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[Remarks] to the Community of Los Angeles 5/8/92 [OA 6102] [4]

Stack:

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Row:

26

Section:

18

Shelf:

2

Position:

1

General comment

→ David Keating

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

See additional changes from C.A.

DDDM
Group
Draft One

~~2 DRAFTS~~
02 MAY 6 PM 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 headaches we've probably caused, but I can assure you we do plan to leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

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

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

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

Important
↓
Things haven't been the same for decades

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

Violence and integration of the schools are the order

Let me tell you a little about Rudy Cambell. Saw him on TV. Looks to be about eight. For Mother? Didn't see her. For old sister who has five kids in neighborhood. Think about that now he says he fears "badder and badder." It br

What went wrong in the "causes", the "root problems" should be. Not to assign Honest talk and principles will move us forward.

I believe there are so with. Let me spend just a lots of different programs ~~the tide of crime, violence, and social decay.~~

~~Lots of money has been spent~~ to address the need for adequate housing, for training. Everything from has been the subject of some [Huge amounts of money as high as two and a half years. Check the numbers: spending went up for these

Put away the studies and facts: in 1960 the percentage

murdered a few years back. raised by his twenty-two year down. Lives in a tough has already been through. And says will only get "badder and heart.

but were the "underlying" can all be debated. And it testing blame gets us nowhere. will get us a lot further --

that most Americans can agree on those. Since the sixties, tried -- ~~aimed at stemming~~ and social decay.

to address the need for education, for job are to welfare to health care tion, report, or study.

spent -- some estimates are dollars over twenty-five

the last decade, federal efforts. >

Rayman pointed out that fed. spending has gone up during POTUS around our cities. Some quick tenure plans to unwed mothers was 5%.

(Justice)

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 ^{good -- really emphasize.} elementary schools. Numbers for high schools are 10 times as great. The chances that an 8th grader has ever used alcohol is 70%, and there's a 1 in 10 chance that he or she has used marijuana. (OC*)

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 ^{any of} ~~we've~~ solved the problems of poverty, racism, and crime? ^{govt. programs have}

We have made progress removing many of the legal barriers to discrimination and equality. ~~But you don't need to look~~ (Justice*)

~~further than the streets to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plague our society.]]~~

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

★ inner?

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

We in government have a primary responsibility to participate in solving these problems. Our first responsibility is not to create order -- not to create a prison yard -- but an enabling order. One where people can flourish, children can

learn, and jobs can be created.

★ (Justice) how it can enable I have taken a hard look at the really matter: how people can start a business and so 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 is on welfare. Government provides 1st and 15th of every month. live -- where your kids go to school. government tells you what to do. find part-time work -- you lose welfare benefits. If you say you worry that government can't

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

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

(Justice) It's little wonder so many poor Americans seem powerless to take charge of their own futures.

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

(OCA)
good paragraph
★

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

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

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

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

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

~~we are going to have a program that will take the drug dealers and gang leaders out of the neighborhoods and put them in prison~~

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

We must break the perverse disincentives that discourage work and encourage welfare. We got to reform our AFDC rules - ^{and encourage people to work} - stop penalizing people who go to work and save and show individual initiative -- things that will help them leave welfare behind.

We must promote new ideas like home ownership. That's the way to give people a real stake in their communities -- something to pass along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners. (Insert #2)

We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices. Parents, the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

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

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

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

(oct)
regulation?

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

(Justice)

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

(Justice)
and economic

other

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

Educate

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 ^{strength and the resolve} ~~strength and the resolve~~ to ~~go at this problem again~~ ^{wrestle the crisis of our inner-cities} until we ~~beat~~ ^{defeat} it. Maybe even to try some things we haven't tried before. (Justice)

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

Your own Mayor Bradley was part of 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 said we need more programs or more money. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution of the family. They're right. What's the determining fact right now is whether a child has hope -- stays in school, stays away from drugs? It's not the level of federal aid. It's not a HUD loan or an SBA loan. It's whether a child lives in a home with a mother and a father. (Justice)

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

mention
on minor
in Union
similar
proposed
State
Union
headed
my Gov
Sheriff
any results?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. In simplest terms -- I'm talking about knowing right from wrong.

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

(OCA)

would be the high place to put the "1000 ft. of light."



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

May 7, 1992

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

insert #1
p. 5.

... create jobs.

✓

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

insert #2
p. 6.

... into homeowners.

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

Education
Inserts

Document No. 32653555

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE COMMENT DUE BY: 11:00AM, THURS, MAY 7

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TO THE COMMUNITY OF LOS ANGELES

SUBJECT: FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☐	MOORE	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	PETERSMEYER	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☒	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☐
CALIO	☒	☐	ROLLINS	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SMITH	☒	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☒	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☒	☐	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
			BOSKIN	☒	☒

REMARKS:

Please provide comments on the attached directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 120 12000, with a copy to this office NO LATER THAN 11:00AM, THURSDAY, MAY 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments - Thanks -

Paul K.
05/07

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

General comment

~~Should be~~

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

DDDM
Group
Draft One

02 MAY 6 15:28

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

[ACKNOWLEDGMENTS]

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

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

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

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

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

Important
Things haven't been right for decades

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

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

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

years. Check the numbers: Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. > *Dagman pointed out that fed. spending has gone up during POTUS*

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

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

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

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 -- what's their sense of responsibility?~~

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

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

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

Excellent!

