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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 4, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLICY STUDIES

The Washington Hilton
Washington, D.C.

7:42 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for that warm welcome. Wendell, thank you, sir. And to Eddie Williams, my respects and thanks for having me here. And to David Kearns and Vernon Jordan; our old friend, and Jim Robinson, another, thank you all. And to Reverend Newsome, thank you, sir, for that lovely invocation. It's also good to be out on the town with our good friend, Elsie Hillman, well-known to many here. And I would especially like to recognize and pay my respects to Doug Wilder, the Governor of Virginia, over here. (Applause.) I'm delighted.

You know, it's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record. (Applause.)

But what I find most heartening is the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary, accepted feature of our national life. This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. A philosopher once said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today. Eddie, we congratulate you for your steadfast leadership. (Applause.)

We can see for ourselves tonight that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. As Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.

And not long ago, a distinguished group of 15 black publishers from across the country came for lunch at the White House. And we discussed everything from our meetings, stimulating meetings with Vaclav Havel, the new playwright-President of Czechoslovakia, to our struggle to battle domestically -- get rid of this nation -- rid it of drugs and crime. And after lunch, we walked outside and together we strolled across that South Lawn -- out of the Oval Office, across the South Lawn and through the Diplomatic Reception Room into the Residence and up to the Lincoln Bedroom. And it's an impressive room, with its high, imposing ceiling and its tall windows, lace curtains and old Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that's so powerful? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. (Laughter.) It's that he worked there and thought there and agonized there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and the Cabinet Room. And it was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

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It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was weary. In any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand so that no one would think he wavered on such an important decision. Through the vision of one man, millions were freed.

Together, those of us in his room felt the greatness of the events that had taken place in there and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history comes rushing back as a revelation. And that very special moment lead me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the presidency -- responsibilities that haven't changed since that midnight of freedom in 1863. Every president since has been challenged to be part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

And the day will come -- and it's not far off -- when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue -- when a black man or woman will sit in that Oval Office. (Applause.) And when that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how naturally it occurs. That person will be another president, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids; Barbara goes to a lot of events where kids are there. And I wonder as I look at the faces of brave 10-year-olds swearing to uphold the fight against drugs: Will one of them be president? Is this the kid who will fulfill that legacy?

Now, I saw Jesse Jackson earlier and I don't want to get anything started -- so, Jesse, I'm talking about little kids. (Laughter.) I'm not talking about some 49-year-old guy here. I like my job. (Laughter.) Let's not rush this thing. (Applause.) Where did he go?

But I also know that prejudice and racial tensions still do exist in America. And that's why I told Ben Hooks and Coretta Scott King and so many others in the civil rights movement that I would use this bully pulpit to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry, and hate. (Applause.)

You know, black Americans have challenged me and our entire administration -- my distinguished friend, Lou Sullivan, who I'm very proud of, knows this to be true -- challenged us to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement, and I accept that challenge. And now let me ask you to work with us to build a better America. There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of all barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

In fighting against poverty and for opportunity, we must draw inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad. We must draw inspiration from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, the Freedom March that wound through the country roads of Selma 25 years ago leads to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, and now the winds of change have come to South Africa, where Nelson Mandela is a free man. (Applause.)

Let me just take one minute to discuss America's Africa policy, for change is sweeping this troubled continent. But this time change brings opportunity. So let us work together to help the peoples of Africa to overcome poverty, disease, starvation, and war. We're working to overcome these problems throughout Africa. And we

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continue to actively seek national reconciliation in Angola. And we support the efforts of President Chissano to end the fighting in Mozambique. And we are looking for ways we can help the newly-independent nation of Namibia.

In Ethiopia, we stand ready to deliver tons of food to save millions facing starvation. And tragically, the war that rages there prevents our access to these people in need. And I call upon the political leaders of Ethiopia to give the highest priority to humanitarian relief by opening all available corridors for the urgent movement of food supplies. And I appeal to other members of the United Nations to use their influence to achieve this vital objective. (Applause.) If you ever have held in your arms, as Barbara and I did, in the Sudan it was for us, this kid that is starving -- lay aside the politics. Let's get those routes open. Let's get that food to those starving people in Ethiopia.

South Africa is, of course, of special concern because we can now take hope that the age of apartheid is nearing a close. And there are new signs of flexibility and commitment both from the government and the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk has already taken some significant steps, lifting the ban on political parties, releasing Mandela and other political prisoners. And I salute President de Klerk for taking these steps. But even more must be done. The state of emergency must end and political prisoners must be released. And most of all, there must be an end to the tragic cycle of violence. A task that demands great courage and resolve from all South African leaders, black and white.

The government's attempts to enforce apartheid through force and repression have failed. And violent attacks by opponents of apartheid inside South Africa have equally failed. And most tragically, the senseless violence perpetrated by blacks against blacks has become a major impediment to rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement. All sides should follow the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr., and renounce violence. (Applause.)

And such a step will nurture the climate for negotiations toward a new system based on equal rights and opportunities. It is imperative that the opposition not miss this opportunity to negotiate seriously a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the horror of apartheid. And we are encouraged by signs that all sides share a growing commitment to the negotiating process. We stand ready to support this still-fragile process in any way we can.

Jim Baker, our Secretary of State, has just returned from South Africa, where he met with de Klerk, President de Klerk, and the leading members of the black opposition. And he met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. And I've also invited, as I think everybody here knows, President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to meet with me at the White House. And I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation, and that leads me to say, we must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority.

American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for change. And we will make clear our strong conviction that multiparty democracy, based on a vigorous free enterprise system, represents the best model for any successful society.

In short, we can all work for change. American influence is strongest when Americans speak with one voice. So let us work together to forge a strong consensus on South Africa; one that unites all Americans of all races, of both parties in a noble cause.

In America, right here at home, we also seek the fulfillment of a noble cause -- to overcome obstacles to opportunity. And in this cause let us look to the heroes of our times. Has the world known more improbable heroes than Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together in solidarity.

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Everywhere I went I found hope. I found people who have had enough of fear, had enough of crime, had enough of dope. And just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of these neighborhoods are rallying together, using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs. Freedom from fear. We must march with them in solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

And then there's yet another kind of poverty -- the growing poverty of knowledge. Many young men and women in this country are simply not learning. They're not learning the basics to hold down a job or to raise a family. And that is a national disgrace. And we need to improve the quality of education for all Americans and raise our expectations for what we know our children can learn and accomplish. We must again work in solidarity to better our schools.

And that's why I'm pleased that so many of you, leaders from business -- and I run a risk here, but I'd like to single out David Kearns, of Xerox -- along with leaders in government, education, labor, and the media, are working together to better our schools by serving on the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee.

I've discussed just a few of the many ways in which we're trying to fight against poverty and for opportunity to build a better America, and I could go on. But my favorite story says it all -- about the kid that went to church with his grandfather and he said, "Granddad" -- the preacher going on and on and on -- the kid says, "What's those flags along the side of the church there?" The grandfather said, "Well, son," he said, "that's for those who died in service." And the kid said, "Oh, really? The 9:00 a.m. or the 11:00 a.m. service?" (Laughter.)

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And then there's yet another kind of poverty -- the growing poverty of knowledge. Many young men and women in this country are simply not learning. They're not learning the basics to hold down a job or to raise a family. And that is a national disgrace. And we need to improve the quality of education for all Americans and raise our expectations for what we know our children can learn and accomplish. We must again work in solidarity to better our schools.

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Draft: Nine

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT CENTER, WASHINGTON HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Thank you, Wendell. Thank you, Eddie Williams, David Kearns, Vernon Jordan, Jim Robinson and Reverend Newsome. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friend, Elsie Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. A philosopher once said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

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But, South Africa is of special concern, because we can now take hope that the age of apartheid is nearing a close.\\ There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the government and the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk has already taken some significant steps -- lifting the ban on political parties and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. I salute President de Klerk for taking these steps -- but even more must be done. The State of Emergency must end and political prisoners must be released. Most of all, there must be an end to the tragic cycle of violence -- a task that demands great courage and resolve from all South

per Brent
JC

African leaders, black and white. The government's attempts to enforce apartheid through force and repression have utterly failed, ~~as popular opposition to white minority rule has intensified.~~ ^{by opponents of apartheid} Violent attacks ~~on government targets~~ inside South Africa have equally failed, ~~and have had no positive impact.~~ Most tragically, the senseless violence perpetrated by blacks, against blacks, has become a major impediment to rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement. All sides ~~must~~ ^{should} follow the spirit of Martin Luther King Jr., and renounce violence.\\

Such a step will help nurture the climate for negotiations toward a new system based on equal rights and opportunities. It is imperative that the opposition not miss this opportunity to negotiate seriously a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the horror of apartheid. We are encouraged by signs that all sides share a growing commitment to this negotiating process. We stand ready to support this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker has just returned from South Africa, where he met with President de Klerk and the leading members of the black opposition. He met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have also invited both President de Klerk and Mister Mandela to meet with me at the White House. I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation. We must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority. American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for change. And we will make clear our strong conviction that multi-

party democracy based on a vigorous free-enterprise system represents the best model for any successful society.

In short, we can all work for change. American influence is strongest when Americans speak with one voice. So let us work together to forge a strong consensus on South Africa -- one that unites all Americans -- of all races, of both parties -- in a noble cause.\\

In America, we also seek the fulfillment of a noble cause - - to overcome obstacles to opportunity. And in this cause, let us look to the heroes of our times. Has the world known more improbable heroes than Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West.

Yesterday, I visited a 17-year-old black high school student named Derrick Turnbow in a Cincinnati hospital. You see, Derrick was an innocent bystander who got caught in the crossfire of a shoot-out.\\ Derrick was shot in the head.\\ He is now paralyzed.\\ And the only means left to this honor student to communicate is by winking.\\

In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. In Houston, at Acres Homes, I talked with citizens who had seen

their community ravaged by drug pushers and decided to change all that.

Everywhere I went, I found hope. I found people who have had enough of fear, had enough of crime, had enough of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of these neighborhoods are rallying together, using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear. We must march with them in solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge.

Many young men and women in this country are simply not learning -- not learning -- the basics -- to hold down a job or to raise a family. That is a national disgrace.\\ We need to improve the quality of education for all Americans -- and raise our expectations for what we know our children can learn and accomplish.\\\ We must again work in solidarity to better our schools. That is why I am pleased that so many of you -- leaders from business like David Kearns, along with leaders in government, education, labor and the media -- are working together to better our schools by serving on the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee.

