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Folder Title:
National Baptist Convention -New Orleans 9/8/89 [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/7/89, ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President

RESPONSE:

89 SEP 7 P 2: 53

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 SEP 6 P7:08

Sept. 6, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK DAVIS (M)

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

SUBJECT: Baptists

I. SUMMARY

The National Baptist Convention USA, 7.5 million members strong, is the nation's largest black denomination; and the third largest Protestant denomination in the country.

II. DISCUSSION

This speech addresses the socially conservative views of this group, based on the premise that values begin with strong families. It relates stronger families to 1) your child-care provision, which supports religiously affiliated child care; 2) opportunity programs like enterprise zones and tenant-management of public housing; 3) the value of education, and 4) freedom from fear, which means freedom from drugs.

Please take particular note of page 8. This passage describes the low-road approach of those who criticize your drug plan.

Gov. Buddy Roemer and Ben Hooks may attend. This speech is telepromptered.

Davis/Martin
Sept. 6, 1989
Draft: Nine
Title: Baptists

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION USA, Inc.
New Orleans Convention Center
Sept. 8, 1989/2:30 p.m.

Reverend Jemison, members of the staff and members of the board of directors.

((You know, with so many Baptists here in New Orleans, I almost expect to hear: "When the Saints Come Marching In"))

((PAUSE))

((The last time I was here, I addressed thousands of Republicans. Now I am addressing twelve thousand Baptists, and I'm just as anxious to make a good impression today as I was then. But Barbara put it all in perspective for me. She said: "Now George, just imagine you're standing in front of another Sunday school class."))

((But I never had a Sunday school class **this** big.))

((PAUSE))

Well, I have come to New Orleans to tell you something, and I will say it plainly: Your good works are the inspiration of America.

And you, in turn, draw your inspiration from the faith of great church. It was the first American Baptists in Rhode Island who led the campaign for religious toleration. It was the Baptists who played an important role in securing our freedom of religion in the American Constitution. It was the Baptists who,

as pioneers, built sturdy new churches on the empty plains and prairies of the West. But it is another tradition that we honor in New Orleans today. We honor **your** parents and grandparents, who were also brave pioneers -- pioneers who blazed trails into **another** frontier -- **the freedom frontier.** ((PAUSE))

It took **this** convention, the leadership of **your** pastors and **your** people, to extend the struggle for freedom to **all** men and women. ((PAUSE)) It took leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Wyatt Tee Walker, E.V. Hill, Jerry Moore and T.J. Jemison. And it took nothing less than another Great Awakening -- **an awakening to the promise of civil rights.** ((PAUSE))

I have watched this movement blossom in my lifetime, from my days in college to my days in Congress. So know one thing: in the struggle for equality and opportunity, your hopes and dreams are among the **highest aspirations** of my Presidency. ((PAUSE)) We're on a journey to a new century, and **we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind.**

Of course, discrimination is not the only problem that we face today. Just as you led America in the civil rights movement, so you are 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 is even more than that. As serious as all of these problems are, they are related to another one -- the decline of the most basic of all institutions -- the family. Too many children in America are growing up without

direction, without values, without esteem for themselves or anyone else. So our goal is simple, and it is vital: We must work together to save the American family. ((PAUSE))

Family life is my source of strength, as it is for Barbara, and as it is for you. Strong families are bound by more than blood; they are bound by the precious memories of Christmas morning, a toddler's first steps, a grandfather's tall tales, and 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, honesty and hard work.

Of course, there are more single parent families today than ever before. And, difficult though it may be, most single parents are raising happy, well-adjusted children with the help of family and friends, and by drawing on their own inner strength. But imagine the lonely plight of a single mother who has no help; who has no money; who has no ability to keep her kids from being lost -- lost to the unhealthy life of the streets. So to save the American family also means providing support for these parents, who are struggling against tough odds.

Nor can we ignore the difficulties of poor working couples with children. The challenge of strengthening these families requires both public and private efforts. And church leadership is meeting the challenge -- in ministries like that of E.V. Hill of Los Angeles, where hungry families find sustenance; in

ministries where Baptists are providing families with everything from high chairs to a hand-up.

You know that no matter how close-knit **your** family may be, the decline of the American family is not just someone else's problem. It is **everyone's** problem. When one generation is raised without values, it starts a chain of misery that weighs down future generations. About half of all black families with children are headed by one parent, and many of these parents are overwhelmed. And because they are overwhelmed, more than four out of ten black children live in poverty. And because of this, it is becoming harder for your churches to reach so many promising young men and women.

How can you teach respect for a hard-earned dollar, when easy drug money flourishes? ((PAUSE))

How can you teach that achievement is found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, when a murderous materialism // glitters// with the promise of gold chains,// fast cars// and fashion clothes? ((PAUSE))

How can you persuade young men and women to have faith in themselves if their parents have lost all faith? ((PAUSE))

In short, without strong families, how can values triumph over vice?

The answers can only come from the heart, from the heart of every parent. And the answers can come from you, from the people of our churches.

I have come to New Orleans today to pledge my support and to recognize your heroic efforts. We can work together in many ways to strengthen families, with greater choice in child-care and education; and by replacing the crippling fear of crime with the promise of opportunity.

First, let me begin with child-care. Often, while parents work, love and care come from the extended family -- grandparents, aunts and uncles. And in many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family of all. You have already taken a load off the shoulders of working parents, some single; some together. And in this same spirit, I offer a few ways government can help.

I have proposed a child-care tax credit, to be focused on those who need such assistance the most -- **low-income families.**

But this approach is different from past programs, because it would empower **parents**, not the government, to choose the best care for **their** children -- be it a grandparent, a neighbor or a local church. **We need to give parents a choice in their children's care, not take it away.**

Yet some in Congress do not agree. Perhaps it is time we sent them a message. Just as we should support single-parent families, so we should also support two-parent families where one parent chooses to care for the children at home. And we should **never, discriminate against religiously-affiliated child care.**

((PAUSE))

I felt for myself, in Washington, D.C., the spirit of family and love that permeates the day-care center at Shiloh Baptist Church. I am determined to protect Shiloh and every other church-affiliated child-care center in America. ((PAUSE))

But child-care for families is not enough. **Families need opportunity:** I want to renew my proposal for federal enterprise zones, to bring opportunity to the barren lots of the South Bronx, to the streets of Watts, to farm towns and to every community in need. And also I renew my proposal for tenant management of public housing. We can no longer deny these people the **autonomy and the dignity they deserve.** ((PAUSE))

These are ways to bring opportunity to those who need it most. But opportunity will be wasted if young men and women lack the means to take advantage of it. And that means education.

Today's job market will settle for nothing less than full literacy, and an aptitude for skilled labor. And those who are incapable -- and they are great in number -- will fall further and further behind.

What's the answer? I see you pointing the way. For a century and a half, your churches have demonstrated the liberating power of learning. Annie Rose, a community leader in Alexandria, Virginia, tells a fascinating story about her father. You see, Annie Rose is 95-years-old, and her father, Henry Rose, was born into slavery.

Liberated at age 21, Henry Rose walked all the way from Texas to Virginia, and worked on the railroad until a Baptist

society sponsored him at a seminary school. Annie Rose says her father 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. 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.

There is a lesson for us in this remarkable man's life. If he could beat the overwhelming odds of slavery, oppression and prejudice to lead a community, then **any** obstacle can be overcome.

And we **shall** overcome. Opportunity comes when we give parents and students greater choice. This means magnet schools; this means public and private partnerships like "Say Yes to Education," which sends impoverished minority students to college; and this means increased support for historically Black Colleges and Universities.

But education is more than schooling; it is nothing less than the communication of values. And once again, you are 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. ((PAUSE))

But to get to school, to get to work, to get to a child-care center, families must also be free to walk the streets of their cities without fear. And today, **freedom from fear means freedom from drugs.** ((PAUSE)) That is why Tuesday night I announced our

nation's first comprehensive, coordinated all-out assault; a way to attack the drug menace on every front.

I believe the Congress will eventually work with me, to make our national strategy the law of the land. To my surprise -- and perhaps to your's as well -- before I even presented my plan to you, the partisan attacks had already begun. This is bad politics, bad policy and bad for America.

I challenge those who hunger for a partisan issue to take the high road instead, to work for our national strategy, not against it.

I challenge those who seek more spending and more taxes, to instead seek more cooperation and bipartisanship. We can beat the scourge, as long as we are a nation united.

To provide child-care, to improve education, to create opportunity and to defeat drugs -- these are steps to strengthen families 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 solution to the social problems facing us today ultimately depends on what you and your communities do.

I respect old fashioned common sense, and have no great love for the imaginings of social planners. I like what's been tested and found to be true."

Your faith has been tested. Your values have been found to be true. And it is your faith and your values that America is turning to today.

So I'm 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 enterprise called America.

Thank you for all that you've done and for what you will continue to do to make America a better place. And thank you for inviting me to New Orleans.

God bless you and God bless America.

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- 20 -

YET SOME IN CONGRESS DO NOT AGREE. PERHAPS IT IS TIME WE SENT THEM A MESSAGE. JUST AS WE SHOULD SUPPORT SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES, SO WE SHOULD ALSO SUPPORT TWO-PARENT FAMILIES WHERE ONE PARENT CHOOSES TO CARE FOR THE CHILDREN AT HOME.

AND SOME WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE. I SAY THAT'S WRONG.

involved WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE, WE NEED MORE CHURCHES NOT MORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. (PAUSE)



~~with~~ the love and concern helping

WE NEED MORE CONGREGATIONS TAKING CARE OF OUR CHILDREN -- NOT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS TELLING US HOW TO DO IT. (PAUSE)

~~WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE WE DON'T NEED MORE BUREAUCRACY. WE NEED MORE PASTORS~~ ^{People with faith} ((PAUSE)) ~~AND~~ WE NEED THOUSANDS OF OTHER CHURCH MEMBERS WHO UNDERSTAND THE REAL CONCERNS OF PARENTS IN TOWNS AND CITIES ACROSS THIS LAND.

