

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):  
S; 1999-0285-F

FOIA Number:  
S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13782  
**Folder ID Number:** 13782-007

---

**Folder Title:**  
Civil Rights Bill Signing Ceremony 11/21/91 [OA 8319]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>

---

Grant / Aarhus  
Draft two: Civilrts.ts  
November 18, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SIGNING CEREMONY  
THE ROSE GARDEN  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1991  
2:00 P.M.**

Welcome to the White House. [Acknowledgements]

Today, we celebrate a law that will fight the evil of discrimination while also building bridges of harmony between Americans of all races, sexes, creeds and backgrounds.

For the past few years, the issue of civil rights has divided Americans. Well, no more. From day one, I told the American people I wanted to sign a civil rights bill that advances the cause of equal opportunity. I wanted to sign a bill that advances the cause of racial harmony. And I wanted to sign a bill that encourages people to work together. Today I am signing that bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1991. //

Discrimination, whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion or disability, is worse than wrong. It is an evil that strikes at the very heart of the American ideal. This bill, building on current law, will punish severely those who continue to discriminate against their fellow Americans, but it will not punish the innocent.

For these reasons, this is a very good bill. Let me repeat that: this is a very good bill. Unlike last year's bill -- a bill I was forced to veto -- it will not encourage quotas or preferences. I oppose quotas because they incite tensions between the races, the sexes, between people who get trapped in a

numbers game. Instead, I prefer bills that punish discrimination head-on and tell everyone that our society does not accept bigotry.

This bill contains several important innovations. For example, its provisions capping damages are an important model to be followed in tort reform. It encourages mediation and arbitration between parties before the last resort of litigation. **Our goal and our promise is harmony -- a return to civility and brotherhood -- as we build a better America for ourselves and our children.**

One discouraging note however: we are disappointed that Congress has not applied this statute to themselves in the same way it does to the rest of America. It's a sad and pitiful fact that most Congressional employees have no access at all to the courts should they need judicial remedy. **I continue to urge the Congress to apply the same laws to itself that it enacts on the rest of ~~America~~. // *this country***

We had to work hard for this agreement. But the credit goes to the dedicated Republicans in Congress -- especially Senators Dole and Danforth -- for ensuring that I had a bill I could sign. No one likes to veto a civil rights bill -- **especially not me** -- and no one in Congress likes to vote against one either. I owe a debt of gratitude to those who stood with us against bad legislation last year, and to those who led the way toward this tremendous agreement we've reached today. To all of you, we say thank you.

But to the Congress I also say this: **The 1991 Civil Rights bill is only the first step.** If we seek -- and every one of us does -- to build a new era of harmony and shared purpose, we must make it possible for all Americans to scale the ladder of opportunity. If we seek to ease racial tensions in America, civil rights legislation is not enough. The elimination of discrimination in the workplace is a vital element of the American Dream, but it is **simply not enough.**

We cannot expect people to scale that ladder if we don't make jobs available to everyone who wants to work. We need an economic growth initiative from the Congress to create jobs and opportunity all across America. //

Americans cannot enjoy full opportunity until they receive first-rate educations that will prepare them for the competitive international marketplace. So we urge the Congress once again to act on our America 2000 education initiative.

We cannot expect Americans to work hard and prepare for the future if they live in a climate of fear and hopelessness -- our crime bill, bottled up ~~for two years~~ on Capitol Hill, will help us win the battle against drugs and violent crime in our streets.

Our people also deserve the dignity of owning their own homes. That's why we have proposed the HOPE initiative.

We've proposed these initiatives because we measure success not in dollars and lawsuits, but in terms of opportunity, prosperity and harmony.

The American Dream rests on the vision of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In our workplaces, in our schools, or on our streets, this dream begins with equality of opportunity. Our agenda for the future -- whether it be guaranteeing equal protection under the law, promoting excellence in education, or creating jobs -- will ensure for future generations that America **remains** the beacon of opportunity in the world.

Now, with great pride, I will sign this bill into law.

# # #

## 2:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

**CIVIL RIGHTS ACT** (William Welch, AP) -- President Bush signed into law new civil rights guarantees for women and minorities, capping a two-year struggle with Congress over whether the legislation encouraged job quotas. Bush signed the measure in a Rose Garden ceremony overshadowed by a furor over a proposed presidential order that would have ended preferential hiring and promotions for women and minorities. After circulating the order late yesterday, the White House changed course and eliminated the most controversial provisions.

(Reuter) -- President Bush signed into law a civil rights bill intended to curb discrimination in the workplace as a controversy erupted over a draft White House directive that would have overturned federal hiring preference policies. In an apparent bid to quell the furor, Bush said as he signed the Civil Rights Act of 1991, "I support affirmative action. Nothing in this bill overturns the governments' affirmative action program."