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

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

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

My economic opportunity plan flows from these principles:

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

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

(Justice)

~~...and we must do it in partnership with the neighborhood residents themselves.~~

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

(Justice)
and economic

other
6

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

(ack)
What about the
state
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Use an
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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.

(ack)
legislation?

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

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

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

~~(let's)~~ ~~It's not a matter of object to spending money~~
~~to the poor but they do object to spending~~
~~money in ways that does not harm the~~
~~poor~~

7

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. (let's)

bad analogy -- "defend or expand current programs"

We must reject business-as-usual & embrace radical change
 We've tried other ways to solve problems -- now is not the time to ~~try to solve the problem~~ 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. (let's)

which plan? iron growth?

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

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

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. I have said we can agree on several things. In sum, for thirty years we've tried a lot of solutions, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. But we are not a morally, spiritually, or intellectually bankrupt nation. In other words, we have the 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 all -- whatever we do must be about the children -- they are the future. Our actions in the wake of this tragedy are for what -- not just here in Los Angeles, but all across the country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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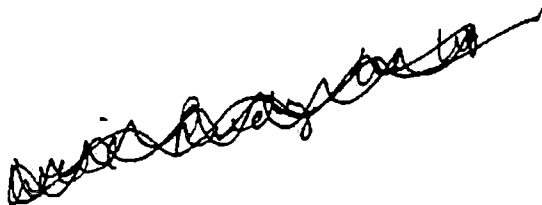
-- in the midst of so much that's gone wrong -- he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said, "They should know what's right and wrong, because when I was four... that's when I learned."

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.

#

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Barack Obama", written diagonally across the page.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/6

TO:

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY
Counsel to the President

From Jim
Pinkerton

For today's
speech

STATEMENT

Without casting aspersions on the
past, let us agree that we face some
problems to see what the obstacles are:
bureaucratic, divided government, slow
growth, the influence of special
interests of all, intellectual inertia.

"It is common sense to take a
frank look at it and try another
approach."

After the riots, in the wake of the crack
generation of inner city youth,
we need to try new approaches.

My visit here, but I am guided by

values.

tolerance.

.

Opportunity is better than entitlement.

Independence is better than dependence.

Ownership is better than tenancy.

Traditional family values are better than moral relativism
and government paternalism.

We can solve this because we are Americans. De Tocqueville
noticed this 150 years ago: Americans "all consider society as a
body in a state of improvement, humanity as a changing scene, in
which nothing is or ought to be permanent; and they admit that
what appears to them today to be good, may be superseded by
something better tomorrow."

Tonight, I start my work with the presumption that all
Americans want to join together in the task of helping rebuild
Los Angeles and guaranteeing a just, better life for all
Americans.

The common goals we have include: job opportunities,
physical security, a color blind society, home ownership, and
quality education.

We all realize that we have failed to achieve many of these

goals. A look at certain social trends of the last 30 years -- soaring crime, rising illegitimacy, family breakup -- tells us that something has gone wrong. So let's roll up our sleeves...

###



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1992

NOTE TO DAVE DEMAREST

FROM: BILL KRISTOL *Bill*

A couple of comments:

1. I think we need to beef up and give a bit more edge to the discussion at the end of how we need to speak honestly about right and wrong, values, etc. -- a la these paragraphs from a Reagan speech.

2. We need a little more about "we believe in the people of L.A. and America -- these examples of heroism and Good Samaritanism will be the lasting legacy, not the ugliness of the riots -- the dynamism and goodness of the U.S. and L.A. attract immigrants from all over the world -- we remain a beacon, etc. etc."

Teller

- We, both you here in Los Angeles and all of us in the country, have had a tragedy
- A lot of mistakes and things done wrong, but we ought not to spend too much of our time dwelling on those
- The test will be how we deal with this tragedy; what we learn from it and what we do.
- The Rodney King verdict and the riots resulting from it put straight three of the fundamental values of our society and of any democracy at stake.
 - First of all, justice.
 - Second, order.
 - Third, tolerance.
 - All of these are important to us and while sometimes they may seem contradictory or difficult to resolve with each other they are all equally important and I am going to make sure we do our best to achieve them.
- Last Friday I met with _____; and over the last two days I have _____. Earlier this week I announced the following actions. Today I'd like to announce these further actions on the part of the federal government and the following proposals:
- Let's take a look at some of the things we've learned over the past week:
 - We have not solved, regardless of some major efforts, the problems of poverty, racism, and crime.
 - While we have removed many of the legal barriers to equality and eliminated some discrimination legally, which are important. Those actions alone have not made us successful.
 - We have spent enormous sums of money--some estimates as high as two and a half trillion dollars over twenty five years. While this has been done with the best of intentions, many of those programs simply have not worked. While some such as Head Start, have been successful, many of them, such as our welfare system, have not.
 - (Cite specific statistics)

- We do know from a longer term look at history that societies cannot be successful without two very fundamental things which I believe in strongly.
 - First, we have to have strong families with values that keep families together.
 - Cite numbers, historical facts
 - If don't have families and individuals who show some personal responsibility to themselves, to their families and to their communities, we cannot succeed.
 - Insert Rodney King quote--"We're all going to be here a long time."
 - Second, we have to give our young people economic opportunity and hope. We have learned is that welfare or a government payroll simply doesn't work. This is not the place--nor do I want to get into a political fight--but I believe the principle underlying many of the things I've proposed over the last three years is exactly what is needed in Los Angeles today. That is, ways for us to help people become independent, self-sufficient, strengthen families, and have some realistic hope that they can have the things that keep families together and make people responsible citizens; jobs, homes, families. That is the basic principle that underlies much of what we've proposed; (cite and describe briefly some Administration proposals--Hope, Enterprise Zones, Jobs 2000, Education Programs.

