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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

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Folder Title:

[Remarks] to the Community of Los Angeles 5/8/92 [OA 6101] [2]

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Document No. 326535SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Tenight

11:00AM, THURS, MAY

DATE: 5/6/92

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 11:00AM, THURSDAY, MAY 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE: From Ofc. of Legislative Affairs:

General comments: ① IF this is major address of visit, needs to speak more to average Americans. Above all, needs stronger condemnation of violence and rioting.

② Needs a more concrete sense of the President's programs. E.g., give a real-life example of how Weed & Seed might help. A specific comment: Understand intent of first paragraph but cannot continue not really appropriate.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, THURS, MAY 7
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			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 1220, 12930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 10:30AM, THURSDAY, MAY 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments - Thanks.
PK
Faul K.
05/07

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

General comment

→ David Keating → it you mention "law & order" make sure you mention "justice." you mention

DDDM Group Draft One

02 MAY 6 15:28

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

Let me first thank the people of the City of Los Angeles for all they have done to make this visit so successful. With all that has transpired these last few days, I can't imagine the headaches we've probably caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

It was important that I come here. Los Angeles has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for all of us. That's why it's important that I say a few things about this visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and about where we must now go as a country.

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] In sum, on the same city block -- I saw shocking signs of hatred and remarkable signs of hope. (Education) → should be reference to specific examples of assistance the Fed. govt. gave to immediate problems.....

This tragedy has been many, many years in the making. It will take a long time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again", but that would miss the point. Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. The status quo here, and in too many cities across America is not right. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the status quo perpetuates failure, hatred, and despair.

Coat
Imports
↓
Things haven't been right for decades

(OK) General comment → How about mentioning all of reforms beside "weed & social," etc.....

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. Looks to be about eight. Father? Murdered a few years back. Mother? Didn't see her. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. Lives in a tough neighborhood. Think about what he has already been through. And that now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart.

What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be debated. And it should be. Not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.

I believe there are some things that most Americans can agree with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the sixties, lots of different programs have been tried -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, crime, and social decay.

Lots of different programs have tried to address the need for adequate housing, for health care, for education, for job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

[Huge amounts of money have been spent -- some estimates are as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Check the numbers: Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts.]

Dagman pointed out that fed. spending has gone up during POTUS

Put away the studies and look around our cities. Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, odds are 4 out of 10. Our young black men are at a crisis: If you're a black male between 15-25 here in California, you're three times more likely to be murdered than to enter the University of California. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. Between 1987 and 1991, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was in our elementary schools. Numbers for high schools are 10 times as great. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

(OCK)

In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic -- in the wake of the lost generation of inner-city youth: can any of us argue that ~~we~~ ^{any of} solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime? ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{govt.} ~~programs~~ ^{have}

(OCK)

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. [[But you don't need to look further than the graffiti on the next street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plagues our society.]]

Some programs -- I'm thinking of a program like Head Start -- have shown time-tested positive results. But many, many more simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps them there. Our safety net -- as essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The summary fact is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have an absolute responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is to create order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

I have taken a hard look at what the government can do and its responsibility to help communities with the concerns that really matter: how people can own property or a home, how people can start a business and create jobs in the community, ensure that the people not the government are making the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

Think of the way it looks right now to the ordinary person on welfare. Government provides you the money you live on -- the 1st and 15th of every month. Government tells you where you can live -- where your kids go to school. When you're sick -- government tells you what doctor you'll see, and when. If you find part-time work -- you worry that government may cut your welfare benefits. If you save manage to put some money away -- you worry that government may come after you for fraud.

Every one of those things happens with the system we've got right now. ~~And then we wonder why can't these people take control of their lives -- where's their sense of responsibility?~~

If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate

*(over)
don't
attach
the
people
even in
this context.*

dependency -- a system that would strip away personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today.

Excellent!
Daniel
Casse

It's time we tried something different. A fresh approach. I believe we must start with a set of principles -- principles that give the word opportunity real meaning for people. They are very simple: Order is better than disorder. Tolerance is better than intolerance. Work is better than welfare. Opportunity is better than entitlement. Independence is better than dependence. Ownership is better than tenancy. And traditional family values are better than moral relativism and government paternalism.

I believe in policies that foster personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are truly needy, and increase choice and competition in delivering government services. I believe in policies that rely on the community for guidance and that use states as laboratories. I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create jobs.

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

We must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses in America's inner cities.

We must reclaim neighborhoods now ravaged by crime and drugs. *And we must do it in partnership with the neighborhood residents themselves.* We're doing that through a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

~~... [scribbled out text] ...~~

(Justice)

career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services, ^(Justice) And I've sent to Congress ^{(Ed) shortly} today an urgent request to bring Weed and Seed to Los Angeles as soon as possible.

We must break the perverse dis-incentives that discourage work and encourage welfare. We've got to reform our AFDC rules - stop penalizing people who manage to work and save and show individual initiative -- the very things that will help them leave welfare behind.

We must promote new hope through home ownership. That's the aim of our HOPE initiative, to give people a real stake in their communities -- something they can pass along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners.

We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices. Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

Finally, we must assure all Americans access to basic health care -- and we can do it without compromising choice and quality, through my comprehensive plan for health care reform.