**CRIME BILL** (AP) -- The Senate broke a stalemate blocking action on a comprehensive crime bill that would extend the death penalty to more than 50 crimes and require a waiting period for buying a handgun. After 3 1/2 weeks of inaction, Republicans lifted procedural roadblocks aimed at stopping the proposed new gun controls. Today's action cleared the way for key House and Senate negotiators to attempt to iron out differences between two versions of the bill passed earlier by each chamber.

**BANK BILL** (AP) -- Senior senators reported progress on clearing the way toward passage of legislation protecting bank depositors. Sens. Riegle and Garn said a final vote was possible in the Senate today. A final vote was scheduled in the House.

**SHAMIR COMMENTS** (Baltimore/Reuter) -- Prime Minister Shamir said Israel would never have security if it gave up any of the Arab territory it has occupied since 1967. In a speech to American Jewish leaders, Shamir reiterated his determination to hold on to the territories.

**ISRAEL/LABOR** (Jerusalem/UPI) -- Israel's Labor Party managed to avoid a split between hawks and doves and approved a campaign platform that calls for the repeal of a law banning contact with the PLO. The party also supported the principle of territorial compromise in the occupied territories but insisted that land be traded only if Israel received guarantees of security along with a peace treaty.

**PLO/U.S.** (Damascus/Reuter) -- The PLO said that the U.S. should resume its dialogue with the PLO if it wanted Palestinian peace negotiators to meet Israel in Washington. "The PLO sees resumption of Palestinian-American dialogue and provision of adequate facilities for the Palestinian delegation as necessary steps for holding this meeting in Washington," Yasser Abed Rabbo, a member of the PLO executive, told Reuters.

2:30 P.M. UPDATE (continued)

**PAN AM 103/JABRIL** (Beirut/Reuter) -- Ahmed Jibril told a news conference he planned to sue the U.S. government for slandering his group through media reports that it was behind the 1988 bombing of Pan Am 103.

**IRAN HOSTAGE INVESTIGATION** (AP) -- Two former hostages appealed for Congress to proceed with an investigation into whether the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign schemed with Iran to delay their release for political advantage. "I have a grandson, and I want to be able to tell him 20 years from now" whether the alleged conspiracy occurred, said Charles Scott, defense liaison at the embassy when it was seized.

**VIETNAM** (New York/AP) -- Diplomats from the U.S. and Vietnam sat down at a conference table to begin talks aimed at normalizing relations. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon told reporters that the question of 2,300 Americans still missing from the war would be part of the agenda for his meetings with Vietnamese Vice Minister Le Mai.

**SOVIET DEBT** (Moscow/AP) -- The G-7 agreed to defer \$3.6 billion in Soviet debt payments and give eight republics a \$1 billion loan, while dropping a demand that half the nation's gold be put up as collateral.

**YUGOSLAVIA/GERMANY** (U.N./Reuter) -- Germany is asking for a meeting of the Security Council on the Yugoslav crisis, a spokeswoman for the German U.N. mission said. Council sources said they did not expect a new meeting on Yugoslavia until sometime next week at the earliest, after U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance reports back to the Secretary General.

**KOREA/CHENEY** (Seoul/Reuter) -- Secretary Cheney said the U.S. will postpone planned troop withdrawals from South Korea because of North Korea's suspected development of nuclear weapons. Citing North Korea's "40-year history of aggression, terrorism and irresponsible weapons sales," Cheney said North Korea must abandon the development of nuclear weapons and submit its nuclear facilities to international inspection.

**SOUTH AFRICA** (Johannesburg/Reuter) -- South Africa's three main political players said they had agreed to open long-awaited talks next month on power sharing and creating a non-racial constitution. Statements from the government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party said preliminary talks would be held Nov. 29 on an all-party conference "envisaged for Dec. 20 and 21."

###

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SIGNING CEREMONY \ THE ROSE GARDEN  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1991 \ 1:15 P.M.

WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE. MEMBERS OF THE  
CABINET, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS.

TODAY, WE CELEBRATE A LAW THAT WILL FIGHT THE EVIL  
OF DISCRIMINATION WHILE ALSO BUILDING BRIDGES OF  
HARMONY BETWEEN AMERICANS OF ALL RACES, SEXES, CREEDS  
AND BACKGROUNDS.

FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS, THE ISSUE OF CIVIL RIGHTS  
LEGISLATION HAS DIVIDED AMERICANS. ~~WELL~~, NO MORE.

- 2 -

FROM DAY ONE, I TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE I WANTED A  
CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT ADVANCES THE CAUSE OF EQUAL  
OPPORTUNITY, & I WANTED A BILL THAT ADVANCES THE CAUSE  
OF RACIAL HARMONY. AND I WANTED A BILL THAT ENCOURAGES  
PEOPLE TO WORK TOGETHER. TODAY I AM SIGNING THAT BILL,  
THE "CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1991." //

DISCRIMINATION, WHETHER ON THE BASIS OF RACE,  
NATIONAL ORIGIN, SEX, RELIGION OR DISABILITY, IS WORSE  
THAN WRONG.