I have discussed just a few of the many ways in which we are trying to fight against poverty and for opportunity to build a better America. ((And I could go on. But I am reminded of the kid who went to church with his grandad. The kid asks: "What are

those flags for, Grandad?" "For those who died in the service."
 And then the kid asks: "Really? In the 9 o'clock or the 11
 o'clock?))\\

We've talked about the struggle against crime and fear, the
 struggle for better education and opportunity. But the bottom
 line is this: When the morning comes, will we work together for
 what we have applauded tonight?\\ I have seen your good works.
 I know that we will.\\

Let us make this the time for solidarity. Martin Luther
 King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is
 our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters
 of this American nation like no other.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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#

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Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
April 2, 1990
Draft: Seven

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT CENTER, WASHINGTON HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friend, Elsie Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. As Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

Not long ago, a distinguished group of fifteen black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed everything from my meetings with Czechoslovakia's new playwright President Vaclav Havel, to our struggle to rid this nation of drugs and crime.

After lunch, we walked outside. Together we strolled across the South Lawn driveway and through the Diplomatic Reception Room, into the Residence, and up to the Lincoln Bedroom. It's an impressive room with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that's so powerful? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It's that Lincoln **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. And now that Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom, all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

The only such copy he made 5- that he actually signed

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was weary. In any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on such an important decision. ^{Through the} Then ^{visions of one man, millions were freed.} Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, thousands were freed.

Together, those of us in his room, felt the greatness of the events that had taken place there, and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. That very special moment led me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the Presidency -- responsibilities that haven't changed since that midnight of freedom in 1863. Every president since has been challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

~~I believe that~~ the day will come -- and it is not far off - - when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue -- when a black man or woman will sit in the Oval Office. When that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: Will one of them be President? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?

But I also know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. That is why I told Ben Hooks and Coretta Scott King and so many others in the Civil Rights movement that I would use this office -- this bully pulpit -- to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry and hate.\\

Black Americans have challenged me and my Administration to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. I accept that challenge. Now let me ask you to work with us from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of all barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

In fighting against poverty and for opportunity, we must draw inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad. We must draw inspiration from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome.") Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, where Nelson Mandela is a free man.\\

I am uncomfortable with this

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work together to help the peoples of Africa to overcome poverty, disease, starvation and war. We are working to overcome these problems throughout Africa. We continue to actively seek national reconciliation in Angola, and we support the efforts of President Chissano to end the fighting in Mozambique. We are looking for ways we can help ~~the newly independent nation of~~ Namibia. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to deliver tons of food to save millions facing starvation. Tragically, the war that rages there prevents our access to these people in need. I call upon the political leaders of Ethiopia to give the highest priority to humanitarian relief by opening all available corridors for the urgent movement of food supplies. And I appeal to other members of the United Nations to use their influence to achieve this vital objective.

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That he has done, but

11/17/79

(1) encourage ANC to renounce violence once a few off
in spirit - 1/2 on making killing black (Zulus etc)
speak out against black

What steps
The steps
already taken

Those steps will help nurture the climate for negotiations toward a new system based on equal rights and opportunities. It is imperative that the opposition not miss this opportunity to negotiate seriously a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the horror of apartheid. We are encouraged by signs that all sides share a growing commitment to this negotiating process. We stand ready to support this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker has just returned from South Africa, where he met with President de Klerk and the leading members of the black opposition. He met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have also invited both President de Klerk and Mister Mandela to meet with me at the White House. I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation. We must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority. American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for change. And we will make clear our strong conviction that multi-party democracy based on a vigorous free-enterprise system represents the best model for any successful society.

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*Feeling in a Guise. hospital
a black kid etc*

Salute David Keatts
xxxx

8

accomplish.\\ We must again work in solidarity to better our schools.

I have discussed just a few of the many ways in which we are trying to fight against poverty and for opportunity to build a better America. ((And I could go on. But I am reminded of the died in service joke) preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about.

~~Someone shouted from the back row: "How about five minutes?"~~\\

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A: For those who died in service
kids Really? - then 9 o'clock or 11 o'clock
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4/2/90

Advance copy of Africa insert
for the President's remarks to
the Joint Center.

NOT CLEARED BY SCOWCROFT YET.

Introduction

Africa faces daunting challenges of overcoming poverty, underdevelopment, disease and famine. In many parts of the continent, tragic conflicts that compound the suffering of the people.

Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, we can see the most horrifying example of human tragedy, as potentially millions of people again face starvation. On previous occasions, the world community has come to the aid of the Ethiopian people, responding with an outpouring of food and medicine. Today, we and other countries, together with the United Nations, are ready again to move in with food to prevent mass starvation. Unfortunately, the civil war raging in precisely the areas of greatest need prevents the movement of relief convoys. And the principal port through which relief must flow is blocked as the result of military action. All the parties to this conflict have an obligation to permit food to reach the people, and most especially the Government in Addis Ababa.

Southern Africa

Tonight, however, I would like to focus your attention on another portion of the continent--southern Africa. In this region, American diplomacy has worked hard to resolve the conflicts and to hasten the day when apartheid will end. Tonight, I would like to speak to you about our policy toward southern Africa, and the role that we as Americans can play in helping to bring peace and prosperity to this beautiful corner of the world.

Already there has been some real progress in the region. Thanks to a U.S.-brokered agreement, Namibia is now independent, and Cuban troops are leaving Angola. South Africa's troops have all returned home, and their incursions into neighboring countries appear to have stopped.

Given these changed circumstances, what are the prospects for peace in this still troubled region, and how can we as Americans help?

The answers are not simple. Each of the conflicts in the region -- in South Africa, in Angola, and in Mozambique -- has its own specifics.

South Africa

Americans are united in their abhorrence of apartheid, and firm in their desire to see a non-racial democracy emerge in South Africa. Today, with the exciting potential for momentous

change, we should be equally united in identifying principles we can support in a new South Africa. And, we should have a clear idea of the role which we can play in assisting in that transformation.

A First, our aims. I do not mean to suggest that the U.S. has a magic formula, or its own set of demands. On the contrary. We recognize that it is up to South Africans--all South Africans--to decide their own future. However, there are certain fundamental principles that we believe the negotiating parties should take into consideration.

We look for a genuine, non-racial democracy, open to equal participation by all South Africans. The details of how that democracy should function can be determined only by South Africans themselves. But the ultimate constitutional provisions, the framework for non-racial democracy, will have to be acceptable to an overwhelming majority of all South Africans. And the franchise, so long denied to so many, must be open to all South Africans on an equal basis.

A We look for the rule of law, with defined and equal rights for all citizens of South Africa. And we expect that the fundamental liberties required for a democratic society will be guaranteed. Experience has proved in many countries that an independent judiciary is critical to ensure the protection of these rights and liberties.

We look for an economic framework that provides equal opportunities to all South Africans, while maximizing the economic well-being of the country. In today's world, it is increasingly apparent that excessive state control of an economy is inefficient and wasteful, and cannot deliver the improvement in living standards that politicians promise. South Africa desperately needs to address the inequities of the past. The minimal educational, housing, and health needs of the majority of the population are not being met. As populations surge, and these unmet needs expand, the resources needed to accomplish this will be found only in a healthy, vibrant market-based economy, open to private investment and individual initiative.

But can South Africa make this leap? And how?

A After forty years of apartheid, it should be clear that violence is not a solution. The government's attempts to enforce apartheid through force and repression have utterly failed, as popular opposition to white-minority rule has intensified. Violent attacks on government targets inside South Africa have equally failed, and have had no positive impact. Most tragically, the senseless violence perpetrated by blacks, against blacks, has become a major impediment to rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement. The violence on all sides must stop.

A
There is really no alternative to a negotiated solution. I am convinced that both the Government, and its opponents, are now sincere in their desire to get negotiations underway. There are obstacles that remain. Not all political prisoners have been released. The State of Emergency continues, with a chilling effect on the ability of the opposition to organize and prepare itself for negotiations. All parties must dedicate their efforts to the negotiating process, turning away from residual efforts at repression, intimidation and violence.

As I have already mentioned, South Africans themselves must do the negotiating, make the compromises, and design and implement new political structures. Outsiders should not dictate either the results, or how to achieve them.

We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of South Africa. It is an issue in which the United States is already involved and about which many Americans care deeply. What tools are available to us to bring about change, and how can we employ them?

First, we will remain engaged diplomatically with South Africa. We want to facilitate the negotiating process, and thus will keep our dialogue going with all parties in South Africa. Secretary of State Baker was just in South Africa, and met with President de Klerk, as well as leading members of the black opposition. He also met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have invited both President de Klerk, and Mr. Mandela, to meet with me at the White House, and we will continue to look for ways we can be helpful.

Second, we will continue our existing program of assistance to the disadvantaged majority in South Africa. We have provided scholarships, grants to community organizations, literacy training, assistance to black business, and other programs to help prepare black South Africans for participation on post-apartheid South Africa.

Third, we see a role for American businesses remaining in South Africa, exercising leadership in working for change, in providing equal employment opportunity, and training and management experience for the disadvantaged and disenfranchised majority.

Fourth, we will look for ways in which we can directly support the negotiating process. We don't want to appear to take sides, or endorse one party to the exclusion of another. But there will be ways in which we can provide some assistance.

Fifth, this Administration will continue to enforce the provisions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Although I vigorously opposed adoption of this legislation, the sanctions it

enacted are the law of the land, and we are committed to enforcing the law. That legislation provides for a certain measure of flexibility--once certain conditions are met. While not all those conditions have yet been met, let me state clearly what my position is. The United States is committed to the irreversible end of apartheid. Lifting sanctions before apartheid ends would send the wrong signal to the South African Government, to that country's democratic opposition, and to the world community. However, we also want to encourage and nurture progress toward our ultimate goal. We also do not want to move the goal posts established in our sanctions legislation. Accordingly, once the conditions laid out in the CAAA are met, I will carefully consider lifting or modifying some of the existing sanctions, while retaining the core elements as encouragement for further progress.

Finally, American influence is best exercised when we speak with one voice on both our goals and our methods. I believe we can forge a strong bipartisan consensus. I am prepared to do my part, and I will work with the Congress as we proceed, including on sanctions.