Some will say, "you've proposed all this before." They are right. And I am proposing it again because I am right. Some will say, "Where is the new money, the new program, the new bureaucracy?" I will say, a government program does not raise children, families do. A government program does not dispense

^(Justice) Our commitment is to an unprecedented coordination of federal, state, and local programs of law enforcement and revitalization on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis.

^(Justice)
and economic

^{other}
6

^(Justice)
through govt. initiatives, community action, and private enterprise.

^(ack)
What about the state waivers? Use an example of what Admin. is doing.

^(ack)
Legislation?

^(CCA)
I have proposed it -- but it has been stymied by the defenders of the status quo.

~~Americans do not object to spending money
for the poor but they do object to spending
money in ways that does not benefit them
based~~

spiritual guidance, churches do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, citizens do.

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- coaching little league or knocking doors for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of his life trying to serve the public. That's how I look at the world. *bad analogy - "defend or expand current programs."* (OCA)

We've tried other ways to solve problems -- now is not the time to ~~repeat the wheel~~. We must try something different.

Our approach is different. Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California. *which plan? iron growth?* (OCA)

When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was not much different than the rest of America, as I said to the American people last Friday. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt on your streets, once again, my reaction was the same as most other people. We all knew that order had to be restored. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's as simple as that. We must never condone violence and brutality, and I am confident we never will.

And when I saw and read about the heroic acts, the responsible acts, the selfless acts, of so many of your people, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. I have said we can agree on several things. In sum, for thirty years we've tried a lot of solutions, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. In other words, we have the spirit and the gumption to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. Maybe even to try some things we haven't tried before.

Before I arrived I was told that the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. This we should be able to agree on as well -- whatever we do must be about the children -- they are the future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for them -- not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the country.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. I have repeated often what he and others said to me that day. They didn't say more programs or more money. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of the family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now is whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD grant or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a home with a mother and a father.

We know from a longer term look at history, that societies cannot be successful without some fundamental building blocks in place. The state of our nation is the state of our communities.

*Mention
Commission
on Urban
Families
Proposed
in State
of Union
headed
by Gov
Ashcroft
any results?*

Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. And good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding the bonds between individuals, and between ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a ^{better} ~~new~~ American community. ^(OCA) And history shows us that government cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

The simple fact is that in every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is part of the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in

South Central Los Angeles. If instead there were Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys, and twenty-five Cities in Schools programs helping young people learn -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week would have been much, much less severe. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

Perhaps the phrase I have repeated more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include service to others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this: First, we must praise what works and share what works. Second, our leaders must mobilize and inspire their communities to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our laws that frighten good people away from helping others. Finally, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he's learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos

(OCA
would
be
the
right
place
to
hang
"1000"
of light

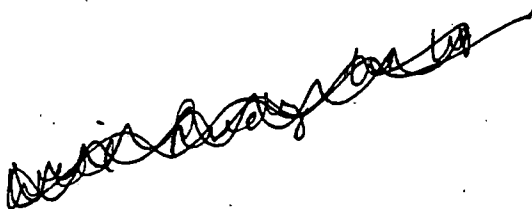
-- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

That's got to give us hope. God bless Rudy Campbell. And God bless the person who cared enough to teach him right from wrong. Now, it's up to us -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee Rudy and all the millions of kids like him have a shot at a better life.

I believe we are right about family. We are right about faith, about America's future. We must take these steps to reclaim the American Dream for the people of our cities.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

#

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Rudy Campbell", written in a cursive style.

dependency -- a system that would strip away personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today.

It's time we tried something different. A fresh approach. I believe we must start with a set of principles -- principles that give the word opportunity real meaning for people. They are very simple: Order is better than disorder. Tolerance is better than intolerance. Work is better than welfare. Opportunity is better than entitlement. Independence is better than dependence. Ownership is better than tenancy. And traditional family values are better than moral relativism and government paternalism.

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We must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses in America's inner cities. *Insert**

We must reclaim neighborhoods now ravaged by crime and drugs. We're doing that through a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

That's why, last week, I signed an executive order permitting states and cities to sell their infrastructure to the private sector and channel the proceeds back into their communities to build new infrastructure, lower their debt, or reduce taxes.

*

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

11:00AM, THURS, MA

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RESPONSE:

See comments. Thanks.
AK
Paul K.
05/07
Se

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

General comment

David Kearns

→ if you mention "law & order" make sure you mention "justice."

See additional changes from C.A. Dorman

~~should change~~

DDDM Group Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

02 MAY 6 PM 5:20

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

Let me first thank the people of the City of Los Angeles for all they have done to make this visit so successful. With all that has transpired these last few days, I can't imagine the headaches we've probably caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

It was important that I come here. Los Angeles has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for all of us. That's why it's important that I say a few things about this visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and about where we must now go as a country.

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] In sum, on the same city block -- I saw shocking signs of hatred and remarkable signs of hope. (Education) → should be reference to specific examples of assistance the Fed. govt. gave to immediate problems.....

This tragedy has been many, many years in the making. It will take a long time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again", but that would miss the point. (Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday.) The status quo here, and in too many cities across America is not right. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the status quo perpetuates failure, hatred, and despair.

(OK) Important ↓ Things haven't been right for decades

(OK) General comment → How about mentioning all of reforms beside "weed & seed," etc. ...

(Justice) → violence and social integration of the order of the day



Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. Looks to be about eight. Murdered a few years back. Mother? Didn't see her. Killed by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. Lives in a tough neighborhood. Think about what he has already been through. And that now he says he fears his days will only get "badder and badder." It breaks my heart.