IT IS AN EVIL THAT STRIKES AT THE VERY HEART OF THE AMERICAN IDEAL. THIS BILL, BUILDING ON CURRENT LAW, WILL HELP ENSURE THAT NO AMERICAN WILL DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ANOTHER.

FOR THESE REASONS, THIS IS A VERY GOOD BILL. LET ME REPEAT THAT: THIS IS A VERY GOOD BILL. LAST YEAR -- BACK IN MAY OF 1990 IN THE ROSE GARDEN <sup>right here</sup> -- WITH SOME OF YOU PRESENT, I BELIEVE -- I APPEALED FOR A BILL I COULD SIGN.

I SAID THAT DAY THAT I CANNOT AND WILL NOT SIGN A QUOTA BILL. INSTEAD, I SAID THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVED A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT -- NUMBER ONE -- INSISTED THAT EMPLOYERS FOCUS ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY -- NOT ON DEVELOPING STRATEGIES TO AVOID LITIGATION. NUMBER TWO, THEY DESERVED A BILL THAT WAS BASED UPON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF FAIRNESS -- THAT ANYONE WHO BELIEVES THEIR RIGHTS HAVE BEEN VIOLATED IS ENTITLED TO THEIR DAY IN COURT -- AND THAT THE ACCUSED ARE INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY.

AND NUMBER THREE, THEY DESERVED A BILL THAT PROVIDED ADEQUATE DETERRENT AGAINST HARASSMENT BASED UPON RACE, SEX, RELIGION, OR DISABILITY.

I ALSO SAID THAT DAY THAT <sup>→back in 1990</sup> "THIS ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO ACTION THAT IS TRULY AFFIRMATIVE, POSITIVE ACTION IN EVERY SENSE, TO STRIKE DOWN ALL BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT OF EVERY KIND, FOR ALL PEOPLE."

AND IN THAT SAME SPIRIT, I SAY AGAIN TODAY: I SUPPORT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. NOTHING IN THIS BILL OVERTURNS THE GOVERNMENT'S AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS.

*And* UNLIKE LAST YEAR'S BILL -- A BILL I WAS FORCED TO VETO -- THIS BILL WILL NOT ENCOURAGE QUOTAS OR RACIAL PREFERENCES BECAUSE THIS BILL WILL NOT CREATE LAWSUITS ON THE BASIS OF NUMBERS ALONE. I OPPOSE QUOTAS BECAUSE THEY INCITE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE RACES, BETWEEN THE SEXES, BETWEEN PEOPLE WHO GET TRAPPED IN A NUMBERS GAME.

**THIS BILL CONTAINS SEVERAL IMPORTANT INNOVATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT CONTAINS STRONG NEW REMEDIES FOR THE VICTIMS OF DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSMENT, ALONG WITH PROVISIONS CAPPING DAMAGES THAT ARE AN IMPORTANT MODEL TO BE FOLLOWED IN TORT REFORM. AND IT ENCOURAGES MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION BETWEEN PARTIES BEFORE THE LAST RESORT OF LITIGATION.**

**OUR GOAL AND OUR PROMISE IS HARMONY -- A RETURN TO CIVILITY AND BROTHERHOOD -- AS WE BUILD A BETTER AMERICA FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN.**

**WE HAD TO WORK HARD FOR THIS AGREEMENT. THIS BILL PASSED BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS OVERWHELMINGLY WITH BROAD SUPPORT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE.**

A TIP OF THE HAT GOES TO SENATOR KENNEDY AND FORMER CONGRESSMAN HAWKINS, WHO, WAY BACK IN FEBRUARY OF 1990, GOT THE BALL ROLLING -- AND I CONGRATULATE PARTICULARLY SENATORS DOLE, DANFORTH AND HATCH, AND CONGRESSMEN MICHEL, GOODLING AND HYDE FOR ENSURING THAT TODAY'S LEGISLATION FULFILLS THE PRINCIPLES I OUTLINED IN THE ROSE GARDEN LAST YEAR.

