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001. email	To James T. Edmonds re: Draft CBC remarks (partial, handwritten note) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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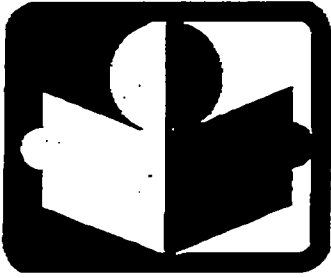
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Little Rock School District
810 West Markham
Little Rock, AR 72201
Phone: (501) 324-2020
Fax: (501) 324-2032

Terry -
I had
this sent to me from
Central H. S.

DATE: August 7, 1997

TO: Abigail Krausen

FROM: Suellen Vann, Director of Communications

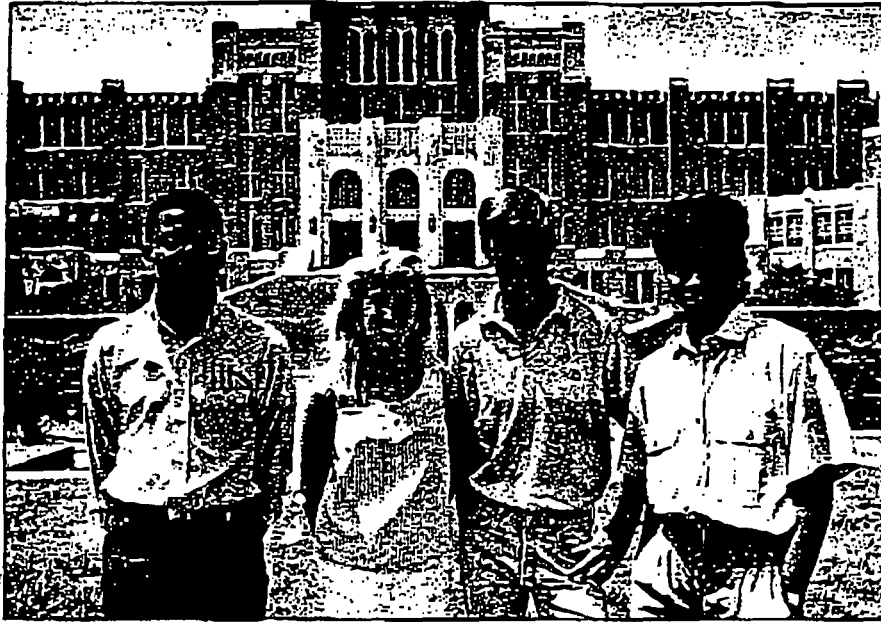
SUBJECT: President Clinton - Central High School Quotes

Hope it helps
- Abigail

MESSAGE:

I am sending you some press clips from coverage of the 30th anniversary of Central High School in Little Rock. We are continuing to search for others and will fax any additional material we find. Please let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Pages (including cover) 8 To Fax # (202) 456-5709 Speed Dial ____



CHANGING TIMES - These smiling Central High School students (top) say things have changed since Central became the focal point of resistance to integration in 1957. Derrick Noble, Lisa McHenry, Alex

Golden and Melonie Elliot (from left) think the school's history makes them work harder at race relations. The bottom photo shows black students entering an Army car at Central in September 1957.

8-23-87

Participants in 1957 crisis say resegregation a threat



BY TYLER TUCKER
Democrat Staff Writer

"We are going to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Little Rock Central High School this year. Thirty years ago it was a symbol of the resistance of all our people of this region to racial integration. Today it is a symbol of the ability to combine a commitment to racial equality with educational excellence. I am so proud of it."

Gov. Bill Clinton
Aug. 18, 1987

Thirty years have passed since the Little Rock Nine, shielded by the bayonets of federal troops, broke through racial barriers at Central High School. Those involved in the 1957 crisis told the Arkansas Democrat that historic effort is now threatened by a "second crisis" of school resegregation.

In recent interviews with seven of the nine former students, they expressed a belief that they accomplished their purpose in 1957, although there was great risk and pain, but that the struggle for racial equality in Little Rock continues.

The Little Rock School District, scheduled to begin classes Aug. 31, is now grappling with a federal court desegregation plan that has extended the district boundaries to the city limits, adding portions of other school districts and resulting in extensive reassignments to achieve a racial balance.

Ernest G. Green, 45, the first black graduate of Central High in 1958, is now a senior vice president of Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc. in Washington, D.C. He said the ongoing

LR Central a 'model' still sensitive to race

Central High School students and faculty have overcome the 1957 desegregation crisis by building a nationally recognized educational program, but some racial problems remain, according to school officials and students.