AND THAT'S WHY WE NEED A CHILD CARE POLICY THAT PUTS MONEY IN THE POCKETS, ^{of parents} AND CHOICE IN THE HANDS OF PARENTS, BECAUSE, ~~CONTRARY TO WHAT SOME MIGHT THINK,~~ ~~WHEN IT COMES TO THEIR OWN CHILDRENS' CARE, PARENTS~~ ~~STILL KNOW BEST.~~

BUT CHILD-CARE FOR FAMILIES IS NOT ENOUGH.
FAMILIES NEED OPPORTUNITY: I WANT TO RENEW MY PROPOSAL
FOR FEDERAL ENTERPRISE ZONES, TO BRING OPPORTUNITY TO
THE BARREN LOTS OF THE SOUTH BRONX, TO THE STREETS OF
WATTS, TO FARM TOWNS AND TO EVERY COMMUNITY IN NEED.
AND ALSO I RENEW MY PROPOSAL FOR TENANT MANAGEMENT OF
PUBLIC HOUSING. WE CAN NO LONGER DENY ANY OF OUR
PEOPLE THE AUTONOMY AND THE DIGNITY THEY DESERVE.
((PAUSE))

AND THEY DESERVE SOMETHING ELSE - A SAFE PLACE TO RAISE
THEIR CHILDREN AND JUST LIVE THEIR LIVES. AND SO I'VE
ORDERED HUD TO TARGET AN ADDITIONAL \$50 MILLION TO
^{evict} FIGHT THE DEALERS ^{from public housing} ~~ON THEIR TURF AND RESTORE ORDER IN~~
~~PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS. It is not right that~~

~~a family, trying to~~
~~some kid trying to make do in~~

Let's give these kids a fighting
chance to live a life without drugs.

ADDRESS: NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION
NEW ORLEANS CONVENTION CENTER
SEPT. 8, 1989/2:30 P.M.

REVEREND JEMISON, REVEREND CLARK AND RICHARDSON,
DR. BEN HOOKS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS. FRIENDS.

((YOU KNOW, WITH SO MANY BAPTISTS HERE IN NEW
ORLEANS, I ALMOST EXPECT TO HEAR: "WHEN THE SAINTS COME
MARCHING IN")) ((PAUSE))

((THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE WAS LAST AUGUST 18TH.
I WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT AND I ADDRESSED THOUSANDS
OF REPUBLICANS. NOW I AM ADDRESSING FIFTEEN THOUSAND
BAPTISTS, BUT THE FEELING OF SPEAKING BEFORE SUCH A
HUGE AUDIENCE IS THE SAME. BARBARA PUT IT ALL IN
PERSPECTIVE FOR ME. SHE SAID: "NOW GEORGE, JUST
IMAGINE YOU'RE STANDING IN FRONT OF ANOTHER SUNDAY
SCHOOL CLASS."))

((BUT I NEVER HAD A SUNDAY SCHOOL CLASS THIS
BIG.)) ((PAUSE))

WELL, I HAVE COME TO NEW ORLEANS TO TELL YOU
SOMETHING, AND I WILL SAY IT PLAINLY: YOUR GOOD WORKS
ARE THE INSPIRATION OF AMERICA.

AND YOU, IN TURN, DRAW YOUR INSPIRATION FROM THE FAITH OF GREAT CHURCH. IT WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN BAPTISTS IN RHODE ISLAND WHO LED THE CAMPAIGN FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. IT WAS THE BAPTISTS WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SECURING OUR FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. IT WAS THE BAPTISTS WHO, AS PIONEERS, BUILT STURDY NEW CHURCHES ON THE EMPTY PLAINS AND PRAIRIES OF THE WEST. BUT IT IS ANOTHER TRADITION THAT WE HONOR IN NEW ORLEANS TODAY. WE HONOR YOUR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS, WHO WERE ALSO BRAVE PIONEERS -- PIONEERS WHO BLAZED TRAILS INTO ANOTHER FRONTIER -- THE FREEDOM FRONTIER. ((PAUSE))

IT TOOK THIS CONVENTION, THE LEADERSHIP OF YOUR PASTORS AND PEOPLE, TO EXTEND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN. ((PAUSE)) IT TOOK LEADERS LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., WYATT TEE WALKER, E.V. HILL, JERRY MOORE, T.J. JEMISON, AND BEN HOOKS. AND IT TOOK NOTHING LESS THAN ANOTHER GREAT AWAKENING -- AN AWAKENING TO THE PROMISE OF CIVIL RIGHTS. ((PAUSE))

I HAVE WATCHED THIS MOVEMENT BLOSSOM IN MY LIFETIME, FROM MY DAYS IN COLLEGE TO MY DAYS IN CONGRESS. SO KNOW ONE THING: IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY AND OPPORTUNITY, YOUR HOPES AND DREAMS ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS OF MY PRESIDENCY. ((PAUSE)) WE'RE ON A JOURNEY TO A NEW CENTURY, AND WE'VE GOT TO LEAVE THE TIRED OLD BAGGAGE OF BIGOTRY BEHIND.

OF COURSE, DISCRIMINATION IS NOT THE ONLY PROBLEM THAT WE FACE TODAY. JUST AS YOU LED AMERICA IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, SO YOU ARE 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 IS EVEN MORE THAN THAT. AS SERIOUS AS ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS ARE, THEY ARE RELATED TO ANOTHER ONE -- THE DECLINE OF THE MOST BASIC OF ALL INSTITUTIONS -- THE FAMILY. TOO MANY CHILDREN IN AMERICA ARE GROWING UP WITHOUT DIRECTION, WITHOUT VALUES, WITHOUT ESTEEM FOR THEMSELVES OR ANYONE ELSE. SO OUR GOAL IS SIMPLE, AND IT IS VITAL: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO SAVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY. ((PAUSE))

FAMILY LIFE MUST BE OUR SOURCE OF STRENGTH. IT IS FOR BARBARA, ME, AND IT IS FOR YOU. STRONG FAMILIES ARE BOUND BY MORE THAN BLOOD; THEY ARE BOUND BY THE PRECIOUS MEMORIES OF CHRISTMAS MORNING, A TODDLER'S FIRST STEPS, A GRANDFATHER'S TALL TALES, AND 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, HONESTY AND HARD WORK.

OF COURSE, THERE ARE MORE SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE. AND, DIFFICULT THOUGH IT MAY BE, MOST SINGLE PARENTS ARE RAISING HAPPY, WELL-ADJUSTED CHILDREN WITH THE HELP OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS, AND BY DRAWING ON THEIR OWN INNER STRENGTH. BUT IMAGINE THE LONELY PLIGHT OF A SINGLE MOTHER WHO HAS NO HELP; WHO HAS NO MONEY; WHO HAS NO ABILITY TO KEEP HER KIDS FROM BEING LOST -- LOST TO THE UNHEALTHY LIFE OF THE STREETS. SO TO SAVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY ALSO MEANS PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THESE PARENTS, WHO ARE STRUGGLING AGAINST TOUGH ODDS. NOR CAN WE IGNORE THE DIFFICULTIES OF POOR WORKING COUPLES WITH CHILDREN.

THE CHALLENGE OF STRENGTHENING THESE FAMILIES REQUIRES BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EFFORTS. AND CHURCH LEADERSHIP IS MEETING THE CHALLENGE -- IN MINISTRIES LIKE THAT OF E.V. HILL OF LOS ANGELES, WHERE HUNGRY FAMILIES FIND SUSTENANCE; IN MINISTRIES WHERE BAPTISTS ARE PROVIDING FAMILIES WITH EVERYTHING FROM HIGH CHAIRS TO A HAND-UP.

YOU KNOW THAT NO MATTER HOW CLOSE-KNIT YOUR FAMILY MAY BE, THE DECLINE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY IS NOT JUST SOMEONE ELSE'S PROBLEM. IT IS EVERYONE'S PROBLEM. WHEN ONE GENERATION IS RAISED WITHOUT VALUES, IT STARTS A CHAIN OF MISERY THAT WEIGHS DOWN FUTURE GENERATIONS. ABOUT HALF OF ALL BLACK FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN ARE HEADED BY ONE PARENT, AND MANY OF THESE PARENTS ARE OVERWHELMED. AND BECAUSE THEY ARE OVERWHELMED, MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF TEN BLACK CHILDREN LIVE IN POVERTY. AND BECAUSE OF THIS, IT IS BECOMING HARDER FOR YOUR CHURCHES TO REACH SO MANY PROMISING YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN.

HOW CAN YOU TEACH RESPECT FOR A HARD-EARNED DOLLAR, WHEN EASY DRUG MONEY FLOURISHES? ((PAUSE))

HOW CAN YOU TEACH THAT ACHIEVEMENT IS FOUND IN QUIET MOMENTS AND SUBTLE REWARDS, WHEN A MURDEROUS MATERIALISM // GLITTERS// WITH THE PROMISE OF GOLD CHAINS, // FAST CARS// AND FASHION CLOTHES? ((PAUSE))

HOW CAN YOU PERSUADE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO HAVE FAITH IN THEMSELVES IF THEIR PARENTS HAVE LOST ALL FAITH? ((PAUSE))

IN SHORT, WITHOUT STRONG FAMILIES, HOW CAN VALUES TRIUMPH OVER VICE?

THE ANSWERS CAN ONLY COME FROM THE HEART, FROM THE HEART OF EVERY PARENT. AND THE ANSWERS CAN COME FROM YOU, FROM THE PEOPLE OF OUR CHURCHES.

I HAVE COME TO NEW ORLEANS TODAY TO PLEDGE MY SUPPORT AND TO RECOGNIZE YOUR HEROIC EFFORTS. WE CAN WORK TOGETHER IN MANY WAYS TO STRENGTHEN FAMILIES, WITH GREATER CHOICE IN CHILD-CARE AND EDUCATION; AND BY REPLACING THE CRIPPLING FEAR OF CRIME WITH THE PROMISE OF OPPORTUNITY.

FIRST, LET ME BEGIN WITH CHILD-CARE. OFTEN, WHILE PARENTS WORK, LOVE AND CARE COME FROM THE EXTENDED FAMILY -- GRANDPARENTS, AUNTS AND UNCLES. AND IN MANY WAYS, THE CHURCH COMMUNITY IS THE GREATEST EXTENDED FAMILY OF ALL. I'VE SEEN THAT SPIRIT OF FAMILY AND LOVE PERMEATE THE DAY-CARE CENTER AT SHILOH BAPTIST CHURCH IN WASHINGTON.

YOUR GREAT CHURCH HAS ALREADY TAKEN A LOAD OFF THE SHOULDERS OF WORKING PARENTS, SOME SINGLE; SOME TOGETHER. AS WE WORK TO SOLVE THE CHILD CARE PROBLEMS OF THIS COUNTRY, I AM DETERMINED TO PROTECT SHILOH AND EVERY OTHER CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE CENTER IN AMERICA.