What went wrong in the sixties were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" that we can all be debated. And it should be. Not to assign blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principles will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.

I believe there are some things that most Americans can agree with. Let me spend just a moment on those. Since the sixties, lots of different programs have been tried -- aimed at stemming the tide of crime, violence, drug use, and social decay. (Justice)

~~Lots of different programs have been tried to address the need for adequate housing, for job training, for education, for job training. Everything from welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.~~

[Huge amounts of money have been spent -- some estimates are as high as two and a half billion dollars over twenty-five

years. Check the numbers: the last decade, federal spending went up for these efforts. > *Doberman pointed out that fed. spending has gone up during POTUS*
Put away the studies and around our cities. Some quick tenure. facts: in 1960 the percentage of illegals to unwed mothers was 5%.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, odds are 4 out of 10. Our young black men are at a crisis: If you're a black male between 15-25 here in California, you're three times more likely to be murdered than to enter the University of California. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. Between 1987 and 1991, 114 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was in our ^{good -- really emphasize.} elementary schools. Numbers for high schools are 10 times as great. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

(OCA)

In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic -- in the wake of the lost generation of inner-city youth: can any of us argue that ~~we've~~ ^{any of} solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime? ~~govt. programs have~~

(OCA)

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. ~~but you don't need to look further than the streets of L.A. to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plague our society.~~

(Justice)

(Justice)

social programs

Some programs -- I'm thinking of a program like Head Start -- have shown time-tested positive results. But many, many more simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps them there. Our safety net -- as essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a ~~dehumanizing and insidious~~ cycle of poverty.

★

↗ (Justice)

★ inner?

We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The primary fact is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have a collective responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is to create order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where people can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

★ (Justice)

how it can enable

I have taken a hard look at ~~the responsibility of the~~ really matter: how people can start a business and grow that the people not the government that affect the health, and

the government can do and ~~address~~ ^{to address} the concerns that property or a home, how people in the community, ensure are making the big decisions and care of one's own family. to the ordinary person the money you live on -- the government tells you where you can live. When you're sick -- will see, and when. If you the government may cut your welfare benefits. If you save money to put some money away -- after you for fraud.

Think of the way it looks on welfare. Government provides the 1st and 15th of every month. live -- where your kids go to school. government tells you what to do. find part-time work -- you lose your welfare benefits. If you save money you worry that government will take it after you for fraud.

Every one of those things goes with the system we've got right now. ~~And then we wonder why can't these people take control of their lives -- why do they lack a sense of responsibility?~~

(ect) Don't think the people even in the context.

If we had set out to develop a system that would perpetuate It's little wonder so many poor Americans seem powerless to take charge of their own futures. (Justice)

dependency -- a system that would strip away personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today.

(OCA)
good paragraph

It's time we tried something different. A fresh approach. I believe we must start with a set of principles -- principles that give the word opportunity real meaning for people. They are very simple: Order is better than disorder. Tolerance is better than intolerance. Work is better than welfare. Opportunity is better than entitlement. Independence is better than dependence. Ownership is better than tenancy. And traditional family values are better than moral relativism and government paternalism.

★

I believe in policies that foster personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are truly needy, and increase choice and competition in delivering government services. I believe in policies that rely on the community for guidance and that use states as laboratories. I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create jobs. (Education Insert #1)

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

We must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses in America's inner cities.

(Justice)

We must reclaim neighborhoods now ravaged by crime and drugs. And we must do it in partnership with the neighborhood residents themselves. We're doing that through a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

~~that I have proposed it is not to be done in partnership with the neighborhood residents themselves.~~

(Justice)
and economic

other

(Justice)
through govt. initiatives,
community action, and
private enterprise.

career criminals, and "seed" these neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services, And I've sent to Congress ~~an~~ ^{shortly} an urgent request to bring Weed and Seed to Los Angeles as soon as possible.

(OCA)
What about the state
waivers?
Use an example
of what
admin. is
doing

We must break the perverse incentives that discourage work and encourage welfare. We've got to reform our AFDC rules - ^(OMB) encourage people to work - stop penalizing people who want to work and save and show individual initiative -- things that will help them leave welfare behind.

We must promote new approaches to home ownership. That's the aim of our HOPE initiative -- give people a real stake in their communities -- something that passes along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners. (Insert #2) Education

(OCA)
legislation?

We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices. Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

Finally, we must assure all Americans access to basic health care -- and we can do it with uncompromising choice and quality, through my comprehensive plan for health care reform.

Some will say, "you've done all this before." They are right. And I am proposing it again because I am right. Some will say, "Where is the new bureaucracy?" I will say, "The current program does not raise children, families do. A government program does not dispense

(OCA)
I have proposed it -- but it has been stymied by the defenders of the status quo.

(Justice)
Our commitment is to an unprecedented coordination of federal, state, and local programs of law enforcement and mobilization on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis.

~~Americans do not object to spending money
for the poor but they do object to spending
money in ways that does more harm than
good~~

spiritual guidance, churches do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, citizens do.

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- coaching little league or knocking doors for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of his life trying to serve the public. That's how I look at the world.

(Justice) ~~technology~~ ~~defend or expand current programs~~ we must reject business as usual and embrace radical change. We must try something different.