The school carved its place in history 30 years ago when nine black students, protected by federal troops, broke the color line. Today school officials and students talk about the school with pride and it remains a symbol of an integrated, quality education anchored against "white flight."

"I think Central's been very

Fausch denies racism allegations as civil rights leaders still blame crisis on former governor.

Articles, Page 14A

lot of students committed to having a good school," said Everett M. Hawks, a New Yorker in his fifth year as principal of the school.

"I think that surely all that some people know about Arkansas is what they know about Central High. There are a lot more people who are realizing what Arkansas is — and what Central is — a fine state and a fine institution."

Gov. Bill Clinton said Thursday that Arkansas' present

fortunate in the years that
have gone by since 1967 to
have excellent leadership, ex-
cellent teaching faculty and p

image is shaped "very little"
by the 1967 crisis and Central
had a "very positive image as a
See RELATIONS, Page 6A

school struggle is part of a big-
ger problem.

"My overall perspective is
that the school struggle is a
See CENTRAL, Page 7A

Central

Continued from Page One
small piece of the big problem, which is economic opportunity and economic disparity between blacks and whites; not only in Arkansas but across the South," Green said. "The school problem masks the larger problem: How do you make economic opportunity for everyone? I think it's (disparity) going to continue."

Green, a former assistant secretary of labor, said the Little Rock Nine "opened Pandora's Box" in 1957.

"We showed you had to make education an issue to do what is right," Green said. "People who are best prepared get the best opportunity and those not prepared are left out."

Green, a member of the NAACP national board and the board of the Arkansas-based Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, said schools serve as a "ladder" for "evening out the field of play."

"A lot of black kids start out in an uneven race," Green said.

Two civil rights leaders who aided the cause of the Little Rock Nine said in recent interviews that the accomplishments of blacks during the 1957 crisis are threatened by a "movement" for resegregation.

Wiley A. Branton Sr., 63, the NAACP attorney from Pine Bluff who represented 33 black students, including the Little Rock Nine, during the 1957 crisis, said Little Rock still does not have a "unitary" school district.

"I'm afraid there's a movement toward resegregation in Little Rock," Branton said in a recent interview from his



Ernest Green

are concerned with the logistics of busing.

"I think that people, for whatever reason, think they need to kind of isolate their child on what I would consider a white Christian island, which to me is doing them a disservice because that's not what the real world's like," Mrs. Choate said. "A lot of them (parents) wouldn't try. They wouldn't give the schools the benefit of the doubt."

Mrs. Choate, director of the Governor's Partnership in Substance Abuse and Prevention and a former aide to Gov. Bill Clinton, and her husband, John, a Little Rock attorney, put two sons through Little Rock schools. They said in a recent interview that today's desegregation issues are different from those of 1957.

"I think everybody has accepted integration," John Choate said. "What we have now is a monstrous logistical



Gloria Ray Karlmark



Jefferson Thomas

situation."

"A lot of people want a quality, integrated school system and don't want their child isolated on that white Christian island," Mrs. Choate added.

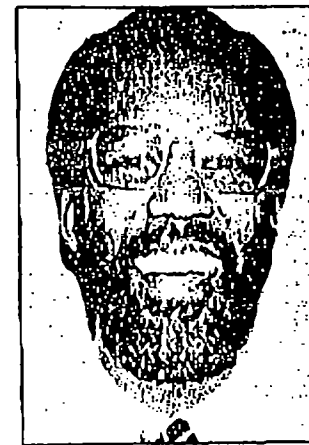


Carlotta Walls Lanier



Minnijean Brown Trickey

Those members of the Little Rock Nine who could be interviewed expressed hope that their sacrifice and ordeal had opened doors for blacks that would remain open.



Terrence Roberts



Thelma Jean Mothershead Walr

Mrs. Bates, publisher of the *Arkansas State Press* and widow of the late civil rights leader L.C. Bates, said the Little Rock Nine suffered mental and physical abuse, but gained

strength from each other. "We discussed what would happen if one of them killed or hurt," she said. "I said they would go to school the next morning."

Green, like the other former students, was surprised the integration of Central High came a historical event.

"We probably didn't realize how long the struggle would last — even until today," Green said. "If anybody told me 30 years after my high school graduation I would still be discussing my high school graduation, I wouldn't have believed it."

Green, a graduate of Morgan State University and father of two children, said stigma of racial prejudice remains for Little Rock because of the 1957 crisis, but "at federal presence and support is still needed in Arkansas."