*→ thank*  
*↓ that*

NO ONE LIKES TO OPPOSE A BILL CONTAINING THE WORDS "CIVIL RIGHTS" -- ESPECIALLY ME -- AND NO ONE IN CONGRESS LIKES TO VOTE AGAINST ONE EITHER. I OWE A DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO THOSE WHO STOOD WITH US AGAINST COUNTERPRODUCTIVE LEGISLATION LAST YEAR -- AND AGAIN EARLIER THIS YEAR -- AS WELL AS TO THOSE WHO LED THE WAY TOWARD THIS IMPORTANT AGREEMENT WE'VE REACHED TODAY. I'M TALKING ABOUT DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS AND THOSE OUTSIDE CONGRESS WHO PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

*now,*  
*↓ that*  
*↓ he*

*I am very very grateful that I believe this is in the best interest of the US*  
*And* TO ALL OF YOU, ~~WE SAY THANK YOU.~~

BUT TO THE CONGRESS I ALSO SAY THIS: THE 1991 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP. IF WE SEEK -- AND I BELIEVE EVERY ONE OF US DOES -- TO BUILD A NEW ERA OF HARMONY AND SHARED PURPOSE, WE MUST MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ALL AMERICANS TO SCALE THE LADDER OF OPPORTUNITY. IF WE SEEK TO EASE RACIAL TENSIONS IN AMERICA, CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IS NOT ENOUGH.

*↓  
by itself*

THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE IS A VITAL ELEMENT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM, BUT IT IS SIMPLY NOT ENOUGH.

I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA FREE FROM RACISM, ~~AND~~ *free from* BIGOTRY.

I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA WHERE ANYONE WHO WANTS TO WORK HAS A JOB.

I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA WHERE EVERY CHILD RECEIVES A FIRST-RATE EDUCATION ... A PLACE WHERE OUR CHILDREN HAVE THE SAME CHANCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS AS EVERYONE ELSE'S KIDS DO.

I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA WHERE ALL PEOPLE ENJOY EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW ... WHERE EVERYONE CAN LIVE AND WORK IN A CLIMATE FREE FROM FEAR AND DESPAIR ... WHERE DRUGS AND CRIME HAVE BEEN BANISHED FROM OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AND SCHOOLS.

*↓ from our*

‡ I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA WHERE EVERYONE HAS A PLACE TO CALL HIS OWN -- A STAKE IN THE COMMUNITY; <sup>the</sup> ~~AND THE~~ COMFORT OF A HOME.

I BELIEVE IN AN AMERICA WHERE WE MEASURE SUCCESS NOT IN DOLLARS AND LAWSUITS -- BUT IN OPPORTUNITY, PROSPERITY, AND HARMONY. ‡ I BELIEVE IN THE IDEALS WE ALL SHARE -- IDEALS THAT MADE AMERICA GREAT: DECENCY, FAIRNESS, FAITH, HARD WORK, GENEROSITY, VIGOR, AND VISION.

THE AMERICAN DREAM RESTS ON THE VISION OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. IN OUR WORKPLACES, IN OUR SCHOOLS, OR ON OUR STREETS, THIS DREAM BEGINS WITH EQUALITY <sup>and</sup> ~~OF~~ OPPORTUNITY. OUR AGENDA FOR THE NEXT AMERICAN CENTURY -- WHETHER IT BE GUARANTEEING EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW, PROMOTING EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION, ~~OR~~ CREATING JOBS -- WILL ENSURE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME THAT AMERICA REMAINS THE BEACON OF OPPORTUNITY IN THE WORLD.

NOW, WITH GREAT PRIDE, I WILL SIGN THIS BILL INTO LAW.

# # #

# Civil Rights Bill - Signing

Mtg. w/ Nelson Lund  
Shawn Smealie

per Shawn → ignore Bayden's thing

20<sup>th</sup>  
Oct. 1990  
& FBI spch.

## General provisions:

Per:  
Sexton notes:  
JS suggested  
double entendre.  
re: "stiff"  
& sex harm.

→ stiff sanctions for sexual harassment  
& discrimination

→ 3 categories of provisions in Bill →

1) non-controversial: sing statute of lims. on some stuff

2) disparate...: will not encourage  
quotas or unfair practices

3) damages: all forms of discrim. & sex. harm  
(has caps)

Caps set imp. precedent (model) for tort reform.

→ We're not pretending we like the damages provisions.  
We "cared"

Grant / Aarhus  
Draft four: Civilrts.ts  
November 21, 1991

**REMARKS: CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SIGNING CEREMONY  
THE ROSE GARDEN  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1991  
2:00 P.M.**

Welcome to the White House. [Acknowledgements]

Today, we celebrate a law that will fight the evil of discrimination while also building bridges of harmony between Americans of all races, sexes, creeds and backgrounds.

For the past few years, the issue of civil rights legislation has divided Americans. Well, no more. From day one, I told the American people I wanted a civil rights bill that advances the cause of equal opportunity. I wanted a bill that advances the cause of racial harmony. And I wanted a bill that encourages people to work together. Today I am signing that bill, the "Civil Rights Act of 1991." //

Discrimination, whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion or disability, is worse than wrong. It is an evil that strikes at the very heart of the American ideal. This bill, building on current law, will help ensure that no American will discriminate against another.