Angola

Angola is a country of great richness and promise. It has vast mineral wealth, is a major exporter of oil, and has the potential to feed both itself and its neighbors. And yet, it is a country that has never known a day of peace.

Angola began its independence with broken promises. Instead of the coalition transitional government, and free multi-party elections that had been agreed to by all parties, Independence Day saw a full-blown civil war raging. Earlier, an expeditionary force of Cuban combat troops was dispatched to assist one of the parties -- the MPLA -- to seize complete power in Luanda. The USSR supported its client to the hilt with military assistance, and the South Africans intervened with their own troops in opposition to Luanda and its patrons.

Thanks to years of painstaking and persistent American diplomacy, spearheaded by former Assistant Secretary of State Chet Crocker, many of these external factors have been resolved. The South Africans have left Angola and Namibia. Over half of the 50,000 Cuban troops who were in Angola a little over a year ago are now gone. All of the remaining troops will be out by July of next year. Both the U.S. and the USSR agree that there can be no military solution to the civil war, and that peace can be achieved only through negotiations. Twenty-two African leaders met in Zaire last June to launch a peace process under African auspices, and the mediation of President Mobutu of Zaire.

And yet, the war rages on. Angolans are dying, not only in

battle but from starvation as agricultural production remains devastated by the fighting.

We are committed to seeking a peaceful end to this conflict. We have no desire to see it continue. However, it will end only through the genuine reconciliation of all Angolans, on a basis acceptable to all Angolans.

Reconciliation can be achieved only through discussion, dialogue and compromise. While we will continue to provide assistance to UNITA until reconciliation is achieved, we do not seek the overthrow of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. Rather, we seek an early end to the fighting, direct negotiations between the GPRA and UNITA, and establishment of a government that respects fundamental human rights, is genuinely democratic, and is representative of all the people of Angola.

President Mobutu has our full confidence as mediator in this conflict. We will continue to look for ways in which we can be helpful in moving the peace process forward.

Mozambique

Although the war in Mozambique is profoundly different from the one in Angola, the suffering is equally tragic. The guerrilla movement, RENAMO, is relentless in its brutality. Millions of Mozambicans have fled their country, principally to Malawi, whose people and government have valiantly undertaken the burden of hosting them. Millions more are displaced inside their own country.

Last month, I met with President Chissano, who is committed to far-reaching political and economic reforms. Mozambique is debating a new constitution which will guarantee fundamental human rights, and go a long way toward establishing genuine democracy.

President Chissano is equally committed to seeking an end to the civil war, and has agreed to discussions with RENAMO without preconditions. I salute this step. We support the government, and stand ready to assist in any way we can.

Namibia

I would like to conclude by addressing a real success story. Namibia, the world's newest country, has an importance not reflected in the size of its population. For years, its liberation was a cherished goal of many countries, including the United States. I don't need to repeat here the story of how the United States brokered the agreements that cleared the way to independence. But we are very proud of our role.

This success took the cooperation and hard work of many people and organizations. I would like to mention in particular that the United Nations, its Secretary-General, and the hardworking and dedicated staff of UNTAG, deserve much of the credit for the successful transition to independence.

The principal credit, however, must go to the people of Namibia. In their first free election, they provided a lesson to the world of the value of democracy. Their elected representatives produced a constitution that can serve as a model, guaranteeing fundamental human rights, establishing a multi-party democracy. And the new government has moved toward reconciliation of all races and points of view, and is committed to a vital role for private enterprise.

It is critically important that Namibia be given every chance to demonstrate that a multi-racial, multi-party democracy can prosper in southern Africa. We want to contribute to making Namibia a success. Therefore, I have asked Secretary Baker to work with Congress to ensure that at least \$10,000,000 of U.S. assistance will be made available to Namibia this fiscal year.

Conclusion

Nearly thirty years ago, speaking in Cape Town, British Prime Minister McMillan first spoke of the winds of change blowing in South Africa. For many years the winds blew throughout southern Africa, but change was painfully slow. And what change there was, was not always for the better. Now, the winds have reached gale force, and expectations have grown accordingly. Change now seems inevitable--in South Africa and throughout the region. We must look for responsible and effective ways in which we Americans can help ensure that the changes are constructive, bringing liberty, justice and prosperity to all the people of southern Africa.

Drafted:JMOrdway

3/25/90

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 3, 1990

TO: SPEECHWRITERS

FROM: JOHN ORDWAY

Attached is the final version of the Africa portion for the President's speech. General Scowcroft approved this version last night.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

AFRICA INSERT DRAFT #2

Revised per Scowcroft's instructions
for 1-1/2 pages, double spaced.

This is not cleared with Scowcroft
yet.

Cut back
version
per Scowcroft's
request!

, a common refrain echoed through the history of our times: "We shall overcome."

//AFRICA INSERT//

In Africa, there is still much to be overcome: poverty, backwardness, disease, starvation and war. We are working to overcome these problems throughout the continent. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to pour in food to save millions facing starvation. Tragically, the war that rages there prevents our access to these people in need. The political leaders in Ethiopia must heed the appeal of the world, and let the food move to all in need.

The eyes of the world are also focused on South Africa, where there now appears to be the first faint glimmers of hope that apartheid may soon be overcome. There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the Government and from the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk and his government have undertaken some significant steps--unbanning political parties, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But there must be more. The State of Emergency must end, and political prisoners released. There must be an end to the tragic cycles of violence--and this will take the resolve and courage of all South African leaders, black and white.

But what is new and exciting is the obvious desire to negotiate seriously on the framework for a truly democratic South Africa, freed of the horror of apartheid. We stand ready to help nurture this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker was just in South Africa, and met with President de Klerk,

as well as leading members of the black opposition. He also met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have invited both President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to meet with me at the White House, and we will continue to look for ways we can be helpful. We will continue our programs of assisting the disadvantage majority. We want to see the American business that remain in South Africa working for change.

American influence is best exercised when we speak with one voice. I believe we can forge a strong bipartisan consensus on South Africa. I am prepared to do my part, and I will work with the Congress as we proceed.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

2470

DATE: 3/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/2/90 10:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	BENNETT	☒	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 AM, Monday, April 2, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

April 2, 1990

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

NSC clears the Presidential address for the Joint Center for Policy Studies on April 4, with one deletion on page 6. Insert on Africa will be forwarded separately.

Brent Scowcroft

cc: James W. Cicconi

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

30 MAR 30 P 3: 38

Ep: 69 S 2012

1990 MAR 30 PM 1:52

Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
March 29, 1990
Draft: Five

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT CTR. POLICY STUDIES, HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friends, Elsie and [[husband]] Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

*Do it?
out of house
many?*

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. And this new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Policy Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. And as Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

On this day, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, martyrdom, the world looks to Montgomery, Alabama -- to the granite wall of the new civil rights memorial. And through a veil of flowing water we read these words from the Bible: ". . . let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."\\

Like a mighty river, justice can cut a channel through the hardest of stone. And, like a mighty river seeking the sea, *???* justice can be impeded. But its quest is unstoppable -- in the *The simile escapes me* end, justice cannot be denied.\\\

Last month, a distinguished group of fifteen black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed everything from the importance of black history in American education, to South Africa, to our struggle to rid this nation of drugs and crime.

Together, we walked outside, *on* one of those beautiful Washington days we all live for. And, together we strolled around to the Residence, up to the Lincoln Bedroom, with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that impresses Barbara and me, *Needed?* [and impressed Vaclav Havel when he joined us there?] It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It is impressive because he **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and

Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. But Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom. And so all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was just weary. But in any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on his most important decision. And then Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, ~~millions were freed.~~ *Do we know this?*

Together, we felt the greatness of the events that had taken place in that small room, and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. I know that for Barbara and me, it was certainly a very special moment, one that leads to me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the Presidency that haven't changed since that freedom midnight. Every president is

challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

So when Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt asked Marion Anderson to sing ((the Battle Hymn of the Republic at the White House)), they were living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

When Ike Eisenhower acted decisively to protect a school girl in Little Rock, he was living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

When Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, he was living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

I believe that the day will come -- and it is not far off -- when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled -- when a black man or woman will sit in the Oval Office. And when that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how easily and how naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them black, inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: **Is one of them my successor? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?**

But I know we aren't quite there yet. I know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. So I will support, and intend to sign into law, a measure to collect as much information as we can on crimes motivated by religious, racial or ethnic animosity -- the Hate Crimes Bill.\\ And that is why I

will only appoint energetic defenders of our civil rights to the Civil Rights Commission.\\\

In my many meetings, black Americans have challenged me to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. Now let me challenge you to work with my Administration, from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of **all** barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, **we** can instill values. **We** can cultivate character.

Your own publications debunk the myth of black indifference and dependency. Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times.

So what we need now is a new partnership, one that draws inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country

Need
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roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, **where Nelson Mandela is a free man.**\\

ANC is
not the only
interlocutor.
"Reconciliation"
is a bit
much to
hope for

~~Where Mister Mandela and President DeKlerk are gradually moving~~

~~toward negotiation, and we hope, reconciliation.~~\\

((Insert on Africa to come))

Has the world known more improbable heroes than these sons of South Africa, white and black? Or Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives -- then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. And here in the District, I held a so-called border baby suffering the agony of withdrawal.

But everywhere I went, I also found hope. I found people who have had ~~had~~ enough of fear, had enough of crime, had enough of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of this poor neighborhood are rallying together,

using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear.

We must march with them in a solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge and skills.

Many young men and women in this country -- white, as well as black -- are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basic skills they need to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**

We are used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people, too few jobs -- a game of musical chairs that leaves minorities standing when the music stops.

But in the years to come, our problem will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs -- and too few qualified people to fill them. Think about what that means. For every child growing up today -- black or white -- there will be a job waiting.\\ The question is whether that child will have the education and the skills to seize that opportunity. The new service and manufacturing industries will require higher skills, more training and, at the very least, literacy. I am delighted Congress passed our youth training wage last year. But we need to do more. **After all, equal opportunity begins with equal education.**

So we must again work in a solidarity to better our schools. You know my proposals. First, I believe parents deserve choice.

They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school.

And where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

((I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\

So let me say in conclusion, straight from the heart: This is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers.