"I feel very proud to have contributed something," Green said. "I'm as surprised as anyone it's had these historical meanings." Green, who he said Jesse Jackson with his presidential campaign but "not as active" in the current campaign, praised Clinton for pressing for education reform. He also said he plans to return to Arkansas.

Thelma Jean Mothershead Walr, 40, of Belleville, Ill., junior high school home economics teacher, said the segregation problems continue despite the 1957 effort.

"I know that Little Rock like most other cities, is having a crisis because whites are moving to the suburbs leaving the city schools to blacks," Mrs. Walr said. "I can't make people live in the city and go to school."

See CENTRAL, Page

recent interview from his

Washington, D.C., law office.
"That concerns me."

Branton, who left Arkansas in 1962, said it will take a joint effort of the school board and the school administration to bring the district into compliance with federal law. A former dean of the Howard University Law School, Branton said the actions of former Gov. Orval E. Faubus during the 1957 crisis almost brought "anarchy" to the state.

"There is no question Little Rock came as close to anarchy or revolt by state government as anything since the Civil War," Branton said.

Faubus, 77, said in a recent interview at his Conway home that the 1957 crisis, described as a "constitutional confrontation," would have occurred regardless of who was governor.

"As far as I was concerned and my administration, it was not a racial thing," Faubus said. "It's just too bad that the emotional issue of race entered into it."

Daisy Bates, 73, of Little Rock, civil rights leader and author of *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*, which is based on her experiences during the desegregation "struggle," said in a recent interview that blacks are forced to fight again for the same objectives as in 1957 in a "second Little Rock school crisis."

"We thought 20 years ago we would put an end to segregation," Mrs. Bates said. "The school board worked to that end. But, we're having to go through it all a second time."

Mrs. Bates, who counseled the Little Rock Nine during the 1957 crisis, said the resegregation of schools has been caused by "white flight" to the suburbs.

"Thirty years ago, I would have said Americans would have ended it (segregation)," she said.

Vance Jones, acting superintendent of Little Rock schools, said Thursday that white flight has caused problems and district officials went to U.S. District Court because it had become an "insular school system."

The Little Rock schools were resegregating, Jones said. "What happened to Little Rock is what happens to most cities—people move to the suburbs."

Jones said there was no comparison between the current desegregation problems and the 1957 crisis, except for the fact that the school board was "pledged to providing an equal quality education."

However, Jones admitted the district had a "tracking pattern" whereby most black students were assigned to basic courses while white students dominated the advanced classes. He said the tracking has been eliminated.

Janice Choate, 46, of Little Rock, who attended Central High during the 1957 crisis and who has served on school district oversight committees for 15 years, said white flight is a factor, though many parents



reunited at Mansion

In a jovial mood, with others, on the steps of the Governor's Mansion Thursday are the nine blacks who desegregated Central High School in September 1957. Standing at Governor Bill Clinton's left is Carlotta Walls Lanier of Englewood, Cal. From left, next to her, are (back row) Dr. Terrence Roberts of Pasadena, Cal., Minnijean Brown Trickey of Kenabek, Canada, Melba Pattillo Beals of San Francisco and Ernest G. Green of Washington. In the front row are (from left) Daisy Bates, the civil rights leader, and Thelma Jean Mothershead Wair of Belleville, Ill., Jefferson A. Thomas of Anaheim, Cal., Gloria Ray Karlmark of The Netherlands and Elizabeth Ann Eckford of Little Rock.

—Staff Photo by Art Morgan

Doors open for 'joyous union'

by Michael Haddigan
AZETTE STAFF

For the first time in 30 years, nine black former Central High School students who made history at Little Rock were reunited Thursday at the mansion once occupied by the governor who in 1957 temporarily barred them from the school.

"Thirty years ago, you might not have been allowed in the gate," Gov. Elihu Gaylord, the state NAACP president, told the nine. "But now the doors have been open to you. God bless you."

The emotional reunion at a Governor's Mansion reception Thursday brought members of the Little Rock Nine from as far away as California, The Netherlands and northern Canada to a city where none once feared and cursed them.

"This is a joyous union of both black and white," Melba Pattillo Beals, 44, now a journalist at San Francisco, said to loud applause. "We celebrate the triumph of the human spirit, no matter what its color."

Daisy Bates praised

Ernest G. Green, 46, of Washington, the first black graduate of Central in 1958, praised Daisy Bates, the newspaper publisher and former president of the Arkansas NAACP who acted as counselor for the students.

"We are all very proud of her," he said. "She was the glue that held us all together and we love her very much."

The nine former Central High students were at Little Rock Thursday for the NAACP national board meeting, which is to continue through Saturday.