IN THAT SPIRIT, I OFFER A FEW WAYS GOVERNMENT CAN HELP. I HAVE PROPOSED A CHILD-CARE TAX CREDIT, FOCUSED ON THOSE WHO NEED SUCH ASSISTANCE THE MOST -- LOW-INCOME FAMILIES.

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 A LOCAL CHURCH. WE NEED TO GIVE PARENTS A CHOICE IN THEIR CHILDREN'S CARE, NOT TAKE IT AWAY.

YET SOME IN CONGRESS DO NOT AGREE. PERHAPS IT IS TIME WE SENT THEM A MESSAGE. JUST AS WE SHOULD SUPPORT SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES, SO WE SHOULD ALSO SUPPORT TWO-PARENT FAMILIES WHERE ONE PARENT CHOOSES TO CARE FOR THE CHILDREN AT HOME.

AND SOME WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE. I SAY THAT'S WRONG.

WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE, WE NEED MORE CHURCHES NOT MORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. (PAUSE)

WE NEED MORE CONGREGATIONS TAKING CARE OF OUR CHILDREN -- NOT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS TELLING US HOW TO DO IT. (PAUSE)

WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE WE DON'T NEED MORE BUREAUCRACY. WE NEED MORE BAPTISTS ((PAUSE)) AND WE NEED THOUSANDS OF OTHER CHURCH MEMBERS WHO UNDERSTAND THE REAL CONCERNS OF PARENTS IN TOWNS AND CITIES ACROSS THIS LAND.

AND THAT'S WHY WE NEED A CHILD CARE POLICY THAT PUTS MONEY IN THE POCKETS AND CHOICE IN THE HANDS OF PARENTS BECAUSE, CONTRARY TO WHAT SOME MIGHT THINK, WHEN IT COMES TO THEIR OWN CHILDRENS' CARE, PARENTS STILL KNOW BEST.

BUT CHILD-CARE FOR FAMILIES IS NOT ENOUGH. FAMILIES NEED OPPORTUNITY: I WANT TO RENEW MY PROPOSAL FOR FEDERAL ENTERPRISE ZONES, TO BRING OPPORTUNITY TO THE BARREN LOTS OF THE SOUTH BRONX, TO THE STREETS OF WATTS, TO FARM TOWNS AND TO EVERY COMMUNITY IN NEED. AND ALSO I RENEW MY PROPOSAL FOR TENANT MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC HOUSING. WE CAN NO LONGER DENY ANY OF OUR PEOPLE THE AUTONOMY AND THE DIGNITY THEY DESERVE. ((PAUSE))

AND THEY DESERVE SOMETHING ELSE - A SAFE PLACE TO RAISE THEIR CHILDREN AND JUST LIVE THEIR LIVES. AND SO I'VE ORDERED HUD TO TARGET AN ADDITIONAL \$50 MILLION TO FIGHT THE DEALERS ON THEIR TURF AND RESTORE ORDER IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS.

BUT I ASK YOU TODAY TO HELP ME. JOIN THE BATTLE TO HELP DRIVE THESE DEALERS OUT ONCE AND FOR ALL. BECAUSE THERE'S ONE THING I'M SURE OF: \ \ IF THE 15,000 PEOPLE IN THIS HALL - YOUR FRIENDS, YOUR FAMILIES, AND YOUR NEIGHBORS - WHEN AMERICA DECIDES THAT ENOUGH IS ENOUGH, THE DEALERS WON'T STAND A CHANCE.

YES, WE MUST BRING OPPORTUNITY TO THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST. BUT OPPORTUNITY WILL BE WASTED IF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN LACK THE MEANS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT. AND THAT MEANS EDUCATION.

TODAY'S JOB MARKET WILL SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN FULL LITERACY, AND AN APTITUDE FOR SKILLED LABOR. AND THOSE WHO ARE INCAPABLE -- AND THEY ARE GREAT IN NUMBER -- WILL FALL FURTHER AND FURTHER BEHIND.

WHAT'S THE ANSWER? I SEE YOU POINTING THE WAY. FOR A CENTURY AND A HALF, YOUR CHURCHES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE LIBERATING POWER OF LEARNING. NO ONE BETTER EXEMPLIFIES THIS TRADITION THEN THE REVEREND HENRY ROSE, BORN INTO SLAVERY AND LIBERATED AT AGE 21.

HENRY ROSE WALKED ALL THE WAY FROM TEXAS TO VIRGINIA, AND WORKED ON THE RAILROAD UNTIL A BAPTIST SOCIETY SPONSORED HIM AT A 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. 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.

THERE IS A LESSON FOR US IN THIS REMARKABLE MAN'S LIFE. IF HE COULD BEAT THE OVERWHELMING ODDS OF SLAVERY, OPPRESSION AND PREJUDICE TO LEAD A COMMUNITY, THEN ANY OBSTACLE CAN BE OVERCOME.

AND WE SHALL OVERCOME. WHEN WE GIVE PARENTS AND STUDENTS GREATER CHOICE. THIS MEANS MAGNET SCHOOLS; THIS MEANS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS LIKE "SAY YES TO EDUCATION," WHICH SENDS IMPOVERISHED MINORITY STUDENTS TO COLLEGE; AND THIS MEANS INCREASED SUPPORT FOR HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

BUT EDUCATION IS MORE THAN SCHOOLING; IT IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE COMMUNICATION OF VALUES. AND ONCE AGAIN, YOU ARE 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. ((PAUSE))

BUT TO GET TO SCHOOL, TO GET TO WORK, TO GET TO A CHILD-CARE CENTER, FAMILIES MUST ALSO BE FREE TO WALK THE STREETS OF THEIR CITIES WITHOUT FEAR. AND TODAY, FREEDOM FROM FEAR MEANS FREEDOM FROM DRUGS. ((PAUSE)) THAT IS WHY TUESDAY NIGHT I ANNOUNCED OUR NATION'S FIRST COMPREHENSIVE, COORDINATED ALL-OUT ASSAULT; A WAY TO ATTACK THE DRUG MENACE ON EVERY FRONT.

I BELIEVE THE CONGRESS WILL EVENTUALLY WORK WITH ME, TO MAKE OUR NATIONAL STRATEGY THE LAW OF THE LAND. BUT, MY SURPRISE -- AND PERHAPS TO YOUR'S AS WELL -- BEFORE I EVEN PRESENTED MY PLAN TO YOU, THE PARTISAN ATTACKS HAD ALREADY BEGUN.

THIS IS NOT THE ISSUE FOR PARTISAN POLITICS. THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR PARTISAN POLITICS. THIS IS THE TIME TO COME TOGETHER AND, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR HISTORY, PASS A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO FIGHT DRUGS.

WE CAN BEAT THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS IF WE FIGHT AS A NATION UNITED.

TO PROVIDE CHILD-CARE, TO IMPROVE EDUCATION, TO CREATE OPPORTUNITY AND TO DEFEAT DRUGS -- THESE ARE STEPS TO STRENGTHEN FAMILIES 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 SOLUTION TO THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACING US TODAY ULTIMATELY DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU AND YOUR COMMUNITIES DO.

I LIKE WHAT'S BEEN TESTED AND FOUND TO BE TRUE.
YOUR FAITH HAS BEEN TESTED. YOUR VALUES HAVE BEEN
FOUND TO BE TRUE. AND IT IS YOUR FAITH AND YOUR VALUES
THAT AMERICA IS TURNING TO TODAY.

SO I'M 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.

GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton
Subject: National Baptist Convention USA, Inc. Draft Speech

09 SEP 6
P 2: 53

To talk about traditional family values with punch and freshness is not easy, but it is ably done in this excellent speech. We particularly like the grafs on pages five and six on the President's child care tax credit, which effectively underscore the differences between the President's plan and the opposition's.

One comment:

pg. 5, para. 1, line 1 "How can you teach a young black man, living in poverty, to work for a better future, when he has a greater chance of going to prison than of going to college?"

This line is just too harsh when taken in isolation -- as it would be in a soundbite. We suggest omitting it.

An alternative worth considering is the theme of the many unsung inner city youth who choose the job market over the drug market. Bill Bennett has expressed this very effectively in his notion of "the Invisible Man:" the media and the public's habit of ignoring the everyday victories of the workaday poor over their circumstances (see, for example, the attached Insight magazine cover story entitled "Behind A Counter And Off The Streets").

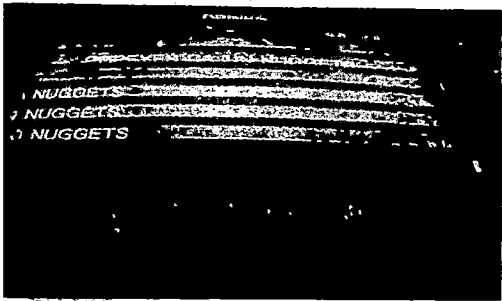
This theme is consistent with the draft's praise for the National Baptists' overcoming of circumstance, as in the grafs on page seven praising Henry Rose's "beat[ing] the overwhelming odds of slavery, [etc.]...."

In omitting the sentence the original sentence, therefore, perhaps a phrase could be added to the effect that "the wonder is that so many young black Americans choose the path to true opportunity and fulfillment over the path to self-destruction."

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Behind a Counter and off the Street

SUMMARY: What teenager in a crack-saturated neighborhood would take a \$4-an-hour job flipping hamburgers when drug dealers offer \$200 or more a day? One with a long-term perspective. Those in the drug trade may have cash, but their gains can be transitory. The youths who work behind the counters of fast-food outlets are not necessarily goody-two-shoes types: Some of them have been in the crack trade before; others are often tempted by the easy money the dealers flash.



PHOTOS BY RICHARD KOZAK/INSIGHT

Over the counter in a Popeyes

The sign over the counter at Popeyes: Famous Fried Chicken reads: "Nothing larger than \$20 bills accepted."

"Being a drug area, a lot of people come through with fake money" in large bills, an assistant manager explains. "Cashiers can make boo-boos, and we don't want any."

This Popeyes is in Anacostia, a mostly black section of Washington with some of the city's worst crime and drug zones.

Washington last year earned the title of America's murder capital due to the high number of drug-related killings spawned by the bloody street trade in crack that has engulfed it in the past two years. A few blocks from this Popeyes is the Eastgate Gardens housing projects, perhaps the most violent spot in the city and one of its largest crack markets.