For these reasons, this is a very good bill. Let me repeat that: **this is a very good bill.** Last year -- back in May of 1990 in the Rose Garden -- with some of you present, I believe -- I appealed for a bill I could sign. I said that day that I cannot and will not sign a quota bill. Instead, I said the American people deserved a civil rights bill that -- **number one** --

insisted that employers focus on equal opportunity -- not on developing strategies to avoid litigation. Number two, they deserved a bill that was based upon fundamental principles of fairness -- that anyone who believes their rights have been violated is entitled to their day in court -- and that the accused is innocent until proven guilty. And number three, they deserved a bill that provided adequate deterrent against harassment based upon race, sex, religion, or disability.

I also said that day that "this Administration is committed to action that is truly affirmative, positive action in every sense, to strike down all barriers to advancement of every kind for all people." And in that same spirit, I say again today: I support affirmative action.

Unlike last year's bill -- a bill I was forced to veto -- this bill will not encourage quotas or preferences because this bill will not create lawsuits on the basis of numbers alone. I oppose quotas because they incite tensions between the races, between the sexes, between people who get trapped in a numbers game.

This bill contains several important innovations. For example, it contains strong new remedies for the victims of discrimination and harassment, along with provisions capping damages that are an important model to be followed in tort reform. And it encourages mediation and arbitration between parties before the last resort of litigation. Our goal and our

**promise is harmony -- a return to civility and brotherhood -- as we build a better America for ourselves and our children.**

We had to work hard for this agreement. But the credit goes to the dedicated Republicans in Congress -- especially Senators Dole, Danforth and Hatch, as well as Congressmen Michel, Goodling and Hyde -- for ensuring that the legislation fulfilled the principles that I outlined earlier. No one likes to oppose a bill containing the words "civil rights" -- especially me -- and no one in Congress likes to vote against one either. I owe a debt of gratitude to those who stood with us against counterproductive legislation last year -- and again earlier this year -- as well as to those who led the way toward this important agreement we've reached today. I'm talking about Democrats, Republicans and those outside Congress who played a constructive role. To all of you, we say thank you.

But to the Congress I also say this: **The 1991 Civil Rights bill is only the first step.** If we seek -- and I believe every one of us does -- to build a new era of harmony and shared purpose, we must make it possible for all Americans to scale the ladder of opportunity. If we seek to ease racial tensions in America, civil rights legislation is not enough. The elimination of discrimination in the workplace is a vital element of the American Dream, but it is **simply not enough.**

I believe in an America free from racism and bigotry.

I believe in an America where anyone who wants to work has a job.

I believe in an America where every child receives a first-rate education ... a place where our children have the same chance to achieve their goals as everyone else's kids do.

I believe in an America where all people enjoy equal protection under the law ... where everyone can live and work in a climate free from fear and despair ... where drugs and crime have been banished from our neighborhoods and schools.

I believe in an America where everyone has a place to call his own -- a stake in the community and the comfort of a home.

I believe in an America where we measure success not in dollars and lawsuits -- but in opportunity, prosperity and harmony. I believe in the ideals we all share -- ideals that made America great: decency, fairness, faith, hard work, generosity, vigor, and vision.

The American Dream rests on the vision of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In our workplaces, in our schools, or on our streets, this dream begins with equality of opportunity. Our agenda for the next American Century -- whether it be guaranteeing equal protection under the law, promoting excellence in education, or creating jobs -- will ensure for generations to come that America **remains** the beacon of opportunity in the world.

Now, with great pride, I will sign this bill into law.

# #

*May 16 / Administration of George Bush, 1990*

**Nomination of Russell Flynn Miller To Be Inspector General for the Federal Emergency Management Agency**  
*May 16, 1990*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Russell Flynn Miller to be Inspector General for the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This is a new position.

Mr. Miller currently serves as a consultant for the Central Intelligence Agency. Prior to this, he was assistant director in the office of security for the office of the President-elect, 1988-1989, and he worked for the Bush-Quayle campaign, 1988. He was a private consultant, 1986-1988. In addition, Mr. Miller worked in several capacities with the United States Synthetic Fuels Corporation, including Deputy Inspector General, 1985-1986, and Director of Investigation in the Office of the Inspector General, 1981-1985. Mr. Miller worked for the Reagan-Bush Presidential campaign, 1979-1980. Prior to that he was a career officer in the Operations Directorate at the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Miller received a bachelor of arts degree from the University of Iowa and a bachelor of laws degree from Drake University College of Law. He was born October 25, 1921, in Panora, IA. Mr. Miller served in the U.S. Army, 1943-1945, and in the U.S. Army Reserve, 1946-1966. He is married, has four children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Death of Sammy Davis, Jr.**  
*May 16, 1990*

The President and Mrs. Bush are deeply saddened by the death of Sammy Davis, Jr. The Bushes are longtime admirers of Mr. Davis, who has given a lifetime to bringing joy to others through his special entertainment and good will. The President and Mrs. Bush telephoned Mrs. Davis on Saturday, May 12, to extend their best wishes and prayers.