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
April 2, 1990
Draft: Six

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT. CTR. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES
HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friend, Elsie Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. As Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

x3

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

9 On this day, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, martyrdom, the world looks to Montgomery, Alabama -- to the granite wall of the new civil rights memorial. Through a veil of flowing water we read these words from the Bible: ". . . let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."\\

Like a mighty river, justice can cut a channel through the hardest of stone. In the end, its quest is unstoppable because justice cannot be denied.\\\

Not long ago, a distinguished group of fifteen black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed everything from my meetings with Czechoslovakia's new playwright President Vaclav Havel, to our struggle to rid this nation of drugs and crime.

After lunch, we walked outside. Together we strolled across the South Lawn driveway and through the Diplomatic Reception Room, into the Residence, and up to the Lincoln Bedroom. It's an impressive room with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that's so powerful? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It's that Lincoln **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. And now that Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom, all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was weary. In any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on such an important decision. Then Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, millions were freed.

Together, those of us in his room, felt the greatness of the events that had taken place there, and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. That very special moment led me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the Presidency -- responsibilities that haven't changed since that midnight of freedom in 1863. Every president since has been challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

So when Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt asked Marian Anderson to sing at the White House, they were fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

When Ike Eisenhower acted decisively to protect school kids in Little Rock, he was fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

And when Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, he too was fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

I believe that the day will come -- and it is not far off -- when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue -- when a black man or woman will sit in the Oval Office. When that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: **Will one of them be President? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?**

But I also know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. That is why I told Ben Hooks and Coretta Scott King and so many others in the Civil Rights movement that I would use this office -- this bully pulpit -- to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry and hate.\\

Black Americans have challenged me and my Administration to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. I

accept that challenge. Now let me ask you to work with us from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of **all** barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in hard work and well-earned rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, **we** can instill values. Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times. Working together, **we** can cultivate character.

In future we must pay + for our work
 We must draw inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, *from* the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, **where Nelson Mandela is a free man.**\\

If I may, I would like to take just a moment to discuss America's Africa policy, for change is sweeping this troubled continent. But this time change brings opportunity. So let us work together to help the peoples of Africa to overcome poverty backwardness, disease, starvation and war. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to deliver tons of food to save millions facing starvation. A tragic war now prevents our access to those most in need. The political leaders in Ethiopia must heed the appeal of the world. **They must not let their people starve.**

But, South Africa is of special concern, because we can now take hope that **the age of apartheid is nearing a close.** There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the government and the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk has already taken the first bold steps -- lifting the ban on political parties and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But more must be done. The State of Emergency must end and political prisoners must be released. Most of all, there must be an end to the tragic cycle of violence -- a task that demands great courage and resolve from all South African leaders, black and white.

We are inspired by the obvious desire of all sides to seriously negotiate a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the shame of apartheid. We stand ready to help nurture this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker has just returned from South Africa, where he met with President de Klerk and the leading members of the black

opposition. He met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have also invited both President de Klerk and Mister Mandela to meet with me at the White House. I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation. We must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority. Those American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for reform.

5707 ~~In short, we can~~ ^{WE MUST} all work for change. We can best do so when America speaks with one voice. So let us work together to forge a strong consensus on South Africa -- one that unites all Americans -- of all races, of both parties -- in a noble cause.\\

In America, we also seek the fulfillment of a noble cause - - to overcome obstacles to opportunity. And in this cause, let us look to the heroes of our times. Has the world known more improbable heroes than Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives - -then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict

had slain a policeman. In Houston, at Acres Homes, I talked with citizens who had seen their community ravaged by drug pushers.

But everywhere I went, I found hope. I found people who have **had enough** of fear, **had enough** of crime, **had enough** of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of these neighborhoods are rallying together, using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear. 

 We must march with them in solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge.

Many young men and women in this country are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basics -- to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**\\ We need to improve the quality of education for all Americans -- and raise our expectations for what we know our children can learn and accomplish.\\\

So we must again work in solidarity to better our schools. You know my proposals. Parents deserve choice. They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school. Where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

I have discussed just a few of the many ways in which we are trying to build a better America. ((And I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\ We've talked about the struggle against crime and fear, the struggle for better education and opportunity. But the bottom line is this: When the morning comes, will we work together for what we have applauded tonight?\\ I have seen your good works. I know that we will.\\

I believe we all feel that this is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream.. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers. -7

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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GEN. SCOWCROFT'S APPROVED INSERT

, a common refrain echoed through the history of our times: "We shall overcome."

//AFRICA INSERT//

In Africa, there is still much to be overcome: poverty, backwardness, disease, starvation and war. We are working to overcome these problems throughout the continent. We continue to seek actively national reconciliation in Angola, and we support the efforts of President Chissano to end the fighting in Mozambique. We are looking for ways we can help the newly independent nation of Namibia. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to pour in food to save millions facing starvation. Tragically, the war that rages there prevents our access to these people in need. I call upon the political leaders of Ethiopia to give the highest priority to humanitarian relief by opening all available corridors for the urgent movement of food supplies. And I appeal to other members of the United Nations to use their influence to achieve this vital objective.

The eyes of the world are also focused on South Africa, where leaders on all sides now appear to be in agreement that the odious system of apartheid must end. There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the Government and from the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk and his government have undertaken some significant steps--unbanning political parties, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But there must be more. The State of Emergency must end, and political prisoners released. There must be an end to the tragic cycles of violence--and this will take the resolve and courage of

all South African leaders, black and white.

Those steps will help nurture the climate for negotiations toward a new system based on equal rights and opportunities. It is imperative that the opposition not miss this opportunity to negotiate seriously on the framework for a truly democratic South Africa, freed of the horror of apartheid. We are encouraged by signs that all sides share a growing commitment to this negotiating process. We stand ready to support this effort in any way we can. Secretary Baker was just in South Africa, and met with President de Klerk, as well as leading members of the black opposition. He also met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have invited both President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to meet with me at the White House, and we will continue to look for ways we can be helpful. We will continue our programs of assisting the disadvantaged majority. We want to see American business remain in South Africa working for change. And we will make clear our own strong conviction that multi-party democracy based on a vigorous free-enterprise system represents the best model for any successful society.

American influence is best exercised when we speak with one voice. I believe that a basic bipartisan consensus on South Africa now exists and can be sustained in the future. I am prepared to do my part, and I will work with the Congress as we proceed.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/2/90 10:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	BENNETT	☒	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 AM, Monday, April 2, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

OK Bruce Zimm from

S.R.

90 MAR 2 2:20 PM

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

1990 MAR 30 PM 1:52

Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
March 29, 1990
Draft: Five

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Together, we walked outside, one of those beautiful Washington days we all live for. And, together we strolled around to the Residence, up to the Lincoln Bedroom, with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that impresses Barbara and me, and impressed Vaclav Havel when he joined us there? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It is impressive because he **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and

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But I know we aren't quite there yet. I know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. So I will support, and intend to sign into law, a measure to collect as much information as we can on crimes motivated by religious, racial or ethnic animosity -- the Hate Crimes Bill.\\ And that is why I

will only appoint energetic defenders of our civil rights to the Civil Rights Commission.\\\

In my many meetings, black Americans have challenged me to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. Now let me challenge you to work with my Administration, from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of all barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, we can instill values. We can cultivate character.

Your own publications debunk the myth of black indifference and dependency. Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times.

So what we need now is a new partnership, one that draws inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country

roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, where Nelson Mandela is a free man.\\
 Where Mister Mandela and President DeKlerk are gradually moving toward negotiation, and we hope, reconciliation.\\\

((Insert on Africa to come))

Has the world known more improbable heroes than these sons of South Africa, white and black? Or Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives -- then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. And here in the District, I held a so-called border baby suffering the agony of withdrawal.

But everywhere I went, I also found hope. I found people who have **had had enough** of fear, **had enough** of crime, **had enough** of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of this poor neighborhood are rallying together,

using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear.

We must march with them in a solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge and skills.

Many young men and women in this country -- white, as well as black -- are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basic skills they need to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**

We are used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people, too few jobs -- a game of musical chairs that leaves minorities standing when the music stops.

But in the years to come, our problem will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs -- and too few qualified people to fill them. Think about what that means. For every child growing up today -- black or white -- there will be a job waiting.\ The question is whether that child will have the education and the skills to seize that opportunity. The new service and manufacturing industries will require higher skills, more training and, at the very least, literacy. I am delighted Congress passed our youth training wage last year. But we need to do more. **After all, equal opportunity begins with equal education.**

So we must again work in a solidarity to better our schools. You know my proposals. First, I believe parents deserve choice.

They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school.

And where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

((I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\

So let me say in conclusion, straight from the heart: This is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers.

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/2/90 10:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	<u>WINSTON</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>PINKERTON</u>	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>BENNETT</u>	☒	☐
GRAY	☒	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	<u> </u>	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 AM, Monday, April 2, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

McClure 4/2
 12:21 PM 90 MAR 2

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

, a common refrain echoed through the history of our times: "We shall overcome."

//AFRICA INSERT//

In Africa, there is still much to be overcome: poverty, backwardness, disease, starvation and war. We are working to overcome these problems throughout the continent. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to pour in food to save millions facing starvation. Tragically, the war that rages there prevents our access to these people in need. The political leaders in Ethiopia must heed the appeal of the world, and let the food move to all in need.

The eyes of the world are also focused on South Africa, where there now appears to be the first faint glimmers of hope that apartheid may soon be overcome. There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the Government and from the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk and his government have undertaken some significant steps--unbanning political parties, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But there must be more. The State of Emergency must end, and political prisoners released. There must be an end to the tragic cycles of violence--and this will take the resolve and courage of all South African leaders, black and white.

But what is new and exciting is the obvious desire to negotiate seriously on the framework for a truly democratic South Africa, freed of the horror of apartheid. We stand ready to help nurture this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker was just in South Africa, and met with President de Klerk,

as well as leading members of the black opposition. He also met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have invited both President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to meet with me at the White House, and we will continue to look for ways we can be helpful. We will continue our programs of assisting the disadvantage majority. We want to see the American business that remain in South Africa working for change.

American influence is best exercised when we speak with one voice. I believe we can forge a strong bipartisan consensus on South Africa. I am prepared to do my part, and I will work with the Congress as we proceed.

Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
April 2, 1990
Draft: Six

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT. CTR. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES
HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friend, Elsie Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. As Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

On this day, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, martyrdom, the world looks to Montgomery, Alabama -- to the granite wall of the new civil rights memorial. Through a veil of flowing water we read these words from the Bible: ". . . let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."\\

Like a mighty river, justice can cut a channel through the hardest of stone. **In the end, its quest is unstoppable because justice cannot be denied.**\\\

Not long ago, a distinguished group of fifteen black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed everything from my meetings with Czechoslovakia's new playwright President Vaclav Havel, to our struggle to rid this nation of drugs and crime.

After lunch, we walked outside. Together we strolled across the South Lawn driveway and through the Diplomatic Reception Room, into the Residence, and up to the Lincoln Bedroom. It's an impressive room with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that's so powerful? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It's that Lincoln **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. And now that Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom, all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was weary. In any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on such an important decision. Then Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, millions were freed.

Together, those of us in his room, felt the greatness of the events that had taken place there, and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. That very special moment led me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the Presidency -- responsibilities that haven't changed since that midnight of freedom in 1863. Every president since has been challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

So when Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt asked Marian Anderson to sing at the White House, they were fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

When Ike Eisenhower acted decisively to protect school kids in Little Rock, he was fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

And when Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, he too was fulfilling the legacy of Lincoln.

I believe that the day will come -- and it is not far off -- when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue -- when a black man or woman will sit in the Oval Office. When that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: **Will one of them be President? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?**

But I also know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. That is why I told Ben Hooks and Coretta Scott King and so many others in the Civil Rights movement that I would use this office -- this bully pulpit -- to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry and hate.\\\

Black Americans have challenged me and my Administration to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. I

accept that challenge. Now let me ask you to work with us from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of **all** barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in hard work and well-earned rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, **we** can instill values. Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times. Working together, **we** can cultivate character.

We must draw inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, **where Nelson Mandela is a free man.**\\

If I may, I would like to take just a moment to discuss America's Africa policy, for the winds of change are again sweeping this troubled continent. But this time change brings opportunity. So let us work together to help the peoples of Africa to overcome poverty backwardness, disease, starvation and war. In Ethiopia, we stand ready to deliver tons of food to save millions facing starvation. A tragic war now prevents our access to those most in need. The political leaders in Ethiopia must heed the appeal of the world. **They must not let their people starve.**

But, South Africa is of special concern, because we can now take hope that **the age of apartheid is nearing a close.** There are new signs of flexibility and commitment, both from the government and the opponents of apartheid. President de Klerk has already taken the first bold steps -- lifting the ban on political parties and releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. But more must be done. The State of Emergency must end and political prisoners must be released. Most of all, there must be an end to the tragic cycle of violence -- a task that demands great courage and resolve from all South African leaders, black and white.

We are inspired by the obvious desire of all sides to seriously negotiate a framework for a truly democratic South Africa, liberated from the shame of apartheid. We stand ready to help nurture this still fragile process in any way we can. Secretary Baker has just returned from South Africa, where he met

with President de Klerk and the leading members of the black opposition. He met with Nelson Mandela in Namibia. I have also invited both President de Klerk and Mister Mandela to meet with me at the White House. I will spare no effort to bring about positive change in South Africa. But we must practice this diplomacy as a nation. We must continue our programs to assist the disadvantaged majority. Those American businesses that remain in South Africa must work for reform.

In short, we can all work for change. We can best do so when America speaks with one voice. So let us work together to forge a strong consensus on South Africa -- one that unites all Americans -- of all races, of both parties -- in a noble cause.\\

In America, we also seek the fulfillment of a noble cause - - to overcome obstacles to opportunity. And in this cause, let us look to the heroes of our times. Has the world known more improbable heroes than Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives - -then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the

Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. In Houston^{at} ~~Acres~~^{Hong's} project, I talked with citizens who had seen their community ravaged by drug pushers.

But everywhere I went, I found hope. I found people who have **had enough** of fear, **had enough** of crime, **had enough** of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of these neighborhoods are rallying together, using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear.

We must march with them in solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge.

Many young men and women in this country are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basics -- to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**\\ We need to improve the quality of education for all Americans -- and raise our expectations for what we know our children can learn and accomplish.\\

So we must again work in a solidarity to better our schools. You know my proposals. Parents deserve choice. They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school. Where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

I have discussed just a few of the many ways in which we are trying to build a better America. ((And I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\ We've talked about the struggle against crime and fear, the struggle for better education and opportunity. But the bottom line is this: When the morning comes, will we work together for what we have applauded tonight?\\ I have seen your good works. I know that we will.\\

I believe we all feel that this is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers.

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/2/90 10:00 AM

MARKS: JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

(1) Husband not there
 (2) Not last month/Feb.
 (3) Rewrite "Babe + I thilled"
 (4) P.6 - "These" neighborhoods, not "this"
 (5) ~~MARY~~ MARIAN Anderson
 Sang (but not song)
 children → child/chid

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	PINKERTON	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	BENNETT	☒	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 AM, Monday, April 2, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

1990 MAR 30 PM 1:52

Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
March 29, 1990
Draft: Five

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT CTR. POLICY STUDIES, HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friends, Elsie and [[husband]] Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

It's remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. ~~And~~ ^This new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Policy Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. ~~And~~ ^As Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

On this day, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, martyrdom, the world looks to Montgomery, Alabama -- to the granite wall of the new civil rights memorial. And through a veil of flowing water we read these words from the Bible: ". . . let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."\\

Like a mighty river, justice can cut a channel through the hardest of stone. And, like a mighty river seeking the sea, justice can be impeded. ^{in the end,} But its quest is unstoppable -- ~~in the~~ ^{because} end, justice cannot be denied.\\\

Not long ago ~~Last month~~, a distinguished group of ^{fifteen} ~~black~~ black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed ^{my meetings with} ~~everything from the importance of black history in American education, to South Africa,~~ ^{Czechoslovakia's new President Vaclav Havel} ~~to our struggle to rid this nation of~~ drugs and crime.

After lunch

~~Together~~, we walked outside, ~~one of those beautiful~~

Washington days we all live for And, together we strolled ^{across the} ~~South Lawn driveway through the Diplomatic Reception room,~~ ^{It's an impressive room} ~~around~~ to the Residence, up to the Lincoln Bedroom, with its

imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and

Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room

that ^{is so dramatic? powerful?} ~~impresses Barbara and me, and impressed Vaclav Havel when he~~

~~joined us there.~~ It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he

didn't. It ^{is the powerful LINCOLN} ~~is so impressive because he~~ worked there. Because he

made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and

Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. ~~And now that~~ But Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom, ~~and so~~ all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was ~~just~~ weary. ~~But~~ In any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on ~~his most~~ ^{such an} important decision. ~~And~~ Then Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, millions were freed.

Together, ~~we~~ ^{those of us in ~~his~~ his room,} felt the greatness of the events that had taken place ~~in that small room,~~ ^{here} and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. ~~I know that for Barbara and me, it was that special~~ ^{That} ~~certainly a very~~ special moment, ~~one that led me to reflect~~ ^{responsibilities} on the special responsibilities of the Presidency that haven't changed since that ~~freedom~~ ^{of freedom in 1863. A} midnight. ~~Every president is~~ ^{since} ~~is~~ ^A

challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

So when Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt asked Marion Anderson to sing ((the Battle Hymn of the Republic at the White House)), they were ~~living up to~~ ^{fulfilling} the legacy of Lincoln.

When Ike Eisenhower acted decisively to protect a school girl in Little Rock, he was ~~living up to~~ ^{fulfilling} the legacy of Lincoln.

~~And~~ When Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, he ~~too~~ ^{fulfilling} was ~~living up to~~ the legacy of Lincoln.

I believe that the day will come -- and it is not far off --
 - when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled -- when a ~~black man or woman~~ ^{at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue} will sit in the Oval Office. ~~and~~ When that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how ~~easily~~ ^{and how} naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them ~~black~~ inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: ~~is one of them~~ ^{will one of them} ~~be President?~~ ^{be President?} ~~then my successor?~~ Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?

But ~~I know we aren't quite there yet.~~ ^{also} I know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. ~~So I will support,~~ ^{That is why I told} ~~and intend to sign into law, a measure to collect as much~~ Ben Hooks and Coretta Scott King and so many others in the information as we can on crimes motivated by religious, racial or Civil Rights movement that I would use this office -- this ethnic animosity -- the Hate Crimes Bill. ~~And that is why I~~ bully pulpit -- ~~to condemn at every opportunity~~ to condemn in the strongest terms racism bigotry and hate.

~~will only appoint energetic defenders of our civil rights to the
Civil Rights Commission. \\~~

~~In my many meetings,~~ Black Americans have challenged me to ^{and my} ~~live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement.~~ ^{Admin}
let me ^{ask} ~~challenge~~ you to work with ^{us} ~~my Administration,~~ from this
day forward, to build a better America. \\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of all barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, we can instill values. We can cultivate character.

~~Your own publications debunk the myth of black indifference and dependency.~~ Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times.

~~So what we need now is a new partnership, one that draws~~ ^{must}
inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country

roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, **where Nelson Mandela is a free man.**\\
Where Mister Mandela and President DeKlerk are gradually moving toward negotiation, and we hope, reconciliation.\\\

((Insert on Africa to come))

Africa must OK
Has the world known more improbable heroes than ~~these sons of South Africa, white and black?~~ Or Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives -- then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. *In (Houston housing park) I talked with* ~~And here in the District, I held a so-called border baby suffering the agony of withdrawal.~~ *citizens who had taken back their community from drug pushers.*

But everywhere I went, I ~~also~~ found hope. I found people *seen their community ravaged by drug pushers.* who have ~~had~~ had enough of fear, had enough of crime, had enough of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of this ~~poor~~ *etc* neighborhoods are rallying together,

using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear.

We must march with them in ~~a~~ solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge, ~~and skills.~~

Many young men and women in this country ~~white, as well as black~~ are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basics -- ~~skills they need~~ to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**\\

~~We are used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people, too few jobs -- a game of musical chairs that leaves minorities standing when the music stops.~~

~~But in the years to come, our problem will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs -- and too few qualified people to fill them. Think about what that means. For every child growing up today -- black or white -- there will be a job waiting. The question is whether that child will have the education and the skills to seize that opportunity. The new service and manufacturing industries will require higher skills, more training and, at the very least, literacy. I am delighted~~

~~Congress passed our youth training wage last year. But we need~~

~~to do more.~~ *We need to improve the quality of education for all Americans*
~~After all, equal opportunity begins with equal~~
~~and raise our expectations for what we know our children~~
~~education.~~ *can learn and accomplish.*\\

So we must again work in a solidarity to better our schools.