That sign cuts to the heart of the matter: cash. The volatile mixture of teenagers and easy money comes in every possible combination here. Wads of cash in horse-choking rolls are held by youths who could only have got it by selling drugs. Cash is an intoxicant even more addictive than crack or the cocaine from which it is derived,

because it allows a boy to attain quickly the timeless teenage goals of impressing girls and coming on like a hotshot. Cash is an instrument of peer pressure: Youths in the drug trade flaunt their pricey possessions to those not involved, setting fashion fads that can be followed only with like amounts of cash, which can be raised only through dealing. Cash is a virtual magnet for even good adolescents who, like all teenagers, want and want and want — the right jewelry, the right clothes, the right car — and want it now.

This siren lure of drug money is bolstered by other forces at work in these neighborhoods. Poor school systems and lack of support at home leave many young people without the practical and social skills to land decent jobs, while their communities offer extremely limited work opportunities. As a result, many see no real chance of ever earning a decent wage at legitimate employment. Without a sense of a meaningful future, many hold a dismally short perspective based solely on the quick acquisition of material possessions. They want the most they can get as fast as they can get it no matter what the risk. And selling drugs fills that desire.

The impression is often that these parts of the cities are peopled with a species of mutant youth, bereft of values, principles, discipline and vision, who lack the will or ability to do anything but sell drugs. This image is summed up in a quote that repeatedly surfaces in descriptions of the problem. Why, it is asked, is it so difficult to keep these youths away from crack dealing? Someone invariably responds:

"Why should a kid work at a fast-food restaurant for \$4.50 an hour when he can make \$200 a day or more as a lookout or a runner for a crack dealer?"

A good question, which is also an answer that is too often true. But there is another answer, right in those Kentucky Fried Chicken, Popeyes, Burger King, Wendy's or McDonald's restaurants. Behind the hot grills and fryer vats are many young people who do work long hours for modest wages while they watch peers cruise by in "baby Benzes," heavy gold jewelry and \$150 sneakers purchased with drug money.

There are no stereotypes here, with goody-two-shoes types holding fast-food jobs while wilder youths hawk crack. The two worlds often overlap. Young people who once sold drugs leave it behind to work fast food for one-fifth to one-tenth the earnings. And law-abiding, ambitious teenagers from stable homes, who have big plans for the future, will admit being tempted nonetheless by the fast money in the drug trade.

These young people have a sophisticated grasp of why they or their friends may have fallen prey to the money machine of crack dealing. And this understanding is a primary reason they succeed in avoiding or extricating themselves from it.

They know that many drift into drug dealing for reasons that have nothing to do with ghetto life but much to do with issues for adolescents everywhere. For instance, drug dealing offers a powerful means to express teenage rebellion, despite the fact that the risks of prison and death are high. The drug trade also provides an avenue for teens to achieve the sense of independence and autonomy they crave.

"I get what I want from my mother and father. I just ask for it. I'm spoiled to death. I got into selling drugs," specifically crack, says Elaunda Smith, 16. "I just did it to get what I wanted on my own." She now works 35 hours a week for \$4.35 an hour at a Popeyes in Anacostia while finishing high school. Following another age-old teen behavior pattern, she says she and four of her girlfriends last summer dived into crack selling together as a rebellious group fling. At the end of the summer they all dropped it, except one, who remains involved.



Ray has little turnover among his teenage charges: "They stay until we fire them."

"She's stupid. She don't know how to carry herself. She's going to be stupid the rest of her life. She ain't going to live long," says Smith. "I did it for one reason. I wanted nice things and didn't want to wait two weeks for them. And I wanted a car." But she notes that she kept spending the money on clothes and never did get the car.

For young people like these, drug dealing can be a rite of passage, a dip into the dark side that constantly beckons, after which they return to the straight and narrow. Some, like Elaunda Smith, give it up because of the threat of arrest or death. Others need a first brush with the law or a

few days in jail on a first arrest to change their minds. The lure is even there for young people who could not be further in spirit from the street drug trade.

"I'm on the honor roll. I'm going to college," says Kimberly McGee, an articulate, self-possessed 16-year-old who will be a high school senior next year. She plans to major in accounting and business and works at a Popeyes from 4 to 9 p.m., four or five days a week. She makes \$4.30 an hour.

"Before I began working, I got a lot of offers to sell drugs. People were encouraging me. Boys selling would say, 'Why do

you stay at Popeyes? It's hot in there.' I was tempted to sell crack. It wasn't really because of the money. More, it was curiosity, wanting to know why. Why these guys do it."

The perceived impact of the drug trade on teenage work habits seems to vary. Some fast-food restaurant managers say the high profits in drugs have devastated their labor pool by luring away most, if not all, potential teenage employees. Others, sometimes only a block away, claim to have plenty of motivated young workers. There is no obvious explanation for this discrepancy.

"The kids don't want to work," says the 24-year-old manager of a nearby Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant. Why? "Drugs," she replies. "Most of them want to work, but it's the pay." Kentucky Fried Chicken pays about \$4.55 an hour, up from \$3.46 since January.

In addition, she notes, many fast-food managers want employees who are not so young. "Managers want older people, around 20. They are more stable, more mature. I prefer someone more mature."

Barry Chicks, who manages a Burger King a block from the Popeyes, says he has only one teenager, 16, working for him. Chicks has little good to say about young staff.

"They don't apply," he says. "The only time they apply is when they have a court hearing in a few weeks" — after they have been arrested for drugs and need a job in order to get a more lenient sentence or probation. "They'll press you for a job. Got to have a job for a court hearing. They want you to do them a favor and tell the judge they have a job."

Yet just up the block from Chicks's Burger King, at the Popeyes where McGee works, Assistant Manager Shelton Ray, 21, has "eight or nine kids who work from 4 to 9 p.m." That shift, he says, exists solely because of the motivation of his younger workers.

"The crew kids created that shift themselves," he says. "Originally there wasn't a shift then." But so many came in asking for work after school during those hours that it was arranged to accommodate their schedule.

In contrast to other managers, Ray says he has little turnover among his teenage employees. "They will stay until we fire them. They are comfortable here. They are motivated," he says, because he and the other managers set a good example. "It's us, how we work. They see us work."

Ray has been working at Popeyes since

he was 16. He started working fast food illegally underage at 14 in a McDonald's run by his uncle.

Ralph Ogburn, 25, who manages another Popeyes a few miles away, also started young: He began at McDonald's when he was 16 and has been with Popeyes since he was 19.

"I didn't get in trouble. My mother told me, 'You get in trouble, I'm not helping you out,'" Ogburn explains. The message sank in, and he is passing it along to his 6-year-old son. "I stay as close to him as I can. I get involved with him in school. That's where it starts: discipline at home. Some parents just don't care.

It's rough. It's rough," he says of the pressure on young people to sell drugs. "And it's hard on the kids [who work]. They see other kids out there with expensive clothes, and they are making \$4.75 per hour. Kids out there are making \$200, \$300 a night. They're not criminals. It's just the money."

Teenage crack dealers sometimes give the Popeyes employees a hard time, says Ogburn: Some say, "Quit this job and I'll take care of you." . . . They hassle the women, hit on them." They also bother the managers with loud, abusive behavior. One threw a soda in Ogburn's face. Ogburn jumped on him.

The presence of the drug trade also causes problems such as high turnover. "A lot of kids will say: 'I don't got to work like this for this kind of money,'" he says, meaning they can do better in the crack trade.

Of those he hires, he says 50 percent have been in the drug trade and decided to get out of it.

Young managers like Ogburn and Ray are in a strong position to influence teenagers walking the line between legitimate work and drug dealing or to offer them a second chance after a drug-related brush with the law. "Kids come here to me looking for a job. I try to hire them to get them off the street," says Ogburn.

Two teenagers working at Ray's restaurant were locked up for drugs at one point. "I rehired them to let them know — I want them to know they can make money here," he says.

"As a manager I try to get involved with them in school," says Ogburn. "I ask them, 'How are you doing in school?' I ask them to bring their report cards to me. I try to let them know I care."

"I'd rather be working than on the

Millions and Millions Trained

In communities where young people are surrounded by a sea of drug-based strife, fast-food restaurants can be lifesaving islands, money-making alternatives to drug selling as they plan their next moves in life.

This should come as no surprise: Fast-food parlors are recognized as an effective job-skills training program for millions of young, first-time and often marginally skilled employees across the country.

Far from providing permanent dead-end, low-wage hamburger-flipper and chicken-fryer positions, such companies as Kentucky Fried Chicken, Roy Rogers, Arby's, White Castle, Popeyes Famous Fried Chicken, McDonald's, Wendy's and Burger King annually equip hordes of young people with basic work skills and send them off to the armed services, further schooling and better jobs elsewhere or in the management hierarchy.

McDonald's Corp. alone hires one of every 15 first-time employees in the United States, says Armando Ojeda, manager for media relations. Several million McDonald's alumni hold jobs elsewhere, and managers in many businesses look upon a successful stint in fast food as a solid credential in young job applicants.

As a first job, fast food is a means for young people, especially those with shaky skills, to learn to work with others, work within a system, handle money and assume responsibility. "These dead-end jobs are

not dead-end," says Herbert R. Northrup, professor emeritus of management at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. "The turnover is high, but people leave for better jobs or to go to school."

In a 1984 essay, "What's Right with Dead End Jobs?" he wrote: Such jobs have "in effect become one of the most massive, cost-efficient and racially equitable job training programs in our nation's history."

"The fast food restaurants do [for youths from poor neighborhoods] what the old garment trade used to do in New York City for recent immigrants in the early part of the century, says Northrup, a labor economist who has been writing since the 1940s about the employment problems of black Americans. "They teach them how to get to work on time, how to be clean and neat, how to talk to customers. They build self-confidence, and this is very important."

Northrup feels it would be helpful if governmental policymakers acknowledged the strong role fast-food jobs play as a weapon against the street drug trade. In that context, he values such jobs for exactly the same reason as do the young people who choose them over drug dealing.

"You get two things from a fast-food job as opposed to crack dealing, he says. "You're not shot the next day. And you build a life you can live in decency. You learn how to advance up the system."

But these restaurants are not a job train-



Ogburn, with son, at the Popeyes he runs; few rank-and-filers follow in his footsteps.

PHOTOS BY RICHARD KOZAK / INSIGHT

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ing panacea. In his forward to "Fast Food Jobs," a 1984 study done by Ivan Charner and Bryna Shore Fraser of the National Institute for Work and Learning, former Secretary of Labor Willard W. Wirtz writes that such jobs "offer a good deal that is generally considered worthwhile" but cautions that "if the training value in this kind of work mocks the 'dead end' label that has been attached to it, the fact remains that promotional opportunities in the fast food industry are limited."