Mr. Davis has been a major figure in the entertainment world. His legacy of humor and songs, as well as charity work, will continue to be a part of future generations. The President and Mrs. Bush extend their sympathy and condolences to Mr. Davis' family and friends.

**Remarks at a Meeting With the Commission on Civil Rights**  
*May 17, 1990*

Welcome to the Rose Garden and to the White House. Thank you all very much for coming. To the Attorney General and Secretary Cavazos and Secretary Sullivan, thank you for joining us; Director Newman, the same. And to Senators Dole, Hatch, and Garn, Congressman Ham Fish, thank you very much for being with us today. To Chairman Fletcher, an old friend and a man I'm very proud of, welcome, sir. To Commissioners Buckley, Ramirez, Redenbaugh, Wilfredo Gonzalez and the State Advisory Committee Chairpersons and to the distinguished leaders—I see Ben Hooks here and others of the civil rights community across this great country—it is—and I mean it—an honor to have you here today.

I think we've made it a moment that's very hopeful worldwide. In a minute from now, I'll be meeting in this marvelous Oval Office with Chancellor Kohl, talking about the dramatic changes that have taken place in the world. There is a time when the thundering cry for freedom is being heard and answered from Panama, hopefully in Johannesburg, to Warsaw. And around the world, peoples are warring against tyranny, citizens struggling against State control, economies weary of bureaucratic central planners—all are looking to America as reason for hope, the bright star by which to chart their course to freedom. And so, it's all the more crucial now that we look carefully to the kind of country we are, to the state of democracy here in the Land of Liberty. And we're called upon to ensure that this democracy means opportunity for all who call it home.

Few have worked harder to deliver the promise of democracy, to make an enduring dream a living reality, than the men and women assembled here today in this Rose Garden. And particularly, I want to give credit again to these men and women standing behind me.

From its earliest origins, the Commission on Civil Rights has been an independent, bipartisan voice for justice. And the Commissioners, the Directors, the Advisory Committees all share a cultural diversity and an intellectual and moral conviction that are truly America's best. And these men and women have earned our admiration, and today they deserve our thanks.

Joining a new Chairman—and as I said, my friend of many years, Art Fletcher—are two outstanding additions: Carl Anderson and Russell Redenbaugh. I know Bob Dole shares my admiration for Russell, a man of impressive credentials, who knows, as all Americans should know, that physical disability will not be a barrier to service in this administration. That's why I remain firmly committed to the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act to help ensure equal rights and opportunities for these Americans. And today I'd like to announce a new member of the Civil Rights Commission, Mr. Charles Pei Wang, President of the China Institute in America, an outstanding new addition.

Over the last few days, I've met to discuss pending civil rights legislation with leaders representing America's rich tapestry of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. And I got, as I knew I would, a lot of sound advice. Much of which I can accept. [Laughter] But these leaders, this Commission, the Congress, and this administration, believe me, all share a common conviction for equal opportunity. It's a responsibility that I've tried to take very seriously, especially now, when our most vital export to the world is democracy. And we must make sure that we as a nation continue to lead by example. We must see that true affirmative action is not reduced to some empty slogan and that this principle of striking down all barriers to advancement has real, living meaning to all Americans. We will leave nothing to chance and no stone unturned as we work to advance America's civil rights agenda.

This nation's progress against prejudice—from the '64 act to the Voting Rights Act to the Fair Housing and Age Discrimination in Employment Acts—it's all hinged on the principle that no one in this country should be excluded from opportunity. And so, we're committed to enacting new measures like the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the HOPE [Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere] initiative of housing, a revitalized enforcement of restrictions against employment bias. This administration seeks equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all Americans, goals that I know are shared by Senator Kennedy and Representative Hawkins, and certainly by the four distinguished Members of Congress with us here today.

And so, we've supported efforts to ensure an individual's ability to challenge discriminatory seniority systems. We've also moved to stiffen the penalties for racial discrimination in setting or applying the terms and conditions of employment. And today, as we work to ensure that America represents democracy's highest expression, I want to begin by offering three principles that must guide any amendments to our civil rights laws. These principles are firmly rooted in the spirit of our current laws. After the extensive discussions that we've had this week, I think they're principles on which all of us, including the leadership on the Hill, can agree. And so, I will enthusiastically support legislation that meets these principles.

First, civil rights legislation must operate to obliterate consideration of factors such as race, color, religion, sex, or national origin from employment decisions. So, in essence, we seek civil rights legislation that is more effective, not less. The focus of employers in this country must be on providing equal opportunity for all workers, not on developing strategies to avoid litigation.

