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May 9, 1990



Mark -

Great to meet you & your
beautiful wife. Here's a further
elaboration on our new political
"paradigm" 

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Out to box & let me

know how I can help -

Jack

EDUCATION
(CIVIL RIGHTS)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

March 9, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUNDImperial Ballroom
Sheraton Center Hotel
New York, New York

7:51 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Michael Jordan, for that introduction. Barbara and I are delighted to be with you, speaking before the olives, the celery, the raw carrots. (Laughter.) But we've got to get back to Washington -- fast. (Laughter and applause.) The Senate is still in session and our dog is pregnant. (Laughter.)

I want to just add my voice of congratulations to Gus Hawkins and Larry Rawl and Paul Simon. You honor three good people. And I want to thank Hugh Cullman, who gives so much of himself to the United Negro College Fund, and, of course, salute Chris Edley, a friend of long-standing.

You know, Paul Simon once wrote a song called simply, "Old Friends." And I'm delighted to see my old friends, Bill and Vi Trent, here with us tonight.

You know, as Michael said -- (applause) -- my association with the UNCF got started there at Yale University in '48, and Bill Trent came up to New Haven and talked to a lot of young idealistic people about his vision for higher education, and he did a superb job. And so today, when he and Vi flew up with me on Air Force One, I had this great feeling of nostalgia. And he is -- his 79th birthday I think is tomorrow, but in any event, it's great to be with this old friend way down on the end of the line. (Applause.)

Also with us on Air Force One was another Executive Director of the UNCF, Art Fletcher, who's here somewhere. But we have good representation. And you talk about the hard sell, they're still doing it. (Laughter.)

Tonight, flanked by old friends and, in a real sense, family, because my brother, John, is active in this crusade, and I consider many of you here family -- I am grateful for your company.

During my student days at Yale, I first saw the Fund invest in higher education and in America. And then, as now, it insisted that excellence become a way of life, and a higher learning a bequest.

And as undergraduate, I came to grasp what Churchill talked about when he said, "Personally, I am always ready to learn, though I do not always enjoy being taught." Well, for nearly half-a-century, this Fund has taught so that America could learn and the gentler impulses of mankind was high on the teaching agenda.

And you have helped society's disadvantaged cast off despair and poverty. And through such friends as Bill Trent and now Chris and then Frederick D. Patterson -- and, yes, he is still sorely missed -- you have endorsed liberty, opportunity, and the dignity of work.

MORE

But most of all, you really have shown how the conscience and education can fulfill the promise of America -- to right wrong, to love freedom, to demand equality for all.

And for that, I congratulate you -- and yet, I challenge you, too. Black and white, together -- we know that America will not be a good place for any of us to live until it is a good place for all of us to live. (Applause.)

Most Americans, I'm convinced, believe that government can be an instrument of healing. There are times when government must step in where others fear to tread.

My friends, I share those beliefs, and as President, I will act on them.

I'm delighted that my Secretary of Education, our distinguished Secretary of Education Larry Cavazos is with us here tonight, sitting over here. (Applause.)

For America, it seems to me, means pride -- individually, culturally, racially. And America means, in the words of Dr. King, that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." (Applause.) And it does mean opportunity for those who need jobs and who dream of owning homes. And it means the hope that tomorrow will be brighter than today. How can we best inspire that hope and secure the promise of America? I do believe that the answer is in education. Education knows no barriers, accepts no limits. Education is a ladder; it embodies self-respect, not dependency. Education can give minorities a greater voice, and then make sure that that voice is heard.

Since 1944, when Dr. Patterson founded the UNCF, your voice has resounded from colleges like Tuskegee and Morehouse and Spellman and Fisk. And I'm going to hurt a lot of feelings tonight because I was in a receiving line, and I was so impressed with the names that came flowing back as I met the presidents of these distinguished universities. Black colleges have enobled such Americans as Leontyne Price, Frank Yerby, Azie Taylor Morton, and our next Secretary of Health and Human Services, my dear friend, Dr. Lou Sullivan, who is here with us tonight. (Applause.)

It is said that the woman who Time calls "the silver fox" -- (laughter and applause) -- was responsible for Lou Sullivan's being appointed to this Cabinet, and I'll give her some credit. (Laughter and applause.) I want to gun down the rumor though that I appointed Lou Sullivan to be Secretary because when as President of Morehouse Medical School he was working my wife to death as a board member. And it's rumored I just wanted him to get out of there to let up on her. Not true. (Laughter.)

As you know, in September 1981, President Reagan signed that Executive Order 12320, committing the federal government to increase its support of Historical Black Colleges and Universities.

And our goal was to identify, and eliminate, unfair barriers to participation in federally-sponsored programs. And our means was to involve the private sector, and to motivate the 27 federal agencies which provide nearly all the federal funding.

And did it work? Did it ever.

In Fiscal '81, Historical Black Colleges received \$545 million. Fiscal Year '87 - \$684. And moreover, research and development, which includes funds for non-scientific institutional development, comprised nearly half of all funding for Historically Black Colleges. Our White House Science and Technology Advisory Committee fostered science, math, and engineering programs and curricula. And this comprehensive HBCU effort has attacked the Four

Horsemen of the American Night -- illiteracy and inequality, indigence and fear.

Great beginnings -- crawling before we walk and then run. Great beginnings. And now let's build on them. And we have done much, but there remains so much more left to do.

My friends, eight weeks ago I think it was, there in the White House complex, I met with the presidents of many of the colleges represented here tonight to probe exactly where we are going and how. And we discussed faculty development and merit scholarships, community college grants and institutional planning.

And from that meeting, and others like it, came six new initiatives which will help do, nationally, what you have done, historically: Enrich education, so that education can enrich our lives.

And after listening to your presidents, I proposed that Congress fund \$60 million over four years in endowment matching grants. We put our money on the table. And now, I want to challenge the private sector. It's a beginning. We need the help of the private sector. The time has come.

And secondly, if excellence breeds achievement, that excellence should be rewarded -- in grade schools, in high school, and at our colleges and university. And so I want Congress to create a \$500 million program to reward America's "merit schools" -- the schools which improve the most.

And thirdly, I want it to create special presidential awards for the best teachers in every state.

And next, I want to see the expanded use of magnet schools -- to give parents and students the freedom of choice.

And I've also proposed a new program to encourage "alternative certification" -- to allow talented Americans from every field to teach in America's classrooms -- school classrooms. Consider that today, in many areas, a John Updike or an Alex Haley could not qualify to teach high school creative writing. There is something wrong and we've got to change that system. (Applause.) My point is that when rules are so inflexible that creativity and talent and imagination aren't welcome in our schools, it's time to change those rules.