"Any suggestion that a hitch or two of fast food employment will in itself lead a young person to something more worthwhile and permanent would be misleading," he writes. "The young people engaging in this work should be told at the same time as plainly as possible that this isn't likely in itself to take them where they want and expect to go. It is a worthwhile complement to what they are learning in school, but it is a false escape route from the increasing educational demands made by a society as the 'minimum price of a meaningful or satisfying career'."

To the extent fast food does provide a career track, employees at individual restaurants may work their way up, as has Ralph Ogburn, a manager at a Washington Popeyes outlet, or, because fast-food corporations do hire from within, employees may advance up the ladder. For example, fewer than half of McDonald's corporate officers graduated from college, and almost 40 percent of them started as hourly store employees, says Ojeda. More than 50 percent of McDonald's store managers began behind the counter.

Fast food also offers good opportunities to minorities, he says, and McDonald's is the largest employer of black youths in America. At any given time, 28,000 black young people are working in the 2,000 company-owned restaurants. Tens of thousands more work in the 6,000 stores owned by franchisees, and more tens of thousands of black youths are employed in the outlets of other fast-food companies.

Indeed, the first facts cited in "Fast Food Jobs" are these: "More than three and a half million people can be found working in fast food jobs across the country in any given week. Seventy percent, or approximately two and a half million of these employees are under the age of 21."

So are most of the folks selling crack. Even without trying, these establishments are functioning as an important de facto weapon in the war against drugs.



McKoy quit dealing and stayed at Popeyes: "I straightened up. . . . I feel good."

street," says soft-spoken Quincy McLane, 19, who earns \$4.88 an hour cooking chicken at the Popeyes managed by Ogburn. He has worked there a year, 9 to 5. He also works from 6 p.m. to 1 a.m. as a dishwasher at a Holiday Inn. Before he embarked on this grueling schedule, McLane says he was raking in \$200 a day as a runner for a crack dealer. He started when he was 17.

"It was the money," he says. "A lot of guys' parents don't take care of them like

they should. Or they have family problems, especially money problems. They think, 'If I can be successful [selling drugs], I can help my mother.'"

After just a few months, he was arrested. He drew two years' probation. One time cured him: "I said, 'I'll never go that route.' I had good grades. I figured I could go to school." McLane says he will eventually leave Popeyes and go to school to study electronics and computers.

"It takes a little longer, but it's better."

McLane's rapid taste of the high and low sides of crack dealing is what spurs him to work 15 hours a day now. "When you are running for someone, that's still slaving. I figure it's safer. The best thing to do is school and work. There's really no future on the streets. Eventually it will catch up with you. If not now, later.

"Some got locked up, some got killed," he says of former drug-dealing cronies. "I had friends who had something going for them — sports or education. They went all downhill. They figure you can sell a lot of drugs and quit. But there's really no way out. They forgot about their education because the money was coming at them so fast.

The money comes between friends," he adds. Besides the benefits it brings, "the money is also evil."

Why do some abandon drug dealing after one run-in with the law, while others stay in it? "They might owe money to the guy they are working for," so they have to deal when released to pay him off, he explains. "Or the Big Man might say, 'When you get out, come back and work for me.'"

Eric McKoy is in the manager trainee program at the Popeyes managed by Ray. He makes \$6 an hour. But not so long ago, the confident, professional 19-year-old was pulling in up to \$900 a day selling crack.

He has worked at Popeyes for 2½ years. "I was already working here when I was selling drugs. But I hardly came in. I used it as a cover-up," he says. He began selling drugs in the ninth grade.

"I had no work, no money. I hung out with the fellas. We'd go to the go-go. Guys would flash their bankroll. I wanted to be like them."

He and his brother, who is now 22, ran their own independent crack operation. They were arrested for selling. McKoy missed one hearing, a bench warrant was issued for him and he was picked up and locked in a juvenile detention facility for six days. That cured him.

"All I needed was one day. It's a small room. I couldn't take it. I straightened up," he says. He drew one year's probation. Ray allowed him to return to work. His probation recently ended early because his weekly drug tests were consistently clean.

"I like it better working. There are less fears. My family gets along with me better. My mother wouldn't speak to me. She disowned me.



McGee credits her mother and grandmother with instilling in her a work ethic.

"I feel good. I come to work, I go home, I don't worry about nobody shooting me because I owe them money." When dealing, he says, you "always got to worry. Today, I can walk the street. I feel good."

His brother was arrested twice more for dealing and is doing 1½ years in the District of Columbia's prison.

All their money is gone, he says. "We were saving for a truck. We had \$15,000 in the closet in a bag. My brother's girlfriend took the money and smoked it all up. She was on crack."

McKoy feels no pressure from friends who still sell drugs. "They do what they got to do, and I do what I got to do," he says. "Most have not been locked up. Some have been hustling eight or nine years and never got caught. I hope they straighten out. But the only one I talk to about stopping it is my brother."

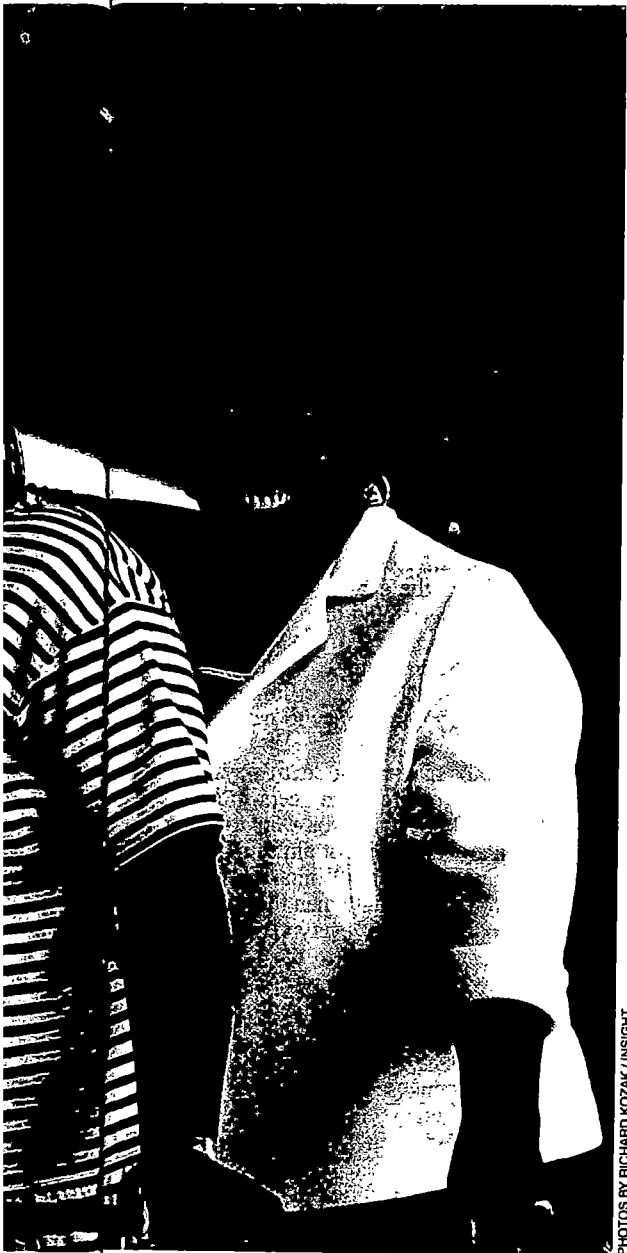
Most youths who work at the outlets

have less adventurous stories than these. For most, the local burger or chicken place is a first job and way station en route to the armed services, college, trade or computer school or a preferred job. One reason is that the work is hard, hot and tiring, given the pay. "I don't like looking at chicken every day. I'm having bad dreams about chicken every night," says Elaunda Smith, who wants to find a job doing secretarial work at the District Superior Court building.

No matter what their eventual destiny, these young people have a brutally clear knowledge of the street and the mechanics of the crack trade, an acute awareness of the risks of drug dealing and a good sense of the value of work and of the advantages in hawking fried chicken or hamburgers rather than drugs.

"You have followers and leaders. There are those who have goals and plans. When I go into my career, all my money, my job,

“At the time I was being encouraged to sell drugs. I wanted expensive things, like gold earrings with my name on them.”



PHOTOS BY RICHARD KOZAK/INSIGHT

drugs in the first place. There is an intense awareness of the fragility of the gains, a knowledge that fancy cars, the gold, the sneakers, the clothes can all be taken away at any moment. These youngsters have a healthy fear of possible violence from the police, the kingpin distributors or jealous competitors, as well as the knowledge that in a second, each can lose everything he has, including his life.

“I don’t think it is worth it. They get locked up from it. They get hurt from it. They get sick from it,” says Robert Smallwood, 18, a high school sophomore. He has worked at a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant for about 18 months, for 44 hours a week at \$4.55 an hour.

“When they get to selling drugs, they get happy and stop going to school. I’m never going to leave school. I don’t care if I’m 50, I’ll finish school. I want something better in my life.”

When he graduates, Smallwood plans to join the Army and learn computer technology.

“Kids who deal drugs have to be very protective of themselves. Have to know when to stay inside and when to go out. Have to watch their back. I’d rather work for mine than be out on the street,” says Evelyn Marie Allen, a high school senior with a 3-year-old daughter. Her father and grandmother take care of the child so she can work and attend school.

“Everybody wants the same thing out of life,” says the 19-year-old. “The ones out there selling drugs want it quicker. But there’s knowing you could be killed on the spot.”

These young people often look down on their peers who fall into crack selling. “It don’t take anything to sell drugs. You don’t need an education. You can hire somebody with an education to count the money for you,” Whitaker says disdainfully.

Allen has a friend who sells crack while going to school full-time. “She says she does it just to have fun.” She likes the risk, says Allen.

They also know that the lure of fast money blinds others to the dangers involved. “Basically, they think they’ll get the money and the money will protect them. They don’t realize — don’t think — they will get hurt or jailed,” says Smallwood.

And they see that the money earned from crack dealing carries much more than purchasing power. They see how it comes with a negative charge and how the paranoia and competitiveness associated with it will break up friendships, cause violence and corrupt the players.

“The beeper guys come in in groups,” says McGee. “They are disrespectful, loud. ‘I want, I want, give me, give me.’ They bang on the counter. I think sometimes they feel they have power and authority over others,” because of the freedom they feel from all the money they have.

“The main reason they do it is to impress girls,” says Whitaker. “Buy a car and everything else. You don’t do it unless you’re trying to impress somebody. And that’s girls. You make a lot of money. Then the feeling of power comes.”

But the fast, easy money becomes self-defeating. “When you make it like that, you spend it like that. It’s not like a job. You don’t think about how you spend it.”