You know my proposals. ~~First, I believe~~ *P*arents deserve choice.

They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school.

*better
copy*
And where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

((I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\

So let me say in conclusion, straight from the heart: This is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers.

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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OLD
VERSION

AFRICA INSERT

If I may, I would like to take just a moment to discuss America's Africa policy, for the winds of change are again sweeping this troubled continent. But this time change brings opportunity. So let us work together to help the peoples of Africa to achieve freedom, dignity and prosperity, from Ethiopia to Angola, from Mozambique to Mali.\\ Tonight I want to address one area of particular concern to us all -- the future of South Africa.

America has a special interest in South Africa because we, too, have had to confront racial injustice and work for national reconciliation. But the American experience is also very different; leaving us with no magic formulas to offer. On the contrary, it is up to South Africans -- all South Africans -- to create their future. And as they do, we hope that all parties will be guided by certain fundamental principles.

First, South Africa needs a constitution acceptable to all. It needs to enfranchise the disenfranchised. And it needs to uphold the rule of law, for experience has shown that when a nation strengthens the independence of its judiciary, it safeguards the rights and liberties of the people. **Democracy begins with equal rights for all.**

Such reforms can only be achieved through negotiation. And negotiations must begin with a renunciation of forty years of

violence. The government's attempts to enforce apartheid through force and repression have only strengthened popular opposition to white-minority rule. Violent attacks on government targets inside South Africa have only hardened the hearts of the hard-headed. And most tragic of all have been the acts of senseless violence perpetrated by blacks against blacks. Every time a so-called informer is given a gruesome gasoline necklace; every time a bomb detonates in a shop; every time a policeman takes a baton to a peaceful demonstrator, or an armored-plated carrier crushes a child -- **with every act of violence, every South African loses.** This violence -- from all sides -- impedes rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement. **This violence must stop.**

It must stop because there is no alternative to a negotiated solution. I am convinced that both the government and its opponents sincerely want to negotiate. But obstacles remain. Not all political prisoners have been released. The State of Emergency continues, with a chilling effect on the ability of the opposition to organize and prepare for negotiations. But I also believe that negotiations will begin the moment all parties turn away from the repression, intimidation and violence that remains.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/2/90 10:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	<u>ROGERS</u>	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	<u>WINSTON</u>	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	<u>PINKERTON</u>	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	<u>BENNETT</u>	☒	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 10:00 AM, Monday, April 2, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: See comments, pg. 1, 4, 6.

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



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

NOTICE:

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "David J. Haun". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

David J. Haun
Executive Assistant
to the Director

1990 MAR 30 PM 1:52

Davis/Martin
Title: jcps
March 29, 1990
Draft: Five

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: JOINT CTR. POLICY STUDIES, HILTON
7:30 p.m., Wednesday, April 4, 1990**

((Eddie Williams, David Kearns and Robert Washington, thank you. It is also good to be out on the town with our good friends, Elsie and [[husband]] Hillman. And I would especially like to recognize two of the elected officials among us tonight: David Dinkins -- Your Honor;\\\ and Doug Wilder -- Governor.))\\\

Martin
x3060
It's ^{extraordinary} remarkable to think that in 1968, less than two years before the Joint Center was founded, there were only 200 elected black public officials in all of America. Twenty years later, there are more than 6,000 -- an amazing record.

But you know what I find most heartening of all? It's the way in which black leadership in America has become an ordinary and accepted feature of our national life. And this new leadership has a tremendous resource in the Joint Center for Policy Studies. Voltaire said that no problem can stand the assault of sustained thinking. If that is true, then no problem we face today is a match for the Joint Center, truly one of the leading academies of independent thought in Washington today.

We can see for ourselves, tonight, that Washington is still a city that thrives on ideas. And as Americans from different professions and political parties, we are together on this wonderful evening to celebrate our shared ideals. We may not

agree on everything, but we agree on a few great things -- liberty, equality, opportunity and justice for all.\\\

On this day, the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, martyrdom, the world looks to Montgomery, Alabama -- to the granite wall of the new civil rights memorial. And through a veil of flowing water we read these words from the Bible: ". . . let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."\\

Like a mighty river, justice can cut a channel through the hardest of stone. And, like a mighty river seeking the sea, justice can be impeded. But its quest is unstoppable -- in the end, justice cannot be denied.\\\

Last month, a distinguished group of fifteen black publishers joined me for lunch in the White House. We discussed everything from the importance of black history in American education, to South Africa, to our struggle to rid this nation of drugs and crime.

Together, we walked outside, one of those beautiful Washington days we all live for. And, together we strolled around to the Residence, up to the Lincoln Bedroom, with its imposing high ceiling, its tall windows, lace curtains and Victorian furnishings. But you know what it is about that room that impresses Barbara and me, and impressed Vaclav Havel when he joined us there? It's not that Lincoln slept there. In fact, he didn't. It is impressive because he **worked** there. Because he made some of his greatest decisions there. It was his office and

Cabinet Room. It was where he signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In a display case, along the wall, is a copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in Lincoln's dignified hand. Above it is a great painting titled "Watch Meeting, Waiting for the Hour." It's a very poignant scene, depicting slaves and their friends gathered around an elderly man, a man who had lived in America all his life, and had never known a minute of freedom. But Lincoln had proclaimed January 1, 1863, as the first day of freedom. And so all their eyes are fixed on a watch -- waiting for the stroke of midnight, waiting to be free.

It is said that Lincoln's hand shook as he dipped his quill into the ink well before he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Perhaps he felt the weight of history. Perhaps he was just weary. But in any event, he waited a moment to steady his hand, so that no one would think he wavered on his most important decision. And then Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation with a firm hand. In a stroke, millions were freed.

Together, we felt the greatness of the events that had taken place in that small room, and the profound consequences of a simple stroke of the pen. In moments like these, history returns as a revelation. I know that for Barbara and me, it was certainly a very special moment, one that leads to me to reflect on the special responsibilities of the Presidency that haven't changed since that freedom midnight. Every president is

challenged to be a part of the legacy of Lincoln, the continuum of freedom.

So when Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt asked Marion Anderson to sing ((the Battle Hymn of the Republic at the White House)), they were living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

When Ike Eisenhower acted decisively to protect a school girl in Little Rock, he was living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

When Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law, he was living up to the legacy of Lincoln.

I believe that the day will come -- and it is not far off -- when the legacy of Lincoln will finally be fulfilled -- when a black man or woman will sit in the Oval Office. And when that day comes, the most remarkable thing about it will be how easily and how naturally it occurs. He or she will be another President, another traveler in the continuum of freedom, representing all the people of America, representing all that is best about America. You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them black, inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: **Is one of them ^{a future President} my successor?** **Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?**

But I know we aren't quite there yet. I know that prejudice and racial tensions still exist in America. ~~* So I will support, and intend to sign into law, a measure to collect as much information as we can on crimes motivated by religious, racial or ethnic animosity -- the Hate Crimes Bill.~~ And that is why I

* Recommend deleting. We are looking at bill now. Hill has made some changes to the bill that may be troublesome/objectionable.

Murr
x4864

will only appoint energetic defenders of our civil rights to the Civil Rights Commission.\\\

In my many meetings, black Americans have challenged me to live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement. Now let me challenge you to work with my Administration, from this day forward, to build a better America.\\

There are new missions for the civil rights movement in the 1990s. From now on, the protection of civil rights must also mean the removal of **all** barriers to opportunity, for there are forms of poverty that cannot be measured or solved by dollars alone.

First and foremost -- there is the poverty of the spirit. Government cannot teach young men and women to have faith in themselves if their mothers and fathers have lost all faith. Government cannot teach that achievement is to be found in quiet moments and subtle rewards, instead of the murderous materialism of easy drug money. But, as leaders, as parents, as communities, **we** can instill values. **We** can cultivate character.

Your own publications debunk the myth of black indifference and dependency. Black Americans have inherited a strong tradition of philanthropy and self help, from the underground railroad to the civil rights struggle of our own times.

So what we need now is a new partnership, one that draws inspiration from achievements both at home and abroad, from the civil rights and Solidarity movements, and from the new hope dawning in South Africa today. For after all, from the country

roads of Selma twenty years ago to the cobbled streets of Warsaw and Budapest today, a common refrain echoes through the history of our times: "We shall overcome." Now the winds of change have come to South Africa, **where Nelson Mandela is a free man.**\\
Where Mister Mandela and President DeKlerk are gradually moving toward negotiation, and we hope, reconciliation.\\\

((Insert on Africa to come))

Has the world known more improbable heroes than ~~these sons~~ of ~~South Africa, white and black?~~ Or Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are. Let us honor them by working together, in solidarity.\\

But opportunity alone is not enough, for there is yet another form of poverty caused by fear. When people, going about the ordinary business of their lives -- waiting for a bus, walking to a corner grocery store -- must fear for their lives -- then fear has stolen our most precious possession -- freedom.

In January, in Kansas City, I saw people who had suffered from crack and crackling bursts of gunfire not heard there since the days of the Old West. In Alexandria, just across the Potomac, I saw another neighborhood where a crack-crazed addict had slain a policeman. And here in the District, I held a so-called ^{"boarder"} ~~border~~ baby" suffering the agony of withdrawal.

But everywhere I went, I also found hope. I found people who have ~~had~~ **had** enough of fear, **had** enough of crime, **had** enough of dope. Just as the people of East Berlin stood up for freedom, so the people of this poor neighborhood are rallying together,

Dale
x3160

HRVL
x5178

using people power to fight for another kind of freedom -- freedom from crime and drugs -- freedom from fear.

We must march with them in a solidarity, side by side, block by block, city by city.

Then there is yet another kind of poverty, a growing poverty of knowledge and skills.

Many young men and women in this country -- white, as well as black -- are simply not learning -- **not learning** -- the basic skills they need to hold down a job or to raise a family. **That is a national disgrace.**

We are used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people, too few jobs -- a game of musical chairs that leaves minorities standing when the music stops.