And finally, through a new program of National Science Scholars, I seek to give America's youth a special incentive to excel in science and math. The National Science Foundation predicts a shortage of 400,000 scientists by the year 2000. Through excellence in education, we must and will reverse that trend. And I see the historical black colleges as an enormous resource to do just exactly that. (Applause.)

And yet, I recognize that these proposals -- all of this isn't enough. It never is. As Americans, we never are satisfied. We know that when a dream comes true, it gives rise to even bigger and better dreams.

And so my appeal tonight is that we work to build a better America. I feel strongly -- I feel deeply in my heart about the United Negro College Fund, and I came up to tell you on this highly successful dinner that Hugh and Chris and Michael and others here at this dias and all of you out there worked so hard on to make so successful, I want to help. I want the United States government to help. And Barbara and I as individuals want to join you in this enormous power of the private sector to do all we can to help you achieve your goals and your ideals.

And thank you all and God bless you. (Applause.)

Civil
Rights

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 14, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUERoom 450
Old Executive Office Building

9:50 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. This is what they call a cameo appearance. (Laughter.) I'm here very briefly before rushing off to the Hilton Hotel, but I just can't tell you how pleased I am to be with you. I told Abe Foxman here, why, we're practically going steady -- (laughter) -- because he was down here at a -- just last -- was it Thursday of last week with the head of a lot of these most prominent organizations. And I'm delighted to be here with all of you today. I don't want to speak too long because Bobbie Kilberg, I think, is next, and she'll kill me. (Laughter.)

But I might say she is doing an outstanding job -- a friend of long-standing and now in an outreach capacity here, high level at the White House, and performing with the expertise that we have come to expect of her. I understand that Secretary Kemp is coming, or maybe -- has he been, or coming over -- and Dick Thornburgh, I think, and our Chief of Staff. So you'll have a full program.

But I'm pleased to be here. I look at these briefing sessions as a two-way street. I hope that you'll have a chance to exchange views -- get questions and answers with some, but in any event, an opinion at a forum for sharing of information and ideas. Certainly, the meeting that we had with Abe and those from the organization of presidents was that kind of meeting. And, as I look around the room, I see many familiar faces and am delighted to be here.

For three quarters of a century, the Antidefamation League has played a central role in preserving and protecting that sacred right of religious freedom. And there is no single greater contribution that one organization can make to the nation, and for that you have earned our gratitude, certainly my respect.

From the time the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, the principle of religious freedom and the notion of America as a haven for those who seek to exercise that freedom has been deeply rooted in the American heritage. But the ADL knows well that however well-established religious freedom may be, it can never be taken for granted. And our national conscience must take note whenever that freedom is violated and all Americans then must rush in to the defense of that freedom.

As one of our forefathers wrote nearly 200 years ago, the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance. May the children of the stock of Abraham sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there should be none to make him afraid.

I know that the ADL recently issued its annual report detailing rising incidents of anti-Semitism in 1988. And I want to come over here to tell you that we must condemn all attacks on the Jewish religion, the Jewish heritage, clearly, unequivocally, and without exception. This nation must stand for tolerance, for

MORE

pluralism, and a healthy respect for the rights of all minorities.

And I know many of you -- and we've worked together in various common causes many times over the years -- and I hope you know how deeply I cherish the principle of religious freedom. And I know how hard you've fought, not only for your own beliefs, but to protect the principle that recognizes the rights of all men and women to worship as they believe right. So we must continue to work together as we have in the past to protect these rights -- zealously protect these rights for all Americans. Rest assured that my administration will work to uphold this principle as the very cornerstone of our freedom.

And sometimes they question the power of the President. And I understand that. But they should never question the President's willingness to use "the bully pulpit of the White House," as Teddy Roosevelt called it, to speak out for what is just and right.

I've concentrated today here on just these brief remarks on antidiscrimination or other subjects of enormous concern. I wish you could have been there yesterday in the Oval Office to hear a representative of the Ethiopian Jews -- a man who's living in Israel now -- make this plea from the heart to continue the flow of the people there who are still not able to join their families in Israel. There's that subject. We had a fascinating meeting with Mr. Arens yesterday where I reassured him of the United States' commitment to Israel as a strategic ally and, of course, a lasting friend. And I think he understands that. I hope that when the Prime Minister of Israel comes here that we can move forward in some way for the peace that -- toward the peace that everybody here really aspires for -- hopes that Israel and its neighbors will achieve.

So we're moving. Thank you for letting me drop in in this cameo appearance. And keep up your commitment, keep up that commitment to fight against bigotry wherever it may surface.

Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

9:55 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 13, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS GENERAL

Roosevelt Room

10:02 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am just delighted to see this illustrious group here. I wanted you to meet Bill Reilly, who is our Administrator of the EPA, and a man whose reputation many of you know about. And I've prepared just a few remarks that I want to make on the -- a couple of subjects where this group has been out front. And when I finish, Bill will say a few words.

I would ask your forbearance. I just couldn't pull myself away from watching the Discovery take off, and it's now airborne and appears to be going well, so I think that is always a rather tense moment. But the flight is underway.

I would say to Bob and everybody else that this Association, as I look at your agenda, it's clear to me that this Association and the White House are fighting the same battles and on the same agenda. Your reports on environmental protection and also on drug control strategies got you way out front on these two issues. And I think it's a good thing. And we are determined to have those as two prominent agenda items right here in the White House.

Now, the approaches that you've taken reinforce my conviction that, together, where we have these shared concerns, we're going to find solutions and we've got to find state and federal roles that work. We're going to apply limited resources -- and, again, I wish they weren't as limited, particularly in these two areas. But we've got to apply the limited resources in a coordinated manner.

At the federal level, I'm convinced that on many issues the time for study has passed -- on these environmental issues, and I know that Bill agrees with me. So we are proposing legislation to reauthorize the Clean Air Act, and I want to work with the Congress on a comprehensive acid rain program. And, again, I think working with you all we can do a lot of throwing the book at those who engaged in illegal ocean dumping.

Bill is just back from a highly successful international conference that was opened by Margaret Thatcher in the U.K., and he can tell you perhaps a little about what went on there. But in these broad areas of global warming we've got to do better, and we will.

Over the last decade, the states have taken on a key role, the lead, I might add in many areas, in terms of protecting the environment. And I view that as good news. I believe that. I still believe strongly in federalism and I think that's very, very important.

So I want to work with you on those environmental questions where we share responsibility. We need to step up that Superfund cleanup process and improve enforcement. We must assure compliance with the hazardous waste laws. And where enforcement of all the laws that protect our environment are concerned, I'd like you to think about the most serious cases where we've got to move beyond civil penalties toward criminal enforcement, both as a sanction and as a deterrent.