We simply cannot measure our commitment by the amount of money we are willing to spend. Rather, we have to measure it by the standard of what will work and help people improve their lives. I believe in these things not because we are unwilling to spend the money, but because I think these are the kinds of programs will improve the most lives. Believe me, if for a minute I was convinced that simply spending more money was the solution, I would be in favor of that. We simply have too much evidence that it is not the solution, but it may infact be counter productive.

- We have to find new and better ways. What I am proposing today is Congress pass these programs immediately, targeted at Los Angeles to use as a pilot in a time of crisis. I am convinced they will work.

However, even the greatest optimist knows that nothing done right now will have any effect for this summer so I am also proposing to be linked with these proposals:

- The summer jobs program, which _____.

In addition, I think the local authorities here should investigate the possibilities of requiring many of those people who were arrested and ultimately convicted of adding to the disturbance, commit major amounts of community service time helping rebuild the city they harmed, and do it under close supervision. The government role in that will be _____.

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

Let me first thank the people of Los Angeles for all they have done during my visit. With all that's happened these last few days, I can envision the headaches our visit has caused. I assure you we will leave on schedule. The Governor, the Mayor, the police, the L.A. community: Everyone's been just great.

Let me say I am truly heartened by the speed with which hundreds of millions of dollars of Federal relief has reached Los Angeles -- from FEMA grants to small business loans to urgent food aid. ~~salute D KALAS~~ And I pleased to see the smooth coordination -- everyone pulling together -- on the federal, state, and local level.

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. Most importantly, as I said at Mt. Zion Church yesterday, we are one people, one family, one nation under God. So I will speak about our course as a nation. I can hardly imagine the depth of fear and anger people must feel to terrorize one another and burn each other's property. But I saw remarkable signs of hope right next to tragic signs of

hatred. This Boys and Girls Club stands unscarred facing a burned-out block. It's leader is a wonderful man named Lou Dantzler. He started it out of the back of an old pick-up truck with a group of kids who wanted to get off the streets. Its existence proves the power of our better selves. Never let us
 X forget that.

Now let me tell you why clubs like this matter. It's a story about little 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. Now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder."

X It breaks your heart. Our children deserve more than that.

I talked a week ago about the law and the pursuit of justice. Today I want to talk about what went wrong in L.A. -- the "underlying causes", the "root problems". It can all be debated. And it should be -- but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will move us forward. That's what we must do for our children.

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. We must not

* return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the system perpetuates failure, hatred, poverty, and despair.

Most Americans now recognize some unpleasant realities. Let me spend just a minute on those. For many years, we have tried many different programs -- all with noble intentions -- to meet the need for adequate housing, education, and health. Much of this went to construct a compassionate safety net -- to provide security and stability for people in need. Many other programs and policies aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime and social decay.

We have spent huge amounts of money -- some estimates are as high as three trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study. But where this path has taken us, is not where we wanted to go.

Put away the studies and just look around our cities. For anyone who cares about our young people it is painful that in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5% and now it is 27%. It's hard to read about a young black man dying, when the odds are almost one out of two that he was murdered. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. The parents I talk to know today some kids carry guns. I was told that in the last four years, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was just in the elementary schools. And everyone knows that drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere.

In the wake the L.A. riots -- 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!

Some programs -- ones like Head Start or aid to the elderly -- have shown time-tested positive results. All were well-intentioned, but many haven't worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps people trapped there. The statistics are indeed sobering. The reality is sobering. The sum and substance is this: our cities are in serious trouble. Too many of our citizens are in trouble and it doesn't have to be this way.

Government has an absolute responsibility to help solve these problems. 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, and ensure that people -- not government -- make the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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 for a fresh approach -- a radical change in the way we look at welfare and the inner city economy.

Every hour of meetings yesterday confirmed why I believe in the plan we've proposed for urban America. I kept hearing words like "ownership" and "independence" and "dignity" and "enterprise". It reinforced my belief that we must start with a set of principles and policies that foster personal responsibility -- 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 keeping power close to the people, and using states as laboratories for innovation. And I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship, increase investment, and create jobs. These form the heart of my agenda for economic opportunity.

But families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear. So first, our responsibility is

to preserve order. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the really tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's just that simple. Violence and brutality destroy order -- destroy the rule of law. Violence must never be rationalized. It must be condemned.

We can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative called Weed and Seed. Today I am announcing a \$19 million Weed and Seed operation for the City of Los Angeles -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational, employment, and social services.

