black candidates can serve their interests," says Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

MORE ELECTION RESULTS

- ▶ Polls wrong, 1A
- ▶ New faces, 2A
- ▶ Wilder, 2-3A
- ▶ Congress, 4A
- ▶ All results, 6-7A
- ▶ Face-off, 12A
- ▶ Candlestick, 13C

Analysts say white voters may be more comfortable with politicians like Dinkins and Virginia's Gov.-elect Douglas Wilder, who didn't come up through the turbulent civil rights movement.

"The issue base has changed. These politicians understand that," says consultant Robert Beckel.

But, if Tuesday's winners came up through politics instead of protest, they can thank the activists of the 1960s, says Michelle Kourouma, executive director of

the National Conference of Black Mayors.

"The civil rights movement set the stage for us to see the political gains in the 1980s," says Kourouma.

"We're moving beyond tokenism to genuine participa-

Black Democrats' Victories Clouded by White Defections

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

Black Democrats on Tuesday convincingly demonstrated a capacity to win elections in majority white constituencies, but the racial significance of these victories was clouded by substantial white defections in the two most publicized contests, for mayor of New York and governor of Virginia.

Black candidates won all five major contests in which black voters were in the minority, including those for control of city halls in New Haven, Conn.; Durham, N.C., and Seattle.

In addition to blacks' winning the majority-white mayoral and gubernatorial contests, state Sen. Michael R. White became the second black mayor of Cleveland, a city that is roughly half black and half white. Coleman A. Young won a fifth term as Detroit's first black mayor.

"This underscores the fact that strong black candidates working in the mainstream of policy and of their party stand reasonable chances of getting slated and winning in predominantly white jurisdictions," said Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

But just as blacks made substantial gains, there was strong evidence in the Virginia and New York contests that a significant number of white Democrats are not prepared to vote for a black candidate.

In Virginia, gubernatorial candidate L. Douglas Wilder (D) held on to a lead of fewer than 8,000 votes over J. Marshall Coleman (R). At the same time, however, Donald S. Beyer Jr. (D), a relatively unknown car dealer making his first bid for public office, ran far ahead of Wilder, beating GOP State Sen. Edwina P. "Eddy" Dalton by 54 to 46 percent in the contest for lieutenant governor.

In New York, Democrat David N. Dinkins won about 30 percent of the white vote in a city where Democrats outnumber Republicans by a 5 to 1 ratio. In addition, Dinkins, according to exit polls, won less than 40 percent of Jewish voters, who are normally

one of the most loyal Democratic constituencies but this year voiced concern over Dinkins's ties to Jesse L. Jackson. (In 1988, 70 percent of Jewish voters nationwide cast their ballots for Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis.)

Cheryl Miller, a senior research associate and visiting scholar at the Joint Center, which specializes in the study of black politics, cautioned that too much significance should not be read into the outcomes.

Noting that blacks have become mayor in Los Angeles and Charlotte, N.C., cities with white majorities, she said Tuesday's results were "not a watershed. . . . I don't see this changing the game drastically."

Other analysts, particularly Democrats, were less cautious.

Robert Beckel, manager of former vice president Walter F. Mondale's ill-fated 1984 presidential bid, said that if the black Democrats elected Tuesday are successful in office, there will be a significant lessening of racial conflict in politics to the advantage of Democrats:

"When you take away the race card from the Republicans and you take away the abortion card from the Republicans, these boys are left with no hole cards," he said. "The entire Reagan revolution is gone. The 1980s were theirs; the 1990s are ours."

Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said at a news conference yesterday that "we all know that race continues to be a factor in American politics as it is in American life. We also know the situation is improving."

Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee, acknowledged that his party did not do well in the major elections Tuesday. But he cited black GOP victories in two judicial contests in Ohio, the mayor's race in Pontiac, Mich., and a City Council race in Detroit in contending that Tuesday was "an important and new day in American politics, and that applies to Republicans and Democrats."

Williams suggested, however, that the success of black Democrats running against white Republicans in the most prominent contests "makes it more difficult for Lee Atwater to attract blacks into the Republican Party." The victors, he said, "become fantastic role models for the Democratic Party."

A number of analysts both black

and white pointed out that the black victors in majority white constituencies Tuesday were experienced politicians who have held office and who ran non-confrontational campaigns.

Linda Williams, a fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, told the Associated Press that the message of the successful blacks to Jackson is that "he'll have to moderate [his campaign tactics] even more and change his campaign style" if he wants to get as much white support as Wilder or Dinkins.

Miller said, "I don't know that he [Jackson] is interested in winning, but if he is, there is a message he or anyone else could read."

Jackson, however, disputed attempts to "disconnect" him from the victories on Tuesday. "If, after the '88 campaign of Dukakis, there has been an increase in Greek registration, if you now had a Greek chairman of the Democratic Party and a Greek governor of Virginia. . . no one would be trying to find the disconnection," Jackson said. "If we are

members of the same team, does it really matter who scored the touchdown? If we're members of the same team, if we win the championship, all of us get the right."

While most attention yesterday focused on New York and Virginia, in Seattle, black City Councilman Norm Rice won the mayoralty by a decisive 58 to 42 percent, as the city was holding a divisive referendum on school busing. The outcome of the referendum depends on absentee ballots, which had not been counted as of last night.

In New Haven, state Sen. John Daniels (D) defeated Alderman Robie Pooley (R) to become the city's first black mayor.

In Durham, Chester L. White, who is black, defeated J. Nelson Strawbridge in a nonpartisan contest for mayor. Strawbridge is allied with the Congressional Club of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), and his campaign was an effort to wrest control of city hall from an alliance of blacks and white liberals.

Special correspondent O. Casey Corr in Seattle contributed to this report.