Governor Bill Clinton said he

'Triumph of spirit' celebrated

was proud to have the nine reunited at "the command post designed to keep them from getting into school." Mr. Clinton said the fact that Central High has since 1957 become "a symbol of progress and academic excellence was evidence of the progress Arkansas had made in race relations."

The nine were met by Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, at the door of the mansion and some embraced tearfully as they encountered each other at the reception.

Faibus called out Guard

September 2, 1957, then-Governor Orval E. Faibus, citing what he said was evidence of disorder and threats of disorder, called out the National Guard to surround Central to keep the nine students from entering the next day under federal court desegregation orders. September 25, the students entered the school under the protection of federal troops, who kept crowds of angry, jeering whites at bay.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower had dispatched 1,100 combat-equipped troops of the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock after Faibus defied the federal desegregation orders.

Faibus later ordered the Little Rock high schools closed for the 1958-59 school year. But a three-judge federal court struck down the state law that had allowed Faibus to close the schools and the high schools reopened in August 1958.

Brought confrontation to head

Backed by the NAACP, the nine students at Little Rock brought to

a head a brewing confrontation between Arkansas and the federal government over the school desegregation issue.

Today, 67 per cent of the 2,020 students enrolled at Central are black. The high school is widely recognized for the quality of its academic programs.

Met by demonstrators

The nine former students and the NAACP board members were met at the mansion gate by a dozen

Robert (Say) McIntosh said the NAACP was "dead as a doughnut" and criticized the board members for "partying with Mr. Clinton and Jerry Maulden, AP and L president, who greeted the board members."

placard-carrying demonstrators led by Robert (Say) McIntosh.

McIntosh said the NAACP was "dead as a doughnut" and criticized the board members for "partying with Mr. Clinton and Jerry Maulden, Arkansas Power and Light Company president, who greeted the board members at the mansion."

As the nine were gathering for photographs on the mansion steps, the demonstrators sang "We Shall Overcome," the anthem of the civil rights struggle.

Several board members were

visibly annoyed with the demonstrators, who offered them fried chicken and watermelon. Benjamin L. Hooks, the NAACP executive director, briefly engaged McIntosh in a conversation.

To tour Central

The NAACP board members will meet today with students, faculty and school officials at Central High School. Also today, the nine and Mrs. Bates will tour the high school with Mr. Clinton.

For most of the nine, it will be the first time they had entered the school since they were students.

Still doesn't understand

Jefferson A. Thomas, 44, of Anaheim, Cal., a Vietnam veteran who is an accounting technician, said at the reunion that he still has "not been able to understand why all this was necessary."

"I lived in Little Rock all my life. I thought everyone was friendly, you know, Southern hospitality and all that. All of a sudden, my world was torn apart."

White children he and the other students had played with were soon "kicking and spitting and yelling at us," he said.

Thomas said he "got a lot of energy into not running scared when I should have been concentrating on my studies."

"He said he left Little Rock in 1960 and had visited in 1963 and 1966. Thomas said he had stood across the street from the school since he left the city, but "really had no desire to go in."

He said seven of the group had met five years ago at New York.

Elizabeth Ann Eckford, 45, who lives at Little Rock, said she did not wish to be interviewed Thursday. "I always decline interviews."

Ex-governor didn't get an invitation

When the Little Rock Nine relive the 1957 desegregation crisis at Central High School today, one key figure won't be there: Orval E. Faibus. He wasn't invited.

Faibus, 77, who now lives near Conway, served an unprecedented six terms. He said Thursday in a telephone interview that he planned to attend a fall festival at Harrison through Saturday.

"I hope all of them has a nice meeting and get along fine," he said. "Little Rock is a friendly city and always has been."

Asked if in the last 30 years he had ever wanted to explain his actions during the crisis to the nine students, Faibus said, "I wouldn't mind if I had the occasion to."

unless I think of something worthy to say," she said.

Gloria Ray Karlmark, 46, a magazine editor who lives in The Netherlands, said Europeans were familiar with the events of the Central High crisis.

"Europe and the world made serious note of what happened here 30 years ago," Karlmark said. She said Faibus "bears a serious burden on his conscience, not just for us, but for what he did the next year in closing the schools."

In a telephone interview Thursday, Faibus said that under the same conditions today he would make the same decisions he made in 1957.

Thomas, when told of the former governor's comments, said quickly and with conviction, "So would I."

... ARKANSAS GAZETTE Saturday, October 24, 1987

NAACP banquet toasts courage of LR Nine

By Stephen Steed
GAZETTE STAFF

The courage of the nine students who brought about the desegregation of Central High School was saluted and toasted by about 1,500 people in a banquet and reception Friday night at the Statehouse Convention Center.