Our approach is different. Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California. *(Oct)*

*which plan?
econ growth?*

When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was not much different than the rest of America, as I said to the American people last Friday. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt on your streets, once again, my reaction was the same as most other people. We all knew that order had to be restored. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's as simple as that. We must never condone violence and brutality, and I am confident we never will.

And when I saw and read about the heroic acts, the responsible acts, the selfless acts, of so many of your people, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. I have said we can agree on several things. In sum, for thirty years we've tried a lot of solutions, spent a lot of money and haven't solved the problems. But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. In other words, we have the ^{strength and the resolve} spirit and the ~~grit~~ ^{grit} to ~~go at this problem again~~ ^{wrestle the crisis of our inner-cities} until we ~~win~~ ^{defeat} it. Maybe even to try some things we haven't tried before. (Justice)

Before I arrived I was... the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas... about the children. This we should be able to agree on... whatever we do must be about the children -- they are the future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for... not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the...

Your own Mayor Bradley... a group of mayors who came to see me last January. I had... seated often what he and others said to me that day. They... more programs or more money. They said that the... important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of... family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now... whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from... drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD... or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a home with... mother and a father. (Justice)

*Mention
on
in
Union
proposed
State
Union
led
my
Sheriff?
any results?*

We know from ~~the~~ ^{our} history that societies cannot be successful without... fundamental building blocks in place. The state of our nation... the state of our communities.

Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. And good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding the bonds between individuals, and between ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a ^{better} ~~new~~ ^(OCA) American community. And history shows us that government cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

The simple fact is that in every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is part of the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, ~~there are four programs in schools~~ ^{★ (Justice)} there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in

South Central Los Angeles. If instead there were Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys, ~~and five cities in Chicago~~ ~~and so on with the~~ -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids, ~~and~~ there is no question that what happened last week would have been much, much less severe. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

(Justice)

Perhaps the phrase I have repeated more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include service to others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a bright and hopeful future for our children, I mean this: First, we must praise what works and share what works. Second, our leaders must mobilize and inspire their communities to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our laws that frighten good people away from helping others. Finally, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

(OCA)
 would be the right place to "adopt" of light.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he's learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos

-- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

That's got to give us hope. God bless Rudy Campbell. And God bless the person who cared enough to teach him right from wrong. Now, it's up to us -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee Rudy and all the millions of kids like him have a shot at a better life.

I believe we are right about family. We are right about faith, about America's future. We must take these steps to reclaim the American Dream for the people of our cities.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

#





Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

May 7, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO: PAUL KORFONTA
FROM: EUGENE SCALIA *ES*
SUBJECT: MAY 8 LOS ANGELES SPEECH

Here are DOJ's comments on the full speech; you will recall that we already sent those on pages 5 and 6, concerning Weed and Seed. Explanations:

Pages 9-10: Delete the reference to Cities in Schools, which is not fully a private program but in fact relies on a large degree of federal funding, channeled through DOJ, that we should not propose increasing 6-fold.

Page 1: This speech at times removes individual irresponsibility and plain criminality as causes of the rioting. The Administration should not be attributing the riots to "failure, hatred and despair" -- they were to a large degree committed for fun and profit. For this reason, delete the rest of the page from the second to the last line after "any city where," and add: "violence and disintegration of the social fabric are the order of the day."

Page 2: It is the Administration's position that not enough "programs" have been aimed at the problems I have struck out: That is, crime in its various forms has been repeatedly denied by social planners for being a "root cause" in its own right.

Page 3: References to "racism" deleted for three reasons: We need to avoid suggesting the verdict was the result of racism. It may have been, but it is premature to conclusively state the verdict was wrong, and of course it is another leap to say it was wrong due to racism. Second, for reasons given with respect to page 1, we should not suggest that the cause of the riot was oppressive conditions the rioters live under. And third, there is consensus among social scientists that racism ranks fairly low among the problems encountered by the inner-city poor.

Page 3: "Inefficiency" is the least of the problems of poverty.

Page 4: "Our cities are in trouble" is a very broad statement that could get the Administration in trouble.

Page 4: The government does not have a "responsibility" to help people own homes. It is this expanded concept of the government's role that we mean to be fighting in this paragraph.

Page 4: It would be disastrous for the President to refer to poor, inner-city blacks as the alien "these people." He should identify with, not hold out at arm's length.

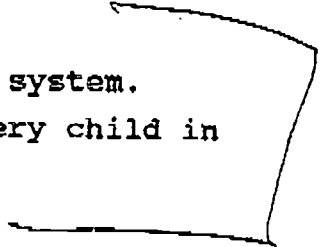
Page 8: The language changed belittled the enormity of the task. This isn't a tennis match.

insert #1
p. 5.

create jobs.