Bush Abortion Position Draws Fire From GOP

■ **Politics:** The issue is seen as causing Tuesday's losses. Some Republicans fear it could lead to defeat in 1990.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
and DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—President Bush was caught in a cross-fire of recriminations from members of his own party Wednesday for his stand on abortion in the wake of Tuesday's Democratic sweep of key elections in New Jersey, Virginia and New York City.

"If we go into 1990 and abortion is the issue, we will lose on that issue and we'll deserve to lose on that issue," Oregon Sen. Bob Packwood, a longtime supporter of abortion rights, told reporters after he and other GOP congressional leaders met with the President and Republican National Chairman Lee Atwater at the White House.

Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), another GOP moderate who is a longtime friend of Bush, called the election results a "political debacle" that put Republican hopes of becoming the nation's majority party "at grave risk."

"While the reasons for the defeat are varied, paramount among them is the fact that the Republican Party and its candidates were perceived as holding rigid, narrow views on one of the most difficult and divisive issues of our time," Leach said.

Abortion opponents fired back, blaming the GOP losses on candidates who were unwilling to stick to their principles.

"Our candidates have to deal with the issue. Avoidance of the issue is politically costly," said Rep. Duncan L. Hunter (R-Coronado), another member of the leadership group that met with Bush. "The people who are really hurt were the people who changed position in the face of polling results," Hunter said.

In Virginia, Democratic Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder campaigned hard for governor as an abortion rights advocate, charging that his

Republican opponent, J. Marshall Coleman, wanted to "take away your right to choose and give it back to politicians." Coleman responded by softening his position, promising not to push for a law restricting abortions to cases in which the mother's life is in danger.

Wilder apparently defeated Coleman by a few thousand votes out of 1.7 million cast, but Coleman has indicated that he will ask for a recount.

"The abortion issue was an important issue," Wilder said after Tuesday's election. "It was an emotional issue, and it touched people who sometimes may not have been touched in elections."

In the New Jersey governor's race, Democratic Rep. James J. Florio easily defeated Republican Rep. Jim Courter, an abortion opponent who also backpedaled on the issue during the campaign, saying he would not impose his "personal views on the women of New Jersey."

In New York, Democrat David N. Dinkins edged former U.S. Atty. Rudolph W. Giuliani in a campaign that focused mostly on their respective personalities, but Giuliani appears to have been hurt by his effort to downplay his previous opposition to abortion.

Bush Invisible

In the midst of the gathering controversy within the party, White House aides worked to keep Bush invisible on Wednesday. The President, who had campaigned repeatedly for all three losing GOP candidates, made no public appearances all day. His one encounter with reporters occurred at a photo opportunity before the congressional meeting.

"Wait until next year," was all Bush would say.

Later, a White House spokesman issued a statement noting that Bush had stumped for his party's candidates in the three races. "President Bush showed his loyalty to the party and its candidates," the statement said. "We're turning our attention to the 1990 races."

For their part, Democrats gloated. "We've put the Democratic Party in the mainstream," National

Chairman Ron Brown boasted. He pointed out that the last time that the Democrats swept those three offices was in 1961, when John F. Kennedy was President.

"Republicans are losing races they should win," Rep. Dennis E. Eckart (D-Ohio) said. "They are wedded to out-of-date right-wing positions."

Losses Discounted

Republicans contended that Democrats attached far too much significance to Tuesday's off-year voting. "These three elections were not a referendum on the abortion issue," B.J. Cooper, communications director of the Republican National Committee, argued.

But the predicament of the Republican candidates reminded some analysts of the awkward stances Democrats have been forced into on unpopular issues in recent years.

"It's every bit as much of an albatross as the left-liberal bleeding-heart positions the Democrats have had to defend," Southern pollster Claibourne H. Darden Jr. said of the abortion issue.

In addition, the returns appeared to cast a fresh light on another divisive issue: race.

The election of Dinkins and the apparent victory of Wilder both seemed to breathe new life into a pattern by which moderate black politicians can successfully rise through the system, rather than through the ranks of the civil rights movement.

Moreover, their victories could reduce the influence that the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an often-divisive figure within the party, has been able to wield as the nation's most prominent spokesman for black constituents.

In New York, Dinkins cast himself as a conciliator who promised to help ease the tensions between the competing groups that make up the nation's largest and probably most diverse city. "Somehow, I am going to find a way to appeal to what is the best in people rather than what is worst in people," he said at a post-election press conference.

In conservative Virginia, Wilder—once a civil rights militant—

also stuck close to the middle of the road, giving his support to the state's right-to-work law, which is anathema to labor unions, and backing capital punishment, which many liberal Democrats abhor.

When asked if, in view of those positions, he was in the party's mainstream, he said: "As a matter of fact, I am in the mainstream, and that's what I think that national Democrats will assert. Those of us who espouse the views I espouse are there. And we've done it in Virginia, we can do it other places."

"Wilder is the only Southern black politician I know running for a reasonably high office who campaigns as a moderate," pollster Darden said. "All the rest are to the left of Abbie Hoffman. And his success should help open up a whole new area of the electorate to other moderate black politicians."

"This is an extraordinarily big deal," said Eddie Williams of the Joint Center for Political Studies, which focuses on black politics, of the Dinkins and Wilder victories.

"It does not mean all of our race relations problems are solved. But the fact that blacks can be elected to historically visible positions could help forestall fears that whites have about blacks running in other predominantly white jurisdictions."

Within the System

Williams pointed to the contrast between Dinkins and Wilder and the nation's most prominent black politician, Jackson. Unlike the controversial Jackson, Dinkins and Wilder both worked their way up through the political system and relied on alliances with white politicians and coalitions with white voters.

"As elected officials, they tried to work inside the system," Williams said. "They are less of a threat and have less to explain. They are more credible talking about their commitment to public policies that address the needs of all their constituents."