MORE

In a few minutes, as I say, Bill will give a little more detail on our environmental agenda, and you will see in him what I have seen, that he is an expert here, an outstanding ally and a fellow soldier in this struggle. He also understands the differences between the state responsibility and the federal, but the need to work together.

So let me just touch on the other subject that I mentioned upfront before turning this over to him. We've got to see that the great cities, indeed some of rural America, that they are no longer held hostage to the crack dealers. Our schools must not be locked in a state of seige. And, you know, drugs are like a chemical weapons that a society turns on itself. And they breed the most insidious forms of domestic terrorism. And they've got to be stopped and we've got to vow that they will be stopped.

The budget that I sent up to the Congress a few weeks ago is a realistic, fiscally responsible plan that identifies key priorities requiring our immediate attention. One of these priorities is combatting the scourge of drugs. And that's why I am asking for \$1 billion in new outlays for the antidrug program. That's a 47 percent increase over 1988, for a total of \$6 billion in budget authority for 1990. Most of that money, 70 percent of it, will beef up federal enforcement, provide grants to state and local law enforcement agencies, build up our prosecution, detentions, and intelligence-gathering strength.

As chief legal officers, you know about enforcement. And you know how vital it is. And as my budget makes clear, I wanted to vote unprecedented resources to enforcement. But clearly, we've got to do more. This war won't be won by police work alone. Where there's demand, supply will always rise to meet it. And where there's no demand, supply is useless. And that's why I was glad to see your Blueprint for Drug Control Strategy broadens the goals of enforcement.

You say reducing demand must be the ideological cornerstone of any coherent drug enforcement policy. And you're right -- enforcement strategies must look beyond effects to causes. Drug education, treatment, prevention, provide our best hope for long-term solution, especially with the kids -- especially with our kids. And we need to tell them, of course, to say no, but we've also got to give them the wisdom to know why and the skills to know how to say no.

I want to ask you to continue looking closely at these drug enforcement programs. How can they help reduce demand? Less demand means more success on the war on drugs and, to the extent you can cut demand, you can make your jobs, my job, and those of everyone involved a whole lot more rewarding.

Our financial resources may be limited, but our resolve is unlimited. And with that limitless resolve, I know that we can inspire every child, teacher, and parent, every community group, religious institution, and tenant association, and every business and professional organization in this country, and then, united in common resolve, we will be truly invincible.

I've said before that we have more will than wallet, but the only limits on our will are the limits we place on ourselves. We can, we must build a culture of zero tolerance and then we'll send a message loud and clear to those who take drugs, and take our leniency for granted -- the party is over.

And so I will simply end by telling you about a visit I had to the DEA up in New York. It was most interesting, and it was addressing all our agents. And I know many of you have worked with them and, like you, I was very much impressed by the caliber of the young men and women. You wonder what does it take to be a person that knows now that the culture has changed, that their lives are literally on the line?

After meeting with the big group we went into a small meeting room and talked to the agents themselves, those that were undercover. And one of them explained it to me this way. It used to be if there was a drug bust people would say "police", or "DEA" or "FBI", or whatever it is, and the bad guys would stop what they were doing and, you know, submit to arrest. Now the culture has changed -- the bad guys turn around and start shooting. And so it really drove home to me the need to support these enforcement officers with changes in the law and whatever else it's going to take. The penalty in some areas for killing a policeman is the same as being caught with "x" ounces of drugs on you. And so how can there be any incentive if we don't have some differentiation.

This is your business; you know this. But we would welcome recommendations to our Attorney General and to the White House on how best to effect the kind of changes that are going to be necessary in that aspect of the problem.

Now back to the first agenda item -- the environment. Bill has got a good way of building bridges between people. He's the first kind of certified environmentalist to be in this important post and he's been called the "Great Includer." You can figure that out when you listen to him, but he's devoted his career really to protecting our land, air and water. He has my complete confidence. I expect when you've dealt with him for a while he'll have yours. I ask that you give him your full cooperation because, again, like the whole question of the second agenda item, this first one, the environment and the need to preserve it and to hand our kids something a little better than we found, is absolute priority.

So with no further ado and the only regret that I won't have a chance to visit more informally with each and every one of you, thanks for coming. And let me introduce you to Bill Reilly, who I know will have your full support.

Bill, all yours. (Applause.)

END

10:13 A.M. EST

MD -

Might help you on
the minorities issue.

- SEB

[Originally Attached to Previous Document]

READINGS

see page 4

[Essay]

GHETTOIZED BY BLACK UNITY

From the epilogue to The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America, by Shelby Steele, to be published this summer by St. Martin's Press. Steele's essay "The Recoloring of Campus Life: Student Racism, Academic Pluralism, and the End of a Dream" appeared in the February 1989 issue of Harper's Magazine. He is a professor of English at San Jose State University in California.

There are many profound problems facing black America today: a swelling black underclass; a black middle class that declined slightly in size during the Eighties; a declining number of black college students; an epidemic of teenage pregnancy, drug use, and gang violence; continuing chronic unemployment; astoundingly high college and high school dropout rates; an increasing number of single-parent families; a disproportionately high infant mortality rate; and so on. Against this despair it might seem almost esoteric for me to talk about the importance of individual identity and possibility. Yet I have come to believe that despite the existing racism in today's America, opportunity is the single most constant but unexploited aspect of the black condition. The only way we will see the advancement of black people in this country is for us to focus on developing ourselves as individuals and embracing opportunity.

I have come to this conclusion over time. In the late Sixties, I was caught up in the new spirit of black power and pride that swept over black America like one of those storms that change

the landscape. I will always believe this storm was inevitable and, therefore, positive in many ways. What I gained from it was the power to be racially unapologetic, no mean benefit considering the long trial of patience that blacks were subjected to during the civil rights movement. But after a while, by the early Seventies, it became clear that black power did not offer much of a blueprint for how to move my life forward; it told me virtually nothing about who I was as an individual or how I might live in the world as myself. Of course, it was my mistake to think it could. But in the late Sixties, "blackness" was an invasive form of collective identity that cut so deeply into one's individual space that it seemed also to be an individual identity. It came as something of a disappointment to realize that the two were not the same, that being "black" in no way spared me the necessity of being myself.

In the early Seventies, without realizing it, I made a sort of bargain with the prevailing black identity—I subscribed in a general way to its point of view so that I could be free to get on with my life. Many blacks I knew did the same.

And what were we subscribing to? Generally, I think it was a form of black identity grounded in the spirit of black power. It carried a righteous anger at and mistrust of American society; it believed that blacks continued to be the victims of institutional racism, that we would have to maintain an adversarial stance toward society, and that a tight racial unity was necessary both for survival and advancement. This identity was, and is, predicated on the notion that those who burned you once will burn you again, and it presupposes a deep racist reflex in American life that will forever try to limit black possibility.