Andrew Goodwin, 18, puts it bluntly. “Money isn’t everything. You can have money anytime you want. Just do it the right way. I don’t need the money.”

Goodwin, who graduated from high school in June, has worked for Kentucky Fried Chicken for 2½ years. He makes \$4.75 an hour and worked six or seven hours a day on schooldays and seven or eight hours a day on weekends. His older brother, 19, works at Wendy’s. Goodwin plans to join the Air Force this summer to study computers and electronics. He wants to avoid the drug culture because he has already been too close to it: His younger brother, 16, got into trouble in Maryland for selling cocaine.

“He was hanging with the wrong people,” says Goodwin, who says his brother was adversely influenced by their older cousin, a drug dealer. The brother’s activities have caused much trouble at home. “There are lots of family fights about it,” he says. “My brother just leaves.”

For good or ill, family always seems to play a role in these adolescents’ decisions about working. McGee credits her grand-

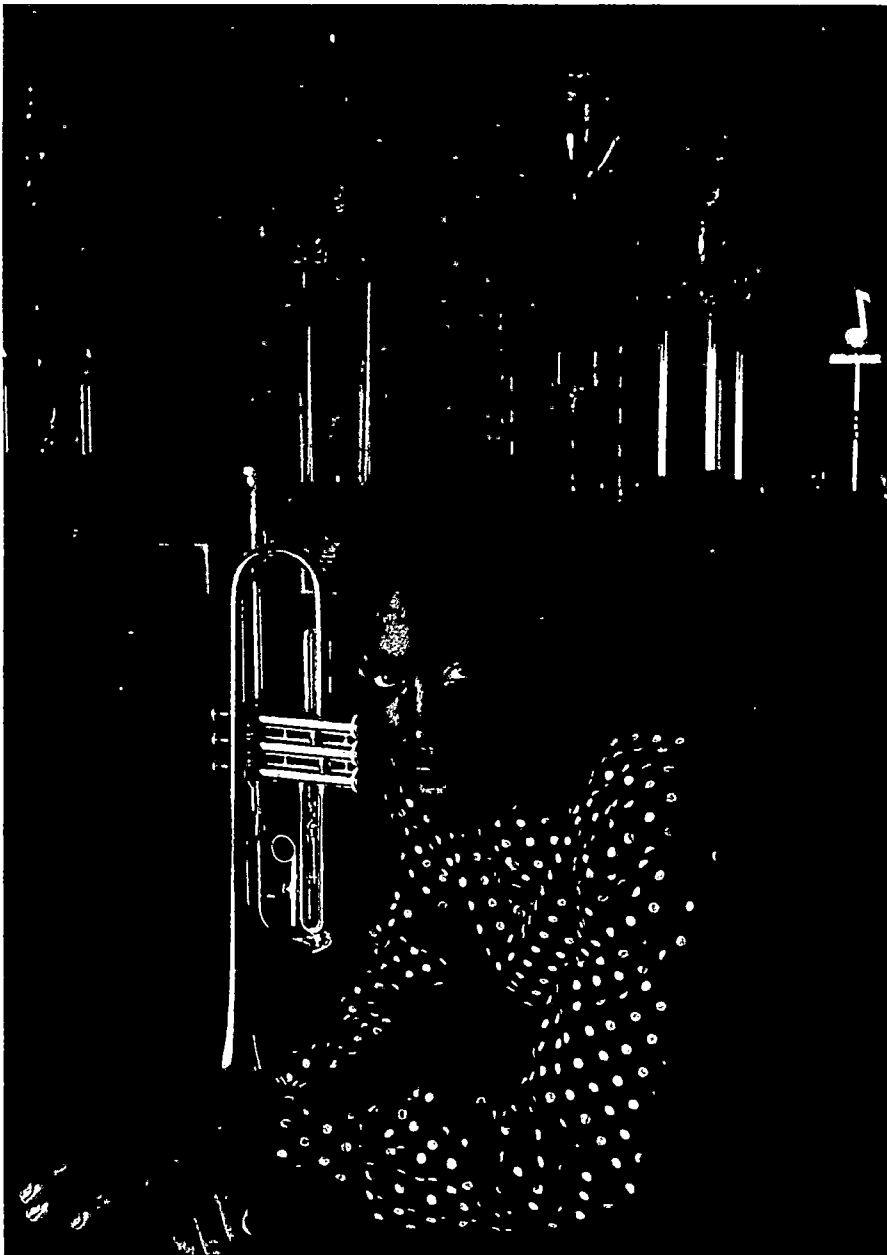
... nobody will be able to take that away from me. The people selling drugs, all their money can be taken away from them,” says McGee.

“You can go out and hustle for four hours and make \$300 or \$400. But if you get caught, it’s not worth it. You buy a car — a Benz — you get arrested, they gonna take it anyway. It’s not worth it,” says Charlie Whitaker, a strapping 17-year-old with an engaging sense of humor who works at a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet. He has worked there for a year and puts in 30 to 40 hours a week for \$4.80 an hour. He plans to become a bus driver or a police officer. This summer, he plans to leave the chicken business for a job in construction, “because I want to make some money.”

The transience and vulnerability of money gained by selling drugs has a powerful impact on young people who work. It is especially sharp because the easy money is usually the reason others choose to sell



Gold jewelry earned the honest way



PHOTOS BY RICHARD KOZAK / INSIGHT

Thompson keeps to his horn, winning himself and his school regional kudos.

parents and her mother for teaching her the proper way to conduct her life. "They have been very influential on me," she says.

In many cases, the influence is a strong mother.

"I used to have friends who pressured me to sell drugs," says Smallwood. "But my mother raised me to be a better person." Whitaker too says the difference for him was made by his mother, a Jehovah's Witness. "She's not about to tolerate any drug selling in the house. She read the Bible to me. Just being around her lets me know selling drugs is the wrong way to go. It's not really necessary."

"My parents said, 'Find one friend who does the right thing, and stay with him,'" says Antione Thompson, 17, who works at the Popeyes managed by Ray. "My parents tell me every day before they go to work, 'Don't get in trouble. Stay in school. Go to work.' I believe it's the crowd a person

hangs with that makes them do something wrong."

Thompson, an 11th-grader, has been at Popeyes two years, makes \$4.75 an hour and works weekdays and weekends, 34 hours a week.

"I've wanted to work since I was 10," he says. His first job was at a McDonald's. He also worked as a dishwasher at Howard University. "They announce jobs over the PA at school. I always go down and sign up for them."

Thompson plays trumpet in the school marching band, and one way he avoids the dense drug environment is to spend his spare time in the band room at school. He does not hang out on the streets. This year his brass section was judged the best among all the D.C. public schools.

Along with this kind of single-mindedness, many of these young people seem to have in common patience and a good sense

of what will benefit them over the long haul — a view that youths who stay with drug dealing clearly lack. "It's not important to them to go to school to earn money later. It is important to get money now. It's a 'now' thing," says McGee.

"At the time I was being encouraged to sell drugs. . . . I wanted expensive things, like gold earrings with my name on them. My mother provides for me, but she said \$200 was just too expensive for one pair of earrings. She said, 'You have to get a job.'"

"I did it. I got the earrings. I put them in layaway in January and didn't get them until April."

"You should do honest work," says Whitaker. "If you get caught selling drugs [it makes it really hard] to try to get a job when you're older."

These youths have had to learn ways to cope with the pressure from peers to sell drugs. "People know what you want to do. If you act like what they got ain't nothing to you — they know," says Whitaker. "You don't want to be around it when they do it. When the police come, everyone throws drugs on the ground. So [to the cops] it belongs to everyone there. You don't want to be around it. There's too much risk of getting arrested."

Pamela Persaud, 33, may have the best perspective on this scene. The assistant manager of a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant in Anacostia, she has been with the company for 17 years. She started working in fast food as a pregnant high school dropout, and now she owns her own home.

She has seen things change in her community over the years. And she admits that the money from drugs makes her think twice. Young crack dealers often come into her restaurant "with big, thick money belts," she says, laughing. "Even I think, 'You can do it.'"

Through her teenage daughter, she is close to the problems that plague the younger generation, especially the intense peer pressure that pushes youths into affiliation with drugs. Sixteen-year-old boys who sell crack have lots of money to spend on expensive gifts for girls they want to impress. The items — certain handbags, jewelry, clothes — then become status symbols that everyone must have. But the only way for a girl to get them is to become entangled with a drug-dealing boy, says the assistant manager.

"I would say about half the kids get into it," she says. "The girls get into it as girlfriends. They get excited because, say, a boy bought them a new car."

"My daughter sees people who have

“You have to have time with your kids. Time. Too many parents are tired from working. They are sleeping. They don’t pay attention to their kids.”

expensive things from people who sell drugs. I won’t let her keep any expensive gifts from 16-year-old boys. I know that’s not right. My daughter comes home with something expensive — I know I didn’t buy it for her. I ask her a million questions.”

She believes parents can keep their children away from drug selling and at legitimate jobs instead. And in contrast to many parents who feel powerless to control wayward teenagers, she feels parents still hold the power.

“Most kids who work at fast-food places have parents who will take their heads off if they get involved with drugs,” she says. “If they do, if parents threaten to throw them out, it may stop them. You can’t rent an apartment until you’re 21,” so the teenager cannot just say, “So what, I’ll get my own place.” I think you should say, ‘If you want to sell drugs, go live with the drug people.’

“You have to have time with your kids,” she concludes. “Time. Too many parents

are tired from working. They are sleeping. They don’t pay attention to their kids” to notice, for instance, that they are wearing \$150 sneakers that they cannot possibly afford.

“That’s why I’m not a full-fledged manager,” Persaud says; it would take too much time away from her family.

Even though a fast-food job supplied her with a welcome opportunity, she thinks it is less than ideal work for youngsters. “Fast food is too hard for a young child, 16. The work is too hard. And you’ve got to deal with weirdos. I tell the kids this is a hard job.”

Nevertheless, she observes, “the ones who get into drug selling think they are better than the kids who are working, because they have all that money.”

Recently, one young dealer pointed out to Persaud that he drove exactly the same model four-wheel-drive truck as she does and could afford it without working for hours in a fried chicken parlor. She responded that her car — as well as her house and other possessions — were the product of years of stability, hard work and a carefully maintained credit status, none of which he was working to build for the future.

“I told him, ‘I have exactly what you have. So how is what you do any better or more profitable than what I do?’ ” She says he had no answers.

“You can get whatever you want” without selling drugs, she tells youths she knows who are dealing. “It just takes time.”