University of Virginia political analyst Larry Sabato said that the Wilder and Dinkins success stories would crimp efforts by Republican Chairman Atwater to convert

blacks to the GOP.

"Atwater's strategy is shot all to hell," Sabato said. "Now it's not just the left-leaning blacks that will stay in the Democratic coalition, but also moderate blacks that will be looking at other figures like Wilder."

Sabato said also that Dickens and Wilder can help the Democrats preserve party harmony by acting as "a counterweight" to Jackson, the often mercurial two-time Democratic presidential aspirant.

"When issues affecting blacks are discussed, there will be more chairs at the table now," Sabato said. "Jackson will not be there as the chairman of black America. Other blacks will have an equal claim. Remember, Jackson has never been elected to anything."

Of course, the election results were not all good news for the Democrats. Exit polls in New York City suggested continuing friction between blacks and Jews, once the closest of allies, with Dinkins getting only about 40% of the Jewish vote.

Moreover, Democratic strategists cautioned against the idea that the abortion issue would be the solution to all of the party's problems.

Republican strategists contended that Democrats gained only a transient advantage on the issue because Republicans did a poor job of explaining themselves.

Staff writers Paul Houston in Richmond, Va., Robert Vickers in Washington and John J. Goldman in New York contributed to this story.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
NOVEMBER 9, 1989

Race relations better — and worse

There's more socializing, but more housing bias than in '81

By Richard Morin
and Dan Balz
Washington Post

WASHINGTON — Black and white Americans said they are living, working and socializing together more than in the past, according to a Washington Post-ABC News Poll.

But members of the two races hold markedly different views on a number of race-related issues, while prejudice toward blacks persists at all levels of society, the national survey found.

It showed whites and blacks differ on the relative importance of integration and on perceptions of black progress during the 1980s. It also found blacks report facing more bias today in housing and education than did blacks questioned in a 1981 Post-ABC News Poll.

These findings mirror recent events, which offer contradictory evidence on the state of U.S. race relations. On one hand are signs of growing racial tension, with race-based murders in the Bensonhurst and Howard Beach sections of New York and isolated incidents of racism on college campuses and elsewhere.

BUT THERE also is evidence of growing racial tolerance.

For example, in New York City, David Dinkins retains a good chance to become the city's first black may-

“Saying we're the worst metro area to live is like saying the 50th person in the Miss America contest is the ugliest person in America.”

Jim Berry, Chamber of Commerce

or. In Virginia, the scene of racial disturbances over the Labor Day weekend, Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder could become the nation's first elected black governor.

To measure changes in racial attitudes, questions from a Post-ABC survey in March 1981 were asked in a national survey of 1,249 whites and 371 blacks this month.

According to the poll:

■ The percentage of whites living in all-white neighborhoods fell from 47 percent in 1981 to 35 percent in the recent survey. The proportion of blacks who live in all-black neighborhoods fell from 30 percent in 1981 to 19 percent today.

■ Two of every three whites questioned this month said they have a fairly close friend who is black, compared to just over half of those surveyed eight years ago. The number of blacks who reported having a fairly close white friend rose from 69

percent in 1981 to 80 percent.

■ One-third of white respondents said homeowners should have the right to refuse to sell their homes to blacks. Eight years ago, more than half of all whites expressed that view.

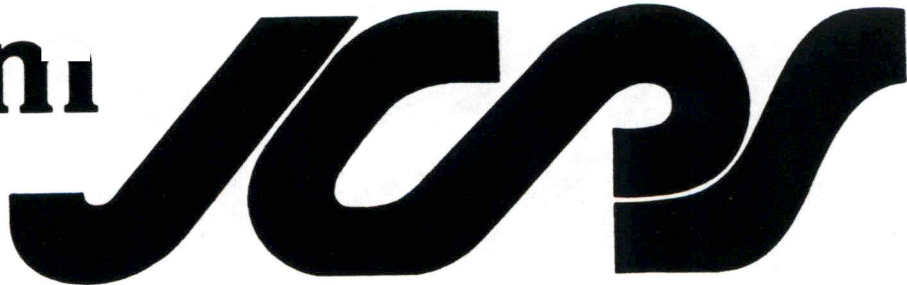
■ Slightly more than two out of five whites — 43 percent — said the economic differences between blacks and whites are mainly because blacks “don't have the motivation or willpower to pull themselves out of poverty,” a view expressed by 58 percent of whites in 1981.

LINDA WILLIAMS of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington said progress on race relations depends on how it is defined.

“In the last decade, people have accepted the principles of anti-discrimination, equality and racial justice,” she said. But on the implementation of those principles, she added, progress has been slower.

DETROIT NEWS

OCTOBER 25, 1989



CONTACT:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Date

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Joint Center for Political Studies will celebrate its 20th Anniversary at this year's annual dinner on Wednesday, April 4, 1990. Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder will be honored at the event.

David T. Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox Corporation, is the national dinner chairman, and Robert B. Washington, Jr., managing partner of the law firm of Laxalt, Washington, Perito & Dubuc, is chairing the General Dinner Committee.

The dinner will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, 1919 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

You will be notified as more information becomes available.



Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.

Eddie Nathan Williams

President

EDDIE N. WILLIAMS has been president of the Joint Center for Political Studies since 1972. He holds a bachelor of science degree in journalism from the University of Illinois and has done graduate study in political science at Atlanta and Howard universities.

Williams has served as vice president for public affairs and director of the Center for Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. He was director of the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and a foreign service reserve officer at the U.S. Department of State.

Williams is chairman of the board of directors of the National Coalition of Black Voter Participation and a member of the Black Leadership Forum and the Council on Foreign Relations. His board memberships include the Children's Defense Fund, the Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc., and the National Endowment for Democracy. Williams has also served on the board of governors of the United Way of America.