I think it was the space I cleared for myself by



This photograph of the Riverside Lounge in Shaw, Mississippi, was taken by Birney Imes. It will appear in Juke Joint, a collection of his work to be published by the University Press of Mississippi in July. Imes's Mississippi Delta photographs are in the permanent collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. Imes lives in Columbus, Mississippi.

loosely subscribing to this identity that ultimately put me in conflict with it. It is in the day-to-day struggle of living on the floor of a society, so to speak, that one gains a measure of what is possible in that society. And by simply living as an individual in America—with my racial-identity struggle suspended temporarily—I discovered that American society offered me, and blacks in general, a remarkable range of opportunity if we were willing to pursue it.

In my daily life I continue to experience racial indignities and slights: This morning I was told that blacks had too much musical feeling (soul, I suppose) to be good classical musicians; yesterday I passed two houses with gnomish black lawn jockeys on their front porches; my children have been called “nigger,” as have I; I wear a tie and carry a briefcase so that my students on the first day of class will know I’m the professor; and so on. I also know that actual racial discrimination persists in many areas of American life. I have been the victor in one housing-discrimination suit, as were my parents before me. My life is not immune to any of this, and I

will never endure it with élan. Yet I have also come to realize that, in this same society, I have been more in charge of my fate than I ever wanted to believe and that though I have been limited by many things, my race was not foremost among them.

The point is that both realities exist simultaneously. There is still racial insensitivity and some racial discrimination against blacks in this society, but there is also much opportunity. What brought me into conflict with the prevailing black identity was that it was almost entirely preoccupied with the former to the exclusion of the latter. The black identity I was subscribing to in the Seventies—and that still prevails today—was essentially a “wartime” identity shaped in the confrontational Sixties. It saw blacks as victims even as new possibilities for advancement opened all around.

Why do we cling to an adversarial, victim-focused identity and remain preoccupied with white racism? Part of the reason, I think, is that we carry an inferiority anxiety—an unconscious fear that the notion that we are inferior may, in fact, be true—that makes the seizing of opportunity more risky for us, since setbacks and fail-

ures may seem to confirm our worst fears. To avoid this risk we hold a victim-focused identity that tells us there is less opportunity than there actually is. And, in fact, our victimization itself has been our primary source of power in society—the basis of our demands for redress. The paradoxical result of relying on this source of power is that it rewards us for continuing to see ourselves as victims of a racist society and implies that opportunity itself is something to be given instead of taken.

This leaves us with an identity that is at war with our own best interests, that magnifies our oppression and diminishes our sense of possibility. I think this identity is a burden for blacks, because it is built around our collective insecurity rather than a faith in our human capacity to seize opportunity as individuals. It amounts to a self-protective collectivism that focuses on black unity instead of individual initiative. To be “black” in this identity, one need only manifest the symbols, postures, and rhetoric of black unity. Not only is personal initiative unnecessary for being “black” but the successful exercise of initiative—working one’s way into the middle class, becoming well-off, gaining an important position—may, in fact, jeopardize one’s “blackness,” make one somehow less black.

This sort of identity is never effective and never translates into the actual uplift of black people. Though it espouses black pride, it is actually a repressive identity that generates a victimized self-image, curbs individualism and initiative, diminishes our sense of possibility, and contributes to our demoralization and inertia. Uplift can only come when many millions of blacks seize the possibilities inside the sphere

of their personal lives and use them to move themselves forward. Collectively we can resist oppression, but racial development will always be, as Ralph Ellison once put it, “the gift” of individuals.

There have been numerous government attempts at remedying the list of problems I mentioned earlier. Here and there a program has worked; many more have been failures. Clearly, we should find the ones that do work and have more of them. But my deepest feeling is that, in a society of increasingly limited resources, there will never be enough programs to meet the need. We black Americans will never be saved or even assisted terribly much by others, never be repaid for our suffering, and never find that symmetrical, historical justice that we cannot help but long for.

As Jean-Paul Sartre once said, we are the true “existential people.” We have always had to create ourselves out of whole cloth and find our own means for survival. I believe that black leadership must recognize the importance of this individual initiative. They must preach it, tell it, sell it, and demand it. Our leadership has looked at government and white society very critically. Now they must help us look at ourselves. We need our real problems named and explained, otherwise we have no chance to overcome them. The impulse of our leaders is to be “political,” to keep the society at large on edge, to keep them feeling as though they have not done enough for blacks. And, clearly, they have not. But the price these leaders pay for this form of “politics” is to keep blacks focused on an illusion of deliverance by others, and no illusion weakens us more. Our leaders must take a risk. They must tell us the truth, tell us of the freedom and opportunity they have discovered in their own lives. They must tell us what they tell their own children when they go home at night: to study hard, to pursue their dreams with discipline and effort, to be responsible for themselves, to have concern for others, to cherish their race and at the same time build their own lives as Americans. When our leaders put a spotlight on our victimization and seize upon our suffering to gain us ineffectual concessions, they inadvertently turn themselves into enemies of the truth, not to mention enemies of their own people.

I believe that black Americans are freer today than ever before. This is not a hope; this is a reality. Racial hatred has not yet left the American landscape. Who knows how or when this will occur. And yet the American black, supported by a massive body of law and, for the most part, the goodwill of his fellow citizens, is basically as free as he or she wants to be. For

[Correction]

PRINT THE RIGHT THING

This correction appeared in the December 14, 1989, New York Times.

A television review on Tuesday about the MTV program *Decade* misattributed a remark about the Reagan administration. The comment, that it became “fashionable to be racist” during those years, was made by the filmmaker Spike Lee, not by Lee Atwater, the Republican national chairman.

every white I have met who is a racist, I have met twenty more who have seen me as an individual. This, I am not ashamed to say, has been my experience. I believe it is time for blacks to begin the shift from a wartime to a peacetime identity, from fighting for opportunity to seizing it. The immutable fact of late-twentieth-century American life is that it is there for blacks to seize. Martin Luther King did not live to experience this. But then, of course, on the night before he died, he seemed to know that he would not. From the mountaintop he had looked over and seen the promised land, but he said, "I may not get there with you . . ." I won't say we are snuggled deep in the promised valley he saw beyond the mountain; everyday things remind me that we are not. But I also know we have it better than our greatest leader. We are on the other side of his mountaintop, on the downward slope toward the valley he saw. This is something we ought to know. But what we must know even more clearly is that nothing on this earth can be promised except a chance. The promised land guarantees nothing. It is only an opportunity, not a deliverance.

[Speech]

GOOD COP, BAD COP

From a speech by South African president F. W. de Klerk to the country's 500 highest-ranking police officers at a closed meeting in January. The speech was recorded secretly by someone who attended the meeting.

