

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 17, 1994

EXECUTIVE ORDER

LEADERSHIP AND COORDINATION OF FAIR HOUSING IN  
FEDERAL PROGRAMS: AFFIRMATIVELY FURTHERING FAIR HOUSING

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in accordance with the Fair Housing Act, as amended (42 U.S.C. 3601 et seq.) ("Act"), in order to affirmatively further fair housing in all Federal programs and activities relating to housing and urban development throughout the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Administration of Programs and Activities Relating to Housing and Urban Development.

1-101. Section 808(d) of the Act, as amended, provides that all executive departments and agencies shall administer their programs and activities relating to housing and urban development (including any Federal agency having regulatory or supervisory authority over financial institutions) in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes of the Act and shall cooperate with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to further such purposes.

1-102. As used in this order, the phrase "programs and activities" shall include programs and activities operated, administered, or undertaken by the Federal Government; grants; loans; contracts; insurance; guarantees; and Federal supervision or exercise of regulatory responsibility (including regulatory or supervisory authority over financial institutions).

Sec. 2. Responsibilities of Executive Agencies.

2-201. The primary authority and responsibility for administering the programs and activities relating to housing and urban development affirmatively to further fair housing is vested in the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

2-202. The head of each executive agency is responsible for ensuring that its programs and activities relating to housing and urban development are administered in a manner affirmatively to further the goal of fair housing as required by section 808 of the Act and for cooperating with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, who shall be responsible for exercising leadership in furthering the purposes of the Act.

2-203. In carrying out the responsibilities in this order, the head of each executive agency shall take appropriate steps to require that all persons or other entities who are applicants for, or participants in, or who are supervised or regulated under, agency programs and activities relating to housing and urban development shall comply with this order.

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Sec. 4. Specific Responsibilities.

4-401. In implementing the responsibilities under sections 2-201, 2-202, 2-203, and section 3 of this order, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall, to the extent permitted by law:

(a) promulgate regulations in consultation with the Department of Justice and Federal banking agencies regarding programs and activities of executive agencies related to housing and urban development that shall:

(1) describe the functions, organization, and operations of the President's Fair Housing Council;

(2) describe the types of programs and activities defined in section 1-102 of this order that are subject to the order;

(3) describe the responsibilities and obligations of executive agencies in ensuring that programs and activities are administered and executed in a manner that furthers fair housing;

(4) describe the responsibilities and obligations of applicants, participants, and other persons and entities involved in housing and urban development programs and activities affirmatively to further the goal of fair housing; and

(5) describe a method to identify impediments in programs or activities that restrict fair housing choice and implement incentives that will maximize the achievement of practices that affirmatively further fair housing.

(b) coordinate executive agency implementation of the requirements of this order and issue standards and procedures regarding:

(1) the administration of programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further fair housing; and

(2) the cooperation of executive agencies in furtherance of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development's authority and responsibility under the Act.

4-402. Within 180 days of the publication of final regulations by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under section 4-401 of this order, the head of each executive agency shall publish proposed regulations providing for the administration of programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further fair housing, consistent with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development's regulations, and with the standards and procedures issued pursuant to section 4-401(b) of this order. As soon as practicable thereafter, each executive agency shall issue its final regulations. All executive agencies shall formally submit all such proposed and final regulations, and any related issuances or standards, to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development at least 30 days prior to public announcement.

4-403. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall review proposed regulations and standards prepared pursuant to section 4-402 of this order to ensure conformity with the purposes of the Act and consistency among the operations of the various executive agencies and shall provide comments to executive agencies with respect thereto on a timely basis.

4-404. In addition to promulgating the regulations described in section 4-401 of this order, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall promulgate regulations describing the nature and scope of coverage and the conduct prohibited, including mortgage lending discrimination and property insurance discrimination.

Sec. 5. Administrative Enforcement.

5-501. The head of each executive agency shall be responsible for enforcement of this order and, unless prohibited by law, shall cooperate and provide records, data, and documentation in connection with any other agency's investigation of compliance with provisions of this order.

5-502. If any executive agency concludes that any person or entity (including any State or local public agency) applying for or participating in, or supervised or regulated under, a program or activity relating to housing and urban development has not complied with this order or any applicable rule, regulation, or procedure issued or adopted pursuant to this order, it shall endeavor to end and remedy such violation by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion. An executive agency need not pursue informal resolution of matters where similar efforts made by another executive agency have been unsuccessful, except where otherwise required by law. In the event of failure of such informal means, the executive agency, in conformity with rules, regulations, procedures, or policies issued or adopted by it pursuant to section 4 of this order hereof, shall impose such sanctions as may be authorized by law. To the extent authorized by law, such sanctions may include:

- (a) cancellation or termination of agreements or contracts with such person, entity, or any State or local public agency;
- (b) refusal to extend any further aid under any program or activity administered by it and affected by this order until it is satisfied that the affected person, entity, or State or local public agency will comply with the rules, regulations, and procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order;
- (c) refusal to grant supervisory or regulatory approval to such person, entity, or State or local public agency under any program or activity administered by it that is affected by this order or revoke such approval if previously given; and
- (d) any other action as may be appropriate under law.

5-503. Findings of any violation under section 5-502 of this order shall be promptly reported by the head of each executive agency to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the Attorney General. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall forward this information to all other executive agencies.

5-504. Any executive agency shall also consider invoking appropriate sanctions against any person or entity where any other executive department or agency has initiated action against that person or entity pursuant to section 5-502 of this order, where the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development has issued a charge against such person or entity that has not been resolved, or where the Attorney General has filed a civil action in Federal Court against such person or entity.

5-505. Each executive agency shall consult with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and the Attorney General where a civil action in Federal Court has been filed, regarding agency actions to invoke sanctions under the Act. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Justice, and Federal banking agencies shall develop and coordinate appropriate policies and procedures for taking action under their respective authorities. Each decision to invoke sanctions and the reasons therefor shall be documented and shall be provided to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and, where appropriate, to the Attorney General in a timely manner.

Sec. 6. General Provisions.

6-601. Nothing in this order shall limit the authority of the Attorney General to provide for the coordinated enforcement of nondiscrimination requirements in Federal assistance programs under Executive Order No. 12250.

6-602. All provisions of regulations, guidelines, and procedures proposed to be issued by executive agencies pursuant to this order that implement nondiscrimination requirements of laws covered by Executive Order No. 12250 shall be submitted to the Attorney General for review in accordance with that Executive order. In addition, the Secretary shall consult with the Attorney General regarding all regulations and procedures proposed to be issued under sections 4-401 and 4-402 of this order to assure consistency with coordinated Federal efforts to enforce nondiscrimination requirements in programs of Federal financial assistance pursuant to Executive Order No. 12250.

6-603. Nothing in this order shall affect the authority and responsibility of the Attorney General to commence any civil action authorized by the Act.

6-604. (a) Part IV and sections 501 and 503 of Executive Order No. 11063 are revoked. The activities and functions of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing described in that Executive order shall be performed by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

(b) Sections 101 and 502(a) of Executive Order No. 11063 are revised to apply to discrimination because of "race, color, religion (creed), sex, disability, familial status or national origin." All executive agencies shall revise regulations, guidelines, and procedures issued pursuant to Part II of Executive Order No. 11063 to reflect this amendment to coverage.

(c) Section 102 of Executive Order No. 11063 is revised by deleting the term "Housing and Home Finance Agency" and inserting in lieu thereof the term "Department of Housing and Urban Development."

6-605. Nothing in this order shall affect any requirement imposed under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (15 U.S.C. 1691 et seq.), the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (12 U.S.C. 2801 et seq.) or the Community Reinvestment Act (12 U.S.C. 2901 et seq.).

6-606. Nothing in this order shall limit the authority of the Federal banking agencies to carry out their responsibilities under current law or regulations.

6-607. Executive Order No. 12259 is hereby revoked.

Sec. 7. Report.

7-701. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall submit to the President an annual report commenting on the progress that the Department of Housing and Urban Development and other executive agencies have made in carrying out requirements and responsibilities under this Executive order. The annual report may be consolidated with the annual report on the state of fair housing required by section 808(e)(2) of the Act.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 17, 1994.

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**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**February 22, 1994**

**PRESIDENT CLINTON SIGNS EXECUTIVE ORDER  
ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS**

In keeping with his focus on education today, following his speech to the American Council on Education, President Clinton will sign the Executive Order on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans.

- \* The Executive Order establishes the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence For Hispanic Americans, comprised of a chair and 24 members who represent educational, professional, civic and business organizations committed to improving education for Hispanic Americans;
- \* The Order ensures that Hispanic-serving institutions with an Hispanic population of 25 percent or more will have more input regarding the educational goals and issues of concern to Hispanic Americans;
- \* The Executive Order establishes a White House Initiative Office which will operate out of the Department of Education. The Office will be run by an Executive Director;
- \* The Executive Order creates an interagency working group in which a senior level official from each government agency will have oversight for implementation of the Order.

Joining the President today for the signing will be the Vice President; Secretary of Education Richard Riley; Rep. Jose Serrano (D-NY), Chair, Congressional Hispanic Caucus; Rep. Esteban Torres (D-CA); Rep. Bill Richardson (D-NM); Rep. Carlos Romero Barcelo (D-PR); Rep. Solomon Ortiz (D-TX); Rep. Robert Menendez (D-NJ); Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA); and Rep. Xavier Becerra (D-CA).

Additionally, more than 100 Presidents, Chancellors and Superintendents of Hispanic-serving institutions will be in attendance. Attached is a partial list of attendees who will be available at the stake-out area following the signing.

Eduardo Padron  
Chairman, Hispanic Association  
of Colleges and Universities  
Miami, FL

Juan Gonzalez  
President, San Herman  
Educators  
Inter American University  
San Herman, PR

Miriam Cruz  
President, Equity Research Corporation  
Washington, DC

Isaura Santiago  
President, HOSTOS Community College  
Bronx, NY

Len Dominguez  
Deputy Mayor of Education  
The City of Chicago  
Chicago, IL

Max Castillo  
President, University of Houston  
Houston, TX

Jose Lopez-isa  
President, Bergen Community College  
Paramus, NJ

Agnes Mojica  
Chancellor, San Herman  
Inter American University  
San Herman, PR

Ana-Sol Gutierrez  
Elected Member, Board of

Montgomery County Public Schools  
Chevy Chase, MD

Carmen Rivera  
Deputy Secretary of Education  
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico  
San Juan, PR

Douglas Patino  
President, CSU Foundation  
Long Beach, CA

Gilbert Chavez  
NAHFE  
Dallas, TX

Maria Vargas  
Member, Board of Education  
City of Chicago  
Chicago, IL

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 22, 1994

EXECUTIVE ORDER

EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to advance the development of human potential, to strengthen the Nation's capacity to provide high-quality education, and to increase opportunities for Hispanic Americans to participate in and benefit from Federal education programs, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. There shall be established in the Department of Education the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans (Commission). The Commission shall consist of not more than 25 members, who shall be appointed by the President and shall report to the Secretary of Education (Secretary). The Commission shall comprise representatives who: (a) have a history of involvement with the Hispanic community; (b) are from the education, civil rights, and business communities; or (c) are from civic associations representing the diversity within the Hispanic community. In addition, the President may appoint other representatives as he deems appropriate.

Sec. 2. The Commission shall provide advice to the President and the Secretary on: (a) the progress of Hispanic Americans toward achievement of the National Education Goals and other standards of educational accomplishment; (b) the development, monitoring, and coordination of Federal efforts to promote high-quality education for Hispanic Americans; (c) ways to increase State, private sector, and community involvement in improving education; and (d) ways to expand and complement Federal education initiatives. The Commission shall provide advice to the President through the Secretary.

Sec. 3. There shall be established in the Department of Education the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans (Initiative). The Initiative shall be an interagency working group coordinated by the Department of Education and shall be headed by a Director, who shall be a senior level Federal official. It shall provide the staff, resources, and assistance for the Commission and shall serve the Secretary in carrying out his or her responsibilities under this order. The Initiative is authorized to utilize the services, personnel, information, and facilities of other Federal, State, and local agencies with their consent, and with or without reimbursement, consistent with applicable law. To the extent permitted by law and regulations, each Federal agency shall cooperate in providing resources, including personnel detailed to the Initiative, to meet the objectives of this order. The Initiative shall include both career civil service and appointed staff with expertise in the area of education, and shall provide advice to the Secretary on the implementation and coordination of education and related programs across Executive agencies.

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Sec. 4. Each Executive department and each agency designated by the Secretary shall appoint a senior official, who is a full-time officer of the Federal Government and responsible for management or program administration, to report directly to the agency head on activity under this Executive order and to serve as liaison to the Commission and the Initiative. To the extent permitted by law and to the extent practicable, each Executive department and designated agency shall provide any appropriate information requested by the Commission or the staff of the Initiative, including data relating to the eligibility for and participation by Hispanic Americans in Federal education programs and the progress of Hispanic Americans in relation to the National Education Goals. Where adequate data is not available, the Commission shall suggest the means of collecting the data.

Sec. 5. The Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall submit to the President an Annual Federal Plan to Promote Hispanic American Educational Excellence (Annual Federal Plan, or Plan). All actions described in the Plan shall be designed to help Hispanic Americans attain the educational improvement targets set forth in the National Education Goals and any standards established by the National Education Standards and Improvement Council. The Plan shall include data on eligibility for, and participation by, Hispanic Americans in Federal education programs, and such other aspects of the educational status of Hispanic Americans as the Secretary considers appropriate. This Plan also shall include, as an appendix, the text of the agency plans described in section 6 of this order. The Secretary, in consultation with the Commission and with the assistance of the Initiative staff, shall ensure that superintendents of Hispanic-serving school districts, presidents of Hispanic-serving institutions of higher education, directors of educational programs for Hispanic Americans, and other appropriate individuals are given the opportunity to comment on the proposed Annual Federal Plan. For purposes of this order, a "Hispanic-serving" school district or institution of higher education is any local education agency or institution of higher education, respectively, whose student population is more than 25 percent Hispanic.

Sec. 6. As part of the development of the Annual Federal Plan, each Executive department and each designated agency (hereinafter in this section referred to collectively as "agency") shall prepare a plan for, and shall document, both that agency's effort to increase Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs where Hispanic Americans currently are underserved, and that agency's effort to improve educational outcomes for Hispanic Americans participating in Federal education programs. This plan shall address, among other relevant issues: (a) the elimination of unintended regulatory barriers to Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs; (b) the adequacy of announcements of program opportunities of interest to Hispanic-serving school districts, institutions of higher education, and agencies; and (c) ways of eliminating educational inequalities and disadvantages faced by Hispanic Americans. It also shall emphasize the facilitation of technical, planning, and development advice to Hispanic-serving school districts and institutions of higher education. Each agency's plan shall provide appropriate measurable objectives for proposed actions aimed at increasing Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs where Hispanic Americans currently are underserved. After the first year, each agency's plan also shall assess that agency's performance on the goals set in the previous year's annual plan. These plans shall be submitted by a date and time to be established by the Secretary.

Sec. 7. The Director of the Office of Personnel Management, in consultation with the Secretary and the Secretary of Labor, to the extent permitted by law, shall develop a program to promote recruitment of Hispanic students for part-time, summer, and permanent positions in the Federal Government.

Sec. 8. I have determined that the Commission shall be established in compliance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 2). Notwithstanding any other Executive order, the responsibilities of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, shall be performed by the Secretary, in accordance with the guidelines and procedures established by the Administrator of General Services.

Sec. 9. Administration. (a) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation, but shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707).

(b) The Commission and the Initiative shall obtain funding for their activities from the Department of Education.

(c) The Department of Education shall provide such administrative services for the Commission as may be required.

Sec. 10. Executive Order No. 12729 is revoked.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
February 22, 1994.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release

July 27, 1994

Statement by the President

Over the past thirty years, the protection of voting rights, and the resulting increase in the number of minority representatives in Congress, has been a testament to our enduring democracy. Now, it is increasingly clear that a direct attack is being mounted on electoral districts that contain African-American or Hispanic population majorities. In the face of this attack, the position of this administration is clear: We are committed to the gains made by minority voters through enforcement of the Voting Rights Act.

When the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965 with support from Democrats and Republicans alike, it was properly viewed as central to our Nation's efforts to eradicate racial discrimination. It seeks not only to increase the number of minority representatives, as important as that is. More fundamentally, it ensures that minority voters have an opportunity to cast meaningful votes and to elect candidates of their choice, particularly in those areas where politics are racially or ethnically polarized.

At my instruction, Attorney General Janet Reno and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Deval L. Patrick are vigorously defending the Congressional districts that are currently being challenged. Under their leadership the United States has either intervened as a party or become involved as a friend of the court in every one of these challenges. Ironically, these districts are the most integrated Congressional districts in the nation. Under the leadership of Deval Patrick, the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division is working hard to ensure that the Constitution has meaning for minority voters by making the case that these districts stay intact. I agree wholeheartedly that he should have all the resources necessary for that work.

In the short-term, the fate of minority voting rights is in the courts. In the long-term, if necessary, I will work with Attorney General Reno and Members of Congress to enact legislation to clarify and reinforce the protections of the Voting Rights Act. Inclusion of all Americans in the political process is not a luxury; it is central to our future as the world's most vibrant democracy.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Memphis, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE 86TH ANNUAL HOLY CONVOCATION OF  
THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

Mason Temple Church Of God In Christ  
Memphis, Tennessee

11:51 A.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Please sit down. Bishop Ford, Mrs. Mason, Bishop Owens and Bishop Anderson; my bishops, Bishop Walker and Bishop Lindsey. (Applause.) Now, if you haven't had Bishop Lindsey's barbecue, you haven't had barbecue. (Applause.) And if you haven't heard Bishop Walker attack one of my opponents, you have never heard a political speech. (Laughter and applause.)

I am glad to be here. You have touched my heart. You brought tears to my eyes and joy to my spirit. (Applause.) Last year I was over with you at the Convention Center. Two years ago your bishops came to Arkansas and we laid a plaque at The Point in Little Rock, Arkansas, at 8th and Gaines, where Bishop Mason received the inspiration for the name of this great church. (Applause.)

Bishop Brooks said from his pulpit that I would be elected President when most people thought I wouldn't survive. I thank him and I thank your faith and I thank your works, for without you I would not be here today as your President. (Applause.)

Many have spoken eloquently and well, and many have been introduced. I want to thank my good friend, Governor McWherter and my friend Mayor Herenton for being with me today -- (applause) -- my friend Congressman Harold Ford, we are glad to be in his congressional district. (Applause.)

I would like to, if I might, introduce just three other people who are members of the Congress. They have come here with me. And without them it's hard for me to do much for you. The President proposes and the Congress disposes. (Laughter.) Sometimes they dispose of what I propose, but -- (laughter). I'm happy to say that according to a recent report in Washington, notwithstanding what you may have heard, this Congress has given me a higher percentage of my proposals than any first year President since President Eisenhower. And I thank them for that. (Applause.)

Let me introduce my good friend, a visitor, to Tennessee, Congressman Bill Jefferson from New Orleans, Louisiana. Please stand up. (Applause.) And an early supporter of my campaign. (Applause.) Congressman Bob Clement from Tennessee, known to many of you. (Applause.) And a young man who's going to be coming back to the people of Tennessee and asking them to give him a promotion next year, Congressman Jim Cooper from Tennessee, and a good friend. Please welcome him. (Applause.)

You know, in the last 10 months, I've been called a lot of things, but nobody's called me a bishop yet. (Laughter and applause.) When I was about nine years old, my beloved and

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now departed grandmother, who was a very wise woman, looked at me and she said, you know, I believe you could be a preacher if you were just a little better boy. (Laughter.)

The proverb says, "A happy heart doeth good like medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth the bone." This is a happy place, and I'm happy to be here. (Applause.) I thank you for your spirit. (Applause.)

By the grace of God and your help, last year I was elected President of this great country. I never dreamed that I would ever have a chance to come to this hallowed place where Martin Luther King gave his last sermon. I ask you to think today about the purpose for which I ran and the purpose for which so many of you worked to put me in this great office. I have worked hard to keep faith with our common efforts -- to restore the economy; to reverse the politics of helping only those at the top of our totem pole and not the hard-working middle class or the poor; to bring our people together across racial and regional and political lines; to make a strength out of our diversity instead of letting it tear us apart; to reward work and family and community and try to move us forward into the 21st century. I have tried to keep faith.

Thirteen percent of all my presidential appointments are African Americans, and there are five African Americans in the Cabinet of the United States -- two and a half times as many as have ever served in the history of this great land. (Applause.) I have sought to advance the right to vote with the motor voter bill, supported so strongly by all the churches in our country. And next week it will be my great honor to sign the Restoration of Religious Freedoms Act, a bill supported widely by people across all religions and political philosophies to put back the real meaning of the Constitution -- to give you and every other American the freedom to do what is most important in your life, to worship God as your spirit leads you. (Applause.)

I say to you, my fellow Americans, we have made a good beginning. Inflation is down. Interest rates are down. The deficit is down. Investment is up. Millions of Americans, including, I bet, some people in this room, have refinanced their homes or their business loans just in the last year. (Applause.) And in the last 10 months, this economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous four years.

We have passed a law called the Family Leave law, which says you can't be fired if you take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. (Applause.) We know that most Americans have to work, but you ought not to have to give up being a good parent just to take a job. If you can't succeed as a worker and a parent, this country can't make it.

We have radically reformed the college loan program, as I promised to lower the cost of college loans and broaden the availability of it and make the repayment terms easier. (Applause.) And we have passed the national service law that will give in three years -- three years from now, 100,000 young Americans a chance to serve their communities at home, to repair the frayed bonds of community, to build up the needs of people at the grass roots, and at the same time, earn some money to pay for a college education. It is a wonderful idea. (Applause.)

On April 15th, when people pay their taxes, somewhere between 15 million and 18 million working families on modest incomes, families with children and incomes of under \$23,000, will get a tax cut, not a tax increase, in the most important effort to ensure that we reward work and family in the last 20 years. Fifty million American parents and their children will be advantaged by putting the tax code back on the side of working American parents for a change. (Applause.)

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Under the leadership of the First Lady, we have produced a comprehensive plan to guarantee health care security to all Americans. How can we expect the American people to work, and to live with all the changes in a global economy, where the average 18-year-old will change work seven times in a lifetime, unless we can simply say, we have joined the ranks of all the other advanced countries in the world; you can have decent health care that's always there that can never be taken away? It is time we did that; long past time. I ask you to help us achieve that. (Applause.)

But we have so much more to do. You and I know that most people are still working harder for the same or lower wages; that many people are afraid that their job will go away. We have to provide the education and training our people need, not just for our children, but for our adults, too. If we cannot close this country up to the forces of change sweeping throughout the world, we have to at least guarantee people the security of being employable. They have to be able to get a new job if they're going to have to get a new job. We don't do that today, and we must, and we intend to proceed until that is done.

We have to guarantee that there will be some investment in those areas of our country -- in the inner cities and in the destitute rural areas in the Mississippi Delta, of my home state and this state and Louisiana and Mississippi, and other places like it throughout America. It's all very well to train people, but if they don't have a job, they can be trained for nothing. We must get investment to those places where the people are dying for work. (Applause.)