He is the recipient of the Liberty Award, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; the Sustained Support Award, Judicial Council of the National Bar Association; the Candace Award for Public Service, National Coalition of 100 Black Women; the Social Responsibility Award, Opportunities Industrialization Center of America; the Adam Clayton Powell Award, Congressional Black Caucus; and the Freedom Fund Award, NAACP.

Williams received an honorary doctor of humane letters degree from Bowie State College and an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of the District of Columbia.

In 1988, he was honored by receiving a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship.

Recognized as a leading authority on black political participation in the United States, Williams is frequently featured in the national press and as a conference speaker.



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ADDRESS TO THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
ELEVENTH ANNUAL DINNER
DELIVERED BY
LIEUTENANT GENERAL COLIN L. POWELL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
GRAND HYATT HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 21, 1988

It is a very distinct pleasure and an honor for me to be here with you tonight. I bring you special greetings from the President, who is aware of the important work of the Joint Center and who asked me this morning to convey to you his best wishes.

The mission of the Center is "to increase participation of black Americans in the governance of our society and, in the process, to contribute to the achievement of 'a more perfect union.'"

This is a vital mission. It is a noble mission. And for me to be here in this room with probably the largest annual assembly of black officials and others dedicated to that mission is a singular honor.

I am privileged to be the President's National Security Advisor and to be the first black to hold that position.

But I am mindful of the sacrifices that were made by many in this room and many who went before, who suffered and sacrificed to create the conditions and set the stage for me. Men and women of enormous ability and potential who, because of prejudice and intolerance, were not allowed to make their full contribution to this great country.

And I am also mindful that the struggle is not over. This week we celebrated the birthday of one of our greatest Americans, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. And in his memory we must rededicate ourselves to the proposition that the struggle will not be over until every American is able to find his or her own place in our society limited only by his or her own ability and his or her own dream.

*Montgomery
Wade*

The National Security Advisor and the National Security Council

Thirteen short months ago I was a happy corps commander sitting in my Headquarters in Frankfurt, West Germany. On a day in early December of 1986, Frank Carlucci called me and said the President had asked him to be the new National Security Advisor and Frank wanted me to be his deputy.

I protested, but over a period of several days I was persuaded that there was an important job that needed to be done here to help Frank and the President restore confidence in the National Security Council system.

We have worked very hard at it over the past year, and I believe we have made progress. I will let others grade us definitively, but on balance I think it is fair to say that we have restored confidence and respect to the NSC system and the NSC process.

- 2 -

What I have found very interesting over the past year is that not that many people really know what the National Security Council is all about, or for that matter, what is the role of the National Security Advisor.

Now, my official title is Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. I looked it up in the White House phone book and that's what it says. But I'm also referred to as the National Security Advisor, the Director of the National Security Council or the Director of the NSC staff. I am also sometimes known as a "senior Administration official" or a "West Wing source."

Well, what am I? An assistant, an advisor, or a director of something?

Let's start with what the NSC is. By law the National Security Council consists of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense. By law that's the National Security Council, period. The President, obviously, is the head of it. By law and tradition the NSC is advised by the Director of Central Intelligence, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Director of the United States Information Agency. Presidents frequently add other advisors to their NSC galaxy, such as in President Reagan's case, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Chief of Staff, and several other selected Cabinet and staff officials.

The National Security Advisor is not a statutory member of the NSC. He is on the personal staff of the President with responsibility to help the President in directing the work of the Council to achieve U.S. foreign and national security policy objectives.

To assist me in that role I have an NSC staff of about 60 professionals. It is through that staff that I manage the NSC process. Please note that I referred to it as the NSC staff. It exists to serve the President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and other officials.

So my first and foremost job is to make sure that the NSC staff system and the interagency process work. In that sense I consider myself accountable to all the members of the National Security Council. It's my job to make sure that all the key departments have their proper role and voice. The NSC system was set up so the President would get the benefit of a systematic process of advice and deliberation before making a decision. The integrity of that process is my responsibility.

Sounds easy, doesn't it? I wouldn't say it is hard, but it sure is exciting.

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By the time issues in contention reach the NSC for presentation to the President, the easy answers are usually all gone. Extremely powerful bureaucratic and political forces and leaders of opinion in the media have been committed to one side or another of an issue. Very often the sharp edges which might give definition to an issue have already been rounded off by the erosion of compromise and made the issue difficult to grasp.

You can be sure that whatever the President decides will be attacked by at least 49 percent of all respondents. The President will get the credit and he will take the heat. I am satisfied if my staff and I have squeezed out of the system every relevant fact and opinion and provided it to the President in an objective and coherent way. If I've done that, I sleep well at night regardless of who is mad at me, and someone usually is.

My second hat, as I said earlier, is that of a personal advisor to the President. I make sure he hears everyone else's view -- but I owe him my own unvarnished view as well. Any President will want support from his own staff to help him sort out differing views from his Cabinet officials, to help him understand what his choices are, and to see that his decisions, once made, are carried out as he intended. I am also available to carry out special tasks that the President wishes to be handled by his personal staff.

The trick, of course, is to be the President's personal advisor while being absolutely fair to and considerate of the responsibilities and prerogatives of his Cabinet advisors. It's a delicate task, but it can be done.

You all know that the NSC staff has been through a bit of turmoil following the revelations of the Iran-Contra affair.

Under the President's direction, and in conformity with the recommendations of the Tower Board, we made a number of changes designed to ensure that the NSC staff would perform its proper function in the future, and avoid the errors which led to the Iran-Contra affair. And a thorough reform it was:

- The Political-Military Office, which had been involved in the Iran-Contra affair, was abolished.
- We conducted a complete review of all ongoing covert activities to assure, in all cases, that sensible policies and proper legal procedures were being followed.
- The NSC staff was prohibited from undertaking covert activities or involving itself in operational matters in the intelligence field. That's not our job.