I know that the government's decision to allow protests and marches to take place, to release senior African National Congress leaders, and to open up beaches to all people has raised a number of questions in the minds of many people. I want the South African Police to analyze the situation with me.

Until now the police have been required to perform two types of functions. One was to handle typical crime situations—murder, rape, etc.—which will always be tasks of police forces all over the world. But you also had other tasks to fulfill, those fundamentally connected to a specific political policy.

Let us take swimming as an example. In the future, you will be required to police the beaches to prevent theft and assault, but you will never again be required to say to someone, "Hey, you are not allowed to swim here because of the color of your skin." When people gather

for political purposes, you will be required to maintain law and order and to ensure that the laws of the land are not transgressed. But you will no longer be required to prevent people from gathering to canvass support for their views.

This is the political arena, and we want to take the police out of it. We as politicians must take full responsibility for politics. As ordinary citizens, policemen have the liberty and freedom to vote the party of their choice. But in the execution of their duties, they must ensure that normal activities—whether swimming or holding political meetings—take place in an orderly and lawful fashion. This is the direction we are taking, and I want you to make peace with this new line.

Let me assure you, the government has not become weak-kneed or changed its views on the

[Campaign Commercials]

MY DEATH ROW IS LONGER THAN YOURS

These two thirty-second campaign commercials were broadcast on television in Texas prior to the state's gubernatorial primaries in March. The first commercial was aired by Texas secretary of state Jack Rains, a Republican candidate; the second was aired by former Texas governor Mark White, a Democrat. Both candidates lost.

JACK RAINS: I fought to see that we put a billion dollars into new prison construction. I want to make sure we have adequate capacity so that violent offenders, those who are threats to society, are not out on the streets. I want to keep those dangerous people off the streets and out of our faces. I want to treat those people like the garbage they are. I'm going to put 'em in that can, and I'm going to sit on the lid.

MARK WHITE: These hardened criminals will never again murder, rape, or deal drugs. As governor, I made sure they received the ultimate punishment—death. And Texas is a safer place for it. But tough talk isn't enough. The criminals know how to tangle up the court and delay execution. To bring them to justice takes strength and dedication, because if the governor flinches, they win. Only a governor can make an execution happen. I did. And I will.

#618

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Lorman, Mississippi)

For Immediate Release

May 13, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT ALCORN STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Alcorn State University
Lorman, Mississippi

11:15 A.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all, and especially, my thanks to you, Dr. Washington. You know, last month we commemorated the bicentennial of the American presidency. And, Walter, I have to tell you -- after all these actors in powdered wigs -- it is a relief to stand beside someone who really is "President Washington." (Laughter and applause.) Good morning.

But to you and your wonderful faculty here at Alcorn, I just say I am delighted to be here. Incidentally, Dr. Washington's ears should have been burning because when I road down on the helicopter from Jackson with the two United States Senators from Mississippi, they were telling me in considerable detail more than I knew from my briefing papers of this man's commitment to excellence. And so I salute him and his service to this wonderful university. (Applause.)

Lieutenant-Governor Dye, it's a pleasure to be with you, sir. I'm, of course, delighted that Thad Cochran and Trent Lott are with us today, a tribute to all here. I'm very pleased that my good friend, Sonny Montgomery, a Congressman whose home is in Meridian, is here. We're in Congressman Mike Espy's district, and I salute him. Congressman Mike Parker is here, and many other distinguished guests. I also want to say thanks to all of them.

Congratulations also to the families and the friends and the fans of these students. But I think most of all, to the Alcorn State University Class of 1989, we salute you and I'm proud to be with you. (Applause.) You've been part of what they call "the Alcorn family." And this is a day for the family. But it's your own individual families -- the mothers and fathers and grandparents gathered here -- that I want to congratulate. In a very private way, your years of hard work and your years of sacrifice and, yes, love for your sons and daughters have brought this moment to pass. And I think you, really -- although the first round of applause has died now -- I think you all really deserve the first round of applause. The parents and the grandparents of the graduates here today. (Applause.)

I know how deadly long graduation speeches can be. I'll never forget Yale University where I went. A man got up, he says, "I'm going to give you a brief graduation speech. And I will choose, because our school has a short name -- Y, Y -- is for youth." He went on for about 30 minutes -- "and then it's A, altruism." (Laughter.) Another 20 -- L, loyalty. Rushed that off in about 18 minutes. And then, of course, E, for excellence. He concluded about an hour and half after he started. And there was one person left, his head bent in prayer. And the minister, the speaker, very touched by it, said, "Well, sir, I see that you are praying for these values." The man said, "No, no." He said, "I wasn't praying for the values. I was giving thanks to the Lord that I did not go to Alcorn State University in Lorman, Mississippi." (Laughter.)

I'll try to be a little more considerate.

Dr. David Matthews, in his lovely invocation, alluded to family. He alluded to some of the problems that we face. And the American family has been under siege in recent times. But as the months unfold, I've become more and more certain that the answer to our problems can be found in the strength of the American family. Looking around this room, you can sense the feeling of pride -- and it's a powerful force for good. And as President, I will do everything I can to promote the family -- excellence in education; to protect the family, in the fight against narcotics; and to reaffirm the family values that brought your kids through these four challenging years. (Applause.)

For some American families -- those fortunate families where children are raised assuming that they'll have the opportunity to go to college -- the drama of today's ceremony is difficult to appreciate. Many of you are the first, though, in your families ever to attend college -- let alone stay the course through graduation.

And the economic transformation wrought by the historically black colleges such as Alcorn is nothing less than astounding: while 85 percent of the United Negro College Fund alumni come from blue-collar families, almost all go on to professional or managerial positions. And in many cases, they're the first blacks to hold these particular positions. It's an exciting tradition -- and one of the most under-appreciated success stories in America.

It's also a tradition that is close to my heart, because way back in 1948, when I was a senior at Y-A-L-E, 41 years ago, my wife, Barbara -- still my wife, Barbara; then she and I had been married just a few years -- we began participating in the United Negro College Fund. And in the 40 years since then, we've continued to try to do our small part. And even before becoming President -- back in January, just a week before the Inauguration -- Dr. Washington and some of his colleagues came to Washington, D.C., met with me to talk about how the new administration can best support this unique tradition.

And some good ideas came out of that gathering. And several are already in effect -- begun last month in the meeting that he alluded to when Dr. Washington and others joined me in the Rose Garden to launch the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

And now, I understand that several of today's graduates are going to be joining in federal service -- in agriculture, defense, transportation and other critical areas. And I'm proud of you, and we welcome you, and we need excellence in federal service. America needs your talents. And that's not idle talk. Last month's order also directed that the federal personnel office develop a program to improve recruitment at Alcorn and similar colleges for part-time and summer positions, to help people get started in the concept of federal public service. (Applause.)