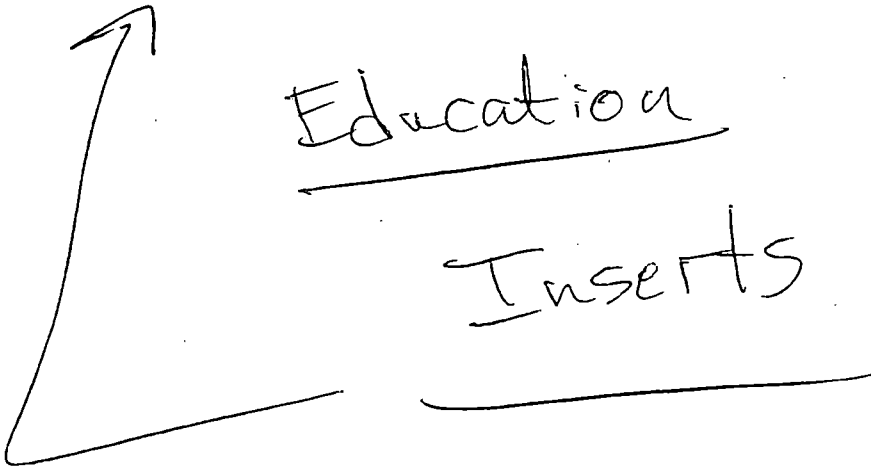
I believe in revolutionary change for our education system.
Change that will deliver a quality education for every child in
America. No more business as usual.



insert #2
p. 6.

into homeworks.

It takes bold ideas to solve big problems. For the first time
in our history, we have a set of six national education goals.
We're on a course to attain those goals and in the process
create the best schools in the world for all our children.



WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, THURS, MAY 7
 PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
 SUBJECT: FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>Liberman 6251</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 11:00AM, THURSDAY, MAY 7.
 Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

02 MAY 6 P5:20
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

Let me first thank the people of the City of Los Angeles for all they have done to make this visit so successful. With all that has transpired these last few days, I can't imagine the headaches we've probably caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

It was important that I come here. Los Angeles has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for all of us. That's why it's important that I say a few things about this visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and about where we must now go as a country.

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] In sum, on the same city block -- I saw shocking signs of hatred and remarkable signs of hope.

This tragedy has been many, many years in the making. It will take a long time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again", but that would miss the point. Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. The status quo here, and in too many cities across America is not right. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the status quo perpetuates failure, hatred, and despair.

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. Looks to be about eight. Father? Murdered a few years back. Mother? Didn't see her. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. Lives in a tough neighborhood. Think about what he has already been through. And that now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart.

What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be debated. And it should be. Not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.

I believe there are some facts that most Americans can agree with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the sixties, lots of different programs have been tried -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay.

Lots of different programs have tried to address the need for adequate housing, for health care, for education, for job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

Huge amounts of money have been spent -- some estimates are as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Check the numbers: Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts.

Put away the studies and look around our cities. Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, odds are 4 out of 10. Our young black men are at a crisis: If you're a black male between 15-25 here in California, you're three times more likely to be murdered than to enter the University of California. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. Between 1987 and 1991, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was in our elementary schools. Numbers for high schools are 10 times as great. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic -- in the wake of the lost generation of inner-city youth: can any of us argue that we've solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime?

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. [[But you don't need to look further than the graffiti on the next street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plagues our society.]]

Some programs -- I'm thinking of a program like Head Start -- have shown time-tested positive results. But many, many more simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps them there. Our safety net -- as essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The summary fact is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have an absolute responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is to create order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

I have taken a hard look at what the government can do and its responsibility to help communities with the concerns that really matter: how people can own property or a home, how people can start a business and create jobs in the community, ensure that the people not the government are making the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

Think of the way it looks right now to the ordinary person on welfare. Government provides you the money you live on -- the 1st and 15th of every month. Government tells you where you can live -- where your kids go to school. When you're sick -- government tells you what doctor you'll see, and when. If you find part-time work -- you worry that government may cut your welfare benefits. If you save, manage to put some money away -- you worry that government may come after you for fraud.

Every one of those things happens with the system we've got right now. And then we wonder: why can't these people take control of their lives -- where's their sense of responsibility?

If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate

dependency -- a system that would strip away personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today.

It's time we tried something different. A fresh approach. I believe we must start with a set of principles -- principles that give the word opportunity real meaning for people. They are very simple: Order is better than disorder. Tolerance is better than intolerance. Work is better than welfare. Opportunity is better than entitlement. Independence is better than dependence. Ownership is better than tenancy. And traditional family values are better than moral relativism and government paternalism.

I believe in policies that foster personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are truly needy, and increase choice and competition in delivering government services. ^{Beltway jargon} I believe in policies that rely on the ^{give states} community for guidance and that use states as [laboratories]. I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create jobs.

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

We must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses in America's inner cities.

We must reclaim neighborhoods now ravaged by crime and drugs. We're doing that through a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services. And I've sent to Congress today an urgent request to bring Weed and Seed to Los Angeles as soon as possible.

We must break the perverse dis-incentives that discourage work and encourage welfare. We've got to reform our AFDC rules - stop penalizing people who manage to work and save and show individual initiative -- the very things that will help them leave welfare behind.

*- stay married or get married
might lose eligibility*

We must promote new hope through home ownership. That's the aim of our HOPE initiative, to give people a real stake in their communities -- something they can pass along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners.

We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices. Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

Finally, we must assure all Americans access to basic health care -- and we can do it without compromising choice and quality, through my comprehensive plan for health care reform.

Some will say, "you've proposed all this before." They are right. And I am proposing it again because I am right. Some will say, "Where is the new money, the new program, the new bureaucracy?" I will say, a government program does not raise children, families do. A government program does not dispense

spiritual guidance, churches do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, citizens do.

I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. I look at things from a more uncomplicated point of view. As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- coaching little league or knocking doors for the United Negro College Fund. As someone who spent half his life in a business trying to build a future for his family. As someone who spent the other half of his life trying to serve the public. That's how I look at the world.