And finally, let me say, we must find people who will buy what we have to produce. We are the most productive people on Earth. That makes us proud. But what that means is that every year one person can produce more in the same amount of time. Now, if fewer and fewer people can produce more and more things, and yet you want to create more jobs and raise people's incomes, you have to have more customers for what it is you're making. And that is why I have worked so hard to sell more American products around the world; why I have asked that we be able to sell billions of dollars of computers we used not to sell to foreign countries and foreign interests -- to put our people to work.

Why? Next week I am going all the way to Washington state to meet with the President of China and the Prime Minister of Japan and the heads of 13 other Asian countries, the fastest growing part of the world, to say: We want to be your partners. We will buy your goods, but we want you to buy ours, too, if you please. (Applause.) That is why. (Applause.)

That is why I have worked so hard for this North American Trade Agreement that Congressman Ford endorsed today, and Congressman Jefferson endorsed and Congressman Cooper and Congressman Clement, because we know that Americans can compete and win only if people will buy what it is we have to sell. There are 90 million people in Mexico. Seventy cents of every dollar they spend on foreign goods, they spend on American goods. People worry fairly about people shutting down plants in America and going not just to Mexico but to any place where the labor is cheap. It has happened.

What I want to say to you, my fellow Americans is, nothing in this agreement make that more likely. That has happened already. It may happen again. What we need to do is keep the jobs here by finding customers there. That's what this agreement does. It gives us a chance to create opportunity for people. (Applause.)

I would never -- there are people -- I have friends in this audience, people who are ministers from my state, fathers and sons, people -- I've looked out all over this vast crowd and

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I see people I've known for years. They know. I spent my whole life working to create jobs. I would never knowingly do anything that would take a job away from the American people. This agreement will make more jobs. Now, we can also leave it if it doesn't work in six months. But if we don't take it, we'll lose it forever. We need to take it, because we have to do better.

But I guess what I really want to say to you today, my fellow Americans, is that we can all of this and still fail unless we meet the great crisis of the spirit that is gripping America today.

When I leave you, Congressman Ford and I are going to a Baptist church near here to a town meeting he's having on health care and violence. I tell you, unless we do something about crime and violence and drugs that is ravaging the community, we will not be able to repair this country.  
(Applause.)

If Martin Luther King, who said, "Like Moses, I am on the mountaintop and I can see the promised land, but I'm not going to be able to get there with you, but we will get there," -- if he were to reappear by my side today and give us a report card on the last 25 years, what would he say? You did a good job, he would say, voting and electing people who formerly were not electable because of the color of their skin. You have more political power, and that is good. You did a good job, he would say, letting people who have the ability to do so live wherever they want to live, go wherever they want to go in this great country. You did a good job, he would say, elevating people of color into the ranks of the United States Armed Forces to the very top, or into the very top of our government. You did a very good job, he would say. He would say, you did a good job creating a black middle class of people who really are doing well; and the middle class is growing more among African Americans than among non-African Americans. You did a good job. You did a good job in opening opportunity.

But he would say, I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. (Applause.) I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it. (Applause.) I did not live and die to see young people destroy their own lives with drugs and then build fortunes destroying the lives of others. That is not what I came here to do. (Applause.)

I fought for freedom, he would say, but not for the freedom of people to kill each other with reckless abandon; not for the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children walk away from them and abandon them as if they don't amount to anything. (Applause.) I fought for people to have the right to work, but not to have whole communities and people abandoned. This is not what I lived and died for.

My fellow Americans, he would say, I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandon.  
(Applause.)

The other day the Mayor of Baltimore, a dear friend of mine, told me a story of visiting the family of a young man who had been killed -- 18 years old -- on Halloween. He always went out with little bitty kids so they could trick-or-treat safely. And across the street from where they were walking on Halloween, a 14-year-old boy gave a 13-year-old boy a gun and dared him to shoot the 18-year-old boy; and he shot him dead. And the Mayor had to visit the family.

In Washington, DC, where I live, your Nation's Capital, the symbol of freedom throughout the world -- look how that freedom is being exercised. The other night a man came

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along the street and grabbed a one-year-old child and put the child in his car. The child may have been the child of the man. And two people were after him and they chased him in the car, and they just kept shooting with reckless abandon, knowing that baby was in the car. And they shot the man dead, and a bullet went through his body into the baby's body and blew the little bootie off the child's foot.

The other day on the front page of our paper, the Nation's Capital, are we talking about world peace or world conflict? No -- big article on the front page of The Washington Post about an 11-year-old child planning her funeral -- "these are the hymns I want sung; this is the dress I want to wear; I know I'm not going to live very long." That is not the freedom -- the freedom to die before you're a teenager is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for. (Applause.)

More than 37,000 people die from gunshot wounds in this country every year. Gunfire is the leading cause of death in young men. And now that we've all gotten so cool that everybody can get a semiautomatic weapon, a person shot now is three times more likely to die than 15 years ago, because they're likely to have three bullets in them. One hundred and sixty thousand children stay home from school every day because they are scared they will be hurt in their school.

The other day I was in California at a town meeting, and a handsome young man stood up and said, Mr. President, my brother and I, we don't belong to gangs; we don't have guns; we don't do drugs; we want to go to school; we want to be professionals; we want to work hard; we want to do well; we want to have families. And we changed our school because the school we were in was so dangerous, so when we stowed up to the new school to register, my brother and I were standing in line and somebody ran into the school and started shooting a gun. My brother was shot down standing right in front of me at the safer school.

The freedom to do that kind of thing is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for. (Applause.) It's not what people gathered in this hallowed church for the night before he was assassinated in April of 1968. If you had told anybody who was here in that church on that night that we would abuse our freedom in that way, they would have found it hard to believe. And I tell you it is our moral duty to turn it around. (Applause.)

And now I think finally we have a chance. Finally, I think, we have a chance. We have a Pastor here from New Haven, Connecticut. I was in his church with Reverend Jackson when I was running for President on a snowy day in Connecticut to mourn the death of children who had been killed in that city. And afterward we walked down the street for more than a mile in the snow. Then the American people were not ready. People would say, oh, this is a terrible thing, but what can we do about it.

Now when we read that foreign visitors come to our shores and are killed at random in our fine state of Florida; when we see our children planning their funeral; when the American people are finally coming to grips with the accumulated wave of crime and violence and the breakdown of family and community and the increase in drugs and the decrease in jobs, I think finally we may be ready to do something about it.

And there is something for each of us to do. There are changes we can make from the outside in -- that's the job of the President and the Congress and the governors and the mayors and the social service agencies. Then there's some changes we're going to have to make from the inside out, or the others won't matter. (Applause.) That's what that magnificent song was about, wasn't it? Sometimes there are no answers from the outside in; sometimes all the answers have to come from the

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values and the stirrings and the voices that speak to us from within.

So we are beginning. We are trying to pass a bill to make our people safer -- to put another 100,000 police officers on the street. To provide boot camps instead of prisons for young people who can still be rescued. (Applause.) To provide more safety in our schools. To restrict the availability of these awful assault weapons. To pass the Brady Bill and at least require people to have their criminal background checked before they get a gun. And to say, if you're not old enough to vote and you're not old enough to go to war, you ought not to own a handgun and you ought not to use one unless you're on a target range. (Applause.)

We want to pass a health care bill that will make drug treatment available for everyone. And we also have to do it -- we have to have drug treatment and education available to everyone, and especially those who are in prison who are coming out. We have a Drug Czar now in Lee Brown, who was the Police Chief of Atlanta, of Houston, of New York, who understands these things. And when the Congress comes back next year we will be moving forward on that.

We need this crime bill now. We ought to give it to the American people for Christmas. And we need to move forward on all these other fronts. But I say to you, my fellow Americans, we need some other things as well. I do not believe we can repair the basic fabric of society until people who are willing to work have work. Work organizes life. It gives structure and discipline to life. It gives meaning and self-esteem to people who are parents. It gives a role model to children.

The famous African American sociologist, William Julius Wilson, has written a stunning book called *The Truly Disadvantaged*, in which he chronicles in breathtaking terms how the inner cities of our country have crumbled as work has disappeared. And we must find a way, through public and private sources, to enhance the attractiveness of the American people who live there to get investment there. We cannot, I submit to you, repair the American community and restore the American family until we provide the structure, the value, the discipline and the reward that work gives. (Applause.)

I read a wonderful speech the other day given at Howard University in a lecture series funded by Bill and Camille Cosby, in which the speaker said, "I grew up in Anacostia years ago. Even then it was all black and it was a very poor neighborhood. But you know, when I was a child in Anacostia, 100 percent African American neighborhood, a very poor neighborhood, we had a crime rate that was lower than the average of the crime rate of our city. Why? Because we had coherent families. We had coherent communities. The people who filled the church on Sunday lived in the same place they went to church. The guy that owned the drugstore lived down the street. The person that owned the grocery store lived in our community. We were whole."

And I say to you, we have to make our people whole again. This church has stood for that. Why do you think you have five million members in this country? Because people know you are filled with the spirit of God to do the right thing in this life by them. (Applause.)

So I say to you, we have to make a partnership -- all the government agencies, all the business folks -- but where there are no families, where there is no order, where there is no hope, where we are reducing the size of our armed services because we have won the Cold War -- who will be there to give structure, discipline and love to these children? You must do that. And we must help you.

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Scripture says, you are the salt of the Earth and the light of the world. That if your light shines before men they will give glory to the Father in heaven. That is what we must do. That is what we must do. How would we explain it to Martin Luther King if he showed up today and said: Yes, we won the Cold War. Yes, the biggest threat that all of us grew up under, communism and nuclear war. Communism gone; nuclear war receding. Yes, we developed all these miraculous technologies. Yes, we all have got a VCR in our home. It's interesting. Yes, we get 50 channels on the cable. Yes, without regard to race, if you work hard and play by the rules, you can get into a service academy or a good college, you'll do just great.

How would we explain to him all these kids getting killed and killing each other? How would we justify the things that we permit that no other country in the world would permit? How could we explain that we gave people the freedom to succeed and we created conditions in which millions abuse that freedom to destroy the things that make life worth living and life itself? We cannot.

And so I say to you today, my fellow Americans, you gave me this job. And we're making progress on the things you hired me to do. But unless we deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence and unless we recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family, the community and the disappearance of jobs; and unless we say some of this cannot be done by government because we have to reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go.

So in this pulpit, on this day, let me ask all of you in your heart to say we will honor the life and the work of Martin Luther King; we will honor the meaning of our church; we will somehow, by God's grace, we will turn this around. We will give these children a future. We will take away their guns and give them books. We will take away their despair and give them hope. We will rebuild the families and the neighborhoods and the communities. We won't make all the work that has gone on here benefit just a few. We will do it together by the grace of God.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END

12:22 P.M. CST

## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Memphis, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT TOWN HALL MEETING

Olivet Baptist Church  
Memphis, Tennessee

1:20 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you for that wonderful welcome. Thank you for your sign about NAFTA. (Laughter and applause.) I didn't give it to her, I promise. (Laughter.)

Reverend Whalen, it's wonderful to be in your church, and I thank you for hosting this town hall meeting. Last year Reverend Whalen accepted my invitation to come to Arkansas to the Governor's Mansion, and to meet with me about a number of the problems you'll be discussing today. And it's good to see him again. He came to my house, and I'm in his house now. (Applause.)

I want to thank my good friend, Harold Ford, who started helping me in my quest to become President early, and long before that, worked with me to help reform the welfare laws to give people both the obligation to work and the opportunity to grow and thrive. And the two things go together, and I thank Harold Ford for that.

I'm glad to be here with Congressman Clement and with Congressman Jim Cooper. I'm glad to see them both up here talking. I was especially glad to see Jim talking because he's going to come back and ask you for a promotion next year -- (laughter) -- and he needed to get warmed up here, and I like that.

I'm glad our good friend, Congressman Jefferson came all the way from New Orleans to be with us today. That was good. (Applause.) Mayor Morris, it's good to see you. And I saw Mayor Herenton earlier today. And I want to say a special word of thanks to my good friend, Governor McWherter. I think he's one of the finest governors in the country and a person could never ask for a better friend. And I thank you. (Applause.)

We were out in the wind at the airport, announcing the support of several members of Congress for the North American Free Trade Agreement. And Congressman Jefferson from New Orleans, who didn't know Governor McWherter very well, looked at him and said, "You were probably a better governor than Bill Clinton and you're certainly a better wind-breaker than he was." (Laughter and applause.)

Let me say, too, that -- you know, this town hall meeting was scheduled before I announced that I was coming here to speak to the annual convention of the Church of God in Christ. And Congressman Ford invited me to come by; I wanted to come. The leader of our Office of Drug Policy and a member of my Cabinet, Lee Brown, is here, and he'll be speaking after I leave. I'm going to introduce him as I go. Lee was the police chief in Atlanta, in Houston, and in New York, and really pioneered the development of community policing in our country, and proved that if you not only had enough police officers, but if you deployed them in the right way, you could actually prevent crime from occurring as well as catch criminals more quickly. And in

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preventing crime from occurring, you could build bridges in neighborhoods and put lives back together and put communities back together.

So I want to implore you not to turn this into just a speech-making event. This is a discussion of crime and violence as a public health issue. It affects you and your lives and the lives of your children. So when I go, you stay. Will you do that? I want you to be a part of this. This is important. (Applause.)

I want you to know why this is such a big issue to me as an American, a husband, a father, as well as as President. I got elected President on some very basic commitments. I said that I would try to get the economy going again. I said I would try to restore the middle class and give hope to the poor by rewarding work and supporting families. I said that I would try to bring the country together again, across the line of region and income and race, so that we could work together to ensure a better future for everyone.

Now, in the last 10 months, we've worked hard largely on the economy, to get the deficit down, to keep inflation down, to get interest rates down. That means investments up. I don't know, I bet there are a lot of people in this room even who were able to refinance a home in the last year. Millions of Americans have done that, lowered their monthly payments. And we now have -- in the last 10 months the economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous four years.

But we all know that's not enough, we have to do more. I came here to support the North American Free Trade Agreement today for a simple reason, and that is that our workers are becoming more productive and more competitive. They have to, to survive in the world. But productivity means that the same person can produce more in the same or less time. Right? So if fewer people are producing more stuff, the only way you can create more jobs and higher incomes is if you have more customers for the things you're producing.

So that's very important; this trade agreement's important to me. But when you get through all of that, you have to come back to the fact that this country is going to have a very hard time making it unless we do something about this wave of crime and violence that's tearing the heart out of America.

And it affects everybody who thinks they're not affected by it. It affects you in many ways by forcing you as taxpayers to pay a lot more money to put people in the penitentiary than you otherwise would. You know, this country now has a higher percentage of people in prison than any other country in the world. Do you know that? That's something we're number one in. And we know that in spite of that, a lot of people get out before they should.

It means that you pay more in health care. Why? Because this really is a public health problem. I have spent years studying the American health care system and trying to figure out why we spend 40 or 50 percent more than anybody else on health care and we still can't figure out how to give health care to everybody. And I'll tell you one reason. One reason is that on any given night, our emergency rooms are filled with people that are cut up and shot, who don't have any health insurance and the rest of us pay for it. (Applause.)

Now, that's not the number one -- we ought to be concerned about them and others. I don't mean that on a human level. But you just need to know that if you say to me four years from now, Mr. President, why haven't you brought our health care costs more in line with everybody else's and given health care to everybody -- if you want the costs brought into line

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we're going to have to stop shooting and cutting each other up so much. It's a big health care issue. (Applause.)

You can't blame the doctors and you can't blame the hospitals and you can't blame even -- even though I get cross-ways with them from time to time, this is not the insurance companies' fault. This is society. When people show up bleeding and shot, there they are. Right? So this is a huge public health problem.

But more importantly, it's doing something just awful to our country. The other day I met with my good friend, the Mayor of Baltimore, when I was up at Johns Hopkins Medical Center talking to them about our health care plan. And he told me that the night before he had had to visit a home of an 18-year-old boy who was fine a young man that went out every Halloween for years with real young kids so they could go trick-or-treating safely in the neighborhood. And they were walking down the street and crossed the street. There was a 14-year-old boy with a gun and a 13-year-old boy without one. And the 14-year-old handed the 13-year-old the gun and dared him to shoot across the street at the 18-year-old. And he did and he killed him.

That kind of stuff happens all the time. In our Nation's Capital the other day we had -- a man came along the street and grabbed up a little one-year-old girl, put her in a seat beside him and sped off in a car. And some people who were after him ran after him, started shooting. They shot him dead. The bullet went through his body and hit the little girl, went down through her foot and blew her little bootie off. A one-year-old child.

In The Washington Post in our Nation's Capital the other day there was an article about children so convinced they would never grow up that, at the age of 11, they were planning their funerals. Little girl saying, well, now if I have a funeral play these hymns at the church; and another one saying, if I have a funeral put me in this dress.

Now, it's going to be hard for me or any other President or any member of Congress to organize this country with the private sector to compete and win in the global economy if we have the kind of public pathology we have today, where children are shooting children with weapons more advanced than the police have.

I come from across the river in Arkansas where we're about to start -- or maybe they have already started deer season, and sometimes we shut the schools and the factories down at the opening of deer season because nobody shows up anyway. (Laughter.) I understand all about the right to keep and bear arms, and I was in the woods when I was barely old enough to walk. But I'm telling you, no sane society would allow teenagers to have semi-automatic weapons and go in the streets and be better armed than the police officers. (Applause.) That's crazy. (Applause.)

And nobody else does. Only we do. We have to ask ourselves, what are we going to do about this? How did this happen? And I think, frankly, if we're going to find the answers we're going to have to all check a lot of our baggage at the door. (Applause.) We've got to check our partisan political baggage; we've got to check our racial identities; we've got to check everything at the door. We've just got to be honest children of God and honest Americans, and try to analyze how did we get in the fix we're in in this country and what are we going to do about it.

And I have to tell you, I spent time, I talked to a lot of young people who were and some who are in gangs. I once had someone go down to the penitentiary and interview every

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teenager who was there doing a life sentence for murder. I have -- long before I ever thought of running for president I went to South Central Los Angeles, which later became famous when it burned down. A couple of years before I ever thought of even getting in this race, just sat in church basements and places like that and talked to people about what was going on. And nearly as I can determine, what has happened is a combination of the following.

Number one, too many of these kids are growing up without family supports -- without the structure and value and support they need. (Applause.)

Number two, too many of those kids also have no substitute for the family that's positive. The word "gang" has a bad connotation now. The truth is we all want to be in gangs, if a gang is a group of people who think like you do and do like you do. What's the difference -- the Baptist Church and the Church of God in Christ are two different gangs who still want to get to heaven when they die. Right? (Applause.) I mean, really. You think about that. (Applause.)

What's the difference in the Democrats and the Republicans -- they're two different gangs and they obey the law and they vote election day and they've got different ideas about how to solve problems. This is very important to understand. We all want to be part of groups. And we get meaning out of our lives from being part of groups.

When Tennessee beat Arkansas so bad this year in football, and the Vice President rubbed it in because we beat them last year -- we were members of two different gangs. It was competition and friendly and wholesome and good. This is very important to understand.

So if you take the family supports away from these kids, and then there is nothing where they live that puts them in a good gang, that's why they get in gangs that are bad. It's very important to understand that.

The third thing that has happened that is different from what happened 30 years ago when people were poor is that you not only have a worse family situation and no other community supports. I mean, 30 years ago, even when kids didn't grow up in intact families in poor neighborhoods, they still lived in places where on every block there was a role model. The person who owned the drugstore lived in the neighborhood. The person that owned the grocery store lived in the neighborhood. The people that filled the churches on Sunday lived in the neighborhoods where they went to church.

And the third thing that's happened is, weekend drunks have been substituted by permanent drug addicts and drug salesmen. Abuse of alcohol has been replaced by a drug culture that makes some people money destroying other people's lives. (Applause.) It's different. And it is not simple or easy, what to do about it. Mr. Brown's going to talk more about that in a minute.

The fourth thing that has happened is that the central organizing principle of any advanced society has been evaporated -- and that is work. Forget about work in and of itself -- to earn money and contribute to the rest of our wealth -- if you don't have work in neighborhoods and in communities, it is hard for people to organize their lives. It is hard for parents to feel self-esteem. It is hard for them to feel confident giving their kids rules to live by. It is hard for the relationship between the parent and the child to work just right. It is hard for the child to look out and imagine that by working hard things will work out all right.

And there are lots of other problems. But I'm convinced that those are the four biggest ones -- the breakdown of the family, the breakdown of other community supports, the rise of drugs -- it's not just in terms of drug abuse, but in terms of a way to get rich, and the absence of work.

And I believe that in order to deal with this, we're going to have all work together in a whole new national contract. But I believe this is an economic issue. I think it's a public health issue. I think it's a national security issue. And besides that, I'm just tired of trying to explain to myself when I go to bed at night why so many American kids aren't going to make it when they ought to.

So there are things for the federal government to do, the President and the Congress. There are things for the states to do, things for the local folks to do. There are things the private sector has to do. And there are certainly things for the churches to do. But I want to submit to you that there are things that every American citizen's going to have to do.

This family breakdown problem has developed over 30 years. It didn't just happen overnight. The community erosion developed over a long period of time. We cannot rebuild all these institutions overnight, but we can start saving these kids, in the words of a good friend of mine, the same way we lost them one at a time, which means that there's something for all of us to do here. There is something for all of us to do. And we need both love and discipline. We need both investment in these kids and our future and we need rules by which people live. We need both. It's not an either/or thing.

That's why I say that I think if we really work at it, we can get beyond the Republican, Democrat; who's a liberal, who's a conservative; who's black, Hispanic or white. This is a huge human problem for America. (Applause.) And we have to face it. (Applause.)

I believe that my daughter's future is limited every time another child gets shot in any community in this country. That's what I believe. (Applause.) Every time a kid in Memphis is deprived of a future, I think it limits all the rest of us. That's what I believe. If we believe that, I think we can get there. And let me just suggest where I think we have to start nationally.

The first thing we have to do is to try to make people more secure. Until people are physically secure, it is difficult to get them to change and to do other things. We have a crime bill now moving through the Congress, which would, among other things, put another 100,000 police officers on the street. It's important not only to put them on the street but to have them trained and to have them properly deployed. As Lee Brown will tell you, if you do it right, you can reduce the crime rate and you can prevent crime and repair lives even as you are catching criminals more quickly. We should start there.

I think we ought to pass the crime bill because it offers boot camps instead of penitentiaries for first-time offenders. I think we need to do something to increase the safety of our schools -- (applause) -- 160,000 children stay home every day because they're afraid of school. (Applause.) One in five children goes to school everyday armed with a knife, a gun, or a club -- everyday. We've got to change that.

I think we have to provide as much as we can an environment in which the police have a chance to do their job and in which kids are not encouraged to kill each other. There are three bills now being considered in the Congress as a part of this crime bill that I favor. One says that if you're not old enough to go to war or vote, you ought not to be old enough to have a handgun legally -- (applause); and protects the right to

hunt and practice by saying that young people under the supervision of their parents or other appropriate adults can do that.