With safe and secure neighborhoods we can spark an economic revival in urban America. So the second part of my agenda is to ask the Congress to take action on Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs in America's inner cities. At the same time, we must help states bring innovation to their welfare systems. And at the federal level we must break the perverse disincentives that AFDC rules -- stop penalizing people who want to work and save -- people who muster the individual initiative to get off welfare.

Three, safe, drug-free schools are places where our children can learn. But that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools through community action, competition, innovation, and choice -- principles at the heart of the strategy I call

American 2000. We must give children in our nation's hardest-

* hit communities the same opportunities as kids in the suburbs.

Four, we must promote new hope through home ownership.

People want a real stake in their communities, something of value they can pass along to their kids. That's what our HOPE initiative does -- turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

These are just the highlights of an action agenda to bring hope and opportunity back to our inner cities, but we have other ideas to try as well. My first order of business upon my return to Washington will be to build a bipartisan effort in support of immediate action on this agenda. I know some will say, "you've

* proposed all this before." That's true. They are right. And I am proposing it again. Because we must try something new.

It doesn't take a social scientist to know we must think differently. 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. For the sake of the people of South Central, and people in America's inner cities everywhere, I will work with the Congress to act now on this common sense agenda.

You have been through a lot. When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was the same as yours. 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 yours. We all knew we had to restore order. And when I saw

and read about the heroic acts of firefighters and police, or the selfless acts of so many citizens, my reaction was one of relief

-- and hope for the future.

Must be about the children

Even in the short time I've been here, I could sense that the real anguish of the people in South Central L.A. is about their kids. People are worried sick about the children. All must 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.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. Yes, we've tried hard, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. Some critics say we are a morally, spiritually, and intellectually bankrupt nation. Not so! Yes, we have problems. But we are the freest, fairest, the most decent country on the face of the Earth -- and we have the drive and gumption to prevail.

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 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 government spending. 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. Their young people are cared for -- instilled with character and values and good habits for life. Good communities have good schools. And they provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

That's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities ^{low order this not} is about a lot more than rebuilding burned out buildings. It's about building a new American community. It's about rebuilding bonds among individuals, and among ethnic groups, among 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.

Across this country, 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. The people right here in this room know exactly what I'm talking about. Government alone cannot create the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need.

In my conversation with leaders of L.A.'s many communities, I heard over and over that right now, L.A. has many of the answers with itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs helping children learn, and many members of a group called One Hundred Black Men mentors boys in South Central. If instead there were twenty-five Cities in Schools programs and Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys -- and so on with the

hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to dramatically expand -- in community after community -- the scale of what we already know works.

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".

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community: First, every group and institution in America -- schools, businesses, churches -- must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works. Second, all leaders -- all leaders must mobilize and inspire their people to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our liability laws that frighten people away from helping others.

But there's something else 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 -- and doing what's right.

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 grow up in a better America.

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 strength and spirit in our government, in our communities, and in ourselves to transform America into the nation we have dreamed of for generations.

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

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

Let me first thank the people of Los Angeles for all they have done during my visit. With all that's happened these last few days, I can envision the headaches our visit has caused. I assure you we will leave on schedule. The Governor, the Mayor, the police, the L.A. community: Everyone's been just great.

Let me say I am truly heartened by the speed with which hundreds of millions of dollars of Federal relief has reached Los Angeles -- from FEMA grants to small business loans to urgent food aid. And I pleased to see the smooth coordination -- everyone pulling together -- on the federal, state, and local level.

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. Most importantly, as I said at Mt. Zion Church yesterday, we are one people, one family, one nation under God. So I will speak about where we must go as a nation.

I can hardly imagine the depth of fear and anger people must feel to terrorize one another and burn each other's property. But I saw remarkable signs of hope right next to tragic signs of

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hatred. This Boys and Girls Club stands unscarred facing a burned-out block. It's leader is a wonderful man named Lou Dantzler. He started it out of the back of an old pick-up truck with a group of kids who wanted to get off the streets. Its existence proves the power of our better selves. Never let us forget that. Now let me tell you a story about little 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. Now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart. Our children deserve more than that.

I talked a week ago about the Law and the Pursuit of Justice. Today I want to talk about what went wrong in L.A. -- the "underlying causes", the "root problems". It can all be debated. And it should be -- but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us nowhere. Honest talk and principled actions will move us forward. That's what we must do for our children.

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. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the system perpetuates failure, hatred, poverty, and despair.

Most Americans now recognize some unpleasant realities. Let me spend just a minute on those. For many years, we have tried many different programs -- all with noble intentions -- to meet the need for adequate housing, education, and health. Much of this went to construct a compassionate safety net -- to provide security and stability for people in need. Many other programs and policies aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime and social decay.

We have spent huge amounts of money -- some estimates are as high as three trillion dollars over twenty-five years. Even in the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. Everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some commission, report, or study. But where this path has taken us, is not where we wanted to go.

Put away the studies and just look around our cities. For anyone who cares about our young people it is painful that in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5% and now it is 27%. It's hard to read about a young black man dying, when the odds are almost one out of two that he was murdered. Kids used to carry just their lunches to school. The parents I talk to know today some kids carry guns. I was told that in the last four years, 134 guns were seized here in L.A. -- and that was just in the elementary schools. And everyone knows that drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere.