We've tried other ways to solve problems -- now is not the time to re-invent the wheel. We must try something different. Our approach is different. Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California.

When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was not much different than the rest of America, as I said to the American people last Friday. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt on your streets, once again, my reaction was the same as most other people. We all knew that order had to be restored. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's as simple as that. We must never condone violence and brutality, and I am confident we never will.

X
And when I saw and read about the heroic acts, the responsible acts, the selfless acts, of so many of ^{citizens of L.A.?} your people, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. I have said we can agree on several things. In sum, for thirty years we've tried a lot of solutions, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. In other words, we have the spirit and the gumption to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. Maybe even to try some things we haven't tried before.

Before I arrived I was told that the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. This we should be able to agree on as well -- whatever we do must be about the children -- they are the future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for them -- not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the country.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. I have repeated often what he and others said to me that day. They didn't say more programs or more money. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of the family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now in whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD grant or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a home with a mother and a father.

We know from a longer term look at history, that societies cannot be successful without some fundamental building blocks in place. The state of our nation is the state of our communities.

Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. And good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding the bonds between individuals, and between ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a new American community. And history shows us that government cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

The simple fact is that in every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is part of the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in

South Central Los Angeles. If instead there were Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys, and twenty-five Cities in Schools programs helping young people learn -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week would have been much, much less severe. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

Perhaps the phrase I have repeated more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include service to others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this: First, we must praise what works and share what works. Second, our leaders must mobilize and inspire their communities to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our laws that frighten good people away from helping others. Finally, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he's learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos

-- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

That's got to give us hope. God bless Rudy Campbell. And God bless the person who cared enough to teach him right from wrong. Now, it's up to us -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee Rudy and all the millions of kids like him have a shot at a better life.

I believe we are right about family. We are right about faith, about America's future. We must take these steps to reclaim the American Dream for the people of our cities.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, THURS, MAY
 PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
 SUBJECT: FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>John gone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH <i>Maria gone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 11:00AM, THURSDAY, MAY 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

92 MAY 6 P5:20
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

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[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] In sum, on the same city block -- I saw shocking signs of hatred and remarkable signs of hope.

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What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be debated. And it should be. Not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.

I believe there are some facts that most Americans can agree with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the sixties, lots of different programs have been tried -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay.

Lots of different programs have tried to address the need for adequate housing, for health care, for education, for job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

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In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic -- in the wake of the lost generation of inner-city youth: can any of us argue that we've solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime?

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. [[But you don't need to look further than the graffiti on the next street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plagues our society.]]

Some programs -- I'm thinking of a program like Head Start - - have shown time-tested positive results. But many, many more simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps them there. Our safety net -- as essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The summary fact is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have an absolute responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is to create order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

I have taken a hard look at what the government can do and its responsibility to help communities with the concerns that really matter: how people can own property or a home, how people can start a business and create jobs in the community, ensure that the people not the government are making the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate

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It's time we tried something different. A fresh approach. I believe we must start with a set of principles -- principles that give the word opportunity real meaning for people. They are very simple: Order is better than disorder. Tolerance is better than intolerance. Work is better than welfare. Opportunity is better than entitlement. Independence is better than dependence. Ownership is better than tenancy. And traditional family values are better than moral relativism and government paternalism.

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We've tried other ways to solve problems -- now is not the time to re-invent the wheel. We must try something different. Our approach is different. Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California.

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Before I arrived I was told that the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. This we should be able to agree on as well -- whatever we do must be about the children -- they are the future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for them -- not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the country.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. I have repeated often what he and others said to me that day. They didn't say more programs or more money. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of the family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now in whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD grant or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a home with a mother and a father.

We know from a longer term look at history, that societies cannot be successful without some fundamental building blocks in place. The state of our nation is the state of our communities.

Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. And good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding the bonds between individuals, and between ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a new American community. And history shows us that government cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

The simple fact is that in every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is part of the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in

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Perhaps the phrase I have repeated more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include service to others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this: First, we must praise what works and share what works. Second, our leaders must mobilize and inspire their communities to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our laws that frighten good people away from helping others. Finally, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he's learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos

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I believe we are right about family. We are right about faith, about America's future. We must take these steps to reclaim the American Dream for the people of our cities.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, THURS, MAY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>liberman 6251</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: AUSTEN FURSE

SUBJECT: FRIDAY SPEECH

Here is some language to consider if we wish to make the point that the government is itself responsible for snuffing out those "little platoons" that make the difference between healthy communities and those like south central L.A.:

Insert after first paragraph, page 5 -- after the passage that reads:

"If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate dependency -- a system that would strip away personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today."

- o In healthy communities the world over, there is always an informal network of mutual affection and loyalty, so-called "little platoons," that nourish individual well-being: family, neighborhood, church, voluntary associations, and community groups. But in addressing poverty, government has too often displaced these vital sources of social well-being.
- o Government has been like a well-intentioned but blundering giant, reaching out to help, but crushing those delicate tendrils of mutual assistance. The best way that this organism we call community can heal, is by regenerating its missing parts -- the "little platoons" -- and not by transplanting to it some artificial limb made in Washington.