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- The NSC staff now has a senior Legal Advisor, who has the responsibility to provide legal counsel to the National Security Advisor and the NSC staff on the full range of their activities, and to assist the National Security Advisor in ensuring that legal considerations are fully addressed in the NSC process and policy deliberations.
- The NSC staff was streamlined, and we set up clear vertical lines of control, accountability, and supervision. I like to refer to it as a collegial infantry battalion.
- An interagency Policy Review Group was created, chaired by the Deputy National Security Advisor, to improve coordination among the departments and agencies.

These measures have been in effect for almost a year and have restored the NSC staff, I believe, to its proper role and esteem in the national security process. I fully intend that, during my tenure, the NSC staff will continue to do its job -- to help make policy, not headlines.

Taken together, these changes have produced an NSC system that is prepared to meet the challenges of the final year of this Administration. And a busy and dynamic year it will be. For example, in the first half of this year we'll be planning:

- a Mexican Summit,
- a Canadian Summit,
- a NATO Summit,
- a Moscow Summit, and
- an Economic Summit with the major industrial democracies.

We'll be working on a Free Trade Agreement with Canada; aid for the Nicaraguan Resistance; ratification of the INF Treaty; a trade bill; our policy in the Persian Gulf; restoration of a defense spending consensus; monitoring the situation in Haiti; and dozens of other issues that I can't possibly cover tonight.

Let me, however, just touch on several issues of particular importance and relevance.

U.S.-Soviet Relations

One of the top items on our agenda, of course, is U.S.-Soviet relations. So much of the world's hopes for peace ride on this relationship. And the state of U.S.-Soviet relations is a bellwether for progress in many other areas.

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President Reagan came into office with some definite ideas on this subject. He was skeptical of the so-called detente of the 1970s, and of some of the arms control agreements reached then. He had seen how some of these agreements had only put a cap on the nuclear buildup, instead of reducing or eliminating nuclear weapons; he had seen how Soviet military adventures in the developing world, from Angola to Afghanistan, were disrupting not only world stability but also the hopes for real arms control.

So President Reagan's objective was to put U.S.-Soviet relations on a firmer basis. This resulted in a four-part agenda:

- First, he would seek reductions in nuclear arms, not just capping or rechanneling the growth of arms. He would also pursue negotiations to reduce conventional and chemical weapons.
- Second, he would seek to discourage Soviet adventurism in the Third World by supporting those who were resisting Soviet aggression and by putting more diplomatic pressure on the Soviets to seek political solutions to regional conflicts.
- Third, he would continually stress the centrality of human rights in the East-West relationship. Soviet repression at home, like Soviet adventurism abroad, lies at the heart of the political conflict between East and West.
- And fourth, the President would seek to expand people-to-people exchanges, cultural exchanges, and other kinds of contacts between American and Soviet citizens, to try to break down the barriers by which the Soviets, for too long, have artificially prevented such interchange.

We feel we've made progress in some of these areas, but not all:

- In the Treaty the President signed on December 8 with General Secretary Gorbachev, we've achieved an historic first -- an arms reduction agreement, which actually eliminates an entire category of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. And we're making progress toward reducing the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals by half.
- We've also made progress in expanding bilateral exchanges.
- Soviet internal policy, however, remains far from what the world would consider free and democratic. We see signs of change in the Soviet Union; we welcome it and encourage it. But they have a long way to go.

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-- And Soviet policy in regional conflicts continues to encourage the prolongation of these conflicts. In Afghanistan, the Soviets have yet to bite the bullet and really commit themselves to get out and permit real self-determination. In Central America, they continue to pour into Nicaragua ten times the military and economic aid that we have been providing to our friends in the Nicaraguan Resistance. In Angola, they've been pouring in \$1 billion in military equipment a year instead of actively promoting negotiated solutions that would lead to Cuban troop withdrawal, independence for Namibia, and national reconciliation in Angola.

While the record is mixed, we feel we have indeed put U.S.-Soviet relations on a more realistic and business-like, and therefore more durable basis. The President has within reach an extraordinary record of achievement in arms reduction. And he's done it by negotiating from strength, standing firm, and seeking good agreements. So we'll stick to those principles. We're ready for further progress -- perhaps at another summit this spring -- but we won't be rushed by deadlines. No agreement is better than a bad one and we are dealing with very complex and important issues.

Central America

Let me turn now to Central America, one of the regional conflicts that I mentioned, which are a danger to international peace.

We have been following a two-track policy -- of diplomacy, and of leverage to support that diplomacy -- in pursuit of peace and democracy in Nicaragua. Remember, I said two things -- peace and democracy -- because they go together, and one cannot be achieved without the other. It is now almost universally understood -- and it is a central feature of President Arias's peace plan -- that the achievement of democracy within Nicaragua is the core of the problem and the key to a lasting peace. We want democracy in Nicaragua because it is what the people of Nicaragua were promised by the Sandinistas. More important, a democratic Nicaragua will have no need annually for \$500 million worth of military hardware from the Soviet Union, will not be supporting Communist insurgencies in neighboring countries, and will not be a threat to the democratic gains that all of Latin America has made in recent years. A Sandinista dictatorship will continue to present such threats, as Sandinista leaders have repeatedly told their own followers.

It is also widely understood in Central America that it was the pressure from the armed resistance that brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table. They came to the table to relieve that pressure, and our job is to maintain that pressure until we have achieved concrete and irreversible steps toward peace, security, and democratization on which we can rely.

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I visited Central America two weeks ago, and talked to the Presidents of the four Central American democracies. They don't all agree on every point, but they all agree the Sandinista regime is a threat and that democracy is the key.

The Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance -- the so-called Contras or Freedom Fighters -- have proved they are a force to be reckoned with. There are roughly 15,000 of them inside Nicaragua today, and recently they have been doing better militarily than ever before. Contrary to myth, they are a broad-based peasant army, winning increasing support against an increasingly discredited Marxist-Leninist regime.