In the wake the L.A. riots -- 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!

Some programs -- ones like Head Start or aid to the elderly -- have shown time-tested positive results. [↑] All were well-intentioned, ^{of them} but many haven't worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps people trapped there. The statistics are indeed sobering. The reality is sobering. The sum and substance is this: our cities are in serious trouble. Too many of our citizens are in trouble and it doesn't have to be this way.

Government has an absolute responsibility to help solve these problems. 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, and ensure that people -- not government -- make the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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?

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

→ During every hour of meetings yesterday, ^{confirmed} ~~I was (reminded)~~ why I believe in the plan we've proposed for urban America. I kept hearing words like "ownership" and "independence" and "dignity" and "enterprise". It reinforced my belief that we must start with a set of principles and policies that foster personal responsibility -- 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 keeping power close to the people, and using states as laboratories for innovation. And I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship, increase investment, and create jobs. These form the heart of my agenda for economic opportunity.

But families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear. So first, our responsibility is to preserve order. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the

really tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's just that simple. Violence and brutality destroy order -- destroy the rule of law. Violence must never be rationalized. It must be condemned.

We can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative called Weed and Seed. [[Today I am announcing a \$19 million Weed and Seed operation for the City of Los Angeles - to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational, employment, and social services.]]

With safe and secure neighborhoods we can spark an economic revival in urban America. So the second part of my agenda is to ask the Congress to take action on Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs in America's inner cities. At the same time, we must help states bring innovation to their welfare systems. And at the federal level we must break the perverse disincentives that AFDC rules -- stop penalizing people who want to work and save -- people who muster the individual initiative to get off welfare.

Three, safe, drug-free schools are places where our children can learn. But that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools through community action, competition, innovation, and choice -- principles at the heart of the strategy I call American 2000. We must give children in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same opportunities as kids in the suburbs.

Four, we must promote new hope through home ownership. People want a real stake in their communities, something of value they can pass along to their kids. That's what our HOPE initiative does -- turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

These are just the highlights of an action agenda to bring hope and opportunity back to our inner cities, but we have other ideas to try as well. My first order of business upon my return to Washington will be to build a bipartisan effort in support of immediate action on this agenda. I know some will say, "you've proposed all this before." That's true. They are right. And I am proposing it again. Because we must try something new.

It doesn't take a social scientist to know we must think differently. 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. For the sake of the people of South Central, and people in America's inner cities everywhere, I will work with the Congress to act now on this common sense agenda.

You have been through a lot. When I saw the verdict in the Rodney King case, my reaction was the same as yours. 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 yours. We all knew we had to restore order. And when I saw and read about the heroic acts of firefighters and police, or the

selfless acts of so many citizens, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

Even in the short time I've been here, I could sense that the real anguish of the people in South Central L.A. is about their kids. People are worried sick about the children. All must 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.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. Yes, we've tried hard, spent a lot of money, and haven't solved the problems. Some critics say we are a morally, spiritually, and intellectually bankrupt nation. Not so! Yes, we have problems. But we are the freest, fairest, the most decent country on the face of the Earth -- and we have the drive and gumption to prevail.

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 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 government spending. 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. Their young people are cared for -- instilled with character and values and good habits for life. Good communities have good schools. And they provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

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. It's about rebuilding bonds among individuals, and among ethnic groups, among 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.

Across this country, 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. The people right here in this room know exactly what I'm talking about. Government alone cannot create the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of people in need.

In my conversation with leaders of L.A.'s many communities, I heard over and over that right now, L.A. has many of the answers with itself. (~~Right now, this community has many of the answers within itself.~~) For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs helping children learn, and many members of a group called One Hundred Black Men mentors boys in South Central. If instead there were twenty-five Cities in Schools programs and Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys -- and so on with the

hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad. So it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to dramatically expand ^{in community after community} 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".

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community: First, every group and institution in America -- schools, businesses, churches -- must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works. Second, all leaders -- all leaders must mobilize and inspire their people to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media ^{needs to} ~~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 people away from helping others.

But there's something else 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 ^{AND DOING WHAT'S RIGHT}.

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 grow up
^a
in better America.

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 strength and spirit 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.

#



Recap:

FEMA, SBA, Food Aid

Massive

planned w/ the

Coord of

fed - state

& local.

Let me say

I am truly heartened by

the speed with which ^{federal} ~~state~~ hundreds of millions

of federal relief reached Los Angeles - ~~the~~

from FEMA grants to ~~SBA~~ SBA Small Business

loans to ~~the~~ urgent food aid.

And I am pleased to see the

smooth ~~cooperation~~ & coordination -

~~between~~ everyone pulling together -

on the federal, state & local level.

DD
Kristol

DDDM
Group
Draft Two ~~Two~~ *Three*

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~~ ^{envision} the headaches our visit has caused, but I can assure you we ~~do plan to~~ ^{will} leave on schedule. The police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful.

*Defense
(BK)*

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.