No one here today would want me to sign a bill whose unintended consequences are quotas because quotas are wrong and they violate the most basic principles of our civil rights tradition and the most basic principles of the promise of democracy. America's minority communities deserve more than symptomatic relief. And we want to eradi-

cate the disease, and that will require systematic solutions, strategies that transcend statistics.

We should empower and ennoble our minority communities. We should seek systematic change that allows every American to excel. During these meetings this week, I invited the civil rights leadership to work with me to craft a bill that moves us towards this goal. After these consultations, I am confident that this can be done. I want to sign a civil rights bill, but I will not sign a quota bill. I think we can work it out.

The second, civil rights legislation must reflect fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system. Individuals who believe their rights have been violated are entitled to their day in court, and an accused is innocent until proved guilty. In every case involving a civil rights dispute, constitutional protections of due process must be preserved.

And third, Federal law should provide an adequate deterrent against harassment in the workplace based on race, sex, religion, or disability and should ensure a speedy end to such discriminatory practices. Our civil rights laws, however, should not be turned into some lawyer's bonanza, encouraging litigation at the expense of conciliation, mediation, or settlement.

Let me add that Congress, with respect, should live by the same requirements it prescribes for others. In '72, the Civil Rights Act of '64 was justly applied to executive agencies and State, local governments; and Congress, however, is not yet covered. This is not an assault on Congress. I'm just trying to—I've got about—[laughter]—but seriously, this inconsistency should be remedied to give congressional employees and applicants the full protection of the law to send a strong signal that it's both the executive branch and Congress that are in this together. And the Congress should join the executive branch in setting an example for these private employers.

Now, we seek strategies that work, putting power where it belongs: in the hands of the people. That means new ideas, like giving poor parents the power of an alternative choice in where to send the kids to school so that all can have access to the best. It means more tenant control and

ownership of public housing, tax credits for child care to give parents more flexibility and choice, policies that underwrite prosperity by encouraging capital flow to businesses in poor neighborhoods. The door is open wider now than it ever has been. Together, I believe we can open it still wider.

Today an expanding economy is working in the service of civil rights. And so, let's not set the clock back. Let's look past the differences that divide us to the shared principles and the better natures that we have within us. To the civil rights leadership assembled here today—Dorothy, excuse me, I didn't see you earlier—and so many—I'm in real trouble if I single them out here. Look, I have offered you my hand and my word that together we can and will make America open and equal to all. Now, this administration is committed to action that is truly affirmative, positive action in every sense, to strike down all barriers to advancement of every kind for all people. We will tolerate no barriers, no bias, no inside tracks, no two-tiered system, and no rungladder ladders. And I'm willing to take the time to make sure that this is done right simply because it's worth doing right. Now is the time, really, to extend a hand to all that are struggling and to devote our energies to a broader agenda of empowerment that all might join in this new age of freedom.

I am delighted that you all came here. Thank you for bringing honor to this prestigious Rose Garden and to paying tribute to our Commission here, in which I have great confidence and in which I take great pride. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Education Laura F. Cavazos; Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan; Office of Personnel Management Director Constance B. Newman; Arthur A. Fletcher, Esther C. Buckley, Blandina C. Ramirez, Russell C. Fedenbaugh, Wilfredo J. Gonzalez, and Carl A. Anderson, Chairman and Commissioners of the Commission on Civil Rights, respectively; Benjamin L. Hooks, ex-*

Grant / Aarhus  
Draft one A: Civilrts  
November 18, 1991

**BRIEF REMARKS: CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SIGNING CEREMONY  
THE ROSE GARDEN  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1991  
2:00 P.M.**

Welcome to the White House. [Acknowledgements]

For the past few years, the issue of civil rights has divided Americans. Well, no more. From day one, I told the American people I wanted to sign a civil rights bill that advances the cause of equal opportunity. I wanted to sign a bill that advances the cause of racial harmony. And I wanted to sign a bill that encourages people to work together. **Today I am signing that bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1991. //**

Discrimination, whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion or disability, is **worse than wrong**. It is an **evil** which requires strict enforcement of the strong and just laws we already have. It also requires vigorously promoting new measures such as this bill -- which builds on current law. This bill will punish severely those who continue to discriminate against their fellow Americans. It will not punish the innocent.

For these reasons, this is a very good bill. Let me repeat that: **this is a very good bill**. Unlike last year's bill -- a bill I was forced to veto -- it will not encourage quotas or preferences by employers protecting themselves from the threat of litigation. The bill's provisions capping damages are an important model to be followed in tort reform. And the bill encourages mediation and arbitration between parties before the

last resort of litigation. Our goal and our promise is harmony -  
- a return to civility and brotherhood -- as we build a better  
America for ourselves and our children.