The events were part of the annual NAACP national board meeting.

While those at the head table, including Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP executive director, saluted the efforts of the past, they also warned that much more work was yet to be done in civil rights and in general improvement of the country.

Governor Bill Clinton, who gave a reception for the nine students Thursday night at the Governor's Mansion, said at the banquet that the policies of President Reagan had been detrimental by "spawning a new class of poor people." He said the Reagan years had brought "compassion out of fashion" and "greed without need."

He said the NAACP could help

combat the effects of national policies by renewing its commitment to quality education, by realizing that the country's children not only need to learn more but that more children need to learn, and to promote full political participation by blacks.

During the banquet, an excerpt was shown from a 30-minute documentary, "Central High School: Then and Now." The documentary, which will be broadcast later this fall, is narrated by Deborah Mathis, a reporter for KATV, Channel 7, and was produced and sponsored by Arkansas Power and Light Company.

The excerpt showed footage from September 2, 1957, when then-Governor Orval E. Faubus called out the National Guard to prevent the nine black students from entering school. Twenty-three days later, the students were escorted into the school by troops of the 101st Airborne Division dispatched to Little Rock by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The NAACP's meeting will conclude today.

Related article on Page 9A.

Clinton: Seeds sown for tree at Yale in '57

BY SCOTT CHARTON
Associated Press

Symbolic seeds were sown at Central High School in 1957 for a tree that grows at Yale University today.

So Gov. Bill Clinton told a ceremony Friday honoring black students, known as the Little Rock Nine, who desegregated Central three decades ago.

Clinton and his wife, Hillary, visited the Yale campus at New Haven, Conn., last weekend - the couple first met at the university - and a student from Arkansas escorted them, at Clinton's request, to a courtyard at one of Yale's colleges.

There, Clinton said, was a tree, planted in memory of Roosevelt Thompson, a 1980 graduate of Central. A plaque nearby says the tree will be for children to stand under once older trees have fallen.

"If it hadn't been for you," Clinton told the nine, "that plaque wouldn't be there."

Thompson made high marks at Yale and was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship before he died in a 1984 car crash. He had worked for the Clintons. And Central's auditorium has since been named for Thompson, who served as student body president.

Siftings from a reporter's notebook after a three-day reunion of the Little Rock Nine, who hadn't been together at Little Rock for 29 years:

- Clinton, a Rhodes Scholar himself, said when he traveled to Europe for postgraduate study 11 years after Central was desegregated, he found the crisis was all that most of his new friends knew about Arkansas. Because of the success of public education, Clinton said, those images have been partially dispelled.

- Clinton's predecessor as governor, Orval E. Faubus, said this week he was not invited to the nine's reunion, nor did he care to comment on what he might have said to them. Faubus, governor from 1955-67, ordered the National Guard to keep the students out. President Dwight Eisenhower summoned the 101st Airborne Division to escort the blacks into Central.



—Staff Photo by Jeff Mitchell

TRIUMPHANT RETURN: The Little Rock Nine in front of Central High School 30 years later. Front row (from left): Jefferson A. Thomas, Minnie J. Brown Trickey, Gloria Ray

Karlmark, Elizabeth Ann Eckford and Thelma Jean Mothershed Weir. Back row (from left): Dr. Terrence Roberts, Melba Pattillo Beals, Carlotta Walls Lanier and Ernest Green.

Return to Central brought cheers, not jeers, for the Little Rock Nine

1-4-88

A light rain was falling October 23, 1987, when nine black adults slowly ascended the steps in front of Little Rock Central High School. Thirty years before, they were students enduring threats and curses as they walked into the high school.

This most recent visit was full of deep emotion, but the nine former students entered the school this time to the cheers of the current student body and accolades from notables, such as Governor Bill Clinton, Little Rock Mayor Lottie Shackelford and national NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks.

"We could not have walked so

slow and lived, in 1957," Melba Pattillo Beals, one of the "Little Rock Nine," said of the 1987 entrance to the school. "What we feel this morning is joyous that we made it, and sad that we had to make it."

The nine former students were reunited for an NAACP national board meeting at Little Rock. They returned to the school for a reception and a tour.

In September 1957, they were escorted into the school by combat-equipped federal paratroopers sent in by President Dwight D. Eisenhower after then-Governor Orval E. Faubus defied federal desegregation orders.

Now, more than half of the 2,020 Central students are black and the high school is widely recognized for the quality of its academic programs.

