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[Remarks] to the Community of Los Angeles 5/8/92 [OA 6102] [3]

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<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

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MASTER

DDDM  
Group  
Draft ~~One~~ Two

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 <sup>during my</sup> ~~to make this visit so successful.~~ With all that has transpired these last few days, I can't imagine the headaches <sup>our visit has</sup> ~~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 <sup>vital</sup> important that I come here. <sup>The</sup> Los Angeles <sup>Community</sup> has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you, but for all of us. <sup>our nation's country --</sup> That's why <sup>I want to</sup> ~~it's important that I say a few things about this~~ <sup>my</sup> visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and <sup>most importantly --</sup> about where we must ~~now~~ go as a <sup>nation.</sup> ~~country.~~

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

This tragedy <sup>seemed to come suddenly but it</sup> has been many, many years in the making. <sup>I know it</sup> ~~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,~~ <sup>Things aren't</sup> ~~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 <sup>system</sup> ~~status quo~~ perpetuates failure, hatred, <sup>poverty</sup> and despair.

For as I said yesterday at Mt. Zion Church we are one people - one family - one nation under God.

and everyone around the world who look to America as a model of freedom and justice under laws  
When people kill or terrorize, each other and burn other's property. I can hardly imagine the volume of fear and anger hatred propagation must ~~people~~ feel

But we can't stop there. Our children need more than sympathy -- ~~they need for us to do this is no time for partisanship or politics~~

stay 2

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. <sup>He</sup> Looks to be about eight. <sup>His</sup> Father? <sup>was</sup> Murdered a few years back. <sup>I</sup> I didn't see <sup>his</sup> Mother? Didn't see her. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year old sister who has five kids of her own. <sup>He</sup> Lives in a <sup>South Central.</sup> 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. -- <sup>but</sup> 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 <sup>unpleasant realities</sup> facts that most Americans <sup>now recognize.</sup> can agree with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the <sup>1960's</sup> sixties, <sup>we have tried</sup> we have tried lots of different programs ~~have been tried~~ -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay.

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

<sup>We have spent</sup> Huge amounts of money ~~have been spent~~ -- some estimates are as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five years. <sup>But when we look where this path has taken us, it is not where we wanted to go.</sup> ~~Check the numbers:~~ Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. ↵

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

Much of this effort went to construct a safety net -- to provide some security and hopefully some stability.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, ~~the~~ odds are that he was murdered. In fact, <sup>the</sup> 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.

Today some carry guns.

Drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere.

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

We have made <sup>removed</sup> progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality, <sup>of opportunity.</sup> [[ 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 <sup>the</sup> a program like Head Start - <sup>or Aid to the Elderly</sup> - 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 <sup>people trapped</sup> 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.~~

All that money all those good intentions - have not measurably improved the lot of urban America.

Thanks to a great civil rights revolution,

**LIVES**

*sweeping our cities*

*a*

**No!**

*removed*

*of opportunity.*

*people trapped*

*or Aid to the Elderly*

*also*

The statistics are indeed

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.

sum and substance is

We in government have an absolute responsibility to ~~participate in solving~~ these problems. Our first responsibility is to ~~create~~ <sup>preserve</sup> 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.

help

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, <sup>own their own</sup> 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.

how

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, <sup>if you</sup> manage to put some money away -- you worry that government may come after you for fraud.

single as true

enough to barely

kind of care you get, and when.

a job

the

towards a home or job you may to help your kid through college

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?

welfare

welfare

folks or welfare

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

dependency -- a system that would strip away <sup>dignity</sup> 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 our approach to welfare and the inner city economy.*  
~~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.~~

*We must start with*

~~I believe in policies that foster personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are most 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~~ *the effectiveness of government services through competition and*  
~~I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create jobs.~~ *keep power close to the people and their communities for innovation.*

My economic opportunity ~~plan~~ 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 in America's inner cities. *and create jobs.*  
~~+ tax breaks for employees.~~

*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

*welfare*

*three* Safe neighborhoods are places where our children can learn. But that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools. ~~It's~~ We do it through choice + competition - two key ideas at the heart of the strategy I call America 2000.

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career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded *employment,* 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~~ 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 *and show* individual initiative -- ~~the very things that will help them to~~ *people who master the* leave welfare behind.

*Join* 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 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 *as folks do in the suburbs.* Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

*Six feet high* 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~~ <sup>S</sup> Because I am right. Some will say, "Where is the new money, the new program, 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

*and moral*  
spiritual guidance, churches do. *synagogues and parents* A government program does not build neighborhoods, *people* citizens do.