The diplomatic track is also moving ahead. We want the Guatemala Accords to succeed and believe it is imperative that there be full compliance. Last weekend, all the Central American presidents met again and made some progress. The four democratic presidents put the heat on Nicaragua for its failure to comply, and under this pressure the Sandinista regime took some new steps in the right direction. It shows that pressure works.

If we want to continue making progress, we should maintain our course: Keep the diplomatic door open but keep the pressure on. That requires that we maintain our support for the Resistance in the field until a satisfactory plan for a secure peace is in place, a ceasefire agreed to by the Resistance and the Sandinistas has occurred, and a verifiable process of democratization is irreversibly underway. Now is not the time to stop paying the premiums on our insurance policy.

The recent revelations of Major Miranda, a high-placed Nicaraguan defector, confirmed the need for continued vigilance and pressure. We learned from him that the Sandinistas had negotiated with the Soviets a huge escalation of their arms buildup after President Daniel Ortega had agreed to the Guatemala Accords. And the Sandinista Defense Minister Humberto Ortega publicly confirmed it.

At the Washington Summit in December, Mr. Gorbachev told the President that Moscow might be willing to cut off all but light arms supplies to Managua. Unfortunately, this offer turned out to be tied to the unacceptable condition that we cut off military supplies not only to the Resistance, but to all our friends in Central America. We will not negotiate away our bilateral aid programs in Central America and our security commitments under the Rio Pact in a deal with the Soviet Union. There is no equivalence between us and the Soviet Union when it comes to the Western Hemisphere. We might voluntarily take on certain obligations with respect to the Guatemala Accords if they go into effect, but the Soviets owe it to the Hemisphere to dismantle the Nicaraguan military machine, which is a threat to all of Central America.

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On February 3 and 4, Congress will vote up or down on the question of aid for the Resistance. You know the President's view: It is essential that we continue the aid which forces the Sandinistas to negotiate. We cannot abandon those fighting for democracy until democracy is assured. This vote is critical for peace and democracy in Nicaragua, and for our national security.

The Challenges of Africa

All of us here tonight have a special interest in Africa. And President Reagan, who has received many African leaders at the White House, has no doubt of the strategic, political, economic, and moral significance of what goes on in that continent.

In our view Africa is not -- and should not be -- a "strategic battleground." It should be a continent of peace, a continent of independent nations playing a greater role in the international economy -- and a continent of justice and human progress.

Black Africa, we all know, faces severe economic problems -- hunger, stagnation, and debt. But consciousness of the problems should not obscure another trend that is apparent, namely a revolution in economic thinking. African leaders who followed two decades of well-intentioned but disastrous post-colonial economic policies are now looking at the early success stories of the Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Cameroon. They are turning away from statist economies toward a market-based system that offers real hope of liberating Africa's economic potential. It's a sad fact, but true, that a good part of Africa's economic problem -- including the problem of hunger -- is exacerbated by self-defeating economic policies.

In May 1986, at a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to African economic development, African leaders themselves acknowledged that structural and policy reforms were the key to growth. And there are success stories. African countries that have freed up their agricultural pricing systems, for example, have seen a resurgence of agricultural production. Senegal, Ghana, Guinea, Tanzania, and Malawi are just a few examples.

In the meantime, service on the debt accumulated by many African countries is stunting the growth which should result from economic reform. On the average in sub-Saharan Africa, debt service eats up over 29 percent of current-account earnings. The debt problem of Africa and the rest of the developing world directly affects our own economic interests. Experts agree that the big market potential for future U.S. exports lies in the developing countries. The debt problem has crippled the ability of developing countries to grow, and to import. So the debt problem hurts everyone.

A number of important steps are being taken to help:

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- Of a new \$12.4 billion international contribution to the International Development Association, the World Bank's concessional lending facility, half will go to sub-Saharan Africa. The United States is the largest contributor.
- The International Monetary Fund is trebling its "Structural Adjustment Facility," making available an additional \$6 billion to support poor countries in Africa and elsewhere which are implementing policy reforms.
- The "Paris Club" of Western donor governments has liberalized repayment terms in debt reschedulings involving heavily indebted low-income countries.
- The President last year launched an initiative aimed at ending hunger in Africa, through using aid more effectively and gearing all our economic programs and policies in Africa to sustain growth. Particular focus was on the debt problem.
- Just last month, the United States joined other friends of Africa to support a special World Bank effort to sustain policy reforms in the most "debt-distressed African countries."

Africa has a long way to go to reverse twenty-plus years of economic decline, stagnation, and bad policies. But the wealthier countries have to help.

All of us here tonight, of course, are also concerned about South Africa. Rarely has our country been more unanimous about a foreign policy goal -- the end of the hated apartheid system and its replacement by a democratic and progressive South Africa.

The battle over sanctions is settled now. The measures imposed by the President in 1985 and by Congress in 1986 are clear expressions of our national revulsion at the apartheid system. The issue now is, where do we go from here?

We should not come to think that our most effective tools in South Africa are negative acts such as sanctions. It is important that we make clear what the United States is for in South Africa. In my view, we can do three things:

- First, as Secretary Shultz did in a major speech in September, we can declare our view of the democratic principles on which South Africa's political future should be based. It should be a constitutional order based on equality, universal suffrage, basic human rights, the rule of law, and economic freedom. This, surely, is what all Americans are for in South Africa.
- Second, the United States has a role to play in promoting an atmosphere for negotiations leading to a democratic system.

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-- And third we can also contribute significantly to improving the economic status of blacks, thereby strengthening their role in bringing about a post-apartheid South Africa.