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~~ ^{For many years}, we have tried ~~lots of~~ ^{many} different programs --

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

~~Lots of different~~ ^{Many other} 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 ^{social} safety net -- to provide ~~some~~ security and ~~hopefully some~~ ^{for those in need.} 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 ^{of} ~~that he or she has used~~ marijuana. ^{well.}

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 ^I 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.

from P 3 → The statistics are indeed sobering. *The reality is sobering.* The sum and substance is this: our cities are in serious trouble. *Too many of our citizens are in trouble -*

We in government have an absolute responsibility to help *And it need not be this way.* 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~~ ^{thrive}, children can learn, and jobs can ~~be created~~ ^{flourish}.

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, ^{and} ensure that people not government make the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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~~ ^{principles} 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~~ ^{ins} power close to the people -- and ~~that use~~ ^{ins} states as laboratories for innovation. ~~I believe in~~ ^{I believe} policies that encourage entrepreneurship -- increase investment -- create

(delete)
BK

delete

move
to
p. 4

jobs. My agenda for economic opportunity flows from these ^{beliefs} principles: ~~and I have ~~never~~ asked the Congress to help.~~ ^{for action.}

One, ~~we must~~ ^{This is one way to} spark an economic revival in urban America.

~~That's why I want to see~~ ^{Congress to pass} Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs in America's inner cities. ^{At the same time,}

[^] 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 ^{er} the individual initiative to leave welfare behind.

Two, ^{if an inner-city economy is to grow, if our children are to learn, if} 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 ^{employment} educational opportunities and social services. ^[W&S announcement]

Three, ^{and} ~~safe neighborhoods~~ ^{only in} 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, ^{and innovation and} ~~two~~ ^{community} key ^{action!} ideas at the heart of the strategy I call American 2000. We must give ^{children} ~~parents~~ in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same ^{opportunities} ~~choices.~~ ^{as folks in the suburbs.} ~~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

*we need an
equity gain
broad
brush*

along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners. *There are more proposals in other areas*

delete 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~~ *provide* ~~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

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

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

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

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

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

[Mtg with black leaders]
comments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#

As soon
as I get
back

Peel up right + wrong
Call on Congressional Leadership
LA melting pot

DDDM
Group
Draft Three

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's happened these last few days, I can envision the headaches our visit has caused. I assure you we will leave on schedule. The Governor, the Mayor, the police, the L.A. community: Everyone's been just great.

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. Most importantly, as I said at Mt. Zion Church yesterday, we are one people, one family, one nation under God. So I will speak about where we must go as a nation.

I can hardly imagine the depth of fear and anger people must feel to terrorize one another and burn each other's property. But I saw remarkable signs of hope right next to tragic signs of hatred. This ^{and Girls} Boys Club stands unscarred in the midst of a burned-out block. ^{Its existence} ~~That it was saved~~ proves the power of our better selves. Never let us forget that.

Add Lou story

Now let me tell you a story about little 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. Now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." It breaks your heart. But we can't stop at sympathy. Our children deserve more than that.

What went wrong in L.A. -- 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 move us forward. That's what we must do for our children.

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. We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not in any city where the system perpetuates failure, hatred, poverty, and despair.

Most Americans now recognize some unpleasant realities. Let me spend just a minute on those. For many years, we have tried many different programs -- aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence, drugs, crime, and social decay. Many other programs and policies -- all with noble intentions -- have tried to address the need for adequate housing, education, jobs, and job

Insert (A)
next page

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 ~~three trillion dollars~~ over twenty-five years. Much of this went to construct ^{an important and} a compassionate safety net -- to provide security and stability for people in need. Even within the last decade, federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts. But where this path has taken us, is not where we wanted to go.

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 of drug use.

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 street to see that hate, bigotry and racism still plague our society.]]

Some programs -- ones like Head Start or aid to the elderly -- have shown time-tested positive results. But many haven't worked. Our welfare system doesn't get people off welfare -- it keeps people trapped there. The statistics are indeed sobering. The reality is sobering. The sum and substance is this: our cities are in serious trouble. Too many of our citizens are in trouble and it doesn't have to be this way.

Government has an absolute responsibility to help solve these problems. 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. How we can ensure that people -- not government -- make the big decisions that affect the health, education and care of one's own family.

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 for a fresh approach -- a radical change in the way we look at welfare and the inner city economy.

*During every hour of meetings
I was reminded
why I believe
in this
plan
for Am.*

We must start with a set of principles and policies that foster personal responsibility^{and opportunity}, 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 keeping power close to the people, and using states as laboratories for innovation. And I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship, increase investment, and create jobs. These form the heart of my agenda for economic opportunity.

But families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear. So first, our responsibility is to preserve order. A civilized society cannot tackle any of the really tough problems in the midst of chaos. It's just that simple. Violence and brutality destroy order -- destroy the rule of law -- and ^{will} can never be condoned.

We can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative called Weed and Seed. [[Today I am announcing a \$19 million Weed and Seed operation for the City of Los Angeles -- to "weed out" the gang leaders, the drug dealers and career criminals, and "seed" those neighborhoods with expanded educational, employment, and social services.]]

With safe and secure neighborhoods we can spark an economic revival in urban America. So the second part of my agenda is to ask the Congress to take action on Enterprise Zones, with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs in America's inner cities. At the same time, we must break the perverse disincentives 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 muster the individual initiative to get off welfare.

Three, safe, drug-free schools are places where our children can learn. But that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools through community action, competition, innovation, and choice -- principles at the heart of the strategy I call American 2000. We must give children in our nation's hardest-
hit communities the same opportunities as kids in the suburbs.