I'm not a social scientist. *I have* Never pretended to be. I look at things from *my own experience.* ~~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 *the old ways of thinking. Now as Lincoln said "it is* to solve problems -- now is not the *time to* time to re-invent the wheel. We must try something different. *think anew".* Our approach is different. *a radical break with the policies of the past. It is new because it's never been tried before.* Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California. *try something new*

When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was not much different than the rest of America, as *I remain* I said to the American people last Friday. *I was stunned, speechless. But confident in our system of justice.* 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 *we had to restore* that order had to be restored.

*Ede: through* 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 *the citizens of Los Angeles,* ~~your people,~~ my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

*Ede would change.*

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,~~ <sup>F</sup> for thirty years we've tried ~~a lot of~~ <sup>many</sup> solutions, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems.

But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt

nation. <sup>Nothing could be further from the truth.</sup> ~~In other words,~~ <sup>^</sup> we have the spirit and the gumption to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. <sup>And we will --</sup> ~~Maybe even~~

<sup>if we</sup> ~~to try~~ <sup>the right things -- things</sup> some things we haven't tried before.

<sup>Even in the short time I've been here I could sense that</sup> ~~Before I arrived~~ <sup>^</sup> I was told that the real anguish of the

people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. <sup>People are worried sick about the children.</sup> ~~This we~~

<sup>I believe all</sup> ~~should be able to agree on as well --~~ <sup>that</sup> whatever we do must be

about the children -- they are <sup>our</sup> ~~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 <sup>ask for</sup> ~~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 <sup>loving</sup> ~~home~~ with a mother and a father.

~~We know from a longer term look at~~ <sup>tells us</sup> ~~history,~~ <sup>^</sup> that societies cannot ~~be~~ <sup>ed-</sup> 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~~ <sup>among</sup> individuals, and ~~between~~ <sup>among</sup> ethnic groups, between races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity 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 <sup>alone</sup> 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~~ ~~I~~ 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 <sup>central to</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>hispanic children</sup> learn -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids ~~at all~~ -- 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 <sup>dramatically</sup> expand the scale of what we already know works in community after community.

Perhaps <sup>From now on in America,</sup> the phrase I have repeated <sup>perhaps</sup> more often than any other is "Any definition of a successful life must include ~~service to~~ <sup>servings</sup> 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: <sup>about every community:</sup> First, <sup>W</sup> we must praise what works and share what works. Second, <sup>all</sup> our leaders must mobilize and inspire <sup>-- all leaders</sup> their <sup>in America --</sup> 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 <sup>liability</sup> 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 <sup>the</sup> 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

worth repeating here

every group and institution: schools, businesses, churches -- must do its part.

-- 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 freedom & free enterprise* We are right about *^* faith, *And most of all we are right* 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.

# # #

*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.*

for a while  
we ever  
had welfare  
laws.

don't  
know what  
we've done

Talked with mayors  
everyone  
ownership

# dollars increase for  
the cities

ok fed vs  
state AFDC

law and order

glorify  
media output  
commercialize violence  
drugs

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE  
PRIORITY  
ROUTINE

RELEASER: 176/6/6  
DTG: 072148Z MAY 92

MESSAGE NO. 62 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASS PAGES 18  
FROM Carol Aarhus 456 7750 111 1/2  
(Name) (Phone Number) (Room No.)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION URGENT  
FACT-CHECK Δs + CHILE

TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>Dave Demarest</u>	} Senior Staff		
<u>Dan McGroarty</u>		} Office - L.A.	

FOR D<sup>2</sup>

REMARKS:  
URGENT!



UNCLASSIFIED

# ★ ★ MASTER ★ ★ FACT-CHECK CHANGES!

DDDM  
Group  
Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL 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.

*IF POTUS  
used JAG's  
remarks,  
this is true.  
He did  
say it.*

2

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~~ 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 --

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.

NOTE: COMP WAS USED THIS STAT.

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.

Still waiting for OMB to clear the numbers

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, 129 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.~~

129 is correct figure.

Statisticians are nervous about orig. language.

According to a recent national survey, 70% of 8th graders have used alcohol at least once. One in 10 have used marijuana. ( -- WE'LL NEVER KNOW HOW MANY INHALED... )

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. ]]

*Have you seen graffiti? We haven't seen the area where he's speaking.*

*No such program exists per Hans Kuttner*

*OR suggestion: decapitalize 'aid to the elderly'?*

Some programs -- I'm thinking of programs like Head Start or ~~aid to the Elderly~~ *programs under the Older Americans Act* -- 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 <sup>WC?</sup> enabling order. One where families can flourish, children can learn, and jobs can be created.

*Enabling has negative connotation; also sounds like plea for aid*

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

Hans  
Kutner  
has objection  
to this line  
See his  
stopping  
comments.

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.

MISSING WORD

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. <sup>AS WHO?</sup> 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

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

*Redundant - choose one or the other.*

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.

*Needs dash or peri*

I'm not a social scientist. I have never pretended to be.

I look at things from my own experience.