And I understand that a campaign is underway here now to raise a half a million dollars through a federal challenge grant program. Recently, I signed an order bringing \$60 million in new funds to boost the endowment matching grants available to schools like Alcorn.

As I told the college presidents who gathered at the White House last month, these new initiatives are just a start. More must be done.

But on a day like today, there is much of which we can be proud. Alcorn has come a long way since 1948. That was the landmark year that Alcorn first earned its "A" rating as an accredited college. And that was the year "The Stretch" was finally paved -- a milestone that was resoundingly cheered by the graduating class. (Applause.)

Do you know how many graduated back in 1948? Trivial Pursuit question -- how many? Sixty in number -- barely a fifth of the total receiving degrees today -- a ceremony so small that it fit comfortably into the Oakland Chapel.

And like my classmates in Connecticut, many of the men at Alcorn in 1948 were veterans, soldiers who had fought for democracy -- many of them serving in segregated units. And like many of you today, the Alcornites of 1948 were graduating with skills that would enable them to feed the hungry, nurse the sick, and reach out to help the young through education.

Future Pittsburgh Steeler Jack Spinks -- the first black pro athlete to come out of Mississippi -- was getting ready to start his freshman year. He would soon be practicing in a ramshackle wooden building that everyone called the "Old Chicken Coop." And Jack says that when it rained during basketball games, the roof leaked so bad that people had to keep their umbrellas open. The modern field house in which we're gathered today was not then even a dream. And Jack, I am told, is somewhere out here today -- and I understand that his youngest son is part of the graduating class. (Applause.)

But these 40 years of schooling that separate father and son -- the years that separate them -- embrace an era of tremendous change -- for Alcorn and for the United States of America -- a time of upheaval and, finally, a time of growth and maybe something like wisdom.

Not everything has changed. The threads woven through the fabric at Alcorn -- and anyplace where excellence is sought -- are what used to be called simple family values. We're not talking about two sets of values. Family values are the same regardless of race, color, or creed. Family values -- they're not complicated. Honesty, faith, frugality, acceptance of responsibility, the importance of work, a tradition of helping one's neighbor.

Martin Luther King argued that "intelligence is not enough." He said, "Intelligence plus character -- that is the goal of the true education."

Well, you here at Alcorn are lucky. This is a place where -- as your old football coach put it -- "the air is a little bit cleaner, the grass is a little bit greener, and the water is a little bit sweeter -- it's just a little bit closer to heaven." (Applause.) You see, this place has character -- it is a university with a mission. And to paraphrase a new song that's climbing the charts this month, this special, secluded college has been "the wind beneath your wings." And for you -- and for young Americans graduating all across this country this month -- it is time for you to take that wind and soar.

And for some of you, I hope there comes a day when you ride those winds into the political arena, to fight for what you believe in, to grapple not only with your own dreams, but also those of your countrymen.

But politics is hardly the only arena where a new breeze is blowing. Some of you will land in business, maybe even start a business where you can create jobs adding to the opportunity of other Americans. And that's public service too.

Now, business can be pretty rough and tumble. But America is successful because we're a nation of risk-takers. The Alcorn Braves know that you can't steal second base and keep one foot on first. That's profound. (Laughter.) Others will teach the next generation and put wind beneath their wings. Your touch tone should be excellence, accountability and choice. The system -- the educational system must offer parents quality choice in education. Alcorn's a good example. But our schools must also be more accountable and those of you who will know the joy of helping a child learn are an important part of that responsibility. Others are headed for health care, agriculture, journalism, the professions.

Whatever you choose, it is within you to change the world and any definition of a successful life must, of course, include serving others. As each of you begins a new life today, you may fairly ask, will my future be secure? This isn't just a domestic question. It's a foreign policy question. For the past 40 years, the United States and the Soviet Union have been engaged in a struggle because the Soviets have chosen to stand apart from and opposed to the world family of nations.

Yesterday I announced a new policy for the 1990's, one that moves beyond our country just trying to contain the Soviet Union. It sets a goal of bringing the Soviet Union into the world community, a policy of reintegration if you will. And if we succeed, I can guarantee to you and your kids that the future you know is going to be safer and the world you know will be freer. This I see as a primary objective of any President of the United States of America. As the Soviet Union moves towards greater openness and democratization and as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior, we will match their steps with steps of our own.

Today, every senior here is an educated man or woman, proud, self-assured. With all the cockiness of youth, some of you -- I hope most of you -- must be feeling like anything is possible today.

Well, trust those instincts. Everyone has a dream. Everyone has something to give.

Last month I saw a new movie, maybe some of you all saw it -- a movie about baseball and about faith -- in which Burt Lancaster ponders the power of hope. And he asks: "Is there enough magic out there in the moonlight to make this dream come true?"

Well, I have come to Mississippi today because the magic of America, and the magic of our times, means believing that your best days -- that our best days -- are still to come. Born in an era of peace and educated in times of relative prosperity, your generation can look to a new century rich with unimaginable opportunities.

And yes, there is enough magic out there -- enough for all Americans. And yes, you can seize the magic with the power of your own hands -- and with the skills bequeathed to you by this special university. And yes, just as Alcorn's 1988 yearbook was dedicated to Dr. King, you can honor his memory by doing what he taught this nation to do -- to have a dream -- and to work every day to make that dream come true.

America is proud of you and of your families that you represent. God bless you in the challenge to come. And God bless the United States of America. I am honored to be your guest today. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

11:34 A.M. CDT

SKD DOCUMENT OF LEVEL 1 PRINTED IN FULL FORMAT.

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

REMARKS TO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION IN
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

25 WEEKLY COMP. PRES. DOC. 1341

SEPTEMBER 8, 1987

LENGTH: 3468 WORDS

NOW, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF A MAN LIKE REVEREND JEMISON, WHO WOULD MAKE YOU COME ON AFTER THAT BEAUTIFUL MUSIC BY EARL TAYLOR? [LAUGHTER] NOT ONLY WERE HIS REMARKS DEEPLY APPRECIATED; BUT, EARL, WHEREVER YOU'VE GONE TO -- HERE HE IS OVER HERE -- WHAT MAGNIFICANT JOY, WHAT MAGNIFICENT MUSIC. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

TO REVEREND JEMISON AND REVEREND CLARK AND REVEREND RICHARDSON, MY FRIEND, DR. BEN HOOKS, BEHIND ME HERE, AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS. I FEEL HONORED TO BE HERE. AND I BROUGHT SOME RESERVE TROOPS WITH ME. I BROUGHT THREE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. AND TO BE SURE THAT THE REVEREND KNOWS THIS IS NOT A PARTISAN GATHERING -- [LAUGHTER] -- THEY ARE DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS, AND I WANT YOU TO MEET THEM. REVEREND LAUZIN, REVEREND LIVINGSTON, AND REVEREND BOGGS: THREE OF THE GREAT CONGRESSMEN WITH US HERE TODAY. AND ALSO A MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET, THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, MANUEL LUJAN, OVER HERE.