Ambassador Perkins has called for "a government which truly represents the majority of South Africans.... Moreover, the majority must have a significant say in how that government is formed." We continue to call on the South African government to release Nelson Mandela, release all political prisoners, set a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws, and lift the bans on all black political movements, including the ANC.

American firms operating in South Africa are in the forefront of promoting black empowerment. They are providing equal opportunities for education, training, and promotion. By doing so, they strengthen the black labor movement -- the growing power of which is perhaps the most exciting development in South Africa today. Congress recognized this when it rejected forced disinvestment during debate on the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. If American firms are forced to leave they are likely to be sold, often at distress prices, to white South Africans who have no interest in continuing the enlightened practices of their predecessors.

It's clearer now than ever that apartheid is doomed. Change will come to South Africa. If this country stays united, we have a chance to have some constructive influence over how that change comes about. If we are divided, we fritter away that chance.

Conclusion

This is just a sampling of the issues on the President's agenda. I mentioned at the outset some of the wide variety of other topics that the President has to confront, from Mexico to the Middle East.

And in our democracy, it's enlightened citizens like yourselves who will influence policy -- and indeed will help choose the next person to bear those extraordinary responsibilities.

If there is a theme running through much of our foreign policy, including the issues I have discussed tonight, it's the centrality of democracy. Democratic accountability in our own policy-making; human rights in the Communist world; democracy in Central America; a democratic future for South Africa -- it's not a coincidence that there's a common principle here.

There was a time, as recently as the 1970's, that some intellectuals thought democracy was culture-bound, that it was the preserve of a fortunate few in the industrialized world, but that we shouldn't expect it of others or "impose" it on others. How wrong they were!

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In the mid 70's, only a third of the people in Latin America enjoyed democratic government. Today, it's over 90 percent. We've seen all over Latin America, in the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, and elsewhere, how authoritarian structures are giving way to popular pressure and civilian rule. It's truly a democratic revolution.

And it's clearly related to what I mentioned on the economic front: Around the world, we see an increasing realization that the real source of prosperity and technological innovation is the energy and creativity and enterprise of the individual, not centralized planning by a state bureaucracy.

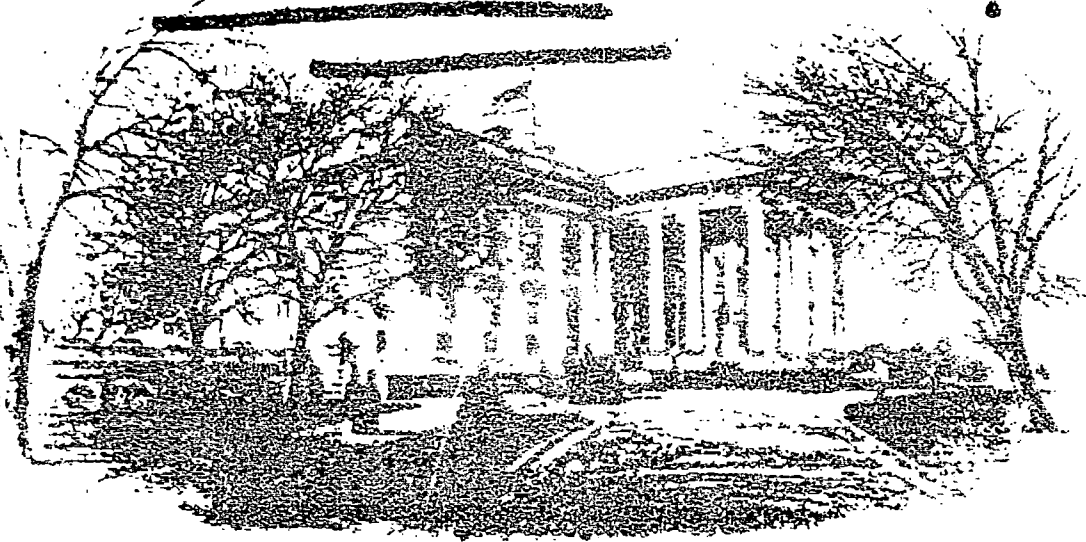
So political freedom, and economic freedom, which Marxists and others may have thought were outdated ideas, turn out to be very powerful forces at work in the world, and indeed the wave of the future. Even in Communist countries they're starting to learn this.

This is something we can all be proud of. It's our ideals and our faith in freedom that are being vindicated. That's why America has a continuing role of leadership in the world, and a crucial responsibility to play that role, in order to advance those ideals.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

★ URGENT!!



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POSSIBLE BANNER THEMES

Our vision changes the future.

Kansas City Spirit

"Forward to a brighter tomorrow, forward to the future of America"

McNally/Simon
January 18, 1990
Draft Two (B:KANSAS)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD FIGHTS

AD HOC GROUP AGAINST CRIME
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
TUESDAY, JAN. 23, 1990, 1:20 P.M.

Carle Hall
Music Hall

[[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]] BACK

Thank you, _____, for that warm introduction.

It's a pleasure to be back in the heartland. It's a pleasure to be back in Kansas City.

Kansas City has much of which to be proud. You've heard tally: Grassier than Ireland. Built on more hills than ancient Rome. More water, more fountains, than Paris.

But you also know what really sets Kansas City apart. It's not your parks. It's your people.

They call it "the Kansas City Spirit." Restless. Idealistic. Determined. It's the kind of spirit that pushed back frontiers, and brought the railroads West. Rebuilt a burned-down Convention Hall in 90 days, and survived the century. And yes it's a community spirit, a spirit of cooperation, the value of collective will.

And, thank God, it's still here today. Because in rebuilding the Convention Hall that's caught fire, but the streets themselves burning with a new form

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of pain called crack. And crackling with bursts of gunfire not heard in Kansas City since the outlaw days of the Old West.