*"THE DOGMAS OF THE QUIET PAST ARE INADEQUATE TO THE STURDY PRESENT."* *WE MUST ~~IT IS TIME TO~~ think anew."* *ACT 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.

*Duh. -*

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

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 <sup>25</sup> 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

Top of  
pg 10 we  
say 25  
years as  
reference  
point. We  
should  
be consistent  
either way.

1 or 2 mayors did mention money. Bradley mentioned need for new programs. Almost exact quote by Bradley: the old stuff just doesn't work anymore. We need new ideas, new innovative programs that center on the family. (Quietly hits Great Soc. issue.)

Must delete sent.

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

NOTE: DOT REQUESTS CITIES IN SCHOOLS DEFINITION.  
C.I.S. IS NOT A FULLY PRIVATE  
10 PROGRAM BUT IN FACT RELIES HEAVILY  
ON FEDERAL FUNDING CHANNELLED THROUGH

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

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. *there actually are 100 of them.*

Right now, this community has many of the answers within  
itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs,  
there are ~~100 members~~ <sup>2,000 CHILDREN</sup> of One Hundred Black Men mentoring boys in  
South Central Los Angeles. *"THIS AREA" OR "THE LOS ANGELES AREA."* If instead there were Ten Thousand  
~~CHILDREN~~ Black Men working with ~~boys~~ <sup>CHILDREN</sup>, and twenty-five Cities in Schools  
programs helping <sup>why hispanic? ALL AT RISK CHILDREN</sup> [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 --

Be consistent.  
We say  
30 on mid  
pg 8. Change  
pg 8 to  
pg 25.

- Programs are in:
- Englewood
  - Compton
  - Long Beach
  - +  
- Hickson Gardens

DOT.  
DO  
WE  
WANT  
TO  
ASK/  
SOLVE  
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AREA

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.

# # #

Dan - we're still working on  
these two speeches.  
Please give input.

(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 6, 1992  
Draft One  
CHILE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR CHILEAN  
PRESIDENT AYLWIN  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

Friends of Chile and the United States, ladies and gentlemen. / President Aylwin, I am honored to welcome you to the White House -- an opportunity not only to exchange views, but to return hospitality. //

I remember visiting Santiago with my daughter Doro in December of 1990. I will never forget how warmly you, Dona Leonor, your family, and the Chilean people received us. //

[Anecdote].

Mr. President, you once described Chile's success as "the reflection of a mature country that knows what it wants and is able to achieve it by means of the democratic process." / That maturity has been hard-won: Americans shared your pain during Chile's dark years -- when democracy was a fading dream and peace, a faded hope. / But it has been won. Today, your government serves its people -- and serves as a model to others.

The same may be said of your leadership: since taking office, you have revived Chilean democracy. / In 19\_\_, Theodore Roosevelt visited Chile and spoke of a "democratic experiment on a far vaster scale than has ever been attempted anywhere else in

the world." / As proof, look to next month. Your people will vote in Chile's first local elections in twenty years.

Look, too, to the economy -- where you have married free people with free markets: a union of economic growth -- growth faster than any other economy in Latin America. / Today, your trade barriers are falling -- your exports rising -- largely because as a member of the Cairnes Group, you led the way against agricultural subsidies and protectionism. //

I salute these achievements. So did the Inter-American Development Bank -- turning first to Chile to implement its investment policy program. And under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, Chile was also first to have official debt to the United States forgiven. // The reason is not only that our peoples share what your government called the "community of ideas, of feelings and needs" -- we share this land. We share more than the New World -- we share a responsibility to keep our world new. //

So, last February, we signed an agreement helping Chile create an environmental project fund with money which would have otherwise serviced debt -- though we'll continue to address economic concerns under our 1990 trade and investment framework agreement. // Our challenge now is to build on those beginnings -- and show why Bernardo O'Higgins, the father of your independence, wrote that "the Americas [give] great hopes to philosophers and patriots alike." //

Today, Chile gives hope to an entire hemisphere. / With market-oriented reforms, you've led by example. In international relations, you're leading through integrity: Other nations count on Chilean leadership in the Organization of American States / in the United Nations / and in the community of nations. Your people did the hard work of freedom in Kuwait, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cambodia. You joined your neighbors to defend democracy -- first at last year's OAS General Assembly, then most recently in Haiti and Venezuela. //

There's a poem I learned when I was in Chile. Doro especially likes it. It's called Machado's "Caminante." / There's one line I remember: "Traveler, there is no road, you make a road in traveling." //

Mr. President, I believe Chile is that traveler. Traveling the road of history -- a history made one step at a time. Chile offers an eloquent rebuke to those enemies of democracy -- far left or right -- who try to mislead and confuse the people. Chile shows how liberty can shape not only a nation of great promise -- but a people of promises kept. //

Traveling together, Mr. President, we will keep our promises, and make that road to a better tomorrow. / We are honored to welcome to welcome to Washington, as our guest, one of our hemisphere's greatest leaders.