One discouraging note however: we are disappointed that Congress has not applied this statute to themselves in the same way it does to the rest of America. It's a sad and pitiful fact that most Congressional employees have no access at all to the courts should they need judicial remedy. I continue to urge the Congress to apply the same laws to itself that it enacts on the rest of America. //

As we all know, getting this agreement was tough. But the credit goes to the dedicated Republicans in Congress -- especially Senators Dole and Danforth -- for ensuring that I had a bill I could sign. No one likes to veto a civil rights bill - - especially not me -- and no one in Congress likes to vote against one either. I owe a debt of gratitude to those who stood with us against bad legislation last year, and to those who led the way toward this tremendous agreement we've reached today. To all of you, we say thank you.

But to the Congress I also say this: **The 1991 Civil Rights bill is only the first step.** If we seek -- and every one of us does -- if we seek the easing of racial tensions in this country, civil rights legislation is not enough. The elimination of discrimination in the workplace is a vital element of the American Dream, but it is **simply not enough.**

The end of workplace discrimination means nothing without first having **jobs** available -- and we need an economic growth initiative from the Congress to create jobs and opportunity all across America. //

And we need all Americans to be **well-trained and educated** in order to qualify for those jobs -- so we urge the Congress once again to act on our America 2000 education initiative.

We cannot expect Americans to work hard and prepare for the future if they live in a **climate of fear and hopelessness** -- our crime bill, bottled up for two years on Capitol Hill, will help us win the battle against drugs and violent crime in our streets.

We measure success not in terms of dollars spent and lawsuits filed -- but in terms of **lives enriched** and **opportunities created**. That is a guiding principle of this Administration, and that is why I am signing this bill.

Our forefathers wrote of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- the foundation of the American Dream. Whether in our workplaces, in our schools, or on our streets, that foundation begins with equality of opportunity. Our agenda for the future -- whether it be guaranteeing equal protection under the law, promoting excellence in education, or creating jobs -- will ensure for future generations that America **remains** the beacon of opportunity in the world.

With that said, I will now sign this bill into law.

# # #

OUTLINE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS BILL SIGNING REMARKS

Opening graph: There is no room in America for discrimination. In the tradition of the early civil rights movement, we today sign this bill into law.

I. LAST YEAR'S BILL: Last year I was forced to veto H.R. 1, because it was a quota bill

A. No one likes to veto a civil rights bill -- especially me. No one in Congress likes to vote against one either.

1. Thank you to the members who gave us veto strength
2. But we were forced to do what we did because of the bad aspects of that bill (FBI speech)

B. Last year's bill would have made radical changes in the way certain kinds of discrimination are tried in the courts, forcing employers to hire by the numbers to protect themselves in court.

C. This year's bill preserves current law, which works well. It will punish severely those who engage in discrimination, not innocent by-standers.

II. THIS YEAR'S BILL: This year, I am pleased to be signing the 1991 Civil Rights bill, because it is a good bill. (It was **Republicans** in Congress who led the way toward this agreement / acknowledge members.)

A. Describe good aspects of the bill

1. Wards Cove / disparate impact -- wording agreed to will not encourage quotas and preferences
2. Damages provisions -- caps are an important model to be followed in tort reform (although we are seeking a society that sues less overall)
3. Bill encourages alternative dispute resolution; mediation and arbitration over litigation.

B. However, we are disappointed that Congress has not applied this statute to themselves in the same way it does to the rest of America. (specifics)

IV. THE KIND OF SOCIETY WE ARE SEEKING:

A. This bill is, we hope, the first step toward the easing of racial tensions in this country.

B. But a civil rights bill can only do so much; it is only a small part of the idea of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Civil rights must go hand-in-hand with job opportunity, educational opportunity, homeownership and property ownership, and safer streets and neighborhoods. End on big picture / high road language about opportunity.

We don't like jury trials & punitive damages provisions.

important provision encouraging alternative dispute resolution  
alternative: mediation & deliberation

who has exempted → Congress has not fully applied the statutes to themselves as they have to most Americans.

Cong. employees go to ethics committee  
whereas

House employees have no access to Court at all.

Sen. a little different

Over a yr. ago I was forced to veto a bad bill  
that encouraged quotas: mention bad  
things.

Now, we are able to sign bill we like.

We won for the American public.

Look at Quahrico speech.

Thank those who supported veto last yr.

No one likes to vote down a civ. rts. bill  
Thanks again for getting us a better bill

Proud it was Rep. party who pulled  
for the bill.

Mention Dole & Danforth

Agreement → not compromise

Last yrs bill would have made radical Δs in the way discr. cases are handled in courts.

This yr., court systems are fair

Last yr. would have enforced hiring by the #s  
This yr. all is fair

This yr. bill punishes those who discriminate, does not punish innocent victims of discrimination.

Don't say that it won't harm economy - it might?

civil rt. to life, lib, pursuit of happiness

Schools  
safe streets  
↑ economy

Nemedy v. Sears - civil rights in the workplace.  
Audience - case Robert Kildberg