"We don't come to open old wounds, but rather to celebrate and commemorate the great moment in history that changed the course of this nation and changed it for the better," Hooks said at a moving reception reuniting the Little Rock Nine in the school library.

Shackelford, Little Rock's second black mayor, tearfully welcomed the former students and Daisy Bates, the black newspaper publisher who counseled the nine during the crisis.

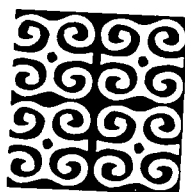
Mr. Clinton said the crisis in 1957 "cut our state in two and threatened our very soul and spirit." Now, he said, the "shining success of public education in these halls" has brought the state and the school a new reputation.

—James Scudder

UPDATE
The top stories of 1987

R.T.
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121

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**THE
AFRICAN
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SEVENTH EDITION

Formerly
The Negro
Almanac

L. Mpho Mabunda,
Editor

Foreword by
Chuck Stone

Walter Spearman Professor
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



GALE

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Ralph Abernathy

In 1960 she quit the SCLC and took a job with the Young Women's Christian Association instead. When students began leading sit-ins, she shifted her focus to the development of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. She acted as an unofficial advisor for the group, counseling them to set up their own student-run organization rather than be subsumed under the SCLC or the NAACP. She helped launch the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party that challenged the all-white Democratic delegation at the 1964 presidential convention. She also acted as staff consultant for the interracial SCLC educational fund.

Baker returned to New York City in 1965, but kept working with national and international civil rights organizations. Among her other activities, she raised money to send to the freedom fighters in Rhodesia and South Africa. She remained an active organizer and speaker as long as her health allowed. Baker's belief in the power of communal action and reliance on the workers rather than the leaders had an enormous impact. She worked for all of the major civil-rights organizations at their time of greatest need. By the time the SCLC and the SNCC were formed, she had almost 30 years of civil-rights and community organizing experi-

ence to offer. She continually strove to keep the movement people oriented, and she succeeded in helping the SNCC remain a student group. Through her philosophy and actions, she motivated hundreds to act, to help themselves, and their neighbors as she had learned to do as a child.

Daisy Lee Gatson Bates 1920-

Publisher, Civil Rights/Human Rights Activist, Executive/General Manager

After attending segregated schools where all of the new equipment and up-to-date texts were reserved for whites only, Daisy Bates spent much of her energy as an adult successfully integrating the schools of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Shortly after their marriage in 1941, Daisy and her husband Lucius Christopher Bates, a journalist, started to publish a newspaper, the *Arkansas State Press*. They made it a point in their paper to keep track and report incidents of police brutality and other racially-motivated violence; their paper became known throughout the state for its campaign to improve the social and economic circumstances of African Americans. Because of their work, the city of Little Rock began to hire black police officers, and the number of racial incidents lessened.

In 1952, Daisy Bates became the Arkansas president of the NAACP; after the 1954 court decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, she became very active in school desegregation. She began taking black children to white schools to be registered. If the school refused to register the children, she would report it in her paper. In 1957, the superintendent of schools in Little Rock decided to try to integrate the schools and chose nine students, now called the Little Rock Nine, to be the first black children to attend Central High, a white school. Most white citizens of Little Rock objected. Bates organized the Little Rock Nine, accompanied them to Central High, and stood with them against the state troopers that Governor Orval Faubus had sent in to prevent the integration. For days she escorted the children to school, only to be turned away by an angry mob. On September 25, 1957, Daisy Bates entered Central High in Little Rock with the nine children, escorted by 1000 paratroopers. President Dwight Eisenhower had sent in; the first steps towards integration were successful. For the rest of their years at Central High, Bates kept track of the students and acted as their advocate when problems arose, frequently accompanying them and their parents to meetings with school officials.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1997 Arkansas Democrat-Gazette
Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

June 24, 1997, Tuesday

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 7B

LENGTH: 798 words

HEADLINE: Flag flap settlement Fight was ill-advised

BYLINE: John Brummett

BODY:

Some historians say that an effort to commemorate an event or an era with a museum should not be undertaken until a century has passed.

The point, frankly, would be to give everyone who lived through the event time to die. (Their kids ought to be getting on as well.) That should serve to weaken the innate defensiveness about reliving unpleasant history, not to mention the resentment-based arguments about what actually happened.

But there's another school of thought, more progressive if more perilous and painful. It is that sometimes it's important to confront recent history to move beyond it.

So it is that we will not wait any hundred years to open a visitors center and museum in the old service station across from Little Rock Central High School. We will commemorate in the mid-lifetimes of most of the participants this epic event that qualified as a vanguard American incident in official white resistance to court-ordered racial desegregation of the schools.