# # # #

(Smith/Aarhus)  
May 7, 1992  
Draft Two  
TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE DINNER TOAST TO PRESIDENT  
AYLWIN OF CHILE  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1992

President Aylwin, I am pleased to welcome you and Donna  
Leonor to the White House -- and to return the warm reception you  
gave me during my visit to your country. / I learned many things  
on that trip -- including a Chilean proverb. It goes: "The  
shrimp that falls asleep, it is taken by the current." I use it  
to scare Ranger. //

Among my memories of my trip was a lunch we shared at your  
home in Santiago. In particular, I recall the pride and delight  
you took in your children and your grandchildren. / Mr.  
President, it has been said that "the greatest glory of a free-  
born people is to transmit that freedom to their children." Your  
country's bright future lies in the hands and hearts of a free-  
born people, determined to see their children born free --  
passing liberty from mother to daughter, from father to son. //

Today, I was reminded how your father, an esteemed Supreme  
Court Justice, passed his love of law and liberty to his son:  
you, yourself a revered legal scholar. And I thought of, how  
over sixty years ago, our Louis Brandeis observed that "the final  
end of the State was to make men free to develop their  
faculties." He added that those who love freedom know "liberty

to be the secret of happiness / and courage to be the secret of liberty." //

Mr. President, Justice Brandeis could find no better example of courage in pursuit of liberty than the Chilean people and their leader. Today, Chileans are "free to develop their faculties" to the fullest -- having inherited the political and economic rights their parents worked to achieve. They've also assumed liberty's responsibilities: the knowledge that freedom taken for granted can become freedom taken away. / Chile continues the hard work of freedom: defending democracy in Haiti and Venezuela -- promoting peace in Central America and the Middle East. //

My friend President Alywin and I first met nearly two years ago at the White House. Today, I have again had the chance to observe his insight and eloquence. ((The President, of course, is fluent in both English and French. / I'm jealous. / Some say English is my only foreign language.)) //

Talking to him today, I knew that Chile will continue to export its material goods. I know also it will export its dreams: the courage, hope, and imagination of free markets and free peoples. Chile teaches others that political differences never excuse indifference to the law -- and that social needs are better met by the invisible hand of the free market than by the iron fist of bureaucracy.

Thirty years ago, President Eisenhower spoke to your people, saying: "We in the Western Hemisphere are still young nations,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH: PHIL BRADY *PHB*

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT: POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in writing prior to arrival in L.A. in

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. 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. 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.

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.

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 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.

# # #

PETERSM.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH: PHIL BRADY *PB*  
FROM: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*  
SUBJECT: POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in writing prior to arrival in L.A. in

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

DDDM  
Group  
Draft One

*kill or terrorize*  
*When people, beat and kill one another*  
*and burn and destroy each others*  
*property, I can hardly imagine the*  
*volume of hatred and fear among people.*

[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 profound signs of hope.

This tragedy <sup>Seemed to come suddenly, but it</sup> has been many, many years in the making. <sup>I know it</sup> 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. ~~Things aren't right~~ The status quo here, <sup>things aren't</sup> and in too many cities across America <sup>is not right</sup>. We must not ~~return to the status quo~~ -- not here -- not in any city where the <sup>we</sup> status quo ~~perpetuates~~ failure, hatred, and despair. <sup>the system</sup>

*And in too many cities across America let this continue --*

*things*

*we*  
*the system*

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. *So what went wrong in L.A. -- and what has gone wrong in American cities?*  
 I believe there are some *unpleasant* 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.

*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% -- 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.

It is a little confusing this is L.A. or USA?

What does all this mean. It means that in

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: ~~none~~ 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.

of the net, a way out



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.

*Every American knows*

*It's* time we tried something different. A fresh approach *rooted in*

I believe we must start with a set of principles ~~principles~~ *Those 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~~ *the effectiveness of* government services *because of competition and choice.* 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. 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.

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 <sup>7</sup> *synagogues and parents* 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 <sup>on</sup> 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.

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. <sup>Nothing could be further from the truth.</sup> In other words, we have the spirit and the gumption to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. <sup>And we will if we</sup> ~~Maybe even~~ <sup>the right</sup> ~~to try~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~some~~ things we haven't tried before.

Before I arrived I ~~was told that~~ <sup>could sense</sup> the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. <sup>People are worried sick about their children so</sup> 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 <sup>among</sup> between individuals, and <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ ethnic groups, <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ races. We must not let our diversity destroy us. Our diversity is central to our strength as a country. <sup>It always has been, and always will be.</sup>

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 <sup>a central</sup> 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



-- 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.

# # #

~~We have the~~  
We have the capacity  
in our government, ~~and~~ in our communities,  
and in ourselves to transform America  
to the nation we have dreamed of  
for generations.