Four, we must promote new hope through home ownership. People want a real stake in their communities, something of value they can pass along to their kids. That's what our HOPE initiative does -- turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

These are just the highlights of an agenda to bring hope and opportunity back to our inner cities. And we have a national economic plan to keep America competitive in the years ahead. I know 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. A government program does not build neighborhoods, people do. Government does not raise children, families do. And finally, government programs don't provide spiritual and moral guidance, churches, synagogues and parents do.

It doesn't take a social scientist to know we must think differently. 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. I am asking the Congress again to enact this common sense agenda. And 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 other people. ^{I was horrified} We all knew we had to restore order. And when I saw and read about the heroic acts of firefighters and police, or the selfless acts of so many citizens, my reaction was one of relief -- and hope for the future.

Even in the short time I've been here, I could sense that the real anguish of the people in South Central L.A. is about their kids. People are worried sick about the children. All must 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.

So far I have spoken about what government can do. Now let me talk about what society must do. Yes, we've tried hard, 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.

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 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 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 in them character and values and good habits for life. They have good schools. Good communities provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

So this is obviously not a crisis just of economics. This is about rebuilding our spirit. It's about rebuilding bonds among individuals, and among ethnic groups, between races. We

must not let our diversity destroy us. It is central to our strength as a country. Our ability to live and work together has made America the inspiration of the world.

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

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

In my conversations with leaders of L.A.'s many communities, I heard over and over that right now, L.A. has many of the answers within itself. For example, there are four Cities in Schools programs, ^{helping children learn,} and many members of a group called One Hundred Black Men mentor boys in South Central. If instead there were twenty-five Cities in Schools programs ~~helping hispanic children learn,~~ and Ten Thousand Black Men working with boys -- and so on with the hundreds of people and groups that work with kids -- there is no question that what happened last week ^{wouldn't not} ~~would~~ have been ^{as bad.} ~~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".

When we look to ensure a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community: First, every group and institution in America -- schools, businesses, churches -- must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works. Second, all leaders -- all leaders must mobilize and inspire their people to take action. Third, community centers must link those that care with those who need the help. Fourth, the media must cover what is working, so we can share and repeat our successes many times over. Finally, we must change our liability laws that frighten people away from helping others.

But there's something ^{else} 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 -- as partners -- everyone of us in this room -- to guarantee that Rudy and all the millions of kids like him grow up in a better America.

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 strength and spirit in our government, in our communities, and in ourselves to transform America into the nation we have dreamed of for generations.

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

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KEMP

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 *fire & religious leaders* police, the community groups, the Mayor's office, the Governor: Everyone has been tremendously helpful. *but most particularly the*

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 *an example* a model of freedom *democracy* 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 *what I've heard from the people with whom I've met,* and most importantly -- about where we must go as a nation. For as I said yesterday at Mt.

Zion Church we are one *family* people -- one *people* family -- one nation under God. *each of us with a stake in each others welfare & well being.*

[Anecdote(s) from tour and meetings.] When people terrorize *person or* ~~one~~ another *& plunder someone's* 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.

? what about a parenthetical phrase here... reminding people that there can be
2 no excuse for breaking the law or violating
or taking the law not going properly
This tragedy seemed to come suddenly but it has been many, human the

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 ^{of our} cities across
America. ^{Let me assume you... we will not} We must not return to the status quo -- not here -- not
in any city where ^{the system promotes & in some cases} 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 ^{they need our}
^{love, protection & nurturing} And most of all they need our ^{collective} ^{action}
What went wrong in L.A. -- what were the "underlying
causes", the "root problems" -- that can all be ^{discussed &} debated. ^{As it}

should be, -- but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us
nowhere. Honest talk ^{& open dialogue as well as immediate} and principled actions will get us a lot
further -- ^{indeed, can} move us forward. That's what we must do for our
children, ^{for our communities & for our nation & its future}

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 --

I talked a
week ago
about -
the law &
pursuit of
justice
today I
want to
talk
about

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

Lots of different programs and policies *with lots of money &* ~~at~~ *with nobles & good* 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 *and varying degrees of public expenditures*

and said 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. *We in effect have a safety net under which people should not be*

allowed to fall - but with no reflection to burden upon which all people should be allowed to climb
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.

In the wake of the L.A. riots -- (in the wake of the crack epidemic sweeping our cities) -- in the wake of a ~~lost~~ ^{to many} 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.]]

In this ongoing Revolution to make the promise of our Bill of Rights a reality -- not just for some, but for all.

poison to Some programs -- I'm thinking of programs like Head Start & 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. *it doesn't combat poverty - it perpetuates it.*

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. *Govt must be active in removing barriers & impediments to the creation of prosperity & wealth, to break down the walls of prejudice & discrimination & to help*

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 ^{a piece of} property, own their own home, ^{to get a job &} start a

business, create jobs, ensure that people not government make the

important decisions that affect the ^{educ of their children} health, education and care of one's own family.