The other bill is the Brady bill, which says that we ought to have a waiting period and check out people's criminal history and mental health history before we just sell them a gun. (Applause.) And a third bill basically says that people ought not to buy in ordinary commerce automatic and semiautomatic weapons, the only purpose of which is to kill other people. (Applause.) Now, no other country would permit that to happen. (Applause.) I think those things should pass.

This crime bill is working its way through the Senate, has passed the House, could be given to the American people for Christmas, and I think we ought to do it. That's where we need to start. (Applause.) Then we need to recognize, as we did in our health care bill, that you have got to have not only drug education and drug treatment on demand without delay; and we ought not be putting people out of the penitentiary unless they get drug treatment when they need. And we ought to let this country go forward.

There are many American families that are not poor, that are not in the inner cities that have been touched by the problems of drug abuse. But I can tell you, and there is no simple, easy answer to this, and nothing works for everybody, but good drug treatment does work more than half the time. And we don't provide. And we're all paying for it. So we need to work on that. (Applause.)

And we have an obligation there at the national level. We also have got to find a way to work with the private sector, even though we are in serious trouble in terms of having enough money to do anything in this country, we have got to find useful work for people who live in dangerous, distressed, dysfunctional areas. We have got to give structure, order and discipline to lives again through work. (Applause.) We have got to do it. (Applause.)

The last thing I would say to you is that we can do these things at the national level. But we have to give these kids hope again. We have to give their families hope again. We have to give their parents who are trying hope again.

Keep in mind -- I went -- I stopped in that housing project, like Harold said. It may be one of the poorest places in this town, but I know that most people who live in that housing project do not break the law, do not abuse drugs, and are doing the best they can. And a lot of people forget that. (Applause.) A lot of people forget that. (Applause.) So that's something you're going to have to do. That's your job.

I'm going -- I live in Washington; you live in Memphis. You've got to do that here. You've got to do that. You've got to do it through the churches, through the businesses, through the community groups. You've got to help slowly but surely get this society back to a point where families can be reconstituted; where there can be supports for kids that don't have families so they're in a good gang, not a bad gang. We can do this, folks.

And people have been talking about this for years, but this is the first time in my memory that I think the American people are about fed up to their ears in it, scared to death about what's happening to our children and their future, and understand that it affects all the rest of us. (Applause.) We can do this. We can do this. (Applause.)

I'll make this pledge to you: If you'll work on it here, I'll work on it there. (Applause.) I can no longer justify knowing that there's something I can do to make people

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safer on the streets and our not doing it. I can no longer justify knowing there are things we can do that work to reduce the drug problem and not doing it. I can no longer justify going to bed at night thinking about these children killing other children, thinking about these little kids planning their funerals and not doing something about it. We can do this. And keep in mind, you're working with the same material that's inside you. These are people we're talking about. We can turn this country around if we'll check our divisions at the door, rely on what unites us, and go to work.

Thank you very much, and God bless you. (Applause.)

Now, before I go, I want to introduce the man who is affectionately called the Drug Czar. It makes him sound like he sells drugs instead of stops them, doesn't it? (Laughter.) Dr. Lee Brown grew up in California. As I said, he was the police chief in Atlanta, Houston, and New York. He instituted a program of community policing in New York City, where the police went back on the beat, starting walking in the neighborhoods. And despite all the preconceptions, according the FBI statistics in the last two years, the crime rate in New York City went down in all seven major FBI categories because they started giving the police force back to the neighborhoods and the people and working with friends and neighborhoods to try to stop bad things from happening and catch people who do them when they do. That is a remarkable thing.

I asked him to come on to my administration, and I pledged to him that I would make the Drug Policy Director a member of the President's Cabinet, and that we would get every last department of the federal government working on the drug problem because I thought he had a comprehensive view. I thought he understood how you can't just divide drugs from all these other issues; that we had to deal with all this together; we had to start at the grassroots level; and that we could really get something done if we had creative, good people working hard.

He's a remarkable man. I am deeply honored that he's in our Cabinet. I hope you will welcome him here today. And stay here and participate. Remember, you've got to do your part, too. He's here to help you.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Lee Brown. (Applause.)

END

1:41 P.M. CST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 16, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
DURING NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND DINNER

The Washington Hilton  
Washington, D.C.

8:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Elaine. Thank you, I think. It's pretty hard to follow Elaine Jones, especially when she's on a roll like she was tonight. (Laughter.) And the Rabbi's sounding more like a Baptist preacher every day. (Laughter and applause.) And Vernon, who speaks well when he's asleep. (Laughter.) And Dan Rather with a sense of humor. (Laughter and applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I come here overwhelmingly to do one thing: to say on behalf of a grateful nation, thank you. Thank you to the Legal Defense Fund. Thank you to Thurgood Marshall, in the presence of his wonderful wife. Thank you to Bill Coleman. Thank you to Jack Greenberg. Thank you to Julius Chambers. Thank you, Elaine Jones. Thank you -- all of you who have made it possible for us to come here today to celebrate the 40th Anniversary of Brown. Thank you. (Applause.) I thank Bob Bennett and Chester Davenport and all those who made this dinner possible. But, most of all, I just wanted to say thank you.

I was sitting out there looking at Elaine, listening to her say all these nice things, waiting, wondering how many days it would be before I would get my next lecture -- (laughter) -- and what new challenge would be presented.

Thurgood Marshall and this organization won 29 victories before the Supreme Court, but none as important as Brown. It changed our country and our lives. In a clear voice it said that we could no longer be two nations separate and unequal. We are one people, one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That's what it said. And it said that about the schools. And I was thinking what a difference it had made. I was thinking tonight as Elaine gave me my report card on judges and told me to do a little better -- (laughter) -- that today, since I have been privileged to be your President, there is a new minority in the nation, a minority of those who have been appointed to the federal bench are white men.

A majority are women and people of color. And yet, the appointees that I have sent to the Senate have the highest percentage of people rated well-qualified by the American Bar Association of any president since those nominations have been made. (Applause.) And I am proud of that. (Applause.) And Brown v. Board of Education helped to make that possible.

Oh, there's lots of other good things that happened because of Brown. I wonder if some of the people who are in my administration today could be there were it not for Brown. Thurgood Marshall and Bill Coleman and Jack Greenberg, they believe they're one nation indivisible under God. We're all going up or down together.

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What I wonder is whether the rest of us still believe that. And if so, whether we are prepared to endure the rigors of this time to make that real.

You know, I was raised in the South when I knew a lot of people who were second-class citizens. I lived in a state where it took the president of the United States calling out the National Guard simply to let my friend, Ernest Green, and eight other people go to high school. (Applause.) And, thanks to the work of this organization, my daughter got to go to that school system and never know that. And I'm grateful.

I think it's important for us not to let young people today forget that. Tomorrow, Secretary Riley and Ernest Green and Thurgood Marshall, Jr., and I are going to Martin Luther King Junior High School in Beltsville, Maryland, to teach young people why Brown and its ideas are still important, why they still matter. But we have to ask ourselves whether we think they still matter.

Recently, in various speeches, my good friend Vernon Jordan, and then last weekend at Howard, General Colin Powell, have reaffirmed the fundamental meaning of Brown in the face of blacks and whites alike who seem to be retreating from its lesson, either out of fear or resignation that it is no longer possible to make it real in our lives.

We see an alarming new study among African Americans that warns of a pervasive sense of alienation, especially among the young so that fully half of them want to opt out of the American system. They want to separate themselves. They believe that we're already a nation within a nation.

That's why so many large crowds, I think, are drawn to the message of those who preach separatism in a negative way. There are too many extremists of all kinds across the entire political and racial spectrum who think the only way they can advocate their own ideas and build themselves up is by putting other people down, sometimes in the most devastatingly vicious ways.

I say to all of you, we have to ask ourselves: Do we still believe in Brown? And if we do, what are we prepared to do, not only to stand up for it, but to make it real in our time?

Tomorrow we must celebrate Brown with the realization that a lot of folks have a mood that threatens to sever the ties that bind us. And we must confront a new segregationism that would tear us apart.

To do it, we must recognize that Brown was ultimately not an answer, but a challenge. And now 40 years later, you and the LDF must challenge me and our government, and together we must challenge the nation to revitalize the meaning of Brown in our time.

When the courts were hearing Brown, America was reading a book by Ralph Ellison, called "Invisible Man". He died just a month ago today. That book had an incredible impact on me. And still today when I see people denying each other's humanity, I remember the words of Ralph Ellison, and I think we are trying to make people who make us uncomfortable, who threaten us, who frighten us, invisible. But they will not go away.

There are too many of us in this country today who simply don't accept one another's legitimacy. Last March, the leading moral voice for tolerance and reconciliation in Northern Ireland came to our country. His name is John Hume. He's a Catholic member of the British Parliament who represents a city in Northern Ireland where Catholics and Protestants have waged fights and built walls of hatred for 300 years.

The day after he had dinner with us at the White House, he gave a speech in which he said this: "The essence of the Irish problem is a division in the hearts and minds of our people...let us walk to Abraham Lincoln's Memorial and look at the message of peace that's written there for everybody: 'E pluribus Unum' -- from many, one. The essence of unity is the acceptance of diversity."

To be sure, there can be no unity when people have not learned to accept one another as they are, and when they think they can only fulfill themselves by denying others' humanity. But accepting diversity is only half the story. And that is our challenge today. Diversity is not an end in itself, although it is a very good thing; it is simply the only way we can build in a free society a larger community to which everyone belongs, in which everyone has a common stake in the future, and in which everyone can have a decent life.

Anyone who knows the history of this organization knows you don't have to have the same skin color to have the same values. But we also have to be able to frankly speak about our problems and our differences.

You know, I thought a lot about what I should say here tonight, and I got all kinds of advice. Like I normally do when I get in trouble, I discarded it all and decided to say what I thought. (Laughter.) If you think about what's going on today, what motivated Vernon to say what he did in his Urban League speech, and General Powell to say what he did, what motivates people to go here -- Mr. Farrakahn and large crowds -- what are all these cross currents? Why is it that we're having trouble living with Brown and living by Brown? Well, it's because Brown didn't solve all of our problems, and we've got some new problems. And in the face of those, there's more than one response; and it's really tough.

No one can doubt that we are much, much, much better off today because of Brown and all those other decisions that said we had to be one people. It changed us forever for the better. But no one can doubt that it couldn't solve all the problems. There's still racism, there's still inequality. There is more trouble with violence and the breakdown of family and community and the absence of work in parts of our country. The vacuum that is created has given rise to all kinds of terrible conditions.

We had, in a town near here, last weekend, a 13-year old boy that just won a scholarship that could have led him out of poverty to an excellent education -- the promise of Brown -- shot dead on a street corner because he happened to be in the wrong place; two groups of people were feuding and shooting at each other. We have here in this community a poor neighborhood where people decided that if they wanted their kids to be able to play in the yard and their old folks to be able to sit on park benches, they'd have to do what rich folks do. So they just built a little fence around their living quarters and they got some security guards. And sure enough, they might as well have been out in some fancy neighborhood in Southern California; the kids could play again and the old folks could sit again in safety.

But we have these problems. Now, what are we going to do about them? There seems to me four things we can do, and three of them are wrong. One is, we can come to a dinner like this and talk about how wonderful Brown was, and preach until the day we die and not do anything to deal with the problems of this time. If so, we will lose a whole generation of young people to other courses of action. Or we can do what I said -- Elaine mentioned if you preach venom, you get a talk show; if you preach love, you get a yawn. Deborah Tannen, a professor at Georgetown, has written a book called, "You Just Don't Understand." She says we're caught up in what she

calls a "culture of critique", where shouting matches drown out constructive conversations; and where you only really have any status at all in society if you're just slamming somebody else and putting them down. And you don't really have to do anything as long as you just talk.

So you can do that -- you can say the wrong things, and reject the spirit of Brown and do nothing but cash in; and that's wrong. Or you can do what is disturbingly working -- you can say the wrong things, you can preach division, you can deny the Holocaust every occurred. But you can help people solve real problems. You can tell families they've got to stay together; and daddies, they've got to take care of their kids; and people, they ought to stay off drugs; and everybody ought to show up for work every day. And that is a very dangerous thing, because in the end, we will still lose. Because in the end, you cannot have a democracy where you lift up one group by putting somebody else down. But it is a tempting thing when people are doing things that change lives. (Applause.)

I say this to make this point -- people desperately wish their lives to change. They want to do something that will make a difference. They want safer streets, not nice talk. They want schools that work, not nice talk. They want children to be raised by caring parents, not nice talk.

So we have to recognize that the only acceptable thing to do is to do what Thurgood Marshall and Bill Coleman and Jack Greenberg did 40 years ago. We have to not only talk the talk, we have to walk the walk. We have to not only advocate Brown, we have to deal forthrightly and aggressively with the problems we face today in a way that actually changes people's lives. That is what we have to do. (Applause.)

There are a lot of people that don't think we can do this. There are a lot of people that are filled with doubt. I had members of Congress walk right up there and vote for the Brady Bill last year -- after seven years of fooling around with it and looking for excuses and caving in and finally passing it -- who did not believe it would make a difference. But it has. It's just like Brown -- it hasn't solved all the problems, but it has saved lives already.

We had people put their political careers on the line here last week, walking down the aisle in the House of Representatives to vote for the assault weapons ban; putting their necks on the line, afraid it might not make a difference. But it will. And I'm telling you, that is the kind of thing we have to deal with -- knowing that there is no ultimate perfect answer, but that we expect something that will not occur if we think we can simply advocate the ideas that are embodied in the Brown decision and not change our own behavior and the behavior of our country to give our kids a safe and decent and well-educated childhood to put things back together again. There is no alternative for us if we want to keep this country together, and we want, 100 years from now, people to celebrate the 140th anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education in the greatest country the world has ever known -- fully diverse where everybody -- all God's children -- can live up to the fullest of their God-given potential.

And in order to do it, we all have to overcome a fair measure not only of fear, but of resignation. There are so many of us today, and all of us in some ways at some times, who just don't believe we can tackle the big things and make a difference. But I tell you, the only thing for us to do to honor those whom we honor tonight is to tackle the big things and make a difference.

I'm proud that Elaine Jones and all the rest of you are trying to deal forthrightly with the problem of violence and the fear

it produces, and what it's doing to drive our people apart. I want you to think about what we can do to honor the sacrifices of those whose shoulders we stand on tonight. They did not do all this work to preside over the collapse of American society; to give people an equal opportunity to get an inferior education; to give people an equal opportunity to be unemployed; to give people an equal opportunity to stand on the street corner and be gunned down by some kid that nobody ever loved enough or disciplined enough or cared enough about to give a different way of living to.

We cannot stand chaos and destruction, but we must not embrace hatred and division. We have only one choice.

Let me read this to you in closing. It seems to me to capture the spirit of Brown and the spirit of America and what we have to do today, starting with what is in our heart. These are lines from Langston Hughes' wonderful poem, "Let America Be America Again": "Oh yes, I say it plain, America never was America to me. And yet I swear this oath, America will be." Let that be our oath on this 40th anniversary celebration.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

8:35 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 17, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS  
ON BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

Martin Luther King Middle School  
Beltsville, Maryland

11:35 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Do you know why we're here? Why are we here, somebody?

Q To talk about the Brown versus Board of Education decision and how it affects us today.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right, we are. What was the ruling in Brown versus Board of Education? What did the Supreme Court say?

Q That separate but equal was unjust and unconstitutional.

THE PRESIDENT: And what were the facts in the case? What gave rise to the case? What was the case about?

Q Unsegregating schools in the South.

THE PRESIDENT: In the South and in Topeka, Kansas. It was about a little schoolgirl named Linda Brown whose parents thought she should not be sent to a segregated school.

The United States Supreme Court made that decision in 1954, 40 years ago today. Before that, the Supreme Court had ruled that separate but equal was constitutional, right? And when the Supreme Court makes a ruling like that, it's the law of the land until they change their minds.

During the Civil War, President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves in 1863 in the White House, on the same floor that I sleep every night, in what is now the Lincoln Bedroom -- the room where your father spent the night last night, right? Secretary Riley's 93-year-old father spent the night last night in the room where President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves.

SECRETARY RILEY: He said he heard Lincoln all night long. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Then, after the Civil War was over, the 14th Amendment to our Constitution was adopted, which declared that everybody had to be equal under the law. But there was still a lot of racial prejudice in the country and a lot of discrimination. And a few years after that, the Supreme Court decided a case called Plessy v. Ferguson -- have you studied that? And the problem with Plessy v. Ferguson was that blacks and whites had to sit in a different place on the train, and the 14th Amendment said that nobody could be discriminated against under the law. And, by law, they were required to sit in a different place on the train.

So what did the Supreme Court say in Plessy v. Ferguson?  
Yes?

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Q That trains or whatever were equal, and they could be separate.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. If the facilities were equal, they could be separate without violating the 14th Amendment, right? So the Brown decision overruled that.

Now, why did they overrule that? What was the argument? Why was separate but equal? What's the matter with that?

Go ahead.

Q Well, people were still being --

THE PRESIDENT: So they --

Q

THE PRESIDENT: One argument was that even though they were supposed to be separate but equal, they weren't really. Right? Okay, what else? What else is wrong with separate but equal?

Q That if they are separated, they wouldn't be equal.

THE PRESIDENT: That's the heart of it. Because they were separated, right, they wouldn't be equal. That's very important. The argument was that if they were separated, the act of separating people by race under the law itself was a message of inequality.

Do you believe that? Do you believe that? Nearly everybody believes that now, right?

You look around this room today. This is America -- people from all different racial and ethnic groups. We have one county in America -- maybe more than one, but at least one, Los Angeles County, that now has people from 150 different racial and ethnic groups. So every -- and someday, if the population trends continue, the number of nonwhites in America will be greater than the number of whites. So that everybody will be ultimately protected by a requirement that no one can be discriminated against by the law based on their race.

But the essence of Brown was two things, and you guys got them -- one is, well, they're not really always equal, these separate facilities. The other is the act of separating people by their race under the law is itself an act of inequality.

Now, since then, we've had all kinds of problems and challenges with the aftermath of the Brown decision. You know, what do you do when people's living patterns are separate? That's how busing got into the whole issue of how to integrate the schools. And what do you do when people in one place are a lot poorer than people in another place? And how do you deal with the practical problem -- there are all kinds of practical problems. Many of them have been solved more satisfactorily in places like in magnet schools, where people come as a matter of choice and they come together and you try to get different kinds of people, both different races and different incomes.

So I wouldn't -- by no means have all the problems that were dealt with in the Brown decision, the problems of racial inequality and income inequality, and the history of discrimination -- those problems have not all been overcome. And today we have some new problems, at least problems that are more severe. There's more violence. The families and communities are under greater stress.

There are a lot of problems that you face that people our age 40 years ago didn't face. We know that.

But the number one lesson I want to leave with you is that this is a very much better country because of that Brown decision and it is a very different country because of the Brown decision. And the three people who are here with me today each have a different incite on that.

But I want you to think about how different the country might have been. We're in the basketball playoffs now, so I'm thinking about this is the first one in a long time where Michael Jordan hasn't played. Michael Jordan played at the University of North Carolina -- would he have been able to play there, would he have even gone there if there had been no Brown decision? We're not sure.

So I want to introduce these three people, each in their own turn, and ask them to say something. First, I'd like to start with Thurgood Marshall, Jr. His father argued the Brown decision and many other decisions before the Supreme Court, and became the first African American justice on the Supreme Court. He now works in the White House on the staff of Vice President Gore. And I'd like to introduce him and have him say a few words.

Mr. Marshall. (Applause.)

MR. MARSHALL: Thank you. And, thank you, Mr. President. I was actually born two years after the Brown decision was decided by the Supreme Court, so a lot of what I learned about it, I learned in school like you. And I had a special opportunity, of course, to learn because my father was at home with me and could teach me some of what he did and what others that worked with him did. Because, as you know, it was the product of a lot of work on the part of a lot of people.

Of the dozens of cases that my father worked on as a lawyer and as a judge, the Brown case was certainly the case that he was the most proud of, and it's the case that meant the most to me. And he dedicated his life to trying to make the principles of that decision a reality for all of us. And I hope that I can do that as well, and I hope you can do that with me.

This week I view as an opportunity to try to rekindle the spirit of the Brown decision and the spirit that gave rise to the movement that was manifested in that decision throughout the country. And I think it's important as we try to put it together in terms of what we're dealing with in our country at the moment, that we remember that that decision spoke to responsibility on the part of both society and all of us as individuals, the kind of spirit of responsibility that caused Ernie Green in Arkansas to show the courage that he did, and Linda Brown in Kansas, Reverend DeLaine in South Carolina, and Donald Murray here in Maryland. I mention each name because each individual took the time and risked his or her life to do what they did, and I hope you'll take that lesson with you today as well. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'm going to give you a chance to ask them questions, too. But I want all of them to talk first.

One of the big issues that was inevitably a part of the Brown decision was, okay, the Supreme Court says you can't have any separate-but-equal school districts anymore. They're unconstitutional. Well, it's one thing for a court to issue an order and another thing for millions of people to change their lives, right?

I mean, how are you going to integrate all these schools? And what happens to the teachers? And what happens to the principals? And how do the kids get to new schools? And do the white kids go to the black schools, or do the black kids go to the white schools? Do you have to build new schools? There are mind-bending details that had to be worked out. Plus the fact that in many parts of the country, there were still millions of Americans who didn't agree with the decision who were determined to resist it at every turn.

So while -- the Supreme Court's in the news this week because I just appointed Judge Breyer from Boston to the Supreme Court. And he's a very distinguished judge. I think he'll do a wonderful job. And they'll have these hearings in a few couple of months, and you'll be able to follow that. And I urge you to follow these hearings, see the questions they ask him and the answers he gives. Supreme Court's very important.

But the Supreme Court is nine people. They don't have any enforcement authority. So, then the lower courts have to somehow figure out how to enforce an order and approve plans and do things to try to figure out how was this Brown decision going to be implemented.

One of the states involved in the Brown decision in addition to Topeka, Kansas, was the State of South Carolina. Secretary Riley, the Secretary of Education, was the Governor of South Carolina before he became Secretary of Education. His father was the lawyer for one of the school districts involved in the desegregation effort in Brown 40 years ago. And he, as a governor, made a national reputation for his commitment to improving the education of all the children of South Carolina, which is why I named him the Secretary of Education.

So I'd like for him to talk a minute now about this Brown decision and what happened after it was decided and how it affected his life.

Secretary Riley. (Applause.)

SECRETARY RILEY: Well, in 1954, when I was a senior in college -- I'm older than these other people. You all didn't realize that, but I am. (Laughter.) Coming out then, I went in the Navy. And after that, coming back to South Carolina, I reflected back about how it was when I was growing up. I never did like segregation. I never did think it was fair. Even as a young child I was very uncomfortable with it, but it was the system then.