HOWE - Black need  
- Korean/Hispanic  
Howe  
- Political  
DDDM  
Group  
Draft One

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

- caring  
- gift - political inspiration  
- for all the country  
- not just LA

[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.

- no  
- given problem  
- not red.

- for all  
- rather - all  
- ethnic groups  
- cities (LA)  
- noted

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.

- partnership

[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

*overload  
not working  
enough  
frustrated  
- another  
speech*

1/2

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. 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.

not appear to be handing off to someone else -- you should

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

Me

You

1

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.

five pt plan (not defensive) of what we've done

2

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 -   
 ③ - stop penalizing people who manage to work and save and show individual initiative -- the very things that will help them leave welfare behind.

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Options 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.

*make land of 15 opportunities rather than isolating*

⑤ 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.

Education? 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

*But does this answer the question?*

Pres leadership

*gov't in partnership but Fed gov't with Congress can help*

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.

*Too self promoting - didn't live in main structure*

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.

*Key points - order to society laws being administered*

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 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.

But how do we do this?

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.

*Ability to work & live together is what has been an inspiration for 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 ~~cannot~~ <sup>alone</sup> 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.

11

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

*Spauld  
Kernons*

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.

*how gov't  
contribute  
to these  
volunteer  
organizations  
fundable*

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.

# # #

*What they're trying to say*

*what steps (program)*

*sum up. keypts. comfort*

Fitzwater

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

rich/  
poor

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH:

PHIL BRADY *PB*

FROM:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT:

POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in writing prior to arrival in L.A.

New ideas - try them!

1. Jobs - Incentives vs. CEDA  
Give them access like the rich have.
2. Housing - Pay people vs. governments/builders  
Give them access like the rich have.
3. Crime - Weed + Seed
4. Education - Choice so the poor can choose.  
Give them access like the rich have.
5. Health - Health ins. for the poor.  
Give them access like the rich have.

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.

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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.

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

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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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.

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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.

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 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  
 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 ON TRIP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
✓ DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓ PETERSMEYER ON TRIP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	✓ PORTER ON TRIP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>CALIO</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓ ROLLINS ON TRIP	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<del>DEMARE</del>	<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"/>
<u>GRAY</u> <small>W/brn 6291</small>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<u>HOLIDAY</u> ON TRIP	<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:

Partial comments from OMB and Boskin

MASTER

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

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

<sup>(Darmen) to</sup> 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. <sup>(Darmen)</sup> 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.

*Roskin*  
This is inside the beltway jargon esp. laboratories reference Give states more power

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. <sup>This should be done through</sup> ~~We're doing that through~~ a new initiative called Weed and Seed -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

*Janet Hale (OMB)*

6

career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services. <sup>(Darmian)</sup> ~~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. ] <sup>Prostin</sup> *Couples might lose their eligibility if they separate/divorce. "stay married or get married"*

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

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✓ spiritual guidance, churches do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, <sup>(Dorman) People</sup> citizens do.

✓ I'm not a social scientist. Never pretended to be. <sup>(Dorman) have</sup> I ~~look~~ <sup>less</sup> 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.

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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.

Sullivan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH:

PHIL BRADY *PB*

FROM:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT:

POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in writing prior to arrival in L.A.

1. President should make a statement that the judicial process re Rodney King event is still underway. We are committed to fairness and justice and appropriate actions by our public safety officials.
2. Change "these" on pg 4 and "of you" on pg 7

Justice/process  
King quote

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. 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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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-- 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.

# # #

PORTER

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH:

PHIL BRADY *PH*

FROM:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT:

POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in  
writing prior to arrival in L.A.

DDDM  
Group  
Draft One

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

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

Let me first thank the people of ~~the City~~<sup>of</sup> 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~~<sup>OUR VISIT HAS</sup> 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 <sup>MOST IMPORTANTLY</sup> about where we must ~~now~~<sup>go</sup> 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~~<sup>long</sup> 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.

HE CAN IMAGINE. THEN DON'T HAVE TO SAY CITY AND COUNTY

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. <sup>I</sup> saw him on TV.  
<sup>HE</sup> Looks to be about eight. <sup>HIS</sup> Father? <sup>WAS</sup> murdered a few years back.  
<sup>I DIDN'T SEE HIS</sup> Mother? Didn't see her. Rudy is raised by his twenty-two year  
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 neighborhood. Think about what he has already been through. And  
 that now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and  
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What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying  
 causes", the "root problems" -- <sup>that</sup> can all be debated. And it  
 should be. <sup>OUR DISCUSSION IS</sup> Not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere.  
 Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further --  
<sup>THEY CAN HELP</sup> will move us forward.