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Group
Draft TwoPRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

Let me first thank the people of Los Angeles for all they have done during my visit. With all that has transpired these last few days, I can imagine the headaches our visit has caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

It was vitally important that I come here. The Los Angeles Community has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for our country -- and everyone around the world who looks to America as a model of freedom and justice. That's why I want to say a few things about my visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and most importantly -- about where we must go as a nation. For as I said yesterday at Mt. Zion Church we are one people -- one-family -- one nation under God.

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] When people terrorize one another and burn each others property, I can hardly imagine the volume of fear and anger people must feel. In sum, on the same city block -- I saw tragic signs of hatred but remarkable signs of hope.

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This tragedy seemed to come suddenly but it has been many, many years in the making. I know it will take time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again", but that would miss the point. Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. Things aren't right in too many cities across America. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the system perpetuates failure, hatred, poverty, and despair.

Let me tell you a little story about Rudy Campbell. I saw him on TV. He looked to be about eight. His father was murdered a few years back. I didn't see his mother. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. He lives in South Central. Think about what he has already been through. And that now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart. But we can't stop there. Our children need more than sympathy.

What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be debated. And it should be -- but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward. That's what we must do for our children.

We must start with some unpleasant realities that most Americans now recognize. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the 1960's, we have tried lots of different programs --

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ained at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay.

Lots of different programs and policies -- all with noble intentions -- have tried to address the need for adequate housing, education, jobs and job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

We have spent huge amounts of money -- some estimates are as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Much of this effort went to construct a safety net -- to provide some security and hopefully some stability. Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. But when we look where this path has taken us, it is not where we wanted to go.

Now put away the studies and just look around our cities. Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%. Now it is 27%. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, the odds are almost 1 out of 2. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. Today some carry guns. Between 1987 and 1991, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was just in the elementary schools. Drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

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In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic sweeping our cities -- in the wake of a lost generation of inner-city lives: can any of us argue that we've solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime? No!

Thanks to a great civil rights revolution, we removed many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality of opportunity. [[But you don't need to look further than the graffiti on the next street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plague our society.]]

Some programs -- I'm thinking of programs like Head Start or Aid to the Elderly -- have shown time-tested positive results. But many simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps people trapped there.

The statistics are indeed sobering. The sum and substance is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have an absolute responsibility to help solve these problems. Our first responsibility is to preserve order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

I have taken a hard look at what the government can do and how it can help communities with the concerns that really matter: how people can own property, own their own home, start a business, create jobs, ensure that people not government make the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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Think of the way the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare. Government provides you just enough cash for the bare necessities. Government tells you where you can live - - where your kids go to school. When you're sick -- government tells you what kind of care you get, and when. If you find a job, the government cuts your welfare benefits. If you save, if you manage to put some money away -- towards a home or maybe to help your kid through college -- the government comes after you for welfare fraud.

Every one of those things happens with the system we've got right now. And then we wonder: why can't folks on welfare take control of their lives -- where's their sense of responsibility? If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate dependency -- a system that would strip away dignity and personal responsibility -- we could hardly have done better than the system we have today.

Every American knows it's time we tried something different. A fresh approach -- a radical change in the way we look at welfare and the inner city economy.

We must start with policies that foster personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are most needy, and increase the effectiveness of government services through competition and choice. I believe in policies that keep power close to the people -- and that use states as laboratories for innovation. I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create

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jobs. My agenda for economic opportunity flows from these principles:

One, we must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs in America's inner cities. We must break the perverse dis-incentives that discourage work and encourage welfare. We've got to reform our AFDC rules -- stop penalizing people who want to work and save -- people who must the individual initiative to leave welfare behind.

Two, we must reclaim neighborhoods now ravaged by crime and drugs. We're doing that through a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services.

Three, safe neighborhoods are places where our children can learn. But that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools. We do it through choice and competition -- two key ideas at the heart of the strategy I call American 2000. We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices. Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

Four, we must promote new hope through home ownership. That's the aim of our HOPE initiative, to give people a real stake in their communities -- something of value they can pass

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along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners.

Finally, fifth, we must assure all Americans access to basic health care -- and we can do it without compromising choice and quality, through my comprehensive plan for health care reform.

Some will say, "you've proposed all this before." They are right. And I am proposing it again. Because I am right. Some will say, "Where is the new money, the new programs, the new bureaucracy?" I will say, government doesn't create wealth, free enterprise and free people do. I will say, a government program does not raise children, families do. A government program does not dispense spiritual and moral guidance, churches, synagogues and parents do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, people do.

I'm not a social scientist. I have never pretended to be. I look at things from my own experience.

We've tried the old ways of thinking. Now as Lincoln said "it is time to think anew." Our approach is a radical break with the policies of the past. It is new because it's never been tried before. If ever the Congress needed a reason to try something new it is Los Angeles, California.

When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was not much different than the rest of America, as I said to the American people last Friday. I was stunned, but I remain confident in our system of justice. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt on your streets, my reaction was the same as most

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other people. We all knew we had to restore order. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the really tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's as simple as that. We must never condone violence and brutality, and I am confident we never will.

When I saw and read about the heroic acts, the responsible acts, the selfless acts, of so many of the citizens of Los Angeles, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. I have said we can agree on several things. For thirty years we've tried many solutions, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. Nothing could be further from the truth. We have the spirit and the gumption to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. And we will -- if we try the right things -- things we haven't tried before.

Even in the short time I've been here, I could sense that the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about their kids. People are worried sick about the children. I believe all agree that whatever we do must be about the children -- they are our future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for them -- not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the country.