But coming out of high school I remember Sterling High was the black high school; Greenville High was the white school. Jesse Jackson, for example, came through Sterling High, and he was the star football player there. And I was the captain of Greenville High team, among several others. And I told Jesse Jackson one time that the only thing I could think of good about having segregation was a guy like me got to play football. I would never have played if I had been competing with Jesse. (Laughter.)

Coming on later, when we were really getting into the major case that the President is talking about, Greenville school district was a big school district, and they were kind of halfway into integrating the schools in compliance with Brown. There was a court case following that ordered Greenville to integrate all the schools in 30 days. Now, that was every coaching staff, every teaching complement of any school, all of the student body and the entire county, hundreds of students had to be totally integrated in 30 days.

And we did that, and we had a committee, and I was on the committee -- I was in the State Senate then -- and we really put

it together. I was on television, urging everybody to stay with the public schools; my four children did. And we put it together and there was a video made of it, and it was called "Integration with Grace and Style." And we were always very proud of that. In 30 days, all the textbooks, moving them around and so forth -- so there were good examples of cases of where people really put things together and came out of it in a very positive way.

But I had the misfortune as a young person of not having social friends who were African Americans. I had a lot of good friends, and that was unfortunate for me. Of course, that's changed radically now, but it just makes me feel very good to see this class and to see classes all over the country where that's no longer the case. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: After the Brown decision was decided, like I said, all people had to figure out, well, how are we going to integrate our school system, and how fast. So they went back to the Supreme Court and there was a second Brown decision that said "with all deliberate speed." So, who knows what that means, right? For people who didn't want to integrate, they said with all deliberate speed might be four or five years. For people who did want to integrate, they said it would be four or five weeks.

So that was the issue there -- how long could they take to integrate. And the court order in Greenville said, all deliberate speed is 30 days; do it. And they did it, because they had leaders like Secretary Riley and his family who believed it was the right thing to do and who made it work. I'll say a little more about that in a minute. But believing in your heart that something is the right thing to do makes a big difference in whether it gets done or not.

Now, after these things happened, there was still resistance to integration all across the South and in other parts of America, and there were still other questions that had to be resolved and other issues about how this would be done.

In my home state and Mr. Green's home state of Arkansas, in Little Rock, there was a case that went all the way to the Supreme Court involving the Little Rock school system, called Cooper v. Arens, which was also a very large decision in the history of the Supreme Court law affecting the schools.

In Little Rock, the then-governor of our state called out the National Guard to stop the integration of the school, which had been ordered by the Supreme Court, devised by the local school board. And then the President of the United States, as you saw in the movie, took over the National Guard and used it to protect the right of Ernest Green and eight other people to attend Little Rock Central High School.

I want him to talk a little bit about his experience, how he felt, what he went through. You saw the movie, which was premiered, interestingly enough, in the auditorium at Little Rock Central High School, and he and I were there the night that it was premiered in the auditorium where he first -- where he became the first black student to go and to graduate.

He's done rather well. I want him to tell you a little bit about what he's doing with his life now so you'll understand the enormous consequence of this decision. But, first, I think you need to understand a little more about what happened. So I'd like to ask Mr. Green to talk now.

Ernest Green. (Applause.)

MR. GREEN: Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I want to say that I was your age, I was 12 years old when the Brown decision came down, probably, looking at your faces, a lot like you. It was something of enormous importance. But if you're a 9th grader, I mean, you've got a lot of important things to do, right? You've got to go to the next dance. You've got to study the next book, and things of such global proportions don't necessarily impact on you.

But the next morning when I woke up and read the paper, the Arkansas Democrat, the Democrat said this was the end of the South, this was a change of life. And I said, if the Democrat is against this, I've got to be for it because anything that the Arkansas Democrat is against is not in my interest. And I just analyzed it in that manner.

Little Rock was a community at that time of about 100,00 people. And I passed Central High School every day. In fact, in our science classes, we got the hand-me-down books from Central -- physics and chemistry, those books were used previously by the white students. We played all of our football games at Central Stadium. Black students played on Friday night. White students played on Saturday night. So I knew the building, I knew the surroundings. I had never been inside the building, but I knew that the building was bigger than the school that I was attending, the number of courses that were given at Central were much more diverse and complex than the ones that I was getting and that I said that if I had a chance to go to Central High School, I wanted to attend.

Well, as the President indicated, that was the court decision that required the Little Rock school board to finally desegregate the schools. And their view of abiding with all deliberate speed was to start with 12th through the 10th grade. They were basically about 27 black students who had been accepted by the school board to go to Central. Out of the 27, only nine of us agreed to go; the others decided not to.

The first lesson of life that I learned, the tough decisions -- and you're going to face a lot of tough decisions -- the likelihood is that you'll have to stand alone on these decisions. But if they're decisions that you stand and believe in, they really are the right decisions. And I -- as life now, I look back -- I obviously don't regret having made the choice to go to that school. I couldn't have done it without my parents and my friends and other people that supported us.

But when we got there, we never anticipated that we were going to become a focal point, and that I certainly never thought that 35 years after going to high school I'd still be talking about it with a group of middle students. (Laughter.)

But the point is that we expected that schools would be relatively quiet. Little Rock had desegregated the buses, the libraries; the law schools, the medical schools had all accepted black students. And there was no expectation that there would be this big, constitutional confrontation.

I must say that I ran into Orville Faubus about four years ago.

THE PRESIDENT: He was the governor then.

MR. GREEN: He was the governor, not Bill Clinton. (Laughter.) And Faubus's spin on our issue then was he was simply trying to protect us. That could be a revisionist view of history -- (laughter) -- but I will say this, that the year was very rough.

You've seen the movie, and that only touches on some of the problems that we had. But in the end, it was a feeling of achievement, that I was the only senior of the nine students, that I knew that if I stayed through that year, that I would get the diploma. As it turns out, I not only got the diploma, but last week I went back to my university that I graduated from, Michigan State. They gave me an honorary doctorate degree, I spoke at the commencement. All of this has occurred -- I always like to point out, though, one other fact. I think the Brown decision helped free everybody in the South, black and white.

My good friend here -- I'd like to point out, that Bill Clinton, like Ernie Green, like Goody Marshall, like many of us of that generation, would not have known each other, may not have had the opportunities because it certainly widened economic opportunity in the south. It opened up schools, it opened up social relations, and it finally breathed life into an area that we thought was always the best and the most open, and if given the opportunity, a place that everybody could thrive.

And I want to make one other point and then I'm going to sit down. I went with the President's delegation to South Africa last week and saw Nelson Mandela sworn in as the new President of South Africa. I want to point out to you there is a clear line between the Brown decision and Nelson Mandela's swearing-in. If it hadn't been for the Brown decision we wouldn't have had a voting rights act. The voting rights act wouldn't have had the expansive number of African American members in the Congress, state and local government types who help put the squeeze on sanctions and the bond business and the pension business. All of this is related to opening up a country, opening up a world, empowering people.

And I hope that you are left with one impression. When you saw those long lines of people standing in line in South Africa to cast their right to vote, that you'll know that it's tied to this Supreme Court decision, that in the end the right to vote for every citizen in this world, in this country, is tied to that decision. And for that, we really are -- this country is enormously better off. And I hope you take advantage of it.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I want to give you a chance to ask questions, if you have any questions of any of them or me. But let me just follow up on one thing Mr. Green said.

You heard Dick Riley say how much he regretted the fact that he grew up in a segregated society. A lot of us who were Southerners, who grew up in the South, really knew better. We knew that segregation was wrong. And we knew that -- those of us who were white knew that it was hurting us, that we were being deprived of the opportunity to know people, to share their feelings, to share their life experiences, to share their music, their culture, to deal with people who were just being cut off.

And the things which happened to integrate the country, integrated the South, at least in the beginning, more than any other part of the country because it was the most segregated part, and it was the part that had the highest percentage of African American population. And I am convinced that those things -- first, the education decisions, and then the voting rights decision -- they did help to inspire and give energy to what ultimately happened in South Africa.

The United States contributed \$35 million last year to helping to build democracy in South Africa -- helping train people to vote, helping conduct, show people how to run the elections, helping to figure out how this could be done. But I also have to tell you

that I think it is virtually inconceivable that I would have ever become President of the United States had it not been for the Brown decision because of the relationships -- and the voting rights decision -- and the relationships that subsequently I developed with the African Americans in my state whose support helped to make me governor, and with people around the country who made me president. So there is a sense in which, in very tangible, real ways, these decisions freed a lot of Americans to be more than they otherwise would have been.

So, do you have any questions to any of them or me that you want to ask? Yes, in the back.

Q I would like to ask Mr. Green -- I'm sure it was very hard when you were going to Central High School. What kept you going? What was the big motivational factor for you?

MR. GREEN: Well, the biggest motivation was that we felt we were -- we had a goal. The goal was to try to open up opportunities in Little Rock. We were able to do that, had this focus because of the support we got from our families and our churches. And then, in the end, all nine of us kind of bonded together. We are a club for life. When one decided that things were getting rather rough, the other eight supported them. So it was that bond between the nine of us, the support from our homes, and the belief, as the President indicated, that why we didn't know for sure what the future was going to be, we knew we didn't want to go back to the past, and we wanted something a little bit better than what we were seeing, and that this was one of the ways to try to get there.

Q When you were in school how did integrating your school affect you?

THE PRESIDENT: My public schools were not integrated until two years after I left. That's the point I was trying to make with Ernest. The integration of the schools throughout the South basically took about 15 years after the Brown decision. So I'm a little bit younger than Ernie, not much.

And so our school -- what happened was, a lot of these school districts sat around and waited for the Justice Department to come after them, the federal government to say, where is your plan, or for somebody to force the states to adopt a plan. And that's why I wanted to make the point that, after Brown v. Board of Education, all of these schools didn't integrate overnight, and it took a significant number of years before it happened throughout the South and throughout the country.

MR. GREEN: Mr. President, I think one of the things you want to point out about the Little Rock case is that Little Rock was much earlier than many of the other cases, and that the fact that the federal government finally used their power and might to underscore it may have helped, I like to think, fuel part of the modern civil rights movement.

As you know from the movie, we had a thousand paratroopers that came to Little Rock to enforce the court order. But this was the first time that school desegregation had been undergirded by federal support in that manner.

THE PRESIDENT: I also want to make another point that I think might have been passed over. Ernie mentioned this. Arkansas was actually a good candidate for a peaceful, successful integration of Little Rock Central High School. We were the first state in the south to integrate our law school. We had an integrated medical school. We had a newspaper in Little Rock, the Arkansas Gazette, which was, I think, one of the -- by any standard -- one of the finest papers in the country, which was strongly supportive of

integration. We had a lot of leadership, white leadership, in Little Rock that was strongly supportive of integration.

And in cases like this, when countries or cities or states can go one way or the other, the impact of leadership is pivotal. When the Governor called out the National Guard to stop the integration, it wasn't even all that popular in Little Rock. A lot of the white people didn't like it. But it was wildly popular out in our state in the more rural areas where the racial animosity was greater and the fear of change was greater. And so it was a politically popular decision. But it wrecked the chance we had to become the first southern state that would really have a beginning statewide successful, peaceful integration.

Later when Atlanta began to integrate, a lot of leaders in Atlanta looked at what happened in Little Rock and said, we don't want that to happen here and we're not going to permit it. Very interesting.

So how people behave in times of crisis is very important and makes a big difference. The court decision still is carried out by people, and as I said, what's in their heart makes a difference.

Do you have any questions for them anymore?

Q Mr. Green, how did you feel the first time, the first day you went to Central High School?

MR. GREEN: Apprehension, some fear. It turned out, though, that that first day eight of us went as a group, and one of the students missed the directions. Elizabeth Eckford is the student that you see in the pictures being harassed by the mob.

I think after that day, when we finally got home and saw the footage on television and all, we all finally figured out we were in the middle of a serious struggle at that point. But it also convinced us that we weren't going to back down, that we were committed to the change. We thought that we were right and we had a lot of support to undergird that. So it just reinforced that we were going to stick it out.

Q Mr. Green, how did your brother feel about your transfer to Central High?

MR. GREEN: Initially, he thought I was a little wacky. (Laughter.) But he supported me and my family did. And he's now living in New York. In fact, my brother, as a result also of the Brown outcome, he's a journeyman in one of the sheet metal unions in New York. And if you know anything about the building trade area and the skilled trades, it's been one in which African Americans have had a difficult time in gaining entrance. And because of Brown, again, employment, discrimination, voting rights -- all of this you can relate to the '54 Brown decision.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q This is directed to Mr. Marshall. How has this affected your life today?

MR. MARSHALL: The decision and its aftermath have affected my life today largely because it puts in perspective for me a number of the problems that we face in society now; the problems that divide people by race, which also are, I believe, one of the causes of the violence we face. And for that reason, the decision and the efforts that led up to it and followed through on it have reminded me of the importance of everyone trying to work together as opposed to the politics of division that have caused a number of the

problems we have now. So it's been more of a reminder to me than anything else that we need that as a goal.

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead, you're next.

Q This is for both Mr. Green and you, Mr. President. Did you have -- while the integration was going on, did you ever feel like taking the law into your own hands and doing something drastic? (Laughter.)

MR. GREEN: Thank you, Mr. President. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: There are some benefits to this job. (Laughter.)

MR. GREEN: The reality of what we were faced with was that we were nine students; there were over 2,000 white students at Central High School at that time, and so the logic would say that you simply weren't going to fight your way out of it -- the numbers were too overwhelming.

But secondly, we had the -- when President Eisenhower stepped in with the paratroopers and the Army, we had the feeling, initially that we had the support of the United States government behind us. And as time wore on, we began to see support from all around the country and around the world.

And the end result was that one of the people who attended my graduation in May of 1958 was Dr. King. He was speaking at a college down in Pine Bluff, and came up to Central that night. I didn't know that he was in the audience until the ceremony was over with. And Dr. King in 1958 was not the towering giant that he is today. But all of this points out, I think, that the moment you think you are going to take it into your own hands, use some extreme violence, manage to turn your off switch on and stop, pause 30 seconds, take a deep breath, count because the likelihood is not worth that.

And I think many of our young people -- this whole issue of nonviolence, they see it as an impractical tool, but it's something that we need a lot to think about in resolving conflicts -- that you don't lash out, you don't want to punch somebody out, you don't want to hit them, that that's not the way to resolve conflicts.

The real way to resolve conflicts is that if you can ever use your mind, you can out-think them. And we proved that in Little Rock. In the end, we could out-think the segregationists, the resisters. And the day, whenever I go back home with the President, I can't find anybody in Little Rock who is opposed to my being at Little Rock Central High School (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I want to make two points about it. First is, back then, the law was our friend and lawlessness was our enemy. In other words, the Supreme Court was the friend of integration. The President was enforcing the Supreme Court order. And after President Kennedy was elected, Robert Kennedy was the attorney general. He was out there killing himself trying to get the schools integrated and to enforce the law. So the law was seen as the friend of the people who wanted change.

The second point I'd like to make is, people were willing to put themselves on the line. These people like Ernie -- Mr. Marshall's father worked for years and years and years. They were willing to pay the price of time. What you have today in a lot of communities is young people taking the law into their own hands either because they can't manage their own aggressions and they've got a gun handy, or because they're doing it for some -- it arises

out of drug dealing or something like that, where people want a quick benefit instead of a long-term benefit.

And I think one of the things the schools have to drum into our kids today is that you always have to be living for your lifetime. You always have to be thinking about what it's going to be like down the road. No one is entitled to instant gratification all the time, to get what they want when they want it, right now. You have to be willing to pay the price of time.

And these nine young people of whom Ernie was the leader were willing -- they paid an enormous price for themselves as well as for everybody they represented by saying, in my life this will be better. And if I could change one thing about what's going on today, when there's so much mindless violence among young people and kids are just getting shot at random, it's because people are going around acting on their impulses in the moment.

And the law can still be your friend if you're willing to work and have discipline and take time with it. Nobody gets everything they want just when they want it. You have to pay the price of time and be willing to have -- to take the kind of discipline risks that Ernie Green did. And that, I think, is one of the things we really have got to somehow hammer home to everybody in your generation.

You've been great. I can tell -- the teacher's telling me it's time to stop. The principal is. Thank you all very much. You were terrific. Thank you, gentlemen. (Applause.)

(Gifts are presented to the President.)

The great thing about the United States, the great thing about the United States is that all the history of our country lives in the present and helps to pave the way for the future.

I had Senator Byrd in my office last night, who is the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. They have to approve all the money that gets spent. Like if we send any money to your school, it comes through that committee. And he had just finished reading the Federalist Papers written by Madison and Hamilton; just read them all again, because he said they have relevance to today.

Brown is important today. It's living in your life today. And what you have to do is to make the most of this experience and make the most of your own life, so that, 40 years from now, young people will be sitting in this school and other schools around the country and they will be living the accumulated history of America.

That's the only way this works. That's the brilliant thing about our country. That's why we wanted to come here and talk about it, because we know the spirit and the meaning of that decision is alive in your lives today. And as long as you believe that and you do your part, then this country is going to be around a long, long time.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END

12:15 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 17, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION  
40th ANNIVERSARY EVENT

Martin Luther King Middle School  
Beltsville, Maryland

12:45 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much. My good friend Ernie Green; Secretary Riley; Attorney General Reno; your principal, Bette Lewis. I'd also like to recognize in the audience today two of my partners in trying to make America a better place -- two of your distinguished representatives in Congress, Senator Paul Sarbanes, and Congressman Steny Hoyer -- thank you for being here. (Applause.)

I have a number of people here who work in the White House, but I want to recognize one in particular. We just finished teaching a class here on Brown v. Board of Education. I was joined in that class by Secretary Riley, who, as a young man, was involved along with his father, with the integration of public schools in South Carolina; and with Ernest Green, whose background you know. Also, with Thurgood Marshall, Jr., now a member of the Vice President's staff in the White House, whose father argued the Brown v. Board of Education case to the Supreme Court and who later served on the Supreme Court literally spent his life fighting for these principles and these opportunities.

Now, I say this to make the second point. There have been a lot of -- you may see this if you watch these sort of things on the evening news, you'll see a lot of people, your parents and grandparents' age talking -- or even younger than that -- talking in very cynical terms saying, well, this is still a society with a lot of segregation. Or well, this is still a society with a lot of racial discrimination. Or, well, this is still a society where racial minorities don't have the same economic opportunities others do. Or well, we're still more violent than we were 40 years ago.

And all those people will be saying that sort of as an excuse. They'll be saying therefore, maybe this decision didn't count for so much. Well, I want to tell you that's flat wrong. This is a much better country today because of Brown v. Board of Education and because there were people who came before all of you who were literally willing to put their lives on the line to see that you got an equal education, to see that you get a chance to make something of your lives. The world and this country are markedly better because of this decision and these principles. It is better today. And just because not all the problems of this country have been solved, that's no excuse for people to say, this Brown v. Board of Education decision didn't make a huge difference.

You heard the Attorney General and the students in the class heard the Secretary of Education and me say all three of us grew up in the South in segregated societies. And we suffered too. We were deprived of the right to play and go places with and know and live with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. And we

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paid a terrible price for it. And when it began to go away, our lives were also very, very much enriched. I do not believe I would be here as President today if it hadn't been for Brown v. Board of Education, and the Civil Rights Act, and the Voting Rights Act that gave all the people of my state a chance to come together as one people.

What I do want to say to you today is that this generation faces a whole lot of challenges that are part of the unfinished business of helping us to live together as one people. And we need some more miracles like Brown v. Board of Education. And they have to begin, however, the same way Brown did -- by individual Americans making choices.

You look at what the problems are today. Is there still racism in America today? Of course there is. Is there too much violence today, especially among young people? Of course. Are there still too many people who don't think they're going to get a fair shake in life and don't think they have much of a future to look forward to? Of course there are. So what are you going to do about it? And what am I going to do about it?

What we should say is, we are going to build on the things which have gone before that are good. You have to make choices. If you look at what's wrong with our country today -- too much violence, too many guns in the hands of young people that are too willing to use them, too many people victimized by the breakdown of family life and community life, too many people victimized by the fact that they don't have a good job or a good education, too many young people who are willing to make decisions in the flash of a moment that may ruin their entire lives, too many schools that still don't work as well as this one does.

It all begins with personal choices. I ran for President because I made a personal choice that I did not want my daughter to grow up in a country that was coming apart instead of coming together, and I didn't want you to be the first generation of Americans to do worse than your parents; and I thought there were things we could do about it. And we're working hard to do those things -- to create more jobs, to improve our schools, to deal with our health care problems, to make our streets safer, and take on some of these tough law enforcement issues that relate to crime and drugs.

The Congress voted last week to ban assault weapons; it's high time. To put more police officers on the street, to give young people more programs that will help to prevent them from getting involved in a violent life. We have made some personal decisions. But you have to make some personal decisions, too. The magic of education starts in every school, in every classroom. You have to decide that you will not drop out of school and that you will stay in and that you will do well. You have to decide that you will not use alcohol or drugs, or take up guns. You have to decide that you will not become a mother or father before you're old enough to understand and take responsibility and do the job right, instead of wrecking your life with it.

You have to decide that you are going to have the discipline and commitment necessary to continue your education and to tone down the frustration and anger that every person feels. A lot of these kids getting killed today are getting killed with the same sort of anger and frustration that people have always felt when they were fighting over things; except now they can go pick up a gun and do something about it. You have to take the lead -- every one of you -- in dealing with your own lives and your own schools to try to stop this. This is crazy -- all this violence among young people. And a lot of these kids that are killing their lives by shooting other people, are people who don't even have prior criminal records.

You've got to get together and talk about what makes people mad, and what do you do when you get mad and when you get

frustrated, and how do you walk away from that. And that's something that the President and the Congress and all the people in the world can't do for you if you won't do for yourselves.

We are very fortunate in this country today that 40 years ago the people did what was necessary to bring that case to the Supreme Court and that every justice on the Supreme Court said separate but unequal educational facilities are wrong. And if they are separated by race by law, they are by definition unequal, and they are unconstitutional. We are all a better people because of that. And you all wouldn't be here together, doing what you're doing in this school today, if that hadn't happened.

But what you have to do now is to say, that didn't solve all the problems, but it got me to the starting line. It gave me a chance to live in an America that was more honest and living up to its creed that we are all equal under God. And now I have a chance, and I'm going to make the most of it. The whole future of America is riding on whether we can have young people who are well educated, well disciplined, hopeful about the future and more interested in helping each other than hurting each other, more interested in books than guns, more interested in five years from now than five seconds from now. You have to do that. Your country is counting on you.

I will do everything I can as president. And all these people will do everything they can to make sure that you have a good country to grow up in, that you can succeed, that you can have a good life. But a lot of it is in your hands. I urge you on this 40th anniversary of one of the greatest decisions for freedom ever made, to stand up for your own freedom and make the most of it. God bless you and good luck. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:00 P.M. EDT

## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Memphis, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE 86TH ANNUAL HOLY CONVOCATION OF  
THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

Mason Temple Church Of God In Christ  
Memphis, Tennessee

11:51 A.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Please sit down. Bishop Ford, Mrs. Mason, Bishop Owens and Bishop Anderson; my bishops, Bishop Walker and Bishop Lindsey. (Applause.) Now, if you haven't had Bishop Lindsey's barbecue, you haven't had barbecue. (Applause.) And if you haven't heard Bishop Walker attack one of my opponents, you have never heard a political speech. (Laughter and applause.)