I believe there are some <sup>SOBERING REALITIES</sup> facts that most Americans <sup>NOW RECOGNIZE.</sup> can agree  
 with. Let me spend just a minute on those. Since the <sup>1960s</sup> sixties,  
<sup>WE HAVE TRIED</sup> 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 <sup>NUMEROUS</sup> some commission, <sup>S</sup> report, <sup>S</sup> or study. <sup>IES</sup>  
<sup>WE HAVE SPENT</sup> Huge amounts of money <sup>IN AN EFFORT TO ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS</sup> have been spent -- some estimates are  
 as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty-five  
 years. \* ~~Check the numbers:~~ <sup>EVEN</sup> Even in the last decade, federal  
 spending <sup>INCREASED</sup> went up for these kinds of efforts.

<sup>BUT</sup> ~~WHEN WE ASSESS WHERE THIS PATH HAS TAKEN US, IT GIVES US ALL PRAISE.~~  
<sup>LOOK</sup> Put away the studies and look around our cities. Some quick  
~~IT IS NOT WHERE WE WANTED TO GO.~~  
 facts: in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%.

\* ~~THE CENTRAL THROUST OF MUCH OF THIS COMMITMENT OF RESOURCES HAS BEEN TO~~ <sup>effort went</sup>  
 CONSTRUCT A SAFETY NET -- TO PROVIDE SOME SECURITY AND HOPEFULLY SOME  
 STABILITY.

SOUNDS A BIT DEFENSIVE. THIS SHOULD SOUND STRAIGHT-FORWARD AND MATTER-OF-FACT.

Now it is 27% -- 5 times as great. If you read about a young black male dying, <sup>the</sup> odds are that he was murdered. In fact, <sup>the</sup> 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. <sup>the drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems everywhere</sup> ~~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 <sup>A</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>IN removed</sup> 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 <sup>g</sup> 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 <sup>DEPENDENCY</sup> poverty.

The statistics are indeed sobering<sup>4</sup>

~~We know all too well the sobering statistics -- severest in our nation's urban areas. The summary fact is this:~~ <sup>SUM AND SUBSTANCE IS:</sup> 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 <sup>PEACE AND</sup> order -- not the order of a prison yard -- but an enabling order. <sup>A PEACE</sup> 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 ~~AF~~ <sup>how</sup> ~~its responsibility to~~ <sup>can</sup> 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, <sup>HOW WE CAN</sup> ensure that <sup>CITIZENS</sup> ~~the people~~ <sup>people</sup> not ~~the~~ government are making the <sup>g</sup> big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

<sup>CONSIDER HOW THE WORLD</sup> Think of the way it looks ~~right now~~ <sup>unemployed father</sup> 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 <sup>DETERMINES THE HEALTH CARE YOU RECEIVE.</sup> tells you ~~what doctor you'll see, and when.~~ <sup>what kind of care you get, and when</sup> If you find part-time work -- you worry that government may cut your welfare benefits. If you save <sup>AND</sup> manage to put some money away -- you worry that government may come after you for <sup>WELFARE</sup> fraud.

Every one of those things happens with the system <sup>WE HAVE</sup> ~~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

THIS IS NOT TRUE.

dependency -- a system that would ~~strip away~~ <sup>DISCOURAGE</sup> 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 <sup>ENCOURAGE</sup> ~~foster~~ personal responsibility, policies that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are <sup>MOST</sup> ~~truly~~ needy, and <sup>POLICIES THAT</sup> 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. <sup>A REVIVAL THAT IS BUILT</sup> That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses <sup>AND CREATE JOBS</sup> 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 -- <sup>THAT</sup> ~~to~~ "weed <sup>S</sup> out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and

ON CREATING JOBS NOT SUSTAINING DEPENDENCY.

career criminals, and "seed"<sup>S</sup> those neighborhoods with<sup>DBS</sup> 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.] CAN DO WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

We must <sup>REVERSE</sup> 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 <sup>TANGIBLE</sup> ~~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. *Choice and competition will help us revolutionize our system of education*

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,<sup>S</sup> the new bureaucracy?" I will say, a government program does not raise children, families do. A government program does not dispense

7

*SYNAGOGUES AND PARENTS*

spiritual <sup>and moral</sup> guidance, churches <sup>do</sup>. A government program does not build neighborhoods, ~~citizens~~ <sup>people</sup> do.