But in the years to come, our problem will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs -- and too few qualified people to fill them. Think about what that means. For every child growing up today -- black or white -- there will be a job waiting.\ The question is whether that child will have the education and the skills to seize that opportunity. The new service and manufacturing industries will require higher skills, more training and, at the very least, literacy. I am delighted Congress passed our youth training wage last year. But we need to do more. **After all, equal opportunity begins with equal education.**

So we must again work in a solidarity to better our schools. You know my proposals. First, I believe parents deserve choice.

They deserve the power to choose their children's child-care, whether it comes from a grandparent or a church-affiliated center. Parents also deserve one thing more -- the power to choose their children's school.

And where disadvantaged pre-schoolers are concerned, I am asking Congress to boost Head Start by half-a-billion dollars.

((I could go on. But I am reminded of the preacher who asked his congregation what he should speak about. Someone shouted from the back pew: "How about five minutes?"))\\

So let me say in conclusion, straight from the heart: This is no time for politics. This is the time for solidarity. Martin Luther King spoke of an arc of justice, a continuum of freedom. It is our legacy, our freedom legacy, that makes the sons and daughters of this American nation like no other.

I spoke earlier of the Biblical proverb that compared righteousness to a mighty stream. This same vision can be found in a poem by Langston Hughes, who compared the odyssey of black men and women to the crossing of many rivers. And with each crossing, their souls have grown deep -- deep, like the rivers.

This odyssey shaped the soul of a people, and because of black leadership, it is also shaping the soul of our nation.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT:

Joint Center For Policy Studies Draft

A truly eloquent draft that manages also to make some effective points, such as the importance of cultivating character and the connection between the President's advocacy of choice in education and choice in child care.

To these we would only suggest, if space permits, some reference to Secretary Sullivan's efforts to improve the shocking minority health situation; as well as some reference to the established Bush theme of empowering the poor --a tremendously powerful concept that links the President's choice in schools, child care, and housing (e.g., tenant management/ownership, housing vouchers) policies.

Finally, we suggest a small nod toward Wisconsin State Representative Annette (Polly) Williams, who has just achieved a major victory for choice in schools effort that the President supports. Williams, who is a Democrat and black, was the chief sponsor of a successful bill to give the poorest of Milwaukee's schoolchildren the option of attending non-sectarian private schools through a state voucher system. E.g.,

"It's not often that you hear Republicans applauding Democratic politicians, but I want to call attention to a Democratic state representative in Wisconsin named Polly Williams. Representative Williams was the chief sponsor of legislation that will give low-income public-school students in Milwaukee the option of attending non-sectarian private schools. These types of reforms embody the principle that choice empowers people, especially the poorest people."

✓ pg. 4, para. 5, line 8 "You know, I meet a lot of school kids, many of them black, inner-city kids; and I wonder as I look at the faces of brave ten-year-olds swearing to fight drugs: Is one of them my successor? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?"

(more)

A moving image, for which we make two minor suggestions:
 First, we suggest substituting "minority" for "black" in the first sentence in order to make the meaning of inner-city kids more inclusive.

Second, the "my successor" line somehow sounds as if it were coming from a childless monarch wistfully looking for an heir. There is a very slight presumption that is immodest, (or, at least, just a little too incompatible with this President's style) about the word "successor" applied to the Presidency. We suggest something like: "Will one of them assume, as I have, the temporary custody of their country's highest office? Is this the child who will fulfill the legacy?"

6.2.1 "Has the world known more improbable heroes than these of sons of South Africa, white and black? Or Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa? But heroes they are."

Mandela and De Klerk, if they are heroes, are not exactly improbable ones. Rosa Parks and Lech Walesa are better examples of the improbable type, but we suggest not using this description for the two individuals at issue here. More importantly, by putting Mandela and De Klerk on the same level of approval, we run the likely risk of criticism. This audience in particular will not be sympathetic to the notion of there being a moral equivalency between these two men.

###

Wisconsin to Allow Some Students to Use Education 'Vouchers' at Private Schools

By GARY PUTKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Wisconsin lawmakers voted to allow a limited number of Milwaukee students to switch their per-capita state education allotment to private schools, creating the first system of school "vouchers."

The plan is the most radical application yet of the school-choice philosophy in education reform. Similar plans in several states allow students a choice of public schools, with extra funds for the school chosen. But the extension of the idea to private schools has been opposed vehemently by school boards, teachers' unions and public school administrators.

Under the Wisconsin plan, about 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be able to leave the public school system next fall and attend private nonsectarian schools in the city. For each student who elects the option, the state will pay full tuition of up to \$2,500 at the private schools, and subtract the amount spent from the budget of the Milwaukee public schools.

Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, a Republican who has unsuccessfully advocated other state-subsidy proposals for private schooling, said he was "elated" with the state legislature's action and plans to sign the measure into law.

"This takes choice one step further than anywhere else in the country," Mr. Thompson said. "I believe very much in challenges and the free enterprise model. Any time you have a monopoly, you have a potential for stagnation, and a number of public schools have become stagnant."

Robert Peterkin, superintendent of Milwaukee's 97,000-student public system, has supported some forms of school choice in the past, but called the new law "a threat to education." He said the law doesn't take into account racial-balance objectives of the system's desegregation plan, will drain resources from inner-city schools, and contains no mechanism to improve the schools

that lose students.

"The concept that the competitive marketplace will magically make the public school system improve is simplistic," Mr. Peterkin said. "What will cause the system to improve is insistence on achievement and a plan to bring it about. Otherwise, five years from now, we'll be looking for something else."

Mr. Peterkin said the school district "would probably take legal advice" on the ramifications of the plan, but had no immediate plans for a legal challenge.

Wisconsin debates over school choice have been closely watched by political conservatives, including those in the White House. Many conservatives in the past have advocated a wide-open voucher system that would also allow state funding for religious schools. Although the U.S. Supreme Court has in the past looked down on the notion as a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state, many on the right now believe that the conservative majority in the court would allow such a plan.

"I think this is a fabulous first step for Wisconsin," said Ted Sanders, U.S. undersecretary of education. "I assume after some experience Wisconsin might even look at some other possibilities."

Part of the political impetus for the voucher pilot comes from widespread inner-city dissatisfaction with the performance of the public schools. Over the opposition of the Milwaukee school board, the state has allowed funding for about 450 students to attend private kindergartens. Another 450 attend special private schools for "at risk" students at public taxpayers' expense. Most of these students are members of minority groups.

State Rep. Polly Williams, a Democrat with an inner-city Milwaukee district, sponsored the new voucher plan and was Mr. Thompson's main political ally in passing it. Ms. Williams, who is black, said that under the Milwaukee metropolitan desegregation plan, inner-city schools were fixed up and given more resources to attract white students and have wound up excluding many blacks who live nearby.

"The Milwaukee schools constantly ask for more money each year, blame the students and say they can't learn," said Ms. Williams. "But the problem is the schools can't teach. These schools have to change."

Ms. Williams and the governor said they believed demand will exceed the 1,000 slots next fall, leading to possible additional slots in future years.

Fujitsu Ltd.

Fujitsu Ltd., Tokyo, said it will increase its final dividend for the year ending Saturday to five yen (32 cents) a share from

Japan Household Spending Increased 2.5% in January

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TOKYO—Japan's household spending in January rose an adjusted 2.5% from a year earlier, as both wage-earning and nonwage-earning families increased their outlays, the statistics bureau of the prime minister's office said.

Spending by households throughout Japan averaged 294,518 yen (\$1,898) in January, the fifth consecutive month of growth from year-earlier levels. Spending grew 2.5% in November and 1.9% in December.

Wage-earning families spent 311,562 yen, up an adjusted 3.3% from a year earlier. The real income of wage-earning families in the month rose an adjusted 1.2% to 385,947 yen.

Independent business owners and their families spent an average of 263,829 yen, up an adjusted 2.1% from January 1989.

The largest increase was posted in the transportation and communication category, up 18% from a year earlier. A statistics bureau official said a sharp increase in spending on autos in the month helped push this category up.

Spending on furniture and other household wares rose an adjusted 9%, helped by increases from durable goods such as air conditioners.

Japanese households also spent an adjusted 8.4% more on education, compared with a year earlier, according to the report.

Harvard Faculty Unit Backs Rules On Business Ties

By DAVID STIFF

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
BOSTON — Harvard Medical School's faculty council adopted new conflict-of-interest rules that call for close scrutiny of faculty business dealings but are less restrictive than earlier proposals.

The rules previously proposed would have barred faculty members from accepting consulting fees from companies whose products they are testing in human clinical trials. The rules also would have prohibited faculty members from owning stock in companies supporting their research.

These measures came under fire from some faculty members who argued they would chill relationships between faculty members and companies that help move medical advances from laboratory to bedside.

A number of medical schools are mulling new conflict-of-interest policies in light of growing faculty ties with biomedical

15.

Voucher Plan

Continued.....

children in the city of Milwaukee," the Mayor wrote.

Other States' Programs

Most of the handful of programs in other states that allow students to attend private schools at public expense give school districts a role in approving and monitoring the participation of the private schools.

Washington State's private educational clinics, which are not required to operate under contract with a district, were specifically designed as a short-term alternative for students who have not succeeded in the public schools.

The Wisconsin measure most closely resembles the voucher-type plan proposed for Kansas City students in a court case filed last year.

Supporters of that plan are preparing to file an appeal of a federal judge's recent dismissal of the case, said Mr. Coona, who helped fashion the Kansas City plan and who first propounded the idea of vouchers for disadvantaged students in the 1970's.

MARCH 28, 1990 • EDUCATION WEEK

Harvard Business School Students Urge Reforms in Public Schools

A group of Harvard Business School students who spent last summer working for corporations and organizations involved in business-education partnerships has sent a message to the business community: "Address the education crisis now."

In a report on their experiences, the graduate students write: "We began this project with a general sense of civic responsibility. We leave with the conviction that our nation's competitiveness and future standard of living are at stake."

"Today's business leaders cannot wait and pass these problems on to the next generation of business leaders," they write in the report, which will be distributed to associates of the National Alliance of Business.

The project was a joint effort of the N.A.B. and the Harvard Business School and was funded by the H. Ross Perot Foundation. Twenty-one graduate students passed up internships on Wall Street to work in business-education partnership programs in Atlanta, Boston, New York, St. Louis, and Washington.