I am glad to be here. You have touched my heart. You brought tears to my eyes and joy to my spirit. (Applause.) Last year I was over with you at the Convention Center. Two years ago your bishops came to Arkansas and we laid a plaque at The Point in Little Rock, Arkansas, at 8th and Gaines, where Bishop Mason received the inspiration for the name of this great church. (Applause.)

Bishop Brooks said from his pulpit that I would be elected President when most people thought I wouldn't survive. I thank him and I thank your faith and I thank your works, for without you I would not be here today as your President. (Applause.)

Many have spoken eloquently and well, and many have been introduced. I want to thank my good friend, Governor McWherter and my friend Mayor Herenton for being with me today -- (applause) -- my friend Congressman Harold Ford, we are glad to be in his congressional district. (Applause.)

I would like to, if I might, introduce just three other people who are members of the Congress. They have come here with me. And without them it's hard for me to do much for you. The President proposes and the Congress disposes. (Laughter.) Sometimes they dispose of what I propose, but -- (laughter). I'm happy to say that according to a recent report in Washington, notwithstanding what you may have heard, this Congress has given me a higher percentage of my proposals than any first year President since President Eisenhower. And I thank them for that. (Applause.)

Let me introduce my good friend, a visitor, to Tennessee, Congressman Bill Jefferson from New Orleans, Louisiana. Please stand up. (Applause.) And an early supporter of my campaign. (Applause.) Congressman Bob Clement from Tennessee, known to many of you. (Applause.) And a young man who's going to be coming back to the people of Tennessee and asking them to give him a promotion next year, Congressman Jim Cooper from Tennessee, and a good friend. Please welcome him. (Applause.)

You know, in the last 10 months, I've been called a lot of things, but nobody's called me a bishop yet. (Laughter and applause.) When I was about nine years old, my beloved and

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now departed grandmother, who was a very wise woman, looked at me and she said, you know, I believe you could be a preacher if you were just a little better boy. (Laughter.)

The proverb says, "A happy heart doeth good like medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth the bone." This is a happy place, and I'm happy to be here. (Applause.) I thank you for your spirit. (Applause.)

By the grace of God and your help, last year I was elected President of this great country. I never dreamed that I would ever have a chance to come to this hallowed place where Martin Luther King gave his last sermon. I ask you to think today about the purpose for which I ran and the purpose for which so many of you worked to put me in this great office. I have worked hard to keep faith with our common efforts -- to restore the economy; to reverse the politics of helping only those at the top of our totem pole and not the hard-working middle class or the poor; to bring our people together across racial and regional and political lines; to make a strength out of our diversity instead of letting it tear us apart; to reward work and family and community and try to move us forward into the 21st century. I have tried to keep faith.

Thirteen percent of all my presidential appointments are African Americans, and there are five African Americans in the Cabinet of the United States -- two and a half times as many as have ever served in the history of this great land. (Applause.) I have sought to advance the right to vote with the motor voter bill, supported so strongly by all the churches in our country. And next week it will be my great honor to sign the Restoration of Religious Freedoms Act, a bill supported widely by people across all religions and political philosophies to put back the real meaning of the Constitution -- to give you and every other American the freedom to do what is most important in your life, to worship God as your spirit leads you. (Applause.)

I say to you, my fellow Americans, we have made a good beginning. Inflation is down. Interest rates are down. The deficit is down. Investment is up. Millions of Americans, including, I bet, some people in this room, have refinanced their homes or their business loans just in the last year. (Applause.) And in the last 10 months, this economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous four years.

We have passed a law called the Family Leave law, which says you can't be fired if you take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. (Applause.) We know that most Americans have to work, but you ought not to have to give up being a good parent just to take a job. If you can't succeed as a worker and a parent, this country can't make it.

We have radically reformed the college loan program, as I promised to lower the cost of college loans and broaden the availability of it and make the repayment terms easier. (Applause.) And we have passed the national service law that will give in three years -- three years from now, 100,000 young Americans a chance to serve their communities at home, to repair the frayed bonds of community, to build up the needs of people at the grass roots, and at the same time, earn some money to pay for a college education. It is a wonderful idea. (Applause.)

On April 15th, when people pay their taxes, somewhere between 15 million and 18 million working families on modest incomes, families with children and incomes of under \$23,000, will get a tax cut, not a tax increase, in the most important effort to ensure that we reward work and family in the last 20 years. Fifty million American parents and their children will be advantaged by putting the tax code back on the side of working American parents for a change. (Applause.)

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Under the leadership of the First Lady, we have produced a comprehensive plan to guarantee health care security to all Americans. How can we expect the American people to work, and to live with all the changes in a global economy, where the average 18-year-old will change work seven times in a lifetime, unless we can simply say, we have joined the ranks of all the other advanced countries in the world; you can have decent health care that's always there that can never be taken away? It is time we did that; long past time. I ask you to help us achieve that. (Applause.)

But we have so much more to do. You and I know that most people are still working harder for the same or lower wages; that many people are afraid that their job will go away. We have to provide the education and training our people need, not just for our children, but for our adults, too. If we cannot close this country up to the forces of change sweeping throughout the world, we have to at least guarantee people the security of being employable. They have to be able to get a new job if they're going to have to get a new job. We don't do that today, and we must, and we intend to proceed until that is done.

We have to guarantee that there will be some investment in those areas of our country -- in the inner cities and in the destitute rural areas in the Mississippi Delta, of my home state and this state and Louisiana and Mississippi, and other places like it throughout America. It's all very well to train people, but if they don't have a job, they can be trained for nothing. We must get investment to those places where the people are dying for work. (Applause.)

And finally, let me say, we must find people who will buy what we have to produce. We are the most productive people on Earth. That makes us proud. But what that means is that every year one person can produce more in the same amount of time. Now, if fewer and fewer people can produce more and more things, and yet you want to create more jobs and raise people's incomes, you have to have more customers for what it is you're making. And that is why I have worked so hard to sell more American products around the world; why I have asked that we be able to sell billions of dollars of computers we used not to sell to foreign countries and foreign interests -- to put our people to work.

Why? Next week I am going all the way to Washington state to meet with the President of China and the Prime Minister of Japan and the heads of 13 other Asian countries, the fastest growing part of the world, to say: We want to be your partners. We will buy your goods, but we want you to buy ours, too, if you please. (Applause.) That is why. (Applause.)

That is why I have worked so hard for this North American Trade Agreement that Congressman Ford endorsed today, and Congressman Jefferson endorsed and Congressman Cooper and Congressman Clement, because we know that Americans can compete and win only if people will buy what it is we have to sell. There are 90 million people in Mexico. Seventy cents of every dollar they spend on foreign goods, they spend on American goods. People worry fairly about people shutting down plants in America and going not just to Mexico but to any place where the labor is cheap. It has happened.

What I want to say to you, my fellow Americans is, nothing in this agreement make that more likely. That has happened already. It may happen again. What we need to do is keep the jobs here by finding customers there. That's what this agreement does. It gives us a chance to create opportunity for people. (Applause.)

I would never -- there are people -- I have friends in this audience, people who are ministers from my state, fathers and sons, people -- I've looked out all over this vast crowd and

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I see people I've known for years. They know. I spent my whole life working to create jobs. I would never knowingly do anything that would take a job away from the American people. This agreement will make more jobs. Now, we can also leave it if it doesn't work in six months. But if we don't take it, we'll lose it forever. We need to take it, because we have to do better.

But I guess what I really want to say to you today, my fellow Americans, is that we can all of this and still fail unless we meet the great crisis of the spirit that is gripping America today.

When I leave you, Congressman Ford and I are going to a Baptist church near here to a town meeting he's having on health care and violence. I tell you, unless we do something about crime and violence and drugs that is ravaging the community, we will not be able to repair this country. (Applause.)

If Martin Luther King, who said, "Like Moses, I am on the mountaintop and I can see the promised land, but I'm not going to be able to get there with you, but we will get there," -- if he were to reappear by my side today and give us a report card on the last 25 years, what would he say? You did a good job, he would say, voting and electing people who formerly were not electable because of the color of their skin. You have more political power, and that is good. You did a good job, he would say, letting people who have the ability to do so live wherever they want to live, go wherever they want to go in this great country. You did a good job, he would say, elevating people of color into the ranks of the United States Armed Forces to the very top, or into the very top of our government. You did a very good job, he would say. He would say, you did a good job creating a black middle class of people who really are doing well; and the middle class is growing more among African Americans than among non-African Americans. You did a good job. You did a good job in opening opportunity.

But he would say, I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. (Applause.) I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it. (Applause.) I did not live and die to see young people destroy their own lives with drugs and then build fortunes destroying the lives of others. That is not what I came here to do. (Applause.)

I fought for freedom, he would say, but not for the freedom of people to kill each other with reckless abandon; not for the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children walk away from them and abandon them as if they don't amount to anything. (Applause.) I fought for people to have the right to work, but not to have whole communities and people abandoned. This is not what I lived and died for.

My fellow Americans, he would say, I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandon. (Applause.)

The other day the Mayor of Baltimore, a dear friend of mine, told me a story of visiting the family of a young man who had been killed -- 18 years old -- on Halloween. He always went out with little bitty kids so they could trick-or-treat safely. And across the street from where they were walking on Halloween, a 14-year-old boy gave a 13-year-old boy a gun and dared him to shoot the 18-year-old boy; and he shot him dead. And the Mayor had to visit the family.

In Washington, DC, where I live, your Nation's Capital, the symbol of freedom throughout the world -- look how that freedom is being exercised. The other night a man came

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along the street and grabbed a one-year-old child and put the child in his car. The child may have been the child of the man. And two people were after him and they chased him in the car, and they just kept shooting with reckless abandon, knowing that baby was in the car. And they shot the man dead, and a bullet went through his body into the baby's body and blew the little bootie off the child's foot.

The other day on the front page of our paper, the Nation's Capital, are we talking about world peace or world conflict? No -- big article on the front page of The Washington Post about an 11-year-old child planning her funeral -- "these are the hymns I want sung; this is the dress I want to wear; I know I'm not going to live very long." That is not the freedom -- the freedom to die before you're a teenager is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for. (Applause.)

More than 37,000 people die from gunshot wounds in this country every year. Gunfire is the leading cause of death in young men. And now that we've all gotten so cool that everybody can get a semiautomatic weapon, a person shot now is three times more likely to die than 15 years ago, because they're likely to have three bullets in them. One hundred and sixty thousand children stay home from school every day because they are scared they will be hurt in their school.

The other day I was in California at a town meeting, and a handsome young man stood up and said, Mr. President, my brother and I, we don't belong to gangs; we don't have guns; we don't do drugs; we want to go to school; we want to be professionals; we want to work hard; we want to do well; we want to have families. And we changed our school because the school we were in was so dangerous, so when we stowed up to the new school to register, my brother and I were standing in line and somebody ran into the school and started shooting a gun. My brother was shot down standing right in front of me at the safer school.

The freedom to do that kind of thing is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for. (Applause.) It's not what people gathered in this hallowed church for the night before he was assassinated in April of 1968. If you had told anybody who was here in that church on that night that we would abuse our freedom in that way, they would have found it hard to believe. And I tell you it is our moral duty to turn it around. (Applause.)

And now I think finally we have a chance. Finally, I think, we have a chance. We have a Pastor here from New Haven, Connecticut. I was in his church with Reverend Jackson when I was running for President on a snowy day in Connecticut to mourn the death of children who had been killed in that city. And afterward we walked down the street for more than a mile in the snow. Then the American people were not ready. People would say, oh, this is a terrible thing, but what can we do about it.

Now when we read that foreign visitors come to our shores and are killed at random in our fine state of Florida; when we see our children planning their funeral; when the American people are finally coming to grips with the accumulated wave of crime and violence and the breakdown of family and community and the increase in drugs and the decrease in jobs, I think finally we may be ready to do something about it.

And there is something for each of us to do. There are changes we can make from the outside in -- that's the job of the President and the Congress and the governors and the mayors and the social service agencies. Then there's some changes we're going to have to make from the inside out, or the others won't matter. (Applause.) That's what that magnificent song was about, wasn't it? Sometimes there are no answers from the outside in; sometimes all the answers have to come from the

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values and the stirrings and the voices that speak to us from within.

So we are beginning. We are trying to pass a bill to make our people safer -- to put another 100,000 police officers on the street. To provide boot camps instead of prisons for young people who can still be rescued. (Applause.) To provide more safety in our schools. To restrict the availability of these awful assault weapons. To pass the Brady Bill and at least require people to have their criminal background checked before they get a gun. And to say, if you're not old enough to vote and you're not old enough to go to war, you ought not to own a handgun and you ought not to use one unless you're on a target range. (Applause.)

We want to pass a health care bill that will make drug treatment available for everyone. And we also have to do it -- we have to have drug treatment and education available to everyone, and especially those who are in prison who are coming out. We have a Drug Czar now in Lee Brown, who was the Police Chief of Atlanta, of Houston, of New York, who understands these things. And when the Congress comes back next year we will be moving forward on that.

We need this crime bill now. We ought to give it to the American people for Christmas. And we need to move forward on all these other fronts. But I say to you, my fellow Americans, we need some other things as well. I do not believe we can repair the basic fabric of society until people who are willing to work have work. Work organizes life. It gives structure and discipline to life. It gives meaning and self-esteem to people who are parents. It gives a role model to children.

The famous African American sociologist, William Julius Wilson, has written a stunning book called *The Truly Disadvantaged*, in which he chronicles in breathtaking terms how the inner cities of our country have crumbled as work has disappeared. And we must find a way, through public and private sources, to enhance the attractiveness of the American people who live there to get investment there. We cannot, I submit to you, repair the American community and restore the American family until we provide the structure, the value, the discipline and the reward that work gives. (Applause.)

I read a wonderful speech the other day given at Howard University in a lecture series funded by Bill and Camille Cosby, in which the speaker said, "I grew up in Anacostia years ago. Even then it was all black and it was a very poor neighborhood. But you know, when I was a child in Anacostia, 100 percent African American neighborhood, a very poor neighborhood, we had a crime rate that was lower than the average of the crime rate of our city. Why? Because we had coherent families. We had coherent communities. The people who filled the church on Sunday lived in the same place they went to church. The guy that owned the drugstore lived down the street. The person that owned the grocery store lived in our community. We were whole."

And I say to you, we have to make our people whole again. This church has stood for that. Why do you think you have five million members in this country? Because people know you are filled with the spirit of God to do the right thing in this life by them. (Applause.)

So I say to you, we have to make a partnership -- all the government agencies, all the business folks -- but where there are no families, where there is no order, where there is no hope, where we are reducing the size of our armed services because we have won the Cold War -- who will be there to give structure, discipline and love to these children? You must do that. And we must help you.

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Scripture says, you are the salt of the Earth and the light of the world. That if your light shines before men they will give glory to the Father in heaven. That is what we must do. That is what we must do. How would we explain it to Martin Luther King if he showed up today and said: Yes, we won the Cold War. Yes, the biggest threat that all of us grew up under, communism and nuclear war. Communism gone; nuclear war receding. Yes, we developed all these miraculous technologies. Yes, we all have got a VCR in our home. It's interesting. Yes, we get 50 channels on the cable. Yes, without regard to race, if you work hard and play by the rules, you can get into a service academy or a good college, you'll do just great.

How would we explain to him all these kids getting killed and killing each other? How would we justify the things that we permit that no other country in the world would permit? How could we explain that we gave people the freedom to succeed and we created conditions in which millions abuse that freedom to destroy the things that make life worth living and life itself? We cannot.

And so I say to you today, my fellow Americans, you gave me this job. And we're making progress on the things you hired me to do. But unless we deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence and unless we recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family, the community and the disappearance of jobs; and unless we say some of this cannot be done by government because we have to reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go.

So in this pulpit, on this day, let me ask all of you in your heart to say we will honor the life and the work of Martin Luther King; we will honor the meaning of our church; we will somehow, by God's grace, we will turn this around. We will give these children a future. We will take away their guns and give them books. We will take away their despair and give them hope. We will rebuild the families and the neighborhoods and the communities. We won't make all the work that has gone on here benefit just a few. We will do it together by the grace of God.

Thank you. (Applause.)

END

12:22 P.M. CST

## THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Memphis, Tennessee)

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT TOWN HALL MEETING

Olivet Baptist Church  
Memphis, Tennessee

1:20 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you for that wonderful welcome. Thank you for your sign about NAFTA. (Laughter and applause.) I didn't give it to her, I promise. (Laughter.)

Reverend Whalen, it's wonderful to be in your church, and I thank you for hosting this town hall meeting. Last year Reverend Whalen accepted my invitation to come to Arkansas to the Governor's Mansion, and to meet with me about a number of the problems you'll be discussing today. And it's good to see him again. He came to my house, and I'm in his house now. (Applause.)

I want to thank my good friend, Harold Ford, who started helping me in my quest to become President early, and long before that, worked with me to help reform the welfare laws to give people both the obligation to work and the opportunity to grow and thrive. And the two things go together, and I thank Harold Ford for that.

I'm glad to be here with Congressman Clement and with Congressman Jim Cooper. I'm glad to see them both up here talking. I was especially glad to see Jim talking because he's going to come back and ask you for a promotion next year -- (laughter) -- and he needed to get warmed up here, and I like that.

I'm glad our good friend, Congressman Jefferson came all the way from New Orleans to be with us today. That was good. (Applause.) Mayor Morris, it's good to see you. And I saw Mayor Herenton earlier today. And I want to say a special word of thanks to my good friend, Governor McWherter. I think he's one of the finest governors in the country and a person could never ask for a better friend. And I thank you. (Applause.)

We were out in the wind at the airport, announcing the support of several members of Congress for the North American Free Trade Agreement. And Congressman Jefferson from New Orleans, who didn't know Governor McWherter very well, looked at him and said, "You were probably a better governor than Bill Clinton and you're certainly a better wind-breaker than he was." (Laughter and applause.)

Let me say, too, that -- you know, this town hall meeting was scheduled before I announced that I was coming here to speak to the annual convention of the Church of God in Christ. And Congressman Ford invited me to come by; I wanted to come. The leader of our Office of Drug Policy and a member of my Cabinet, Lee Brown, is here, and he'll be speaking after I leave. I'm going to introduce him as I go. Lee was the police chief in Atlanta, in Houston, and in New York, and really pioneered the development of community policing in our country, and proved that if you not only had enough police officers, but if you deployed them in the right way, you could actually prevent crime from occurring as well as catch criminals more quickly. And in

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preventing crime from occurring, you could build bridges in neighborhoods and put lives back together and put communities back together.

So I want to implore you not to turn this into just a speech-making event. This is a discussion of crime and violence as a public health issue. It affects you and your lives and the lives of your children. So when I go, you stay. Will you do that? I want you to be a part of this. This is important. (Applause.)

I want you to know why this is such a big issue to me as an American, a husband, a father, as well as as President. I got elected President on some very basic commitments. I said that I would try to get the economy going again. I said I would try to restore the middle class and give hope to the poor by rewarding work and supporting families. I said that I would try to bring the country together again, across the line of region and income and race, so that we could work together to ensure a better future for everyone.

Now, in the last 10 months, we've worked hard largely on the economy, to get the deficit down, to keep inflation down, to get interest rates down. That means investments up. I don't know, I bet there are a lot of people in this room even who were able to refinance a home in the last year. Millions of Americans have done that, lowered their monthly payments. And we now have -- in the last 10 months the economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous four years.

But we all know that's not enough, we have to do more. I came here to support the North American Free Trade Agreement today for a simple reason, and that is that our workers are becoming more productive and more competitive. They have to, to survive in the world. But productivity means that the same person can produce more in the same or less time. Right? So if fewer people are producing more stuff, the only way you can create more jobs and higher incomes is if you have more customers for the things you're producing.

So that's very important; this trade agreement's important to me. But when you get through all of that, you have to come back to the fact that this country is going to have a very hard time making it unless we do something about this wave of crime and violence that's tearing the heart out of America.

And it affects everybody who thinks they're not affected by it. It affects you in many ways by forcing you as taxpayers to pay a lot more money to put people in the penitentiary than you otherwise would. You know, this country now has a higher percentage of people in prison than any other country in the world. Do you know that? That's something we're number one in. And we know that in spite of that, a lot of people get out before they should.

It means that you pay more in health care. Why? Because this really is a public health problem. I have spent years studying the American health care system and trying to figure out why we spend 40 or 50 percent more than anybody else on health care and we still can't figure out how to give health care to everybody. And I'll tell you one reason. One reason is that on any given night, our emergency rooms are filled with people that are cut up and shot, who don't have any health insurance and the rest of us pay for it. (Applause.)

Now, that's not the number one -- we ought to be concerned about them and others. I don't mean that on a human level. But you just need to know that if you say to me four years from now, Mr. President, why haven't you brought our health care costs more in line with everybody else's and given health care to everybody -- if you want the costs brought into line

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we're going to have to stop shooting and cutting each other up so much. It's a big health care issue. (Applause.)

You can't blame the doctors and you can't blame the hospitals and you can't blame even -- even though I get cross-ways with them from time to time, this is not the insurance companies' fault. This is society. When people show up bleeding and shot, there they are. Right? So this is a huge public health problem.

But more importantly, it's doing something just awful to our country. The other day I met with my good friend, the Mayor of Baltimore, when I was up at Johns Hopkins Medical Center talking to them about our health care plan. And he told me that the night before he had had to visit a home of an 18-year-old boy who was fine a young man that went out every Halloween for years with real young kids so they could go trick-or-treating safely in the neighborhood. And they were walking down the street and crossed the street. There was a 14-year-old boy with a gun and a 13-year-old boy without one. And the 14-year-old handed the 13-year-old the gun and dared him to shoot across the street at the 18-year-old. And he did and he killed him.

That kind of stuff happens all the time. In our Nation's Capital the other day we had -- a man came along the street and grabbed up a little one-year-old girl, put her in a seat beside him and sped off in a car. And some people who were after him ran after him, started shooting. They shot him dead. The bullet went through his body and hit the little girl, went down through her foot and blew her little bootie off. A one-year-old child.

In The Washington Post in our Nation's Capital the other day there was an article about children so convinced they would never grow up that, at the age of 11, they were planning their funerals. Little girl saying, well, now if I have a funeral play these hymns at the church; and another one saying, if I have a funeral put me in this dress.

Now, it's going to be hard for me or any other President or any member of Congress to organize this country with the private sector to compete and win in the global economy if we have the kind of public pathology we have today, where children are shooting children with weapons more advanced than the police have.

I come from across the river in Arkansas where we're about to start -- or maybe they have already started deer season, and sometimes we shut the schools and the factories down at the opening of deer season because nobody shows up anyway. (Laughter.) I understand all about the right to keep and bear arms, and I was in the woods when I was barely old enough to walk. But I'm telling you, no sane society would allow teenagers to have semi-automatic weapons and go in the streets and be better armed than the police officers. (Applause.) That's crazy. (Applause.)