But people in this town refused to surrender to the drug plague. You took back what's yours. Took back your kids. Took back your streets. \\\

It began like the Spirit of Kansas City, when one man rolled up his sleeves and stepped forward with a blueprint, a blueprint that's become a model for our cities and an inspiration to people everywhere. I had the pleasure of meeting with him and his group this morning, and I know many of them are here this afternoon. They're a group of home-grown, Kansas City heroes called the Ad Hoc Group Against Crime, and the man's name is Alvin Brooks. \\\

Ad Hoc recognized early on that the war on drugs meant unconventional warfare -- a battle to be fought day by day, house by house, family by family, child by child.

Because each kid saved is a victory won. \\\

Working closely with police, Ad Hoc members gather in force, gather by the dozen, and they go to work, work on the streets, and street rallies to walk and work on the streets.

They are all smiling, all of them, all of them. They are united. And they are smiling and united. \\\

I spent part of the afternoon in the downtown, inner city area. Went to 13th and 14th and saw what they used to call the "Drug Trees" -- an ancient tradition where drug dealers put up a basketball parabolic to lure young children and cover-up their deadly operations.

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It's still a rough area. Still not free of crime. But a lot of crack houses are gone. And a lot of pride's come back.

And block after block, house after house flies the flag of victory. Ad Hoc's four-word warning to the cowards of the night: "THIS NEIGHBORHOOD FIGHTS BACK." *AGAINST DRUGS*

ACTS ARE WRONG

Part of the solution to the drug menace lies in effective, community-based initiatives like the Ad Hoc Group here. Another part -- an essential part -- lies in the demand side, stopping drug use before it starts, and helping those who want to stop. And our national drug strategy calls for record levels of new funding for both education and treatment.

But demand-side solutions will never be enough. There are people out there intent on doing evil. Cowardly. Amoral. And when they spot someone vulnerable -- the schoolkid who has to cross a drug infested corner to get home -- they see their fellow man the way a pack of jackals sees a wounded fawn.

A four-year-old boy, shot dead in a suspected crack house. An 11-year-old kid beaten outside a drug den. In the hands of a 14-year-old... generations dead...

The headlines... though they come from... in cities across America.

Some would like to believe that society is more to blame for crime than the criminal. Some say crime is caused by parents who

are too distant. Others say it's parents who pamper their kids too much. Some say crime is caused by poverty. Others say it's America's prosperity that's to blame.

T.V. violence. Boredom. Passionate impulses. Everything and everyone is blamed. Except the criminal. \\\

You who have struggled for safe streets know otherwise. The fact of the matter is, the criminal chooses his way of life, his companions, the kinds of crime he commits. He is not the victim -- he is the victimizer. \\\

The law-abiding community you represent has a duty to punish wrongdoers. Punishment is not -- as some may see it -- an unseemly indulgence in revenge. Just punishment is a moral, civilized response to wrong. Punishment is necessary not only as a deterrent to future crimes, but for its own sake. Which is to say -- for the sake of justice. \\\

This tradition of justice speaks not of a society that disparages human life, but rather, one that treasures innocent human life as precious and unique. In Larry McMurtry's Western novel, Lonesome, the Rangers finally put an end to brutal gang wars. In the end, the curfew is lifted and Jake Spoor, the Ranger who led the war,

"It's a bad old world," says Spoor, "but I'll be damned before arresting his old friend." "But there he is." "He put himself in it." \\\

McMurtry's saga -- like the lives of the real-life pioneers who inspired it -- reveals some simple truths. Most Americans

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believe each of us faces the innate temptation to succumb to evil -- and yet always has the freedom to instead choose to do good.

Today, too many law-abiding Americans are prisoners in their own homes. I was saddened this morning to see how many windows in the stores and houses downtown had to be protected by bars.

We've got to change that. The wrong people are behind bars.

The first line of defense will always be our local law enforcement. But, as in the days of legendary U.S. Marshals like Bat Masterson and Wild Bill Hickok, places like Kansas City again need the support of top-notch federal lawmen.

Congress deserves our thanks for providing the new troops we asked for -- new agents, new prosecutors, and new prisons to catch, convict and contain those who prey on our cities.

But it's time for Congress to finish the job. Because it does no good to send the troops into battle/wearing handcuffs.

Shortly after taking office, I sent a package to Congress to combat violent crime, to give our lawmen the tools they need.

But today there's a Trojan Horse rolling through the Senate. It looks like a real crime bill. Sounds like a real crime bill. But it's filled with an army of new loopholes and technicalities.

Its so-called "reforms" of the exclusionary rule, habeas corpus, capital punishment and the Justice Department itself will only entrench and extend the legal loopholes and red-tape that have angered the American people for far too long.

America needs a crime bill with teeth -- but this is a sheep in wolf's clothing. \\\

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I won't accept anything that rolls back the clock on our ability to fight crime and punish wrong-doers. Let's debate these differences openly. But let's not table it until the final weeks of an election year, as happened in 1984, 1986, and 1988. You can't table a crisis. \\\

America wants it done right. America wants it done responsibly. And America wants it done now. \\\

You in Kansas City have set a personal example of courage in grappling with tough choices. You fought back, you got involved, you refused to look the other way. And you have my thanks -- and the gratitude of an admiring nation.

In the Norman Rockwell painting I mentioned earlier, the man with the blueprints is looking sharply to one side. They say a young boy saw the picture in a book, and asked his father: "Dad, Kansas City is in the center of America. Which way is the man facing -- East or West?"

The father's answer was pure Missouri: "Well son -- it sort of depends on which way you hold the book."))\\

Of course, the truth is, it doesn't matter how you hold that picture. Because no matter how you look at it, the Kansas City spirit, the real "Kansas City Spirit," always faces the same way -- forward to a brighter tomorrow, forward to the future ahead.

Thank you for your warm greeting on this January day. God bless you all as we begin a new year. God bless Missouri -- and God bless the U.S.A.

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