Your own Mayor Bradley was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. I have repeated often what he and others

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said to me that day. They didn't ask for more programs or more money. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of the family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now for whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD grant or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a loving home with a mother and a father.

History tells us that societies cannot succeed without some fundamental building blocks in place. The state of our nation is the state of our communities. Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. Good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding bonds among individuals, and among ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. It is central to our strength as a country. Our ability to live and work together has made America the inspiration of the world.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a new American community. And history shows us that government alone cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of

people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

In every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is central to the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in South Central Los Angeles. If instead there were Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys, and twenty-five Cities in Schools programs helping hispanic children learn -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week would have been much, much less severe. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to dramatically expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

The phrase I have repeated perhaps more often than any other is worth repeating here "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community: First, every group and institution in America -- schools, businesses, churches --

must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works. Second, all leaders -- all leaders must mobilize and inspire their people to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our liability laws that frighten good people away from helping others.

But, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In the simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos -- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

That's got to give us hope. God bless Rudy Campbell. And God bless the person who cared enough to teach him right from wrong. Now, it's up to us -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee that Rudy and all the millions of kids like him have a shot at a better life.

I believe we are right about family. We are right about freedom and free enterprise. We are right about faith. And most of all, we are right about America's future. We have the capacity in our government, in our communities, and in ourselves to transform America into the nation we have dreamed of for generations.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

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Let me first thank the people of the City of Los Angeles for all they have done to make this visit so successful. With all that has transpired these last few days, I can't imagine the headaches we've probably caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

It was important that I come here. Los Angeles has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for all of us. That's why it's important that I say a few things about this visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and about where we must now go as a country.

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] In sum, on the same city block -- I saw shocking signs of hatred and remarkable signs of hope.

This tragedy has been many, many years in the making. It will take a long time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again", but that would miss the point. Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. The status quo here, and in too many cities across America is not right. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the status quo perpetuates failure, hatred, and despair.

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. Looks to be about eight. Father? Murdered a few years back. Mother? Didn't see her. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. Lives in a tough neighborhood. Think about what he has already been through. And that now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart.

What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be debated. And it should be. Not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.

I believe there are some facts that most Americans can agree with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the sixties, lots of different programs have been tried -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay.

Lots of different programs have tried to address the need for adequate housing, for health care, for education, for job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

Huge amounts of money have been spent -- some estimates are as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Check the numbers: Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts.

Put away the studies and look around our cities. Some quick facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, odds are 4 out of 10. Our young black men are at a crisis: If you're a black male between 15-25 here in California, you're three times more likely to be murdered than to enter the University of California. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. Between 1987 and 1991, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was in our elementary schools. Numbers for high schools are 10 times as great. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana.

In the wake of the L.A. riots -- in the wake of the crack epidemic -- in the wake of the lost generation of inner-city youth: can any of us argue that we've solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime?

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. [[But you don't need to look further than the graffiti on the next street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plagues our society.]]

Some programs -- I'm thinking of a program like Head Start - - have shown time-tested positive results. But many, many more simply have not worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps them there. Our safety net -- as essential as it is -- stops short of providing the people it serves a way out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of poverty.

We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The summary fact is this: our cities are in serious trouble.

We in government have an absolute responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is to create order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

I have taken a hard look at what the government can do and its responsibility to help communities with the concerns that really matter: how people can own property or a home, how people can start a business and create jobs in the community, ensure that the people not the government are making the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

Think of the way it looks right now to the ordinary person on welfare. Government provides you the money you live on -- the 1st and 15th of every month. Government tells you where you can live -- where your kids go to school. When you're sick -- government tells you what doctor you'll see, and when. If you find part-time work -- you worry that government may cut your welfare benefits. If you save, manage to put some money away -- you worry that government may come after you for fraud.

Every one of those things happens with the system we've got right now. And then we wonder: why can't these people take control of their lives -- where's their sense of responsibility?

If we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate

Good communities are safe and decent. They care for their young people -- instill them with character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. And good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding the bonds between individuals, and between ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a new American community. And history shows us that government cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need. Anyone who believes otherwise has been living in a cave for the last twenty-five years.

The simple fact is that in every city in America, tens of thousands of groups, and hundreds of thousands of individuals, who have never been involved before, and who will never be paid one nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems. One need not look far for the evidence that this is part of the solution.

Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, there are xx members of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in

South Central Los Angeles. If instead there were Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys, and twenty-five Cities in Schools programs helping young people learn -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week would have been much, much less severe. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

Perhaps the phrase I have repeated more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include service to others". That goes for institutions as well as individuals.

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this: First, we must praise what works and share what works. Second, our leaders must mobilize and inspire their communities to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our laws that frighten good people away from helping others. Finally, there's something society must cultivate that government cannot provide. Something we can't legislate -- or establish by government order. I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he's learned that survived the horror and the hate. In the midst of all the chaos

-- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

That's got to give us hope. God bless Rudy Campbell. And God bless the person who cared enough to teach him right from wrong. Now, it's up to us -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee Rudy and all the millions of kids like him have a shot at a better life.

I believe we are right about family. We are right about faith, about America's future. We must take these steps to reclaim the American Dream for the people of our cities.

Thank you for the conviction you have to act on your beliefs. Thank you for all you have done. God bless the United States of America.

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