In the end, teenagers in impoverished urban areas come to understand that maxim very quickly or not at all. The choice of whether or not to sell drugs appears to be determined by each youngster’s perspective and sense of responsibility as much as by social, economic and peer pressures.

“It’s just the way you think,” says the philosophical Whitaker, to whom it all seems very clear. “It’s not the way the police think or what the police say. It’s how you feel about the issue.

“If the money tempts you, then you probably will. If it doesn’t, you probably won’t. That’s the way it goes.”

— Daniel Kagan



A dealer made a smart remark to Persaud about her truck; she put him in his place.

Postscript: The turnover in fast food is high, sometimes up to 100 percent a year. By the time this story went to press, Antione Thompson had left Popeyes for a better job in maintenance, and Charlie Whitaker had taken a better-paying job as an airport baggage handler. Elaunda Smith had left her job as well, reports Ralph Ogburn.

YET SOME IN CONGRESS DO NOT AGREE. PERHAPS IT IS TIME WE SENT THEM A MESSAGE. JUST AS WE SHOULD SUPPORT SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES, SO WE SHOULD ALSO SUPPORT TWO-PARENT FAMILIES WHERE ONE PARENT CHOOSES TO CARE FOR THE CHILDREN AT HOME.

AND SOME WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST CHURCH-SPONSORED CHILD CARE. I SAY THAT'S WRONG.

WHEN IT COMES TO CHILD CARE, WE NEED MORE CHURCHES INVOLVED NOT MORE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. (PAUSE)

- 21 -

WE NEED MORE CONGREGATIONS, WITH LOVE AND CONCERN HELPING TO TAKE CARE OF OUR CHILDREN -- NOT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS TELLING US HOW TO DO IT. (PAUSE)

AND THAT'S WHY WE NEED A CHILD CARE POLICY THAT PUTS MONEY IN THE POCKETS OF PARENTS AND CHOICE IN THE HANDS OF PARENTS.

BUT CHILD-CARE FOR FAMILIES IS NOT ENOUGH.
FAMILIES NEED OPPORTUNITY: I WANT TO RENEW MY PROPOSAL
FOR FEDERAL ENTERPRISE ZONES, TO BRING OPPORTUNITY TO
THE BARREN LOTS OF THE SOUTH BRONX, TO THE STREETS OF
WATTS, TO FARM TOWNS AND TO EVERY COMMUNITY IN NEED.

- 23 -

AND ALSO I RENEW MY PROPOSAL FOR TENANT MANAGEMENT OF
PUBLIC HOUSING. WE CAN NO LONGER DENY ANY OF OUR
PEOPLE THE AUTONOMY AND THE DIGNITY THEY DESERVE.
((PAUSE))

- 24 -

AND THEY DESERVE SOMETHING ELSE - A SAFE PLACE TO RAISE THEIR CHILDREN AND JUST LIVE THEIR LIVES. AND SO I'VE ORDERED HUD TO TARGET AN ADDITIONAL \$50 MILLION TO EVICT THE DEALERS FROM PUBLIC HOUSING. LET'S GIVE THESE KIDS A FIGHTING CHANCE TO LIVE A LIFE WITHOUT DRUGS.

Davis/Martin
Sept. 2, 1989
Title: Bismark
Draft: Twelve

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON DRUGS: All Networks
Tuesday, Sept. 5/9 p.m.

Good evening.

This is the first time since taking the oath of office that I felt an issue was so important, so threatening, that it warranted talking directly with you, the American people. All of us agree that the gravest domestic threat facing our nation today is drugs.

Turn on the evening news, or pick up the morning paper and you'll see what some Americans know just by stepping out their front door: our most serious problem today is cocaine, and in particular, crack.

Drugs have strained our faith in our system of justice. Our courts, our prisons, our legal system are to the point of collapse. The social cost of drugs are mounting. In short, drugs threaten to sap our strength as a nation.

Who's responsible? Let me tell you.

Everyone who uses drugs.

Everyone who sells drugs.

And everyone who looks the other way.

Tonight, I will tell you how many Americans are using illegal drugs. I will present to you our national strategy to

deal with every aspect of this threat. And I will ask you to get involved in what promises to be a very difficult fight.

((Pick up vial)) This is crack cocaine seized a few days ago by Drug Enforcement Administration agents in a park just across the street from the White House. It could easily have been heroin or PCP. It's as innocent-looking as candy, but it is turning our cities into battle zones and it is murdering our children by the thousands. Let there be no mistake, **this stuff is poison.** ((Set vial down, out of camera range.))

Some used to call drugs just a harmless form of recreation. They're not. Drugs are a real and terribly dangerous threat to our neighborhoods, to our friends and to our families.

No one among us is out of harm's way. When four-year-olds play in playgrounds strewn with discarded hypodermic needles and crack vials -- ((I have to tell you,)) it breaks my heart. When cocaine -- one of the most deadly and addictive illegal drugs -- is available to school kids -- **school kids** -- it makes me furious. And when hundreds of thousands of babies are born each year to mothers who use drugs -- premature babies born desperately sick -- then even the most defenseless among us are at risk.

Many citizens, and many communities, are already in the thick of it. Some good Americans have even paid with their lives. Corporal Charles Hill, a Virginia policeman, father of two, was gunned down while trying to talk a violent crack addict into releasing a hostage. Maria Hernandez, a New York woman who

stood up to drug dealers, was shot to death through her bedroom window one morning while getting ready for work. These are American heroes in the battle to save the future, the very soul, of our country. We mourn their loss. And as a nation, we vow that they will not have died in vain.

But what are we up against? Let me share with you the results of the recently completed Household Survey of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. It compares recent drug use to three years ago. It tells us some very good news . . . and, some very bad news. First, the good. ((Camera cuts to Slide One.)) ((PAUSE))

As you can see in the chart, in 1985, the government estimated that 23 million Americans were using drugs on a "current" basis -- that is, at least once in the preceding 30 days. Last year, that number fell by 37 percent to 14.5 million. That means that almost nine million Americans have given up so-called casual drug use. ((Cut to Slide Two.))

Total current use of the two most common, illegal drugs -- marijuana and cocaine -- is down 36 and 48 percent respectively.

Because we changed our national attitude toward drugs, casual drug use has declined. We have many to thank for this: our brave law-enforcement officers, religious leaders, teachers, community activists, and business and labor leaders. We should also thank the media -- television, radio and the press -- for their exhaustive news and editorial coverage; and advertisers for their anti-drug campaign. Finally, I want to thank President

Reagan and Nancy Reagan. All of these good people told the truth -- that drug use is wrong and dangerous.

But, as much comfort as we can draw from these dramatic reductions, there is also bad news -- very bad news. Among the more than eight million people who used cocaine at all in the past year, almost one million of them used it once a week or more.

What this means is that, in spite of the fact that overall cocaine use is down, habitual cocaine use has almost doubled in the last few years. That's why habitual cocaine users -- especially crack users -- are our most pressing, immediate drug problem. ((PAUSE))

Make no mistake. There are no easy answers. To win the war against addictive drugs like crack will take more than just a federal strategy, another Washington solution. It will take a national strategy that reaches into every school and every workplace. One that involves every American.

Earlier today, I sent our first such National Strategy to the Congress, developed with the hard work of our nation's first drug policy director, Bill Bennett. We talked with state, local and community leaders, law enforcement officials and experts in education, drug prevention and rehabilitation. We talked with parents and kids. We took a long hard look at all that the federal government has done about drugs in the past: what's worked, and -- let's be honest -- what hasn't. Too often, people have seen the production of drugs, the smuggling of drugs, the

distribution of drugs and the consequences of drugs as unrelated problems. And too often, the government agencies responsible for ending this scourge acted that way too. But turf battles won't win this war. Teamwork will.

Tonight, I am announcing a strategy that is as comprehensive as the problem. This time, we have a strategy that coordinates our resources, our programs and the people who run them.

Our weapons in this strategy are: our laws and criminal justice system; our foreign policy; our treatment systems, and our schools and drug prevention programs. So the weapons we need are the weapons we already have. What has been lacking is a strategy to effectively use them.

Let me address four of the major elements of this strategy.

***** First,** we are determined to enforce the law, to make our streets and neighborhoods safe. To begin with, I am proposing that we more than double federal assistance to state and local law enforcement. Americans have a right to safety in and around their homes.

And we won't have safe neighborhoods unless we are tough on drug criminals -- much tougher than we are now. Sometimes that means tougher penalties. But more often it just means punishment that is swift and certain. We've all heard stories about drug dealers who are caught and arrested -- again and again -- but never punished. They should get what they deserve -- **hard time.**

So our enforcement strategy is based on a simple philosophy: If you sell drugs, you will be caught. And when you're caught, you will be prosecuted. And once you're convicted, you will do time. Caught. Prosecuted. Punished.

I am proposing that we enlarge our criminal justice system across the board -- at the local, state and federal levels alike. We need more prisons, more jails, more courts, more prosecutors. So tonight, I am requesting -- altogether -- a \$1.4 billion increase in drug-related federal spending on law enforcement.

And while illegal drug use is found in every community, nowhere is it worse than in our public housing projects. The poor have always borne a disproportionate share of suffering. But in America's past, they weren't mugged on the way home from work by crack gangs. And their children didn't have to dodge bullets on the way to school. These Americans deserve compassion. And they will be the first to tell you that in this case, compassion means getting tough. That is why I am targeting \$50 million for public housing projects -- to help restore order, and to kick out the dealers for good.

*** The second element of our strategy looks beyond our borders, where all the cocaine and crack bought on America's street is grown and processed. In Colombia alone, cocaine killers have gunned down a brave statesman, and murdered almost two hundred judges, seven members of their supreme court and a justice minister. Against this assault, President Barco and the

Columbian people are setting an example of heroism for the world. And I agree with President Barco -- if Americans use cocaine, then Americans are paying for murder. The besieged governments of the drug-producing countries are fighting back, to help break the international drug rings. They are on the side of democracy and justice. And we will not leave them to fight alone.

The \$65 million emergency assistance announced two weeks ago was just our first step in assisting some South American countries, the Andean nations, in their fight against the cocaine cartels. Colombia has already arrested suppliers, seized tons of cocaine and confiscated palatial homes of drug lords. But Colombia faces a long, uphill battle, so we must be ready to do more.

This strategy earmarks \$260 million for next year in military and law enforcement assistance for the three Andean nations of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. This will be the first part of a five-year, \$2 billion program to counter the producers, the traffickers and the smugglers.