11. Capture the American Dream.

Think of the way the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare ^{or an U. S. Employee father} Government provides you just enough cash for the bare necessities. ^{In many cases} 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 ^{an entry} level job, the government ^{then you work &} 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. ^{One young Chicago woman was fined \$5,000 for ever having a savings acct.} ^{Imagine ... we want to encourage savings} Every one of those things happens with the system we've got right now. And then we wonder ^{then people say} why can't folks on welfare take control of their lives -- where's their ^{values &} 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 ^{welfare} system we have today.

Every American knows it's time we tried something different. A fresh approach -- a radical ^{& dramatic} change in the ^{our} way we look at welfare ^{system on} and the inner city economy. ^(I believe with all my heart & soul that these are the answers to poverty)

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 ^{Empower people not bureaucracy} keep power close to the people -- and that use states as laboratories for innovation. I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship ^{& ownership} increase investment & create

2, 2a & 2b. This is a common theme in the American way of life. A person's life is a series of choices & actions.

jobs. My agenda for economic opportunity flows from these *simple* principles: *based on one historical fact — people respond to*

not we must spark an economic revival in urban America. *rewards.*

That's why I want to see Enterprise Zones, *that greenline our inner cities* with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who *work, live & invest* *locate businesses*

and create jobs in America's inner cities. We must break the perverse dis-incentives that discourage work and *perpetuate* encourage

welfare. We've got to reform our *help* AFDC rules -- *that* penalizing

people who want to work and save -- ~~people who must the~~

this way out of individual initiative to leave welfare *of govt dependency.*

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 *quite parents more* 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 *freedom that the children as folks live in the suburbs.* 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 *expanded* home ownership.

That's the aim of our *Abraham Lincoln* HOPE initiative, to give people a real *★*

stake in their communities -- something of value they can pass

May 20th, 130th Anniversary of Mr Lincoln
Emancipation Act — Now we must apply it

along to their kids -- by turning public housing tenants into homeowners. *& property owners. I'm asking Congress to fully fund*

our urban, homeowning initiative & help us double the number of low & moderate income American who can become 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're right! *you know what* And I am proposing it again.. Because *I'm* 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, ~~x~~ government programs ~~do 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. *But government can remove the barriers to*

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. *In fact, I invite the leaders of both our parties in Congress to join me in L.A. to announce this initiative on* 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

a big base & appeal to all the cities across the nation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[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't 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.

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. ~~this is no time for partisanship or politics.~~

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}
~~I believe there are~~ 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 --

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, ~~for health care~~, ~~for~~ education, ~~for~~ 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%. ~~5 times as great~~. If you read about a young black male dying, odds are that he was murdered. In fact, the odds are ^{almost 1} ~~1~~ out of ² ~~10~~. 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} ~~in our~~ 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.

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

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

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

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

Think of the way the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare. Government provides you ^{just} enough ^{cash for the bare} to ~~barely live~~ ^{meant to}. 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 ~~welfare~~ 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} ~~our approach to~~ 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 jobs.

agenda for
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 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} ~~manage~~ to work and save ^{people who must} ~~and show~~ individual initiative ^{to} ~~-- the very things that will help them~~ 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 *employment* and educational opportunities and social services. We must give parents in our nation's hardest-hit communities the same choices ^{as folks have in the suburbs}. Parents, not the government, should be free to choose who cares for their children -- and where their children go to school.

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.

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.

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.

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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 systems 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. ^a We must never condone violence and brutality, and I am confident we never will.

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

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

Even in the short time I've been here, I could sense that the real anguish of the people in the hardest hit areas is about the children. People are worried sick about the ^{kids} ~~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

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 is~~ *stet*
 The determining fact right now ^{for} ~~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 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} ~~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 alone cannot come close to creating the scale and energy needed to transform the lives of

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

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

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

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

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

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

TALKING POINTS - KOREAN COMMUNITY LEADERS**May 7, 1992**

- o I want to thank all of you for coming here today. The destruction I've just seen in Koreatown and throughout Los Angeles is appalling.
- o I also want to applaud Radio Korea for the constant support you have given to the Korean community here. Radio Korea has truly acted as a lifeline in this tragic situation.

- 2 -

- o Two immediate concerns I want to raise with you are: 1) What will the government do to bring about a speedy economic recovery, and 2) what can we do to ease the evident racial tension here in Los Angeles and throughout the country.
- o I want you to know that the situation in L.A. is on the minds of all citizens. I am thankful now that the streets are safer, our children are back in school and businesses are reopening.
- o Now that order has been restored we need to concentrate on rebuilding.

- 3 -

- o I have signed a disaster declaration for the area, and have directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the Small Business Administration (SBA) to provide immediate assistance to victimized parties.
- o FEMA, for example, is providing grants for personal needs such as food, clothing and medicine, for minor home damage, and unemployment assistance to those who are now without jobs because of the disaster.
- o An 800 assistance number will also receive calls in six languages.

- 4 -

- o The SBA is also making available sizable disaster loans for business losses and home damage. These loans could total over \$300 million.
- o All told, federal aid to Los Angeles and the surrounding areas could total as much as \$600 million.
- o Now, I want to hear your concerns regarding the current situation.

- 5 -

- o **We've got some very good, comprehensive proposals that are being considered now. When they are announced, I hope they will receive your enthusiastic support.**
- o **I believe the federal government is playing a crucial and positive role in rebuilding South Central Los Angeles.**
- o **Your comments and suggestions are critical as we chart this course.**