We're only waiting until September, which will be the 40th anniversary of this internationally recognized affair from which Little Rock still reels.

On this occasion, Little Rockians will be called on to come to terms with what happened and to reconcile with each other as a weeklong series of activities is held. A combination of city, state and private money has advanced the project to imminent completion.

As for the planning: So far, so good, I am happy to report.

The biggest flap among museum organizers has been whether to display a Confederate flag next to Old Glory in an opening display tracing the struggle for civil rights, and it's been settled quietly.

Two local black state legislators, Bill Walker and Irma Brown, objected. The Dixie flag sends all kinds of negative symbols to blacks, they said. They asked: Why burden the museum with a potential for racial battle reminiscent of what we've seen in Georgia and South Carolina?

Historical purists said that Walker and Brown had reacted precisely as people are supposed to react to honest and vivid portrayals in history museums -- by

showing that the display had served its purpose, which was to evoke emotion.

Both sides had a point. The historians had a stronger point generally. But in the specific case, a fight was ill-advised, especially when the Civil War is not the essence of the museum. And that was precisely the resolution. No Dixie flag.

Beyond that, official points of dispute have been of this variety: Why display a quote from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. when, in fact, he had no role in Central High or the events leading to it? Why not a quote from Thurgood Marshall or Daisy Bates? Good point, and it properly prevailed.

That is not to say that a seemingly inevitable undercurrent -- local resentment by whites of the portrayal of themselves and their forebears as demons and thugs -- hasn't been evident. It's there. But it's been quiet, well under control, and we can hope it will remain so.

If there are those who think the museum will merely display a Tiger football helmet and jersey and a couple of '50s-vintage yearbooks, let them continue to think so.

Then there is the missive that Rett Tucker, chief organizer of the visitor center and commemoration, keeps close lest his blood need to be set boiling. It is a returned fund-raising solicitation in which the recipient, remaining anonymous, returned it by marking that he would make no contribution, adding in red ink: "(This) is a disgraceful waste of taxpayer money. We ought to forget all about 1957 and how federal intervention destroyed a fine institution."

Central High today is a fine high school, especially for bright, fast-track students. It regularly leads the state, and competes on a national scale, in the number of national merit scholars it produces.

We have a calendar events for Sept. 20-27 offering these highlights:

- The actual museum opening at 10 a.m. Saturday, Sept. 20, with an open house at Central beginning at 11 a.m.
- A weeklong exhibit at the state Capitol honoring Dunbar High School, the former black high school.
- A 70th birthday party for the school at 1 p.m. Saturday, Sept. 27.

The main event, with the time to be determined, will be held Thursday, Sept. 25, the anniversary date of the entry into the school of the nine black students under the protection of federal troops. President Clinton will attend. According to one report, the Little Rock Nine will walk into Central High as Clinton and Mike Huckabee -- a former governor and the current one -- hold open the door for them.

That ought to be quite a moment.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

43RD STORY of Focus printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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October 23, 1987, Friday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 746 words

HEADLINE: 30 Years After Central High Crisis, Little Rock Nine Return

BYLINE: By SCOTT CHARTON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

BODY:

Three decades after soldiers turned them away from all-white Central High School, the Little Rock Nine returned in honor to the now-mostly black school Friday and remembered their shared battles.

"For us, the bottom line was, every single morning of our lives, for nine months, we got up, we polished our saddle shoes, and we went to war," Melba Pattillo Beals of San Francisco told a ceremony in Central's library honoring her and eight other students who spearheaded the school's integration.

"That did not feel good. It did not feel good then, and it does not feel good to think back to it now," Ms. Beals said as Gov. Bill Clinton and Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, looked on.

The nine blacks were all good students ranging in age from 15 to 17 when they were selected by the NAACP in 1957 to integrate Central following the U.S. Supreme Court's famed 1954 decision, Brown vs. Board of Education, which found segregation of the nation's schools to be unconstitutional.

Then-Gov. Orval E. Faubus told the National Guard to keep the black students out. President Dwight D. Eisenhower then ordered the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock to escort them into class, the first time federal troops had been used to enforce desegregation.

Ms. Beals, now a talk-show hostess in San Francisco, said she linked arms with Gloria Ray Karlmark as they walked up Central's wide front steps Friday and remembered autumn mornings 30 years before.

"We walked very slow. We could not have walked that slow and lived in 1957," Ms. Beals said, recalling jeering white mobs outside the school.

The tour stopped at Central's auditorium, which Ms. Beals referred to as "the battleground" because guards were not permitted inside during assemblies.