I'm not a social scientist. <sup>I HAVE</sup> Never pretended to be. I look at things <sup>OUT OF MY EXPERIENCE.</sup> ~~from a more uncomplicated point of view.~~ As a father with kids -- now with grandkids. As a volunteer -- coaching little league <sup>AND</sup> ~~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.~~ <sup>WE HAVE CONSTRUCTED A SAFETY NET BUT WE HAVE NOT PROVIDED A WAY OUT OF POVERTY</sup> <sup>LADDER OF OPPORTUNITY. THAT IS WHAT OUR CITIES NEED. THAT IS WHAT MY AGENDA IS ABOUT. IT IS A NEW APPROACH THAT IS DESPERATELY NEEDED.</sup> Let's give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my <sup>AGENDA</sup> ~~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 <sup>CONCENTRATE ON BUILDING LADDERS OF OPPORTUNITY</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>and</sup> 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,~~ <sup>many</sup> for thirty years we've tried a lot of solutions, <sup>AND</sup> spent a <sup>great deal of</sup> lot of money <sup>yet</sup> ~~and haven't solved the problems.~~ <sup>AND THE PROBLEMS PERSIST.</sup> But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. ~~In other words,~~ <sup>CONVICTION</sup> we have the spirit and the ~~gumption~~ <sup>TO HAVE</sup> to go at this problem again and again until we beat it. ~~Maybe even~~ <sup>WE HAVE THE</sup> to try ~~some~~ <sup>COURAGE TO BUILD, TO INNOVATE, AND TO DO</sup> things we haven't tried before.

Before I arrived I was told that the <sup>sensed</sup> ~~real~~ <sup>GREATEST</sup> anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. <sup>I BELIEVE</sup> ~~This~~ we should be able to agree on as well -- whatever we do must be <sup>ALL</sup> ~~about~~ <sup>that</sup> the children ~~--- they are the~~ <sup>STAY</sup> 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 <sup>ASK FOR</sup> ~~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 <sup>LOVING</sup> home with a mother and a father.

We know from a longer term look at <sup>TEACHES US</sup> ~~history~~ that societies cannot be <sup>ed</sup> ~~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 <sup>DIFFERENT,</sup> 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 <sup>PERHAPS</sup> the phrase I have repeated <sup>WORTH REPEATING AGAIN:</sup> 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 <sup>REPLICATE</sup> 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 <sup>the</sup> simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

Let me come back again to <sup>the</sup> that little boy I spoke about earlier -- Rudy Campbell. There's a lesson he <sup>g</sup> 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 <sup>SHOULD</sup> ~~s get 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 <sup>AN OPPORTUNITY</sup> ~~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.

# # #

Holiday

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS

THROUGH:

PHIL BRADY *PK*

FROM:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT:

POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in  
writing prior to arrival in L.A.



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. 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. 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 need to check status of legislation not sure*

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

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.~~ *This seems at odds with the next line.* 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. *I was stunned. Angered* And when I saw the violence and rage erupt on your streets, once again, my reaction was the same as most other people. *Outrage. Disgust. Anger.* 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.

✓  
Too mild a reaction to the death, riots + damage

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.

*but relief doesn't seem to be the word for it!!*

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.

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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.

# # #

CAM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR AIR FORCE ONE COMMENTERS  
THROUGH: PHIL BRADY *PHB*  
FROM: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*  
SUBJECT: POTUS REMARKS BEFORE L.A. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Please review the attached draft. Submit comments in writing prior to arrival in L.A. in



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 <sup>during my</sup> ~~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.

Successful  
is an odd  
word  
here.

✓ 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 <sup>I want to</sup> I say a few things about ~~this~~ <sup>my</sup> visit, to speak with you about what I've seen in this city -- and about where we must now go as a <sup>Nation</sup> ~~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.

P



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.~~ <sup>But</sup> casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will get us a lot further -- will move us forward.



<sup>on</sup> I believe there are some ~~facts~~ <sup>things</sup> 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.

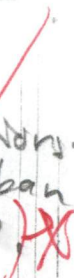


Lots of different programs have tried to address the need for adequate housing, for health care, for education, for job training. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study.

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.~~ <sup>Some quick</sup> facts: In 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5%.

But all that money -- all those good intentions -- have not measurably improved the lot of urban America. <sup>(Many argue that its made things worse)</sup>



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.

Could be read to imply racist admissions rather than high murder rate?

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~~ <sup>A social</sup> ~~is as~~ <sup>is necessary,</sup> ~~essential as it is -- stops short of~~ <sup>but</sup> providing the people it <sup>too many</sup> ~~serves a way~~ <sup>have been</sup> out of a dehumanizing and inefficient cycle of <sup>entangled in</sup> poverty. <sup>the one we</sup> <sup>have now.</sup>

Today some carry guns.

Too many programs do nothing to help urban Americans

is necessary, but too many have been entangled in the one we have now.

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 <sup>help</sup> participate in solving <sup>e</sup> these problems. Our first responsibility is to <sup>preserve</sup> 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 <sup>families and</sup> 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 <sup>a single woman</sup> 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 <sup>broken</sup> 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

and takes forever to repair windows or disabled elevators.

and cuts your benefits if you get married.



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 <sup>new</sup> ~~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. <sup>and tax breaks for employees.</sup>

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 - *and savings* - 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

spiritual guidance, churches do. A government program does not build neighborhoods, <sup>people</sup> ~~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.