WHAT A JOYOUS MEETING. SO MANY BAPTISTS IN NEW ORLEANS. I EXPECTED, PARTICULARLY AT A CROWD LIKE THIS, TO HEAR "WHEN THE SAINTS CAME MARCHING IN." [LAUGHTER] AND I EXPECT REVEREND JEMISON AND FRANKLYN RICHARDSON HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSON, BECAUSE THEY WERE AT THE WHITE HOUSE NOT SO LONG AGO, AND WE FINISHED A MEETING THERE. DR. HOOKS WAS THERE, AND SEVERAL OTHER LEADERS HERE TODAY, CELEBRATING A 25TH ANNIVERSARY SO IMPORTANT TO OUR COUNTRY. BUT AFTERWARD, REVEREND RICHARDSON CAME OUT -- FRANKLYN -- AND HE SAID, "LISTEN, HOLD UP A MINUTE." WE ELBOWED THE SECRET SERVICE AWAY, AND I SAID, "WHAT'S ON YOUR MIND?" HE SAID, "REVEREND JEMISON AND I WANT TO EXTEND YOU AN INVITATION TO COME TO OUR GREAT CONVENTION." AND BEFORE THEY COULD CHANGE THEIR MIND, I SAID, "IT'S A DEAL. I'LL BE THERE." AND HERE I AM, AND I'M VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU.

YOU'LL EXCUSE ME IF I REMINISCE. THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE WAS AUGUST 18TH, A YEAR AGO. AND I WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT, AND I ADDRESSED THOUSANDS OF REPUBLICANS. AND NOW I'M ADDRESSING MANY THOUSAND BAPTISTS. BUT THE FEELING, SPEAKING BEFORE SUCH A LARGE AUDIENCE, IS ABOUT THE SAME. BARBARA, THE "SILVER FOX," MY WIFE, IS NOT WITH ME TODAY. BUT SHE SAID, "GEORGE, LOOK, JUST PRETEND THAT YOU'RE STANDING IN FRONT OF ANOTHER SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASS." [LAUGHTER] WELL, I DID TEACH SUNDAY SCHOOL, BUT I NEVER HAD ONE QUITE THIS BIG. [LAUGHTER] AND I NEVER TAUGHT IN ONE WHERE THE MUSIC WAS QUITE THIS MAGNIFICENT. THANK YOU ALL VERY, VERY MUCH.

AND I'M PROUD TO ADDRESS A CONVENTION THAT, AS PSALM 84 SAYS, GOES FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH. IT IS IMPORTANT TO OUR NATION THAT THIS CONVENTION AND WHAT IT REPRESENTS GOES FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH. YOU KNOW, I'VE COME TO NEW ORLEANS TO TELL YOU SOMETHING, AND IT REALLY IS SUMMED UP BY THAT MOTTO OF YOUR CONVENTION. YOUR GOOD WORKS AND YOUR FAITH AND YOUR BELIEFS ARE AN INSPIRATION TO THIS COUNTRY. AND YOU, IN TURN, DRAW YOUR INSPIRATION FROM YOUR FAITH IN A GREAT CHURCH. AND IT WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN BAPTISTS IN KNOWE

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island who led the campaign for religious tolerance. And it was the Baptists who played an important role in securing our freedom of religion in the American Constitution. And it was the Baptists who, as pioneers, built sturdy new churches on the empty prairies and the plains of the West. But it is another tradition that we honor in New Orleans here today. We honor your parents and your grandparents who were also brave pioneers. They blazed the trails into another frontier, the freedom frontier.

And living in the White House -- privileged to live in it -- you can't help but feel it every day you live there. And upstairs is the -- known as the Lincoln bedroom -- I'll share with you some historical trivia. Lincoln never slept in that room, I'm told, but nevertheless, it's called the Lincoln bedroom. But he did sign the Emancipation Proclamation there. And you can't help but feel that sense of history and obligation and responsibility when you live in that beautiful house.

It took this convention, the leadership of your pastors and people to extend the struggle for freedom of all men and women. It took leaders, of course, like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Wyatt Tee Walker, E. V. Hill, Dr. Hooks, Jerry Moore, I. J. Jemison -- so many. And it took nothing less than another great awakening, an awakening to the promise of civil rights. This movement has blossomed. You know, one thing in the struggle for equality and opportunity, your hopes and dreams are among the highest aspirations of my Presidency. You can't be President unless you feel that in your heart. We are on a journey to a new century; and, yes, from time to time, I am troubled by inequities that I see. But we have got to lead the tired old baggage of bigotry behind us, back there, in our history.

Discrimination is not the only problem we face today. And just as you led America in the civil rights movement, so you're now leading communities struggling with another national problem. Is it crime? Not quite. Is it homelessness? No, not by itself. Is it drugs? Yes, but it's even more than that. As serious as all these problems are, they are related to one another, the decline of the most basic institutions of all: the decline of the American family. Too many children in America are growing up, no matter what community they live in, without direction, without values, without esteem for themselves, or anyone else. And so, our goal is simple, and it is vital: we must work together to save the American family. I feel it in my life, and I know the members of this Baptist convention -- you feel it in your lives.

Family life -- plus our faith -- our family life must be a major source of our strength. It is for Barbara and me, I can assure you. Strong families are bound by more than blood. They are bound for Christians by the precious memories of Christmas morning. They're bound by a toddler's first step or a grandfather's tall tales to his grandkids or the lasting pride of a graduation ceremony. And our families are bound together by something else: simple acts of learning and teaching; simple acts to instill the values of fairness, compassion, honesty, and hard work.

And of course, there are more single-parent families today than ever before. And difficult though that may be, most single parents are raising happy, well-adjusted kids with the help of family and friends. They've got to draw on their own inner strength. Imagine for just a moment the lonely plight of a single parent who has no help, has no money, has no ability to keep her kids from being totally lost -- lost to the unhealthy life of the streets. And so,

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working parents -- some single, some together. And as we work to solve the child-care problems of this country, I am determined to protect million and every other church-sponsored child-care center in America. The church must stay involved, and it must not be pushed out by well-intentioned federal legislation. And in that spirit, I offer some ways that the government can help.

I believe in the child-care tax credit focused on those who need such assistance the most -- and I'm talking about the low-income family. But this approach is different from past programs. It would empower parents, not the government, to choose the best care for their children, be it a grandparent, a neighbor or, yes, a local church. And we need to give the parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.