And nobody else does. Only we do. We have to ask ourselves, what are we going to do about this? How did this happen? And I think, frankly, if we're going to find the answers we're going to have to all check a lot of our baggage at the door. (Applause.) We've got to check our partisan political baggage; we've got to check our racial identities; we've got to check everything at the door. We've just got to be honest children of God and honest Americans, and try to analyze how did we get in the fix we're in in this country and what are we going to do about it.

And I have to tell you, I spent time, I talked to a lot of young people who were and some who are in gangs. I once had someone go down to the penitentiary and interview every

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teenager who was there doing a life sentence for murder. I have -- long before I ever thought of running for president I went to South Central Los Angeles, which later became famous when it burned down. A couple of years before I ever thought of even getting in this race, just sat in church basements and places like that and talked to people about what was going on. And nearly as I can determine, what has happened is a combination of the following.

Number one, too many of these kids are growing up without family supports -- without the structure and value and support they need. (Applause.)

Number two, too many of those kids also have no substitute for the family that's positive. The word "gang" has a bad connotation now. The truth is we all want to be in gangs, if a gang is a group of people who think like you do and do like you do. What's the difference -- the Baptist Church and the Church of God in Christ are two different gangs who still want to get to heaven when they die. Right? (Applause.) I mean, really. You think about that. (Applause.)

What's the difference in the Democrats and the Republicans -- they're two different gangs and they obey the law and they vote election day and they've got different ideas about how to solve problems. This is very important to understand. We all want to be part of groups. And we get meaning out of our lives from being part of groups.

When Tennessee beat Arkansas so bad this year in football, and the Vice President rubbed it in because we beat them last year -- we were members of two different gangs. It was competition and friendly and wholesome and good. This is very important to understand.

So if you take the family supports away from these kids, and then there is nothing where they live that puts them in a good gang, that's why they get in gangs that are bad. It's very important to understand that.

The third thing that has happened that is different from what happened 30 years ago when people were poor is that you not only have a worse family situation and no other community supports. I mean, 30 years ago, even when kids didn't grow up in intact families in poor neighborhoods, they still lived in places where on every block there was a role model. The person who owned the drugstore lived in the neighborhood. The person that owned the grocery store lived in the neighborhood. The people that filled the churches on Sunday lived in the neighborhoods where they went to church.

And the third thing that's happened is, weekend drunks have been substituted by permanent drug addicts and drug salesmen. Abuse of alcohol has been replaced by a drug culture that makes some people money destroying other people's lives. (Applause.) It's different. And it is not simple or easy, what to do about it. Mr. Brown's going to talk more about that in a minute.

The fourth thing that has happened is that the central organizing principle of any advanced society has been evaporated -- and that is work. Forget about work in and of itself -- to earn money and contribute to the rest of our wealth -- if you don't have work in neighborhoods and in communities, it is hard for people to organize their lives. It is hard for parents to feel self-esteem. It is hard for them to feel confident giving their kids rules to live by. It is hard for the relationship between the parent and the child to work just right. It is hard for the child to look out and imagine that by working hard things will work out all right.

And there are lots of other problems. But I'm convinced that those are the four biggest ones -- the breakdown of the family, the breakdown of other community supports, the rise of drugs -- it's not just in terms of drug abuse, but in terms of a way to get rich, and the absence of work.

And I believe that in order to deal with this, we're going to have all work together in a whole new national contract. But I believe this is an economic issue. I think it's a public health issue. I think it's a national security issue. And besides that, I'm just tired of trying to explain to myself when I go to bed at night why so many American kids aren't going to make it when they ought to.

So there are things for the federal government to do, the President and the Congress. There are things for the states to do, things for the local folks to do. There are things the private sector has to do. And there are certainly things for the churches to do. But I want to submit to you that there are things that every American citizen's going to have to do.

This family breakdown problem has developed over 30 years. It didn't just happen overnight. The community erosion developed over a long period of time. We cannot rebuild all these institutions overnight, but we can start saving these kids, in the words of a good friend of mine, the same way we lost them one at a time, which means that there's something for all of us to do here. There is something for all of us to do. And we need both love and discipline. We need both investment in these kids and our future and we need rules by which people live. We need both. It's not an either/or thing.

That's why I say that I think if we really work at it, we can get beyond the Republican, Democrat; who's a liberal, who's a conservative; who's black, Hispanic or white. This is a huge human problem for America. (Applause.) And we have to face it. (Applause.)

I believe that my daughter's future is limited every time another child gets shot in any community in this country. That's what I believe. (Applause.) Every time a kid in Memphis is deprived of a future, I think it limits all the rest of us. That's what I believe. If we believe that, I think we can get there. And let me just suggest where I think we have to start nationally.

The first thing we have to do is to try to make people more secure. Until people are physically secure, it is difficult to get them to change and to do other things. We have a crime bill now moving through the Congress, which would, among other things, put another 100,000 police officers on the street. It's important not only to put them on the street but to have them trained and to have them properly deployed. As Lee Brown will tell you, if you do it right, you can reduce the crime rate and you can prevent crime and repair lives even as you are catching criminals more quickly. We should start there.

I think we ought to pass the crime bill because it offers boot camps instead of penitentiaries for first-time offenders. I think we need to do something to increase the safety of our schools -- (applause) -- 160,000 children stay home every day because they're afraid of school. (Applause.) One in five children goes to school everyday armed with a knife, a gun, or a club -- everyday. We've got to change that.

I think we have to provide as much as we can an environment in which the police have a chance to do their job and in which kids are not encouraged to kill each other. There are three bills now being considered in the Congress as a part of this crime bill that I favor. One says that if you're not old enough to go to war or vote, you ought not to be old enough to have a handgun legally -- (applause); and protects the right to

hunt and practice by saying that young people under the supervision of their parents or other appropriate adults can do that.

The other bill is the Brady bill, which says that we ought to have a waiting period and check out people's criminal history and mental health history before we just sell them a gun. (Applause.) And a third bill basically says that people ought not to buy in ordinary commerce automatic and semiautomatic weapons, the only purpose of which is to kill other people. (Applause.) Now, no other country would permit that to happen. (Applause.) I think those things should pass.

This crime bill is working its way through the Senate, has passed the House, could be given to the American people for Christmas, and I think we ought to do it. That's where we need to start. (Applause.) Then we need to recognize, as we did in our health care bill, that you have got to have not only drug education and drug treatment on demand without delay; and we ought not be putting people out of the penitentiary unless they get drug treatment when they need. And we ought to let this country go forward.

There are many American families that are not poor, that are not in the inner cities that have been touched by the problems of drug abuse. But I can tell you, and there is no simple, easy answer to this, and nothing works for everybody, but good drug treatment does work more than half the time. And we don't provide. And we're all paying for it. So we need to work on that. (Applause.)

And we have an obligation there at the national level. We also have got to find a way to work with the private sector, even though we are in serious trouble in terms of having enough money to do anything in this country, we have got to find useful work for people who live in dangerous, distressed, dysfunctional areas. We have got to give structure, order and discipline to lives again through work. (Applause.) We have got to do it. (Applause.)

The last thing I would say to you is that we can do these things at the national level. But we have to give these kids hope again. We have to give their families hope again. We have to give their parents who are trying hope again.

Keep in mind -- I went -- I stopped in that housing project, like Harold said. It may be one of the poorest places in this town, but I know that most people who live in that housing project do not break the law, do not abuse drugs, and are doing the best they can. And a lot of people forget that. (Applause.) A lot of people forget that. (Applause.) So that's something you're going to have to do. That's your job.

I'm going -- I live in Washington; you live in Memphis. You've got to do that here. You've got to do that. You've got to do it through the churches, through the businesses, through the community groups. You've got to help slowly but surely get this society back to a point where families can be reconstituted; where there can be supports for kids that don't have families so they're in a good gang, not a bad gang. We can do this, folks.

And people have been talking about this for years, but this is the first time in my memory that I think the American people are about fed up to their ears in it, scared to death about what's happening to our children and their future, and understand that it affects all the rest of us. (Applause.) We can do this. We can do this. (Applause.)

I'll make this pledge to you: If you'll work on it here, I'll work on it there. (Applause.) I can no longer justify knowing that there's something I can do to make people

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safer on the streets and our not doing it. I can no longer justify knowing there are things we can do that work to reduce the drug problem and not doing it. I can no longer justify going to bed at night thinking about these children killing other children, thinking about these little kids planning their funerals and not doing something about it. We can do this. And keep in mind, you're working with the same material that's inside you. These are people we're talking about. We can turn this country around if we'll check our divisions at the door, rely on what unites us, and go to work.

Thank you very much, and God bless you. (Applause.)

Now, before I go, I want to introduce the man who is affectionately called the Drug Czar. It makes him sound like he sells drugs instead of stops them, doesn't it? (Laughter.) Dr. Lee Brown grew up in California. As I said, he was the police chief in Atlanta, Houston, and New York. He instituted a program of community policing in New York City, where the police went back on the beat, starting walking in the neighborhoods. And despite all the preconceptions, according the FBI statistics in the last two years, the crime rate in New York City went down in all seven major FBI categories because they started giving the police force back to the neighborhoods and the people and working with friends and neighborhoods to try to stop bad things from happening and catch people who do them when they do. That is a remarkable thing.

I asked him to come on to my administration, and I pledged to him that I would make the Drug Policy Director a member of the President's Cabinet, and that we would get every last department of the federal government working on the drug problem because I thought he had a comprehensive view. I thought he understood how you can't just divide drugs from all these other issues; that we had to deal with all this together; we had to start at the grassroots level; and that we could really get something done if we had creative, good people working hard.

He's a remarkable man. I am deeply honored that he's in our Cabinet. I hope you will welcome him here today. And stay here and participate. Remember, you've got to do your part, too. He's here to help you.

Thank you very much.

Dr. Lee Brown. (Applause.)

END

1:41 P.M. CST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 14, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
DURING CHURCH SERVICES

Full Gospel AME Zion Church  
Temple Hills, Maryland

1:25 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. If you've been listening to the news the last few days, you know that the President has had his annual loss of voice. (Laughter.) But when I heard the choir today I kind of got my voice back. (Laughter.)

First, Pastor and Mrs. Cherry, on behalf of my wife, my daughter and all of our company here, thank you so much for making us feel at home today. This was a beautiful, wonderful day for us. We've brought some old friends of ours that we've known for many years, and several members of our White House staff. Our good friend, Congressman Albert Winn joined us -- we're glad to see you. Thank you so much, sir.

I came here today of two minds. Usually, on summer Sundays like this, Hillary and Chelsea and I go up to Camp David, and we go to the beautiful little chapel in the woods there. And instead of being in a vast church, we worship at 9:00 a.m. on Sunday morning with about 50 people, and about six or seven people singing in the choir -- (laughter) -- including the President, who gets to sight read the music when he can talk. (Laughter.)

I wanted to come here today for two reasons. First of all, because, as it turned out, I needed to hear the sermon. (Laughter and applause.) Next week, Pastor, I'll try to be a little more like Jehoshaphat. (Laughter and applause.) Maybe I won't have to ask you face all our enemies all at once. (Laughter.)

The second reason I wanted to be here is that this church to me symbolizes what American should be all about right now. And it also, I believe, came about because of all the things that America should not be about right now. I mean, let me ask you, how is it that a church in 1981 could start with 24 members, and in 1994 could have 16,000 members? How could an African American church with all of the cliches people say about the black community in America have 16,000 members and over 40 percent of them be males? (Applause.)

God has worked through this Pastor and his wife and his family and all of you. But why did you have to come into being? Because of this great hole that's in our country now. Because of the breakdown of the families and the communities, and the loss of the things which hold people together inside and out -- not just the spiritual problems, but the jobs, too, and the opportunities and the things which make people believe in the future on this Earth.

And in that great vacuum, look what has usually happened. When people lose hope and lose their families and lose their communities and lose their sense of right and wrong, what has so often happened? Seventy percent increase in America in 10 years in the number of children being born out of wedlock. And let's get the whole record on -- today the fastest growth is among young, white

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women giving birth out of wedlock. Soon, if we don't do something about it, we'll all be equal -- too high.

In 10 years, a doubling of the rate of murder among teenage young people. Sixty-five people in America get killed every day. While we've been in church, another teenager has been murdered. Every two hours a teenager gets murdered in America. And in this great vacuum, you have teen pregnancy and drugs and crime and, worst of all, violence.

I wanted to come here because you are filling that void from the ground up and from the inside out. And I believe that this church could never have come into existence and exploded the way it has if everybody had been in a church, in a family, in a community, in a job, and had hope and direction inside and outside, and structure.

You've filled a vacuum with something good and pure and wonderful. And I thank you for it. It's beyond the reach of any president to do. It is God's work through a religious ministry. But the Bible says that the rest of us has ministries, too.

Do you remember when Martin Luther King said if you're just a street sweeper, just sweep the streets as if you were Michelangelo, painting the Sistine Chapel. (Applause.) Everybody has a job to do. And today, I don't think we have a bigger job in trying to keep our children alive and rebuild our families; and rebuild our communities; and to try to communicate some sense of right and wrong; and to give our kids something to say yes to, as well as something to say no to. It's two sides of the same coin.

And I'll tell you, before I got here, I've been pretty down the last two or three days because the Congress voted that crime bill down. Not because it's the answer to all life's problems; here is the answer to all life's problems. (Applause.) But because this country is literally coming apart at the seams for millions of our young people. And because there are too many streets where old folks are afraid to sit and talk, and children are afraid to play. Because we're not really free anymore and people aren't free to pursue the American Dream anymore as long as we feel like we can just tear each other apart. Because our police officers go out on the streets where the gangs are supposed to -- are better armed than they are. And things are all mixed up now in our country. And so often it seems that petty political things, or superficial divisions keep us from doing what in our heart we know is right.

And I have been so troubled at the thought that at least those of us who have been given this authority by you -- the President, the Congress -- the least we can do is to help you to save the lives of your children. There are children in this church who have been gunned down; I know it. The least we can do is to help you to be protected. The least we can do is to put people on the streets who can not only catch criminals, but prevent crime as good law enforcement officers. The least we can do if people are totally hopeless is to get them out of your hair so they won't be bothering you. And the least we can do is to, yes, give your children more things they can say yes to, not just things they can say no to.

That's what all that debate was about in the crime bill. It really wasn't about whether if you had written the crime bill or I had or anybody else, it would have been just the way it turned out to be. What is a democracy, after all, but people getting together and putting their different ideas and then arguing it out and having a bunch of votes and a majority rules?

Alexis de Toqueville said many years ago, this was a good country, and as long as it was a good country it could be a great country. We're around after 218 years because more than half

the time more than half the people have been right, and God has permitted us to stay and go and flourish. I believe that. Do you?

AUDIENCE: Yesss.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's what this is all about. We don't have a bigger problem than the violence which is eating the heart out of this country, and the breakdown of the basic fabric of values that says it is wrong to hurt other people; it is wrong to act in an instant for some momentary advantage in ways that will devastate other people's lives; it is wrong to take this kind of advantage. And we have to find a way out of this that punishes wrongdoers, yes, but that also offers the hand of hope, that rebuilds our people from the grass roots up.

And in a political moment, the Congress walked away from that last week. There are people in my part of the country, good people -- they are in their churches today just like we're here -- who say, we don't break the law, and we go hunting every time they open the season, and we don't want any weapons being banned. These 19 assault weapons, folks -- I had a .22 when I was 12; you don't need an assault weapon to shoot a deer or to kill quail. (Laughter.) If you're that bad a shot, you ought to be doing something else. (Laughter.) You shouldn't be hunting. But their fears are all welled up in them and they scare some of their members of Congress.

Then there are people who represent places where all the children can go to the ballpark, where they've got a place to go swimming in the summertime, where they're in church two or three times a week, and they literally cannot imagine what it is like for some of our children. And so they say, oh, these programs to let these kids play basketball at midnight instead of walk the streets are pork.

I tell you, folks, I will have to, like all the rest of you, answer to God for everything I have done, right or wrong. We all will. I have been a governor. I have presided over the execution of criminals. I have built prison cells. I believe in punishing wrongdoing. I think when people go out and deliberately hurt each other, somebody ought to do something to them and stop it. I believe that. And that's what this bill does.

But I also know that there are countless little children out there, and they could go one way or the other. You know what the best thing about this day to me was? When everybody was asked to come up here, there were all those beautiful young people standing here. They've got a chance now. And we have to give more of them a chance now.

I came here because I needed to hear the sermon. I came here because your church stands for what our country ought to be and where it ought to go. I came here because the Bible says that good Christians are also supposed to be good citizens. And I ask you this whole week to pray for me and pray for the members of Congress; ask us not to turn away from our ministry.

Our ministry is to do the work of God here on Earth. And that starts with giving our children and our families a place in which at least they can be safe and secure. It starts with standing up against this mindless violence which has torn the hearts out of people who are this church and nearly every church in the United States. It starts with trying to put families back together. And it is not the province of any one race. It is increasingly not the province of any region or any economic group. But it savages the poor the worst because that is where the families are most broken.

And I ask you to pray, and to speak to your friends and neighbors and to hope somehow we will all find the wisdom and the

judgment to come back and do the will of God in our ministries, which is to make you as safe as we possibly can.

Thank you so much for giving us this wonderful day with you. God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

1:40 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
OFFICE OF PRESS SECRETARY

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For Immediate Release

June 14, 1994

**PRESIDENT CLINTON NAMES GILBERT F. CASELLAS  
TO CHAIR EEOC**

President Clinton today announced his intent to nominate Gilbert F. Casellas as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

"Gilbert Casellas' dedication and commitment to providing equal opportunities to all Americans and his skilled ability to build consensus around even the most complex issues make me proud to nominate him to Chair this essential commission," the President said.

Mr. Casellas currently serves as the General Counsel to the United States Air Force. The former chair of the National Hispanic Bar Association, he has worked to increase opportunities for women and minorities in the legal profession, and his commitment to increased employment opportunities extends beyond his profession through his community involvement.

He was Special Counsel on the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations and served on the Mayor's Commission on Puerto Rican and Latino Affairs. In addition he was appointed Receiver in enforcing judgements for plaintiffs in Title VII cases.

Prior to joining the Air Force, he was a Partner in Montgomery, McCracken, Walker and Roads in Philadelphia handling federal, state, trial and appellate litigation. He was also the Personnel Partner and a member of the Management Committee.

Mr. Casellas is a member of the Pennsylvania State Bar and is admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern and Middle District of Pennsylvania, and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

An alumnus of Yale University (1974) and the University of Pennsylvania Law School (1977), he clerked for Judge Leon Higginbotham on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

The EEOC has the responsibility to enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 and other federal laws that prohibit employment discrimination.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 8, 1994

The President today awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to the following individuals. The text of the accompanying citations reads as follows:

HERBERT BLOCK. Combining humor, satire, and an incisive wit, Herbert Block, better known by his pen name Herblock, has endowed editorial pages with his skilled artistry for nearly half a century. His political cartoons continue to enliven the minds and tweak the sensibilities of millions of Americans. Usually selecting his targets from among the powerful of Washington, every President since Herbert Hoover has known the sting of Herblock's pen. He instills in our Nation's leaders a dose of humility, reminding all of us that public service is a privilege.

CESAR E. CHAVEZ. (Posthumously) With few material possessions, but guided by his parents' steady example, his Catholic faith, the lessons of Gandhi, and an unshakable belief in justice, Cesar Chavez brought about much needed change in our country. An agricultural worker himself since childhood, he possessed a deep personal understanding of the plight of migrant workers, and he labored all his years to lift their lives. As the leader of United Farm Workers of America, he faced formidable, often violent opposition with dignity and nonviolence. And he was victorious. Cesar Chavez left our world better than he found it, and his legacy inspires us still.

ARTHUR FLEMMING. The highest attributes of Government service are clearly evident in the brilliant career of Arthur Flemming. Serving every President from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan, he is a proven resource of astute intelligence and steadfast loyalty. On the first two Hoover Commissions, he strove to renew and reinvigorate established principles of governmental power and responsibility. From his role as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to his landmark efforts as Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights, he consistently challenged the status quo. He not only sought health care reform, but he also summoned our Nation to uphold its promise of equality. Arthur Flemming has selflessly labored for decades to make American Government more effective and efficient. A grateful Nation thanks him.

JAMES GRANT. Recognizing that our children are our most important resource and most profound responsibility James Grant has devoted his life to making the world a better place for its youth. He has proven to be a compassionate and visionary executive director at UNICEF, teaching us the disastrous effects of poverty, population growth, and environmental degradation upon the vulnerable and dispossessed children of our world. Under his leadership, UNICEF has fought to reduce disease, malnutrition, disability, and illiteracy on a global scale. His wise stewardship has pointed the way toward a future in which these adversities may no longer threaten our children. James Grant continues to create hope and opportunity where there was once only despair, earning our eternal gratitude and ensuring a brighter tomorrow for our world.

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DOROTHY IRENE HEIGHT. Dorothy Height has spent a lifetime providing leadership in the struggle to make the promise of equality a reality for people around the world. Beginning as a civil rights advocate in the 1930s, she soon gained prominence through her tireless efforts to promote interracial schooling, to register and educate voters, and to increase the visibility and status of women in our society. She has labored to provide hope for inner-city children and their families, and she can claim responsibility for many of the advances made by women and African Americans over the course of this century. For helping our Nation to more accurately reflect the noble principles on which it was founded, we honor Dorothy Height.

BARBARA JORDAN. Teaching by deed, as well as by word, Barbara Jordan has dramatically articulated an enduring standard of morality in American politics. Guided by an unshakable faith in the Constitution, she insists that it is the sacred duty of those who hold power to govern ethically and to preserve the rule of law. As the first African American woman elected to the Texas State Senate, her conspicuous abilities led her to the United States Congress, where her brilliant oratory and meticulous judgment earned our lasting respect. She continues her life's work as teacher, explaining and analyzing complex issues of moral responsibility in politics and imbuing the leaders of tomorrow with the ability to follow her formidable lead.

JOSEPH LANE KIRKLAND. Lane Kirkland is a hero of the modern labor movement -- a man who has spent his life forging solidarity among the men and women whose sweat and toil have built our world. Ever resolute in his quest to enhance opportunities for working people, he has tirelessly worked to strengthen democracy and to further the cause of human rights. During the Cold War, his vital assistance to the Solidarity movement in Poland spurred the forces of freedom toward victory in Eastern Europe, just as his guidance here at home helped to renew and fortify the American economy. As a people, we are indebted to Lane Kirkland for his talented leadership efforts as an advocate for unity and social justice.

ROBERT H. MICHEL. Demonstrating loyal devotion to our country, Bob Michel has worked ceaselessly to move our Nation forward. After valiant Army service during World War II, he chose to serve his community and country in the Congress, earning the trust of his constituents, election after election for nearly four decades. Raising his voice, sometimes in song, but always in the spirit of creative compromise and cooperation, he has won the enduring respect of his colleagues on Capitol Hill and of the nine Presidents with whom he has served. He retires as House Minority Leader, leaving a history of legislative victories that often broke gridlock in times of crisis. America thanks him for demonstrating the highest standards of public service, putting the interests of the Nation ahead of his own.