All this seems irrelevant to ghetto dwellers. ✓

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~~ <sup>please.</sup> give it a chance to work. If ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California. X

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 <sup>we had to restore</sup> ~~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 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.

# # #

Sheehan

DDDM  
Group  
Draft One

02 MAY 6 P 5: 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 ~~trouble~~ <sup>trouble</sup> ~~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.

*goes without saying*

~~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

My specific edits aren't important. It is the concept of helping link real language to bureaucratic lingo that people don't "get".

5

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 <sup>hand outs</sup> 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 ~~award give responsibility to people~~ foster personal responsibility, policies that <sup>make</sup> ~~refocus~~ entitlement programs to serve those who are truly needy, <sup>programs that give people choices and foster competition in</sup> and ~~increase choice and competition in delivering~~ government services. I believe in policies that rely on <sup>just like our private sector</sup> the healthy competition of our <sup>private</sup> sector. <sup>each of you, the</sup> policies let the <sup>do what's best for the</sup> community for guidance and that use states as laboratories. I <sup>in.</sup> believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create jobs. <sup>Wisconsin example on welfare</sup>

<sup>plan to revive our economy is based in</sup> My ~~economic opportunity plan~~ flows from these principles:

We must spark an economic revival in urban America. That's why I want to see <sup>(explain what they are)</sup> Enterprise Zones, with a <sup>(explain what it is)</sup> zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who <sup>put</sup> locate businesses in America's inner cities.

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

career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational opportunities and social services. <sup>It's working in Philadelphia</sup> 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.

We must promote new hope through home ownership. That's the aim of our ~~HOPE initiative~~ 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. *Let's focus our time, money and energy on what works and get rid of roadblocks* We must try something different. *Our approach is different. Let's give it a chance to work. If in our way.*

ever the Congress needed a reason to pass my plan it is Los Angeles, California. *If ever the American people needed a reason to support 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.

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.

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 11:57

PG. 02

*Grady 7:00 P.M  
night before*

DDDM  
Group  
Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL 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* 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.

*Yet in this city, I saw signs of hatred. Graffiti bragging about killing police. The scars of racial division. But in the wake of this terrible tragedy, we have seen a remarkable springtime of hope -- an outpouring of love and healing and cooperation in this city of light. Stores re-opening just days after being wiped out. Donations of food flowing into the churches of South Central and Crosshairs -- ready to major buildup -- 50,000 points of light out last weekend, whatever is held in the darkness.*

~~(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.

*ready to major buildup -- 50,000 points of light out last weekend, whatever is held in the darkness.*

05/07/92

15:17

WHITE HOUSE → 2024567739

NO. 236

P03

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 11:57

PG.03

2

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 --~~

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 11:59

PG.01

3  
aimed 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.

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 12:00

PG. 01

4  
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. *Insert (A)*

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.

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 12:00

PG.02

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

LOS ANGELES, CA

THU 07 MAY 92 12:02

PG. 01

*Today, I am announcing  
that Los Angeles will be  
a weed & seed community --  
which means that our targeted  
\$20 million*

*program  
can flow  
to the  
neighborhoods  
that  
need  
it  
most*

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

*And I want  
to see them  
now.  
Congress has  
been hesitant  
to pass  
this bill.  
But the  
alarm  
bell has  
now  
sounded --  
right  
here in  
Los  
Angeles.  
So I ask  
Congress  
now:  
pass  
urban  
enterprise  
zones  
within  
30 days.  
And by the  
way, I will invite  
the leaders of  
Congress to return  
with me to  
Los Angeles  
to sign the  
bill so  
we can  
designate  
South  
Central as the first zone.*

*South Central is the first zone.*

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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

I have found a remarkable consensus on what it will take to create opportunity in walking these streets for the last few days. Everyone - Republican & Democrat - agrees that we've got to give people a stake in their neighborhoods. A stake in their homes.

It is now agreed:

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*what this city needs most now is hope*  
~~this city~~ 8

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.~~

*ad when I have seen the tremendous showing of generosity and caring in the cleanup effort --*

~~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.~~

*I see the seeds of such hope.*

*But government cannot create this hope alone, not by any means.*

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

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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 --

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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 us 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.

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~~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.

# # #

### Insert A:

We've tried to take immediate steps this week to bring a helpful order back to South Central, and Koreatown, and Long Beach, and Longton, and all of the areas of greater Los Angeles affected by this tragedy. A special task force has been trying to help speed aid to rebuild businesses, to house those who lost their homes, to help feed those who ~~are~~ lost their neighborhood grocery, and to create jobs.

We've got to re-invest in these <sup>community</sup> ~~neighborhoods~~. So I am today directing the SBA, as it dispenses its disaster loans, to cut the interest rate in half to those who return to the neighborhoods affected by this tragedy in Los Angeles. But the real issue is the longer term: how can we create opportunity for every American in every neighborhood in America.