In each city, students compared and evaluated the effectiveness of a wide range of educational-improvement efforts, applied standard business practices to help improve management of existing initiatives, and helped plan new programs designed

to produce long-term effects.

'Political Pressure' Urged

The report recommends actions in three areas: awareness, political involvement, and accountability.

First, the students urge that business leaders develop a deeper understanding of the complex problems facing schools. To do that, they suggest they use their professional skills to support the management of schools.

Second, they recommend that the business community advocate policy changes at the local, state, and national levels by promoting "true structural reform legislation."

"Change is messy, frustrating, and time-consuming," writes Gregory S. Stroup, who worked as an intern with the Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education Inc. "Business must own the problem and act accordingly. Political pressure on all levels is mandatory."

Third, the report says that the business community should call for regular and sustained assessment of outcomes.

For a copy of the report, "Education: The Next Battleground for Corporate Survival," or more information, contact the National Alliance of Business, Youth in Education Office, 1201 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. —A.B.W.

MARCH 28, 1990 • EDUCATION WEEK •

Voucher System For 1,000 Pupils Adopted in Wis.

Low-Income Students In Milwaukee Targeted

By William Snider

Proponents of private-school choice plans won a major victory late last week when the Wisconsin legislature approved a bill that will give almost 1,000 Milwaukee public-school students the option of attending nonsectarian private schools at state expense.

The measure differs from other voucher-type proposals in that it is specifically aimed at low-income children who are currently enrolled in public schools or have dropped out.

"The state is directly helping families who have drive, who have high expectations, but who don't have money, to vote with their feet," said state Representative Annette Williams, the chief sponsor of the bill.

"We're now going to show that our children can be educated successfully for less than half the money that the Milwaukee schools use to miseducate our students," added Ms. Williams, who also has sponsored legislation, thus far unsuccessful, to create a new district in Milwaukee's inner city that would be mostly black.

Gov. Tommy Thompson has indicated that he will sign the private-school choice measure, according to his aides.

"This is a very historic day for the poor and for civil rights," said John E. Coons, professor of law at the University of California Berkeley and a proponent of vouchers.

"People who have been pretty much entombed in segregated public schools will have a chance to get their civil rights vindicated in the private sector," he said.

The measure passed despite stiff opposition from the state's teacher organizations and Milwaukee public-school officials, who

have succeeded in blocking similar bills in recent years.

"The parents and the private schools make the decisions about who is going where, and we end up paying for it," said Douglas Haselow, a lobbyist for the Milwaukee schools. The district would lose state per-pupil aid for each student who opted to enroll in a private school.

The district, which faces a severe overcrowding problem, had proposed a bill last year that would have allowed it to contract with private schools to provide services for certain students.

Senator's Support Crucial

A key factor in the passage of the private-school-option bill was the support it received from state Senator Gary R. George, who was instrumental in defeating similar bills in the last two sessions proposed by Gov. Tommy Thompson.

Mr. George, the co-chairman of

the legislature's joint committee on finance, attached the measure as a rider to a budget bill that the legislature was forced to act on before it adjourned last week.

"The critical state of the Milwaukee public schools has forced the legislature and the Governor to take this emergency step," said Walter C. Farrell, senior policy adviser to Senator George.

"This may serve to stimulate more results-oriented change than what we have witnessed for the African-American students in the Milwaukee schools, who are woefully underserved," he added.

Representative Williams said she pulled together a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans to support the bill. "Only the white liberals fought it," she said.

Governor Thompson has said he will sign the bill, and will not use his amendatory veto powers to make major changes to it, according to his education aide, Thomas J. Bufara.

"He gave assurances," Mr. Fon-

fara said, "that he was not going to use his veto to make it a statewide program, that he was not going to open it to others who are not low-income, that he wasn't going to lift the limit on the number of students, and that he wasn't going to broaden it to include parochial schools."

Bill's Provisions

Under the new program, which will last five years, no more than 1 percent of Milwaukee's 93,000 students will be permitted to enroll in nonsectarian schools that agree to accept the state's per-pupil aid allotment—approximately \$2,500—as full reimbursement for tuition costs.

The measure limits eligibility to children from families whose annual incomes are no greater than 175 percent of the federal poverty level.

Participating schools must be accredited under the state's existing private-school standards, but will not face additional state requirements under the program, Ms. Williams said.

"We wanted to make sure these schools will continue to be the kinds of schools they were in the beginning," Ms. Williams explained. "They have a track record that you can't question with children that the public schools say can't make it."

At least six schools were active in the drafting of the bill and are eager to participate, she said, and several others expressed interest when the measure moved closer to passage.

A survey of the schools found that they have just enough space available for the expected influx of students, Ms. Williams added.

Mayor John O. Norquist of Milwaukee identified 13 eligible schools in a letter announcing his veto of a resolution passed by the Milwaukee City Council opposing the measure.

"I feel that such alternative programs provide healthy competition for the Milwaukee public schools and will add to the overall effort toward quality education for all chil-

More.....

5. MILWAUKEE PARENTAL CHOICE PROGRAM [1989-91 Change to Current Law: \$2,900,000 GPR and \$2,300,000 GPR-Lapse]

Create a parental choice program in which the state would pay for the cost of pupils in grades kindergarten through twelve who reside in the City of Milwaukee to attend, at no charge, any nonsectarian, private school located in the City, beginning in the 1990-91 school year. Provide that the program would sunset after the 1994-95 school year.

Limit eligibility to any pupil whose total family income does not exceed 175% of the federal poverty level. In addition, establish three limitations on the program's participants: (1) no more than 1% of the Milwaukee Public

Schools membership (pupil count) could attend a private school under the program in any school year; (2) no more than 49% of a private school's enrollment could consist of pupils attending under the parental choice program; and (3) participants would have to be pupils who, in the school year prior to their initial enrollment in private schools under this program, were either enrolled in MPS schools or not enrolled in school at all.

For each pupil, the State Superintendent would pay to the private school an amount equal to 53% of the average cost per pupil for pupils enrolled in the MPS system, provided proof of enrollment in the private school is received from the pupil's parent or guardian. A sum sufficient GPR appropriation would fund the payments to the private schools. However, these payments would be partially offset by a reduction in state equalization aid to MPS. The reduction in aid would be determined by multiplying the district's equalization and supplemental (TIF) aid per member by the number of pupils attending private schools under the parental choice program. Pupils participating in the program would be counted in the school district's membership for equalization aid purposes even though they attend private schools. The aid reduction would lapse to the general fund.

It is estimated that if the maximum number of pupils participate in the program (approximately 930), state payments from the sum sufficient appropriation would be approximately \$2.9 million GPR in 1990-91. However, the pupils would generate an equalization aid offset of approximately \$2.3 million resulting in a net cost of \$0.6 million GPR in 1990-91. The fiscal effect could be lower if participation is less than the maximum number of pupils allowed under the proposal.

*Amended in final passage.
Now revenue-neutral*

March 29, 1990

Polly Williams represents an inner-city Milwaukee district in the Wisconsin Legislature. For years, her constituents have begged her to find a way to let their children go some place other than the local public schools they consider beyond reform. This month, Mrs. Williams persuaded her fellow legislators to pass the nation's first experiment in school vouchers for low-income children. Her efforts may kick-start a new wave of education reform that adds parental choice and competition to the recent flood of tax dollars that have been poured into education.

Polls show a solid majority of Americans favor allowing parents a choice of where to send their children to school. But support varies greatly among income groups. Educational choice has only tepid support among upper-income voters: Their local schools still more or less work. Choice is most popular among minority and lower-income parents, whose children suffer the most from failing public schools.

Under the Williams proposal, which Republican Governor Tommy Thompson will soon sign into law, some 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be allowed to attend private nonsectarian schools next year (to qualify a family of four can earn no more than \$12,000 a year). The state will pay up to \$2,500 in tuition for each student, and subtract the money from the public-school system's budget. Mrs. Williams says parents and their children will finally have the leverage of competition to force change in the ossified Milwaukee public schools. "They waste \$5,000 a year per student, and all they do is treat low-income people like pawns in some game," she told us. "Parents deserve a better choice on where they can spend their tax money."

She points to Urban Day, a private school in her district, as an example of why local parents want choice. Urban Day successfully prepares students for college or vocational school and, at about \$3,000 a year, at much less cost per pupil than the public schools. Donations allow tuition to be set at \$650 a year, and parents also agree to perform 20 hours of volunteer work or pay an extra \$300 a year. Active parental commitment to a school is now widely recognized as a significant reason for the success of a school—public or private.

Mrs. Williams says her support for school vouchers stems from her own experience. A former welfare recipient who raised four children on her

own, she went back to college and was elected to the state Assembly in 1980. A lifelong Democrat and state chair of Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 campaigns, she says many of her fellow liberals put the interests of the education lobby above the welfare of inner-city children. Her first attempt to pass an educational-choice bill failed 54 to 44 last year when white, liberal Democrats refused to join black Democrats and Republicans in support of her bill. "They say they're liberal, but whenever it comes to empowering black people, they stab us in the back," she says. "We want self-determination, not handouts and dependency." She came back to win this year after 200 black parents filled a legislative hearing in Milwaukee to clamor for a voucher plan.

While Mrs. Williams says that competition between public and private schools is an essential element of educational choice, she also supports a program pioneered in Minnesota in 1987 that allows parents to send their high-schoolers to schools in other districts and earn credits in college or vocational programs. Teachers were initially suspicious of the idea, but now 61% of them favor the concept. Elements of the program have been adopted in Utah, Iowa, Arkansas, Nebraska and Ohio. Choice proposals are now being debated in 20 states.

The response of the entrenched education lobby to this groundswell of support for choice is illuminating. Far from questioning the public-school monopoly, school boards, administrators and teacher unions are digging in for trench warfare to protect their rice bowls. The Wisconsin ACLU is already making threatening noises. Michael Brennan of the Wisconsin Education Association Council says advocates of choice want to "shove kids out of the system and hope the problem goes away."

The Educrats also have their own answer to the collapse of public education in the inner cities. They propose that courts mandate that wealthy school districts ship truckloads of money to poorer districts under the guise of "social justice." But at this juncture, one might ask who today are the real forces of reaction?

Parents in Mrs. Williams's district aren't buying any of this. They have painfully learned that more money spent on a failed system does not necessarily produce a better education. They want nothing less than a chance to make their own decisions about the future of their children.