ROBERT SARGENT SHRIVER. Robert Sargent Shriver has not only shared, but shaped, the action and passion of his times. It was Sarge Shriver's energy, persuasion, and leadership that made the goals of the Peace Corps attainable -- that living reminder that the essence of American power is not might of arms, but constancy of ideals and perseverance of effort. That so much endures with his indelible stamp both stuns and invigorates: Head Start, VISTA, Foster Grandparents, Legal Services, the Job Corps, and more. He released a torrent of creative energy -- from Special Olympic athletes to Head Start students to National Service pioneers. "Serve, serve, serve," Sargent Shriver told Americans, "because in the end, it will be the servants who save us all." His service has been our legacy of hope.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**September 17, 1993**

**PRESIDENT APPOINTS CHAIR OF COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

WASHINGTON, D.C. - President Clinton today announced his appointment of Mary Frances Berry to be Chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Berry is the first woman to be appointed to the chair since its inception.

Berry, the senior member of the Commission, having served as Vice-Chair under President Carter, is currently the Geraldine R. Segal Professor of American Social Thought and Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania.

"Mary Frances Berry is a civil rights scholar as well as an advocate," said the President. "I am proud to make this historic nomination and I have every confidence in the commitment and abilities of Ms. Berry. Her distinguished life and career uniquely qualify her for this new leadership role."

Before joining the University of Pennsylvania, Berry was a professor of History and Law and Senior Fellow at the Institute for the Study of Educational Policy at Howard University. She served as the Assistant Secretary for Education at the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1977 - 1980. She has also taught at the University of Colorado, Boulder where she was Chancellor from 1976-1977, the University of Maryland, Eastern Michigan University and Central Michigan University.

Berry is a member of the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians. She has received numerous national awards and honorary degrees, including the Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Award from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in 1986 and the Rosa Parks Award from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1985. She has authored numerous books and articles and holds both a B.A. and Masters from Howard University, as well as a Ph.D and a J.D. from the University of Michigan.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 13, 1993

MINORITY ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT WEEK, 1993

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

The national observance of Minority Enterprise Development Week is a decade-old tradition in which Americans of all races and ethnic groups convene to recognize and promote the achievements of more than one million minority business owners and entrepreneurs who support this Nation's continued economic growth. During Minority Enterprise Development Week, Americans also honor the many diligent minority business advocates in government and the corporate sector whose constant pursuit of excellence keeps our economy strong.

Minority-owned businesses are valuable assets for America. Each year, minority business enterprises return valuable resources to their communities in the form of taxes and provide wages and employment for thousands -- particularly for minority workers. Each day, successful minority entrepreneurs fulfill an even more vital function by serving as teachers, mentors, and models for young Americans who are our business and civic leaders of tomorrow.

There is room in the free enterprise system for anyone who has the skill and the determination to compete. Therefore, it is fitting that we encourage all Americans to participate in business enterprise, create their own wealth, and promote the general welfare. Minority business women and men have proven time and again that they possess the talent and dedication required for success. By improving the availability of capital sources for business starts and expansions in the minority community, by increasing access to state-of-the-art information resources for minority business owners, by promoting the minority entrepreneur's entrance into new domestic and international markets, and by opening all doors to economic progress for minority citizens, all of American society will benefit.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of October 3 through 9, 1993, as Minority Enterprise Development Week. I heartily encourage the people of the United States to commemorate this important event with appropriate ceremonies and celebrations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN ANNOUNCEMENT OF NOMINEE FOR  
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Oval Office

3:38 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. For tens of millions of Americans the civil rights division of the Department of Justice has historically embodied what is best about our country. It's helped us to keep the promise of our Constitution, to provide to every American equal opportunity and equal protection under the law, regardless of race or gender or disability.

Because of our pursuit of equal treatment under the law, we've made a lot of progress in this country -- in the workplace, in the schools, in the voting booths and in the courts. But there is still much more to be done. We need a strong and aggressive civil rights division and a strong and compassionate advocate for freedom and fairness at the helm of that division.

Today I am proud to nominate Deval Patrick to be Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. I believe he is uniquely qualified to lead this division in this decade. He's been chosen because he has distinguished himself as a lawyer whose wise counsel, keen negotiating skills and mastery at litigation are held in the highest esteem.

He's fought successfully against discrimination and for civil rights for his entire life, both professionally and personally. He understands that the law is a tool to help real people with real problems. He's here with his family today, having come a long way from his childhood on the south side of Chicago through a distinguished academic and professional career of which any American could be proud.

The quest for civil rights gives life to our highest ideals and our deepest hopes. For his entire career Deval Patrick has played a role in that struggle and he has made a real difference. Therefore, I know he will perform in a very outstanding manner in his new role as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights.

Mr. Patrick. (Applause.)

Attorney General? (Laughter.) I don't know what order he's in -- (laughter.)

MR. PATRICK: Stick with me. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's the idea. (Laughter.)

ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: You have just seen an example of how Mr. Patrick impressed me in the meetings that I have had with him. He has impressed me as person who cares deeply about others, who cares deeply about the law as an instrument to ensure equal justice for all.

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He grew up, as the President said, on Chicago's south side. His grade school was next door to the Robert Taylor Homes, one of the poorest public housing projects in the country. When he was in the eighth grade, he learned about a program called, A Better Chance, which provided scholarships for youngsters who might otherwise be forgotten. Deval Patrick grabbed his chance.

He was accepted by the program and attended Milton Academy outside of Boston. He then won a scholarship to Harvard University. Then he won a Rockefeller Fellowship for United Nations work with poor children in the Sudan. He returned to Harvard Law School where he was President of the Legal Aid Bureau, which provided free legal services to the community's neediest residents. After graduating from Harvard, he could have had probably any job he wanted with just about any law firm in America. But instead, he chose to practice civil rights law with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. And he developed expertise and experience as a litigator, particularly in the voting rights area.

At the Legal Defense Fund, he distinguished himself as a person. People who worked with him during that time talk about both his ability as a lawyer and his ability to relate to people and to motivate people to do their very best. His commitment to public service and civil rights has continued. During the last eight years of his private practice, he has devoted 30 percent of his time pro bono to community projects.

This is a caring, dedicated individual who will ensure the vigorous, fair, comprehensive enforcement of our civil rights laws. And I'm going to be proud to be working with him.

Mr. Patrick. (Applause.)

MR. PATRICK: Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, General Reno. I am deeply honored by the expression of confidence which this nomination represents. But more than that, I am humbled. I am humbled because I know that I am standing here on the shoulders of so many women and men who have reached out to me in so many different ways over the years; and more than that, on the shoulders of those courageous advocates of every type and kind who have had the guts to stand up in some court somewhere and give the Constitution life.

I pledge to be true to that legacy and also to the legacy of the American people in the expression of their highest and most generous sense of justice. And I thank you all very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

Q Mr. President, conservative groups are already attacking Mr. Patrick, the same groups that attacked Lani Guinier, saying that he is the "Stealth Guinier." How are you going to sell this nomination and make sure that your view of his record gets out accurately?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that this nomination may be about those groups and whether they're proceeding in good faith. That is, you know, before those groups said, well, we don't object to Lani Guinier's career as a lawyer, we just don't agree with her writings about future remedies. So now when they say "Stealth Guinier," what they mean is that both these people have distinguished legal careers in trying to enforce the civil rights laws of the country. I hope that Mr. Patrick would plead guilty to that.

And the truth is a lot of those people are going to be exposed because they never believed in the civil rights laws, they never believed in equal opportunity, they never lifted a finger to give anybody of a minority race a chance in this country. And this time, if they try that, it's going to be about them, because they won't be able to say it's about somebody's writings, about future

remedies. If they attack his record it means just exactly what we've all suspected all along, they don't give a riff about civil rights.

Well, those of us who care about civil rights were elected by the American people to take care of them. That's what we intended to do.

Q Mr. President, do you agree with his argument that the death penalty is racially discriminatory against blacks?

THE PRESIDENT: Do I agree? He's made that argument in court. I don't agree with that, no.

Q A 1987 Supreme Court case.

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q Have you talked with him about --

THE PRESIDENT: But I think the most compelling evidence that was introduced to support it, as I've said many times as a supporter of capital punishment, is that the race of the victim seems to determine the outcome of the verdict. There's a lot of evidence -- the Supreme Court actually did not reject that evidence. They just said that that was not sufficient to outlaw the penalty as a constitutional matter. And I have repeatedly said I think that we -- every state prosecutor ought to examine that. If there is evidence -- every state ought to look and see, is there evidence that there's a disparity in the application of this penalty based on the race of the victim. If there is, states ought to take steps to try to do something about it.

Q Mr. President, Senator Dole says that your staff shouldn't go around calling people liars just because they disagree with them on health care. Is this exchange beginning to escalate out of hand?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I don't know what he's talking about. I'm sorry, I can't -- I don't --

Q Well, he's talking about the reply that your office put out to an article about the Clinton health plan in the New Republic last week, which goes in several places to say that they are blatant lies. He was addressing it specifically to Mr. Magaziner.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I hate to use that word, but the New Republic article was way off base. And the New Republic didn't make total disclosure about the source of the article.

But I think Senator Dole was quite conciliatory at the Governors Association today, and I have certainly tried to be constructive. And I know it may make better news for you all to drive a wedge between us, but it's better for the American people if we work together and tone our rhetoric down.

Q On a foreign policy matter, sir, Gerry Adams says the time has come for the United States to weigh in on the Ireland question. You had spoken in the campaign of becoming more involved or having the United States more involved in trying to find a peaceful solution there. Will you take a more aggressive stance toward trying to promote a peace settlement in Northern Ireland?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, when I spoke about that in the campaign, we didn't have the evidence that we now have that the British and the Irish government would take the steps that they have taken. Let's be fair. The people that have to resolve this are the Irish and the British, and since that campaign, I think it's

astonishing what's been done. The joint declaration is something the United States very much supports.

I did believe that by giving Mr. Adams this visa, this limited visa to come here, that we might have a constructive role in pushing the peace process, which is why I did it. And I think that was an appropriate thing to do. But I think we should also support the work being done by the Prime Ministers of both Ireland and Britain in pursuing the peace.

Q Senator Rockefeller today said that he thought you were being a little bit too conciliatory to your good friends, the governors, on health care, and he thought that maybe Mrs. Clinton could bring you back. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Senator Rockefeller made a big mistake today. He's a wonderful man, but he made a big mistake. He read a press report and assumed it was true. (Laughter.) Or fully accurate. That is, he read a report of someone else's characterization of what I said and assumed it was fully accurate. And the people who were characterizing it obviously were characterizing the conversation in the light most favorable to their position.

I don't mean that the press misreported it -- I mean the press reported it accurately. But that's what they do -- when you have private conversations with people, they often characterize it in the light most favorable to their position. I think that's what happened.

I didn't say anything differently in that meeting than I have said repeatedly, which is that we are and we should be flexible on the size of the alliances -- that's already been said by Secretary Bentsen -- and that in order to have a health care plan which passes muster in the Congress, we have to have some way of showing how much taxpayer money is at risk over a five-year period. That's required of every bill passed by Congress.

That's all I said, and I think the interpretation of it -- while I don't dispute whatever they said, I think that the folks who communicated that to the press were doing it in the light most favorable to their own position. I understand that, it's fair game. But I wouldn't -- I would caution Senator Rockefeller to not think that I'd left his position. He's -- in many ways he's the heart and soul of this fight for health care. And if we change positions, he and I, we're going to try to do it together.

Thank you.

END

3:50 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release  
Until 8:00 P.M. on  
Wednesday, November 2, 1994

November 2, 1994

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT  
BY BLACK ENTERTAINMENT TELEVISION

Roosevelt Room

10:15 A.M. EST

MODERATOR: Hello everyone, I'm Ed Gordon. Welcome to the Roosevelt Room in the White House. Today, a group of African Americans from across the country will meet face-to-face with President Bill Clinton. They will be discussing the President's domestic policy agenda as it concerns the black community.

Mr. President, thanks for coming in. First, I get my crack at you before we turn it over to these folks. Let me ask you, with less than now a week away from the elections, you've been on the stump for the last week and a half, and will leave us today and continue -- and I suspect right down to the last days.

One of the things that we are hearing -- because I travel across the country and we get calls into Black Entertainment Television -- is a concern of African Americans that perhaps, particularly with what's on the line, Democrats haven't been reaching out to blacks as they hoped. What would your thought be on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can't speak about what the local candidate's doing, because it may differ from state to state. But I can say for sure that, nationally, we have continued to do that. The Democratic Party has had a massive outreach program. Reverend Jackson is travelling all around the country now, going to rallies every day, in a way that we have coordinated between my schedule, the Vice President and his. We're all trying to hit the right places.

And we've got a real story to tell about what we've done here in the last two years, and about what's at stake in this election. And the Republican candidates are far -- on balance, tend to be far more extreme right-wingers than they have been in the past, tend to be people that say anything the government does is evil and bad, and there's a lot on the line this election.

We have made -- this country is in better shape than it was 21 months ago. It's economically in better shape -- we are moving here to try to address some of the concerns that working families have that especially impact the African American community in America. So, I'm hoping that in the last seven days we will really get a lot of energy out there and the voter turnout will go up.

Because I think this election -- so many of these

elections are so close, they are going to be determined by which side turns out. That's really what's going to turn it -- who shows up to vote. In 1992 we had an astronomical turnout.

Every time I would go to a state, I look at the voting records from '92 and I see that there are whole states and congressional districts where -- President Bush, for example, in winning the election in 1988, with 54 percent of the vote, got

exactly the same vote in 1992 in that congressional district --didn't lose any votes. But there were so many more votes -- for me, for Mr. Perot -- the American people got involved.

And then for two years, you know, they get told every night on this sort of mainstream media, and then by a lot the kind of attack radio folks, how bad things are up here and people get their enthusiasm dampened. But there's a lot going on here. There's a lot going on that relates to people out in the heartland, and that's got to be our message this last week.

MODERATOR: Let's see if I can pick up on something that you suggested. Even Reverend Jackson has said, though, that he doesn't feel that he's being utilized to his full potential in terms of getting upwards to, I think it is now, 8 million unregistered black voters. And the fact is, in '92 you did get a whole lot of votes, particularly from the African American community. And there is a questions as to whether or not this country -- certainly as you suggested, the Republican Party -- and even now a thought of the Democratic Party, and I know you've been fighting this for a long time -- moving to the right. And blacks are the only group that are staying to the left and staying -- if we can put the tag on it -- liberal.

THE PRESIDENT: I basically don't agree, though, with that formulation. First of all, let me say that in this year, most of the money we raised, we gave to the candidates for the first time. Next year, I think we'll have to go back and do a lot more voter registration.

Mayor Archer, in Detroit -- I was with him yesterday. They have registered 50,000 more people in Detroit. They have sent out 50,000 absentee ballots; they've already gotten 30,000 back. So, a lot of our leaders at the grass-roots level, the mayors especially, are working hard on this. Next year, I think we'll have to do more.

But what I think we've got to do is -- the Democrats need to stay with our base voters. They need to stay with African Americans; they need to stay with Hispanics; they need to stay with the blue-collar white voters; they need to stay with the small businesspeople -- the kind of people that have always been for us. And we need to do it.

And we can still appeal to the undecided voters -- to the people who voted for Perot. Because there is a way to invest more in our children, in our economy, in our inner-cities, and still cut the size of government, be tough on crime, and have a strong foreign policy.

And what we've got to do is get that message out and then try to get people to have enough faith in us to keep going in this direction until it affects their lives.

One of the reasons that the sitting President's party almost always loses seats in Congress at mid-term -- if you look in the whole 20th century, there has only been one election, Franklin Roosevelt, in 1934 -- when the sitting President's party did not lose seats in at least one house of Congress. Only one. Why? Because people are full of hope at the election and then at mid-term, even if the President has accomplished a great deal, they may not have felt it in their own lives.

MODERATOR: But you sit with the possibility of losing, at this point, both houses. You also -- you mentioned Detroit --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say this. If we had the average losses, just since World War II -- just the average

losses -- we would come close to that. So, we're trying to beat the average, even though the Democrats have a lot more seats up than the Republicans do in the Senate. That's just bad luck at the draw. Every year a third of the seats come up and you have no way of knowing whether there going to be more Democratic or more Republican.

MODERATOR: Even with that math -- new math if you will -- you're still going to face an uphill battle. You mentioned Detroit, and the gains that you have, and Dennis Archer bringing in new voters. But you face a big hill in Michigan. It looks like you're not going to regain -- if polls are to believe -- the governors seat, and there are close races all around. When you look at that and you understand that there is not really the zeal that you've seen from the African American community before, what do you put that to? What do you account that to?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, if you look at Michigan, the Governor is running for his second term in a good economy. So, most governors running for their second term in a good economy get re-elected. I think if you look at it -- there has been for the last two years, an overwhelming --

MODERATOR: A good economy across the state -- let me ask you --

THE PRESIDENT: Across the nation --

MODERATOR: In the state. But Detroit is still suffering though --

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

MODERATOR: Though the car companies have made a comeback, Detroit is still suffering.

THE PRESIDENT: It is. But as Mayor Archer always tells people, we need to keep doing what's working; we've got 88,000 more jobs in Michigan than when I took office and in the previous four years Michigan lost 8,300. So, that's the message I've been trying to hammer home in Michigan and the message that I hope will carry Bob Carr to the Senate seat there. And it's really a function of how many people vote in Detroit.

But if you look at -- African Americans watch the same news at night that ordinary Americans do. If there is an overwhelming bias in what they see -- based on conflict, failure, process, politics and negativism, as opposed to just giving people the facts about what's going on -- then, you can't expect people to vote on what they don't know.

The truth is, as Time Magazine said last week -- they put a chart up, and they said, since World War II, there have only been three times -- three two-year periods -- when the Congress has given the President more than 80 percent of what the President asked for; President Eisenhower's first two years, President Johnson's first two years and this last two years. In other words, no other president since World War II, except Eisenhower and Johnson, has had more than 80 percent of the initiative approved two years in a row by Congress. The voters don't know that because that's not the message they get.

A lot of people don't know about the family and medical leave law, about tax cuts for 15 million working Americans on low incomes with children, about immunizing all the kids in this country under the age of two by 1996, about the expansion in the Head Start program, about the empowerment zones for inner cities, about a lot of

this stuff. So, what I've got to do in the last week here is get out and talk about what's been done and try to rev people up.

MODERATOR: I want to do that. But one of the reasons that they perhaps don't know -- and I agree -- and even your critics are suggesting that maybe you have not been given the praise you deserve for some of things that you've brought to the table. But many of those bills and acts don't come in immediately and it takes time to disseminate that money -- and some of them are going to be disseminated by a totally different House and Senate at this point, which could, indeed, determine where those monies go.

THE PRESIDENT: But you know, but all right -- let's talk about that. The President is not the only person in this world who has responsibilities.

MODERATOR: Oh, absolutely.

THE PRESIDENT: Ultimate responsibility in the United States resides with the citizens. And, you know, you've got all these extreme Republicans out there, promising the moon, telling everybody they're going to take them back to the '80s and trickle-down Reaganomics, promising tax cuts and spending increases, and balanced budgets. All this ridiculous stuff. At some point, the American people have to assume the responsibility of the future of their country. They are ultimately responsible for how they vote and whether they vote. And, you know, if they're not getting the straight shot from the media, they have to figure out how else to get their information. And I have to do that.

The media comes and goes in trends -- they tend to be more negative when Congress is in session, and less negative when they're not. Even when they're not trying to be -- just because it's more interesting to cover the fights, the conflicts, the process -- than some success.

So somebody needs to say to the voters in this next week -- that's what I try to do -- look, you are the bosses and you decide. And the outcome is yours.

MODERATOR: Let me do this. Let me go to a commercial break and we'll continue along that same line in just a moment.

We'll be back in just a moment.

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MODERATOR: Continuing our discussion with President Bill Clinton about issues that concern and are germane to the African American community.

One of the things that you said before we went to break was the idea that the public needs to know who to vote for and what's going to be done for them. One of the things that we continue to read, and as I travel the country I talk to people from Los Angeles to New York, that it really doesn't matter if a Democrat is in the White House or a Republican is in the White House nowadays, particularly for African Americans, because -- and I know you bristle at this -- but some have joked you've been the best Republican president over the last 20 years.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they're wrong. They're wrong. It matters that we've got more than twice as many African Americans in the Cabinet and high government positions than any president in history. It matters that, in two years, I appointed more than twice as many African Americans to the Federal Bench, who will be making decisions in court case after course case after course case, for decades. I appointed nearly twice as many African Americans to the

bench than Presidents Reagan, Carter and Bush combined. That makes a difference.

It matters whether we enforce the Voting Rights Act. It matters whether we enforce the antidiscrimination provisions. It matters whether we pass family and medical leave for working people so they can have some time off without getting fired when their babies are born or their parents are dead or sick. And the past president vetoed it twice. I got it through the Congress and I signed it. These things matter.

It matters whether you've got 4.6 million new jobs or you're losing jobs. It matters that in 1994 we've got more high-wage jobs coming into this economy than in the previous five years combined. And that's what I'm telling you.

The citizens of this country get sucker-punched over and over and over again by people who make money peddling cynicism. And if they fall for it, they cannot blame the President or the Congress. The people are the bosses in this country, and it's time they stopped blaming everybody else for what they don't know and going out there and finding out what are the facts, what are the differences, and voting on them. They cannot blame other people when they make statements like that which are foolish.

Now, I think the Republicans ought to think I'm a good Republican president. Why? Because we're taking the federal government to its smallest size since Kennedy; we're reducing the deficit for three years in a row for the first time since Truman; we passed a tough crime bill that was also smart; and we've got a strong economy and a strong foreign policy.

If I were a Republican, they would be building a statue to me and urging everybody to vote for my members of Congress, instead of what they're doing. But because we live in an age where if you can buy your way on to the airwaves, you can say anything, you don't have to be held accountable. They are making a race out of this.

MODERATOR: Let me try this. Because every time --

THE PRESIDENT: But for you to say it doesn't make any difference is just wrong.

MODERATOR: I am wrong. I didn't say this, and every time I say that and put it on the table, I wonder if I'm going to get my invitation to the Christmas party. (Laughter.)

Let me try this. When you see this zeal -- that obviously this upsets you --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's just --

MODERATOR: -- a lot of African Americans are looking at what is coming up with the Supreme Court. We're looking at race-based solution cases that they're finding -- with the construction companies; we saw the University of Maryland was struck down for black scholarships recently with the Federal Appeals Court and whether or not that's going to send a signal across the nation.

THE PRESIDENT: We stood up for minority-based

scholarships.

MODERATOR: But people want --

THE PRESIDENT: It matters who's the President. Some do, some don't.