I recognize honest differences on this question. Some in Congress do differ with me. But perhaps it's time that we say this: Just as we should support single-parent families, we should also support two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And my proposal to the Congress does just that. I really believe in my heart of hearts that it is wrong to discriminate against church-sponsored child care. And when it comes to child care, we need more churches involved and not more government intervention. We need more congregations with love and concern helping to take care of the kids, not more government regulations. Yes, we need certain regulations so kids can't go into places that are unsafe -- be left there. But the excesses of regulation must not erode out the participation of the Baptists or whoever else it is that are concerned enough to try to help these kids.

And I guess every President should, from time to time, reiterate this -- or maybe her's someday -- profound -- not for the next couple of years, okay? [Laughter] No, but I do believe that a President should reiterate, if he feels it, and I do, the belief in separation of church and state. Presidents must feel that. But church-related centers that keep our kids in an environment of love and sound values must not be denied to parents who choose them.

But, on we go. Child care for families is by itself not enough. Families need opportunity. And so, again, I would urge support for these enterprise zones to bring opportunity to the barren lots of South Bronx, or to inner Baltimore, or to the streets of Watts, to farm towns, and to every community in need.

And I renew my proposal here today before this magnificent audience for tenant management of public housing. We cannot deny any of our people the autonomy and the dignity that they deserve. And speaking of tenants in public housing, they deserve something else: a safe place to raise their children and live their lives. And so, I ordered an additional \$50 million to HUD department of housing and urban development the other day to evict the drug dealers from public housing. Let's give these kids a fighting chance.

You see, there's one thing I'm sure of: If the 15,000 or whatever it is here today -- your friends, your families, your neighbors -- decide -- when America decides that enough is enough, the dealers will not stand a chance. And I am determined to see America make that decision while I am President of the United States.

Today's job market -- and if you will excuse a personal note of pride, I salute my wife for her effort in working with some of you all in this very

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room toward the goal of full literacy. They see the job market changing. Another 10 years -- not going to be a question of whether there's a job for everyone. The question's going to be, demographically: is there somebody qualified to take the existing job? It's changing that fast. And so, the market will not settle for anything less than an aptitude for full literacy and an aptitude for skilled labor. And those who are incapable -- and they are great in number -- will fall, unless we're careful, further and further behind.

So, what's the answer? I see you pointing the way. For a century and a half, these churches demonstrated the liberating power of learning. No one better exemplifies this tradition than the Reverend Henry Rose. Born into slavery, liberated at age 21, he walked all the way from Texas to Virginia, worked on the railroad until a Baptist society sponsored him at a little seminary school. Reverend Rose was so poor that when he graduated he had to wear a boot on one foot and a shoe on the other. But Henry Rose had something better than a matching pair of shoes. He had knowledge. He had pride. He had faith in God. And as a Baptist minister, he founded five churches and two schools, establishing institutions with great traditions of service that live on to this day. And there is a lesson for us in this remarkable man's life. If he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression, and blatant prejudice to lead a community, then any obstacle can be overcome; and we must not forget it.

Yes, I know we have a responsibility in improving education, and I hope the proposals I've sent to the Congress will do that. We've got to give parents and students greater choice. And when you choose one school and leave a bad one behind, that bad one's going to change. There are examples of that in many of the cities in America where choice has been put into effect. I'm talking magnet schools. And this means public and private partnerships like "Say Yes to Education," which sends impoverished minority students to college. And this means increased support, which I'm proud to do my best on for historically black colleges and universities.

Education is more than schooling. It is nothing less than the communication of values. And once again, my respects for leading the way. Just look right here in New Orleans, where the Greater Liberty Baptist Church is preparing many young men for adulthood through its Black Manhood Training Program. That's a church thing. Government's not doing that -- the church. Men and women of that church got together and decided this is what we're going to do. I call it a thousand points of light, and people in this country are beginning to understand now what I mean when I say we must be involved in the lives of others.

To get to school, to get to work, to get to a child-care center, families must also be free to walk the streets without fear. And today freedom from fear -- no, you know it as well as I do -- it means freedom from drugs. And that is why Tuesday night I announced our nation's first comprehensive, coordinated all-out assault, a national strategy, a way to attack the drug menace on every front.

I believe that the Congress wants to work with me on this. Yes, I understand nobody's going to do it exactly my way. I would be very closed-minded if I said, you can't have this change or another, or we can't make this part of it better -- another. But this is no time for partisan carping. We have come out with the first national strategy, and I want the support of every member of

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Congress: Democrat, Republican alike. There's a lot of times we can play partisan politics, and I'll get in there with the best of them. Don't like to do too much, but now that I'm President, I kind of wish they'd do it my way. I recognize that there's differences here, but not on this one, not as our country tries to come up with a national strategy and then fight the narcotics that are ripping off and killing the kids of this country, their very soul. Time to come together -- the first time in our history -- pass a national strategy to fight drugs, and I'd welcome your efforts and your support on that behalf.

Let me come back a minute to New Orleans, because when I was coming down here, the Congressmen reminded me -- and Congresswoman Boggs as well -- that things are going -- you know, we've got some problems in New Orleans, like every city in the world. Of course, there are problems. But people are rolling up their sleeves right here. Drug-free zones have been set up to help make New Orleans a safer place. West of here, 60 miles or less, in Iberville, Louisiana, a local police set an example -- I want to say that maybe the first such police force in the country that set what they call a drug-free police force by volunteering out there to take drugs (drug tests) and be sure the other police officers stay off of drugs. That's exactly the kind of united effort that we need if America is going to win the war on drugs. There are 100 million points of light out there, and I've just cited two of them here.

To provide child care, improve education, to create opportunity, defeat drugs -- there are steps to strengthening the family that require nothing less than a sustained national effort, a national partnership. I believe government can and should be a strong partner, but I also believe that the answer, or the solution to the social problems facing us, ultimately depend on what you and your communities do.

And I like what's been tested and found to be true. And your faith has been tested. And your values -- your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith in those values that America is turning to today. And so, I know there are a lot of problems out there, but I am an optimist. I believe we can reach out to families in need. I believe we can see a strengthening of the many patterns of family life. And I believe we will see a sharing of values, values rooted in the conviction that we as individuals and as families are engaged in a single, wonderful enterprise called America. America -- let us never forget it. We are one nation under God.

And Reverend Jemison said that on my shoulders rest the hopes of so many, but I have what you have: I have faith in God. I have conviction about family and family values, and I will not let you down. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Thank you very much. Thank you. Back to work. This was pure pleasure.

Note: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. at the New Orleans Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Theodore J. Jemison, C. A. W. Clark and W. Franklyn Richardson, president, vice president, and general secretary of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., respectively, and Benjamin Hooks, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These remarks were not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.