I have spoken with President Barco, and we hope to meet with the leaders of affected countries in an unprecedented drug summit, all to coordinate an Inter-American strategy against the cartels. We will ask our allies and friends -- especially our Economic Summit partners -- to do more in the fight against drugs. I am also asking the Senate to ratify the U.N. Anti-Drug Convention concluded last December.

To stop those drugs on the way to America, I propose that we spend more than a billion and a half dollars on interdiction. We must continue to support our Coast Guard and Customs agents, so they can stop drugs at our borders.

Our message to the drug cartels is this: **the rules have changed.** We will help any government that wants our help. Where appropriate, we will for the first time make available the resources, even the personnel, of America's armed forces. We will seek out drug smugglers on the high seas, in international airspace and at our borders. We will stop the flow of chemicals from the United States used to process drugs. We will seek and enforce international agreements to track drug money back to the front men and financiers. And we should handcuff the middle men, just like any street dealer.

*** The **third** part of our strategy concerns drug treatment. Experts believe that there are two million American drug users who may be able to get off drugs with proper treatment. But right now, only 40 percent of them are actually getting help. This is simply not good enough.

Many people who need treatment won't seek it on their own. And some who do seek it are put on a waiting list. Most programs were set up to deal with heroin addicts, but today the major problem is cocaine users. It's time to expand our treatment systems and do a better job of providing services to those who need them.

So to improve the treatment system, I am proposing a \$321 million increase in federal spending on drug treatment.

With this strategy, we will do more. We will work with the states. We will encourage employers to establish Employee Assistance Programs that cover drug use. And, because addiction is such a cruel inheritance, we will intensify our search for ways to help expectant mothers who use drugs.

***** Fourth,** we must stop illegal drug use before it starts. Unfortunately, it begins early -- for many kids, before their teens. But it doesn't start the way you might think, with a dealer or an addict hanging around a school playground. More often, our kids first get their drugs free, from friends, or even from older brothers or sisters. Peer pressure spreads drug use. Peer pressure can help stop it.

I am proposing a quarter-of-a-billion-dollar increase in federal funds for school and community prevention programs that help young people -- and adults -- reject enticements to try drugs. And because words alone are not enough, I am proposing something else. I call on every school, college and university -- and every workplace -- to adopt tough but fair policies about drug use by students and employees. Those that will not adopt such policies will not get federal funds. **Period.**

The private sector also has a role to play. I spoke with a businessman named Jim Burke who said he was haunted by the thought -- a nightmare really -- that somewhere in America, at any

given moment, there is a teen-age girl who should be in school, instead of giving birth to a child addicted to cocaine. So Jim did something. He led a anti-drug partnership, financed by private funds, to work with advertisers and media firms. Their partnership is now determined to work with our strategy by raising a million dollars in airtime every day for the next three years -- a billion dollars total. Think of it, a billion dollars of T.V. time, all to promote the anti-drug message.

What I can do as President is to keep the national focus on the offensive against drugs. Next week I will take the anti-drug message to the classrooms of America in a special television address, one that I hope will reach every school, every teenager. But drug education doesn't begin in class or on T.V. It must begin at home. Parents and family must set the first example of a drug-free life.

These are the most important elements in my strategy to fight drugs. They are all designed to reinforce one another, to mesh into a powerful whole. To mount an aggressive attack on the problem from every angle.

As you can tell, such an approach will not come cheaply. Last February, I asked for a \$700 million increase in the drug budget for the coming year. Now, over the past six months of careful study, we have developed a strategy that makes effective use of another billion and a half dollars. Thus, our 1990 drug-

budget totals almost eight billion dollars -- the largest increase in history.

Let me tell you how important this is. We need this program fully implemented -- and the money to pay for it -- right away. The next fiscal year begins just 26 days from now. So tonight I'm asking the Congress -- which has helped us formulate this strategy -- to help us fund it as well.

We can pay for this fight against drugs without raising taxes or adding to the budget deficit. We have submitted our plan to Congress that shows just how this drug strategy can be fully funded, within the limits of our bipartisan budget agreement.

I know some will still say that we are not spending enough money. But those who judge our strategy by its price tag only, simply don't understand the problem. Let's face it, we've all seen in the past that money alone won't solve our toughest problems.

Yes, dollars are vital. To be strong and efficient, our strategy needs these funds. But there is no match for a united America, a determined America, an angry America. Our outrage against drugs unites us, brings us together behind this one plan of action, **an assault on every front.**

This is the toughest domestic challenge we've faced in decades. And it is a challenge we must face -- not as Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives -- but as Americans. The key is a coordinated, united effort. We have responded

faithfully to the mandate of the Congress to produce our nation's first national drug strategy. I will be looking to the Democratic Majority in Congress for leadership and bipartisan support. And I expect cooperation from them, not competition; a national effort, not a partisan bidding war.

To start, we need Congress not only to pass this Administration's drug strategy, but our crime package announced in May; a package to toughen sentences, and to beef up law enforcement.

We need the states to match tougher federal laws with stiffer bail, probation, parole and sentencing.

And we need your help. If someone you know is using drugs, help them get off drugs. If you are a parent, talk to your children about drugs -- tonight.

Call your local drug prevention program. Be a Big Brother or Sister to a child in need. Pitch in with your local Neighborhood Watch program. Whether you donate your time, serve as a counselor, or participate in a fundraising drive, there are no unimportant tasks in the war on drugs. Everyone counts.

Every employer who bans drugs from the workplace.

Every school that takes a hardnosed stance.

Every neighborhood in which drugs are not welcome.

Finally, everyone who refuses to look the other way.

Everyone counts.

Of course, victory will take hard work and many years. But we must not relent -- too many young lives are at stake.

Not long ago, I read a newspaper story about a little boy named Dooney, who, until recently, lived in a crack house in a suburb of Washington, D.C. In Dooney's neighborhood, children don't flinch at the sound of gunfire. And when they play, they pretend to sell to each other small white rocks they call crack.

Life at home was so dismal that Dooney begged his teachers to let him sleep on the floor at school. And, when asked about his future, 6-year-old Dooney says this : "I don't want to sell drugs, but I will probably have to." ((PAUSE))

Dooney doesn't have to sell drugs. No child in America should have to live like this. Together, as a people, we can save these kids. We have already saved countless lives. We have already transformed a national attitude of tolerance into condemnation. But the war on drugs will be hard-won, neighborhood by neighborhood, block by block, kid by kid.

If we fight this war as a divided nation, then the war is lost. ((Pick up vial, hold it in front of you)) But, if we face this evil as a nation united, our children will have a brighter future, and **this** will be nothing but a vial of useless chemicals. ((Set vial down, off camera)) Victory . . . ((PAUSE)) victory over drugs is our cause, a just cause, and with your help, justice will prevail.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

Congressman**BILLY TAUZIN****Third Congressional District
Louisiana**

2342 RAYBURN H.O.B. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 (202) 225-4031

**NEWS RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: CHRIS ROBICHAUX

EMBARGOED UNTIL - - 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1989

LOUISIANA CITY POLICE FORCE DECLARED "DRUG FREE"

THIBODAUX, Louisiana - - August 16, 1989 - - U.S. Representative Billy Tauzin announced today in a joint news conference that "Operation Safe Street", a mandatory drug testing program in this South Louisiana town, is complete and the entire police force passed with flying colors.

Tauzin was joined by Rear Admiral William F. Merlin, commander of the U.S. Coast Guard's Eighth District station based in New Orleans.

Tauzin complimented the Mayor and Police Chief of his home town for initiating the program this past April and encouraged other cities to follow their lead. The Police Chief and the Mayor of the City of Thibodaux launched a massive campaign against drug traffic within the city which has a population of around 16,000.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that police forces and other governmental agencies that handle public safety can require their ranks to participate in tests for use of illegal drugs, many law enforcement agencies across the nation implemented programs similar to the one in Thibodaux. Many agencies require tests only of new recruits but the Thibodaux program included everyone, even the Chief and the Mayor.

In setting up "Operation Safestreet" the Chief of Police, Milfred C. Zeringue, Jr., and Mayor Warren J. Harang, Jr. drew up rules and regulations which were adopted as part of the official Policy and Procedures order for the Thibodaux Police Department and incorporated into the hiring of new police recruits.

During a news conference today, Chief Zeringue said that 34 commissioned police officers along with 7 civilian personnel in the department, as well as himself and the Mayor were found to be drug free. "We are the first police department within the state to have administered testing to 100% of the employees and proven to be totally drug free," said Zeringue.

The drug tests on the police officers were conducted by Calvin Bodden, administrator of River Region Hospital in Vacherie, a private hospital which specializes in the treatment of individuals who suffer from the abusive use of drugs. Bodden said the tests will be conducted annually.

-more-

*Jim Gocini
805
x 281 181
5508*

TAUZIN/DRUG FREE, page 2

Tauzin commended the Thibodaux officials for taking the initiative to create a drug-free work place. "The Thibodaux police force and Mayor Harang are shining examples to our children that being drug free is the right way to live," he said.

Tauzin is chairman of the House Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee. He pointed to the Coast Guard's tireless efforts in halting the flow of illegal drugs into the country.

Admiral Merlin stated that his officers continue to wage the war with their drug patrols and seizures of illegal drugs. The Coast Guard seizes, in an average day, 3,568 pounds of marijuana and 35 pounds of cocaine, preventing their entry into the U.S. and dispersal on the streets.

"The men and women of the U.S. Coast Guard are our first line of defense in the 'War on Drugs'. We should beef up their interdiction operations and give the Coast Guard the resources it needs to fight this war," said Tauzin.

He added that the Coast Guard is only one front in the nation's battle against illegal drugs and that, within our borders, local and state programs like "Operation Safe Street" in Thibodaux are another important part of the battle being waged.

Federal 'Drug Czar' William Bennett announced last week that he intends to wage a full-blown war on the trade of illegal drugs in the United States. He has set a goal of reducing abuse in the U.S. by 10% in two years and by 50% in the next ten years. He asked the Bush Administration for more federal funding for local and state efforts in the anti-drug campaign.

The Mayor and Police Chief will bring a report of their program to Bennett in Washington later this month. They want Bennett to review "Operation Safe Street" and consider making it a nationwide goal of local and state law enforcement agencies.

OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN BILLY TAUZIN, LA-3RD DIST.

TELECOPIER COVER LETTER

Date: 9-8-89

TO: Kristin Bear

FAX: 456-6218 NO. OF PAGES (INCL. COVER) 3

FROM: Chris Robichaux

CONTENT: News Release concerning
drug-free police force in La.

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