MODERATOR: Well, let's look at that. Did you stand up -- the question would be -- did you stand up loud enough?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, all I know is, no president in history -- ever -- has had anything that approaches the record I do on empowering African Americans --

MODERATOR: Are you concerned when you see these things falling by the wayside?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure. But let me ask you something. Let's look at this. Let's go back to whether it makes a difference or not. People have got to make up their mind. Another thing they've got to make up their mind about is, how much difference and what time frame can any person make in the White House.

The social problems that are afflicting a lot of our communities; the breakdown of the families, the communities; the loss of jobs; the rise of crime and violence -- this stuff has been developing for 30 years. The Republicans have been in office 20 of the last 26 years, and for the last 12 years. I have been here 21 months. We are moving in the right direction. That's my argument. And I think it's a pretty compelling argument.

MODERATOR: You knew coming in, though, that you were going to have to run a quick race and people weren't going to sit and give you the time that perhaps you needed.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I knew coming in that people who fight for change in this country always wind up getting in trouble, because the people who are against you fight you like crazy. And the people that are for you are always tentative until they feel the results. So, when you're trying to fight for change, you've got to be willing to be unpopular to be responsible.

MODERATOR: Should African Americans be concerned with what they see? If you look at headlines -- you look at the book "The Bell Curve", and what's being said. I mean, you look at the USA Today, today suggested that there are all of these undertones of racial code words being used with the elections. It seems to me that just as a moral leadership issue, should you step up and suggest to this country, we've got to start dealing with race and get it out on the table? We don't like to talk about it.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think we should. I think that I should all the time. Last night I was in Cleveland, and I was standing in an African American church, Antioch Baptist Church, and I talked about what the Republican House Leader, Mr. Gingrich, said. He said they wanted to make me look like the enemy of normal Americans, and the only safe place I could speak was to a black audience in America. And I said, that this country would be a lot better off if every public official felt as comfortable in that church as I do.

Every time I give a speech, I talk about the strength of our diversity; that one of the best things about what we did in Haiti was that America is the only country that could have gone to Haiti and produced a couple of hundred Haitian-American soldiers that could be down there speaking Creole to the people of Haiti as we prepared to wait for President Aristide to come back.

I think a lot of people -- a lot of white voters -- have been alienated by the problems in their own lives and the inability of the government to make a difference in their own life. And so, extreme right wing forces are telling them, it's all because the government tried to hard to help the minorities. They're wrong. The minorities are not helped very much either.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 2, 1994

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT  
BY WDIA RADIO, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Room 551A, Rhode Island Convention Center  
Providence, Rhode Island

4:51 P.M. EST

Q WDIA here in Memphis, Tennessee. We have President Bill Clinton live and on the radio with you.

Good afternoon, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. How are you?

Q I'm just fine, thank you.

Q W.C. Brown is joining me here, and we're glad that you're joining us here by phone in Memphis. And we have a few questions we'd like to ask you. But, first, we'd like to give you an opportunity to make a statement.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first, it's good to be talking with you and to have a chance to visit with you so close to this election. The message I want to get out is that with all of our challenges in America, we're in better shape than we were 21 months ago. We're rebuilding the economy, we have more jobs, we have a lower unemployment rate, we've got more high-wage jobs coming into the economy, we're doing things for ordinary American families. The Family and Medical Leave Act, tax breaks for 15 million working families to keep them out of poverty, immunization for our children, more Head Start, we're doing things to support education, expanded college loans and apprenticeship programs for young people who don't go on to college.

We've supported African American educational programs especially strongly, and we'll continue to do that. We've supported the kinds of things that will move this country forward. We've taken steps to help communities deal with the crime problem not just with more police and the Brady Bill, the assault weapons ban, but also with prevention programs for our communities so that we can help our young people live a more positive life.

So we're moving in the right direction. The Republicans offer a contract that would take us back to the trickle-down Reaganomics era of the 1980s where we explode the deficit, move our jobs overseas and have the risk of big cuts in programs that are important to all Americans, like Medicare and Social Security. We need to keep going forward. We don't want to go back. In order to do that, in a place like Tennessee where there are so many important

elections -- two senate races, all the Congress races, a big  
'governors' race -- it's important that people go out and vote next  
Tuesday.

Q That's very true, Mr. President. The Crime Bill is  
an issue that we talk here on the talk show programs and in the news  
all the time about. A lot of people are concerned about the amount  
of money that's earmarked for the mid-South area, the Memphis mid-

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Providence, Rhode Island)

For Immediate Release

November 2, 1994

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT  
BY WTNH ABC, NEW HAVEN, CT

Rhode Island Convention Center  
Providence, Rhode Island

4:40 P.M. EST

Q You have just returned from an unprecedented preelection, whirlwind Middle Eastern trip in the name of peace. Following the trip, polls show your popularity up. Skeptics would say the trip was planned to boost not only popularity, but know-how in the area of foreign policy. Your comments, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we worked for two years very hard on peace in the Middle East. I had no control over the timing of the Israel-Jordan peace treaty. Obviously, they made their own decision about when to sign. They asked me to come and witness it because of the role the United States and our administration played in that.

When I was there, I went to visit our troops in the Persian Gulf. I sent them there to counter Saddam Hussein's latest aggression; clearly, I had no control over that. There was no politics in this trip. The American people know it. But the benefits that are coming in foreign policy -- the nuclear agreement with North Korea, the work in the Middle East, the success in Haiti -- they are the result of two years of hard work that happened to coalesce at this time. There was no politics in that, and there shouldn't be.

Q Mr. President, here in Connecticut and across the country, Republicans are trying to make you the symbol of all that's wrong with government. Pictures of you appear in many GOP television ads. Do you think this midterm election is really a referendum on you?

THE PRESIDENT: No, but I think that it is the culmination of two years of irresponsible conduct on their part, where they did their best to derail the government, to put the brakes on everything, to oppose deficit reduction, to oppose our plans for economic recovery, to oppose our plans for things like family and medical leave and the crime bill. As a party they did their best to wreck everything and then to blame us.

But the American people are beginning to see through it. After all -- let me put it to you this way. If I were a Republican president and I had followed policies which reduced the deficit, shrunk the federal government to its smallest size since President Kennedy was in office, increased the economic

prosperity of the country, reduced the nuclear threat, expanded trade, and passed the toughest crime bill in a generation, they would be running me for sainthood.

But because I'm a Democrat they're engaged in a great disinformation campaign and they've signed this contract to take this country back to the trickle-down economics of the '80s -- a decade, which I might add, was pretty rough on the state of Connecticut along toward the end with all the exploding deficits and other problems.

So I believe the American people will see through that. I've got a lot of faith in the people of this country to be positive, to be forward-looking, and my job is simply to get out and give them the facts and they'll make the decision.

Q President Clinton, we want to go to the viewers now. As you could imagine, we asked them to give us questions for you. We were having a chance to talk to the President. The first question is from Andrea Wilson of Norwalk. Andrea wants to know, Mr. President, what you're going to do to make deadbeat moms and dads accountable and responsible for supporting their children.

THE PRESIDENT: I sent in the springtime a welfare reform bill to Congress which, among other things, has a much tougher mechanism of child support enforcement. I think we have to have more automatic requirements, more wage withholding, more respect for these child support orders across state lines. It has simply got to be easier to get the child support payments out there. We've got billions and billions of dollars of unpaid child support, and if we had it paid by people who can afford to pay it, the welfare problem would be much smaller and it would be a lot easier for people who are struggling to raise their children in dignity to do it.

Q Now, for our second viewer question, Mr. President. It comes from a woman who wants to know why, if you made jobs one of your administration's top priorities, there are still layoffs and little in the way of job creation in Connecticut.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me see, I've got some figures right here; I'll check it. The national economy, since I became president, has produced 4.6 million new jobs. Now, the government didn't do all that; most of these jobs are in the private sector. But we created the environment in which the jobs could be created by bringing the deficit down, by expanding trade, by investing more in new technologies.

Not every American who wants a job has one and, of course, there's nothing the national government can do to stop some companies from laying off. But our job is to create more jobs than are lost, and we're doing that. But just a moment, let me check here. In Connecticut --

Q Take your time.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm looking here. The unemployment rate in Connecticut has dropped more than one percentage point. We've had several hundred new jobs added since I became president. In the previous four years -- listen to this -- Connecticut lost 150,000 new jobs. So we've got job gain now where we had job loss before. We need to create more jobs. We have to keep working on it. The first thing I had to do was to try to stop the job loss, and I think we have done that. We're moving forward.

Q Our viewers will be happy to hear that. President Clinton, thank you very much for taking time out of your busy schedule to be with us tonight.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

END

5:15 P.M.

EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT DNC SAXOPHONE CLUB RECEPTION

The Omni Shoreham Hotel  
Washington, DC

10:10 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Hillary. (Laughter.) Thank you, Chairman Wilhelm. And Deegee and Vernon and Ann Jordan. And thank you especially, Sean Foley and Jessica Wasserman, for leading the Saxophone Club. (Applause.)

I want to thank, too, Sean Burton and Jonathan Mantz for helping to hold the Saxophone Club -- (applause). And the Homebuilders and Occidental Petroleum, that helped to support this event tonight.

I also want to thank the entertainers. I'm kind of sorry I didn't Hootie and the Blowfish. (Laughter.) And I know Paula Poundstone was funny, because she always is. (Applause.) And I'm hoping I get to here a little bit of Chaka Khan and the St. Augustine Church Choir. Thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

We just came, as you know, from another event for the Democratic Party, and one that was immensely successful. But it struck me in that moment that the people who were there were a stunning answer to those who say that this is a cynical and selfish country, and that you are as well.

We had two pieces of good news already today -- one's light and one's not so light. The light one is that the United States won the soccer game tonight. (Applause.) I identify with our soccer team -- you know, they start as underdogs in this deal. I like that. (Laughter.) And they're doing well. (Applause.)

And the thing that potentially, and I hope and pray will ultimately affect your future in a very positive way, is the formal notification I received this afternoon that the North Koreans are willing to suspend their nuclear program -- (applause).

Then it occurred to me that at the event where I just was, there were lots of people there, and they weren't all Democrats. Some were Independents, some came up to me and said they were Republicans -- they were proud to be there at our party's event. Virtually every one of them, when our economic program passed last year, paid higher taxes so we could bring the deficit down and give a tax break to lower income working people with families. Those people aren't cynical. They did something that they believe is good for their country, good for their children and good for their future. And I am grateful to them, because they are -- (inaudible) -- in the cynicism. (applause).

And then I look out at all of you and I realize -- first of all, I look out at some of you, and a couple of you are my age, which makes me feel -- (laughter). Somebody said, some are older. (Laughter.) I can tell you, you look good out there with all these young people, but you can't turn it back. (Laughter.) Even I can't do that for you. (Laughter.) But you are a rebuke to this notion

MORE

that this whole idea of generation X, you know, it's a bunch of hoey. (Applause.)

What I want to say to you in brief is this -- first, let me thank you for keeping the Saxophone Club together. It means a lot to me. (Applause.) It means more than you could possibly know that there are young people who work in and around this town, who believe in this administration, who have stayed together, who were not just in it for the campaign, and are not just sunshine soldiers but are actually here for the long haul to make America a better place. I thank you for that. It means so much to me. (Applause.)

The second point I want to say is this: We are doing what you hired us to do, and that's important. When we had all those events in the campaign, I told you I was fighting for your future. And I still am. And when we took office, I said I wanted to get the economy going, to bring the deficit down, to invest more in our people, to make government work for ordinary people, and to empower people like you to seize your future.

And you look -- unemployment is down, jobs are up, new businesses are up. We're moving in the right direction. We're going to have three years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman was president -- (applause) --

We're empowering people -- 90,000 more kids in Head Start; 20 million more college students eligible for low interest student loans and better repayment. (Applause.) National service will start this fall with 20,000 people year after next -- 100,000 young Americans revolutionizing -- (applause) --

So, I tell you, we are fulfilling the mission that you voted for, that you worked for, that you are a part of, and your future is at stake.

And the third thing I want to say to you is this: I'm glad you're here, and I'm glad you're happy, and I'm glad you're enthusiastic. You've made me happy, and you've given me new energy. But let me tell you, what is at stake this year and next year and the next year is far bigger than Republicans and Democrats and President Clinton. It's about what the attitude of the American people is and what will be the dominant spirit of the American people as we move toward the 21st century.

When we're having this enormously important debate on health care -- and let me just say, I put out a plan on health care, and Hillary and I worked hard on it, but we said we know it can't be the end all and be all. We're happy to change it. But for goodness sakes, work with us without regard to party or region. Work with us and help to cover all Americans and solve this terrible problem. That's what we said. (Applause.)

And it seems pretty simple to me. This is the only country in the world with an advanced economy hadn't figured out how to cover everybody; but we're spending 14 percent of our income on health care. Today in The Washington Post, there was an article on the German health care system, pointing out they're spending 8.5 percent of their income on health care, and they've got 99 percent coverage. Now, I don't honestly believe that they're that much smarter than we are. (Laughter.) And I don't think you do.

What is the problem? Well --

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Republicans

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Dole. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: -- Listen, it isn't all Republicans. I've had Republican doctors, Republican nurses, Republican home health operators, Republican businesspeople come up to me and say, I support what you're doing. We have got to have universal health coverage.

What is the problem? Congressman Grandy from Iowa -- - wait, wait, Gopher -- relieved of the burden of running for office now for Congress, finally came out and said that the Republicans had been given, quote, marching orders by their leader to not cooperate, don't offer any amendments, you cannot vote for anything.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: What about the country?

THE PRESIDENT: What about the country, yes. (Applause.) Not about what the Democrats, what about the country? And let me tell you what's at stake. This is a big deal. When you leave here, this will still be a stake.

They believe that they can win based on two things in '94 and beyond -- first, the overwhelming cynicism of the American electorate bombarded every day by negativism, obsessively covered with process and conflict instead of substantive product. They believe that the American people will either not know what we have done, or they won't believe it. And then they think they can divide us in a cultural war over moral issues, racial issues and ethnic issues. They must be proved wrong. (Applause.)

~~You look around this room and you will picture of America. The diversity of this country is our ticket to the future. It will make us rich; it will make us strong; it will make us powerful. It will make your lives more interesting than any generation of America that went before if we can figure out how to go into these cities and into these poor rural areas and lift these children up, and if we can figure out how to live together instead of avoiding our problems and dividing ourselves. (Applause.)~~

But we must not become mired in the cynicism and the negativism that dominates the debate here everyday. And you know better, and you can cut through it. And it's your life. You've got more years ahead of you than I do. I've already had more good things happen to me than I ever deserved, or I ever could have dreamed of. I'm up here thinking about what's going to happen to my daughter and her children and your future. And I'm telling you, we cannot cut it if we permit an election in 1994 to reward the people who have stopped progress and tried to create gridlock because there is so much cynicism that either people can't find out what happened good, or they don't believe it if they do; and then they're diverted. We cannot let that happen. (Applause.)

And so I ask you to leave here thinking that. Perhaps the biggest honor I've had as your President is to represent this country at the 50th anniversary of the landings in Italy and D-Day. (Applause.) And I just want to -- we're having a good time, this is a light night, but I want to tell you one very serious thing. Those people did not put their lives on the line so that their children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren should live cynically in America -- (applause) -- you couldn't look at row upon row of graves over there and think, well, we're just sunk; we're just stuck in gridlock; we just can't make anything good happen.

I want to tell you something. Most of the folks I've known in public life the last 20 years in both parties were honest and decent and worked hard and tried to do right. This thing we're dealing with now is plumb out of hand, if you will forgive me using some Arkansas dialect. (Applause.) All this whole negative business and all this cynicism -- it is an indulgence; and you cannot afford it. And it is not you that is doing it. You are not the cynical

generation. It is the people that are older than you that are filling the airways full of this stuff that you don't even want to listen to. And you leave here determined not just to help your President and our party, but to help your country and your future.

This country was not built by cynics, it was built by believers; and it will be continued by believers.

God bless you and good night. (Applause.)

END

10:25 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 27, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT 17TH ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL HISPANIC CAUCUS RECEPTION

Washington Hilton  
Washington, D.C.

6:46 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Congressman Serrano, and to all my colleagues up here on the stage, and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and to Secretary Babbitt, Secretary and Mrs. Cisneros, Secretary and Mrs. Pena. I know the Attorney General is coming. I haven't seen her here, but I think she's here somewhere. And I thank her and all of them for serving our Cabinet and our country so well. (Applause.)

To Rita Alezando, and all the others who work at the Institute, and to all of you, first, let me thank you for receiving me so well, and thank you for letting me come early and leave early. You know, I have a date with President Yeltsin tonight. (Laughter.) And I don't want to stiff him, so I'm going to have to leave here in just a moment. I do want to -- I wish I could take the mariachis back with me to entertain him. (Laughter.)

I want to say a special word of thanks to a couple of people here -- first, to Congressman Ron De Lugo who's retiring after two decades representing the Virgin Islands. We will miss him very much. (Applause.) And thanks -- next I would like to say a special word of thanks to the Chief Deputy Whip, Congressman Bill Richardson, for his wonderful efforts in Haiti, to help us make peace and restore democracy in Haiti. (Applause.)

Congressman Serrano went over some of the accomplishments of this administration, but I want to do it again to ask you to do something for all of these members who are up here, because they have worked very hard -- very, very hard -- to make this country work again. And our biggest problem -- the thing you laughed about there, about not getting credit -- I don't really care who gets the credit, as long as the country is going forward. But when the congressional elections come up, the people who are getting credit for moving the country forward need to be rewarded, so the voters don't wind up inadvertently voting for the very things they are against.

And that's what I want you to think about. If someone had told you 20 months ago that in 20 months we would see the biggest deficit reduction passed in history; the biggest spending cuts in history; scores of government programs eliminated outright; the smallest federal bureaucracy since Kennedy was President; three years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Truman was President; and still more money being spent to put 200,000 more kids in Head Start, to immunize all the children in America under the age of two by 1996; for education and training for people who are unemployed, for young people who want to go into good jobs when they get out of high school, but don't want to go on to college -- you need apprenticeships; that we would reform the student loan program and make 20 million Americans eligible for student loans at lower interest rates, lower fees and longer repayment terms; and that these

MORE

things would produce 4.3 million new jobs, a 1.5 percent decline in the Hispanic unemployment rate -- you'd say that was pretty good, wouldn't you? (Applause.)

We are moving this country in the right direction. The guys that voted against us said if we did this, it would wreck the economy. They were wrong; we were right; the American people should know it. It's important, and you need to make a commitment not simply to support these folks here with the Institute and with your presence at this dinner, but with your voice and your heart and your spirit and getting people out to vote between now and November the 8th. They were wrong; we were right; they should be rewarded because we are moving this country in the right direction. (Applause.)

Since NAFTA was ratified, we have increased exports to Mexico by 19 percent, three times as much as our exports are going up elsewhere. Automobile and truck exports are up 600 percent. We've got folks in those auto factories working overtime for the first time in more than 10 years. (Applause.) And I might say, that's why I hope we can pass the GATT agreement before we leave, because that will bring another 300,000 to 500,000 jobs into this economy. (Applause.)

We had eight months in a row this year where manufacturing employment increased for the first time in 10 years. And for the first time in nine years, the annual vote of the panel of international economists, the United States was voted the most productive economy in the entire world. We're moving in the right direction, they need to be rewarded for it -- these people in Congress who have made it possible. (Applause.)

Because of the Hispanic Caucus, we're closer to reenacting the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to help give educationally disadvantaged children a better chance. Congressman Becerra worked especially hard on that. (Applause.)

In addition to passing, in this economic plan, a tax cut for 15 million working families with children, who are working and hovering just above the poverty line -- who are disproportionately Hispanic, I might add -- we cut their taxes. We raised tax rates on the top 1.2 percent of Americans, cut taxes for 15 million working families so they wouldn't fall into poverty while they were working; so they could succeed as parents and workers; so they wouldn't choose welfare over work. We did it; they all voted against it; you ought to reward the people who did it and not the reverse. (Applause.)

We also passed the motor voter bill after several years of gridlock -- (applause); the Brady Bill and the Family and Medical Leave Bill after seven years of gridlock (applause); the crime bill after six years of gridlock (applause). We're about to announce the community, sometime this year, who won the empowerment zone competition -- the enterprise community competition. We have more coming forward. Last week I signed the Community Development Banking Bill, which will put \$4.8 billion into poor communities, urban and rural, in this country so poor people can borrow money to put themselves in business in ways that will make a profit. This has been proven to work in other countries. It is wrong that America has not done it before, but we're going to bring free enterprise to the inner city and the isolated rural areas of America and prove that poor people want to work as well; and they can and will, and will succeed. (Applause.)

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Chairman Gonzalez and Nydia Velazquez, Luis Guttierrez and Lucille Roybal-Allard for their leadership on this community development initiative; it was very important. (Applause.)

This administration has also kept its commitment to look more like America. With 302 Hispanic-American appointments, we have now appointed more than twice the number of Hispanic-Americans as my

predecessor and, even better than that, of all those that went before. (Applause.) And I might add, in the area of federal judges, we have appointed twice the number of Hispanic-Americans appointed by the last three Presidents, Democratic and Republican combined; and I am proud of that. (Applause.)

One other thing I want to mention, because some of you were there, but one of the greatest honors I have had as President was the opportunity that I was able to take to give the Medal of Freedom to Cesar Chavez. I only wish he had been there to receive it in person. (Applause.)

Let me close with this. I had the opportunity to have a great meeting, when I spoke to the United Nations yesterday, with President Salinas. And he said to me, Mr. President, he said, I follow American politics very closely, and we've had a wonderful partnership. And he said, I understand many things about America; but I do not understand how, with your economy booming, with so much progress being made, with all these bills flying through Congress, most Americans say when they're polled they think the country is going in the wrong direction. I said, well, you just have to live here to understand that. (Laughter.)

But you think about it. Every one of you works in some working group -- maybe it's a big one, maybe it's a small one. How well could you do at your job if every day two-thirds of the people who showed up to work with you were convinced nothing good was going to happen, and when something good did happen, denied that it did? (Laughter.) That is the environment you ask these people to come to work every day in. You ask them to take brave decisions, vote for change, stand up to interest groups, push the country forward, when they know that there's better than a 50 percent chance that the people they're fighting for may not even get the message. That is what elections are for.

The fact is that against enormous odds from interest groups, and enormous political odds and relentless opposition, the people on this stage with me have been responsible for an economic revival; for seriously addressing many of the greatest social problems facing this country. The deficit is down; the economy is up; jobs are up; trade is up; we have seriously addressed the crime problem. The American people are going to be more secure. We have done things for children, too long deferred, on immunizations, Head Start, the family leave policy, the policy of giving a tax break to working families on low incomes. We are moving the country forward and pulling it together. What remains is to get the message of the record of the last 20 months to the voters in the next five weeks.

You can do it; they need it; I will be out there doing my part. But if you liked what has happened before, you must ratify it by getting your friends and neighbors to say, we are not going to be fooled, we are not going to be divided, and we are certainly not going back to the old policies of the past which wrecked the economy and divided this country; we're going forward together. Thank you very much, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

7:04 P.M. EDT