"One day, a guy threw a knife past my head in the auditorium. A teacher told me not to report insignificant incidents," Ms. Beals said.

The Associated Press, October 23, 1987

FOCUS

At a stairwell, Ms. Beals pointed to an exit door and said, "This is how we got out every day" when their ride would arrive. "People would just shower stuff on us in the stairwell. This was the most hazardous pathway."

Minniejean Brown Trickey, now a writer who lives in Canada, recalled how in her frustration she once dumped a bowl of chili on a white student. She was later expelled from the school.

"I felt terribly, terribly guilty. I felt that I had let down my friends they were all my best friends and I felt that I'd let down the whole civil rights movement," she said.

The others who attended were Elizabeth Ann Eckford, now a social worker in Little Rock; Jefferson A. Thomas, who works for the Defense Department in Los Angeles; Thelma Jean Mothershed Wair, a home economics teacher in Belleville, Ill.; Terrence Roberts, a college dean in Pasadena, Calif; and Carlotta Walls Lanier, a real estate broker in Engelwood, Colo. Ms. Karlmark is editor of a computer magazine in The Netherlands.

"It's a good feeling," said Ernest Green, a senior vice president of Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc. in Washington, as the nine posed for photographers on the school's steps.

The nine were hailed by Derrick Noble, president of Central's student government. Noble, 17, who is black, said, "I simply want to thank you for all you've done for me as a black student. You've shown us true courage."

"Thirty years ago, the NAACP was involved in a life-and-death struggle. Either we won there, or the whole struggle would have been lost," Hooks said Thursday night at reception at the governor's mansion.

Faubus, 77, said Thursday that he had not been invited to the reunion activities. Asked if he would like to explain his actions during the crisis to the nine, Faubus said, "I wouldn't mind if I had the occasion to."

Faubus, who now lives near Conway, said that under the same conditions he would make the same decisions today.

The Little Rock School District, which has become predominantly black due to whites moving to the suburbs, is still in federal court over desegregation. Some of the district's schools are more than 75 percent black, which a federal judge said is unacceptable.

The federal court has appointed a special master to assist in revamping the district's latest desegregation plan.

"We're sorry we haven't integrated the schools, but the NAACP is not known as a long-distance runner for no reason. We're known as a long-distance runner because with stay with the struggle," Hooks said.

GRAPHIC: LaserColor LR5

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

30TH STORY of Focus printed in FULL format.

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January 5, 1993, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 467 words

HEADLINE: Clinton attends premier of film about aide, desegregation pioneer

BYLINE: BY STEPHEN BUEL

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

BODY:

President-elect Bill Clinton visited Little Rock's historic Central High School for the premiere of a film about a friend and campaign aide who was one of the nine black children who defied Gov. Orval Faubus and desegregated the school in 1957.

Clinton joined friend and supporter Ernest Green, 51, at Central High for a special screening of "'The Ernest Green Story,'" a made-for- television film scheduled to air on the Disney Channel.

Green was accompanied by his wife Phyllis and their daughter McKenzie at the school that federal troops once guarded so that Green might have a chance to become its first black graduate.

Inside the school's auditorium, after a reception attended by the film's makers and actors and an assemblage of civil rights notables, including Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Clinton praised Green as the epitome of what is meant by the American Dream.

Clinton said the nation has come a long way in the 35 years since Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard in an effort to keep the Little Rock Nine, as the students were known, from desegregating Central High.

President Dwight Eisenhower eventually sent the Army to Little Rock to thwart the will of Faubus and help enroll the students.

Clinton said that what was once a symbol of the very worst in America has become with time a symbol of the best that we can become.

"I know Ernest Green as a friend," Clinton said in a brief address to several hundred people who had gathered for the opening, "'and sometimes I forget that he is a person of historic importance.'"

Green said his story is the story of basic human values, such as the idea that each American child deserves the possibility to do better than the generation before him.

"In my lifetime I have known two governors of Arkansas," said Green. "'Orval Faubus, who sent the Arkansas National Guard to keep me and my fellow African-American students out of Central High School; and Bill Clinton, a longtime friend, who sought out my support and counsel during his bid for the

United Press International January 5, 1993, Tuesday, BC cycle

FOCUS

presidency of the United States.''

Now a managing director with the New York investment banking firm of Lehman Brothers, Green announced that he and his wife will present a \$10,000 donation to the NAACP, which was instrumental in defending the legal rights of the Little Rock Nine.

Green, who served in the Carter administration as assistant secretary of labor for employment and training, acted as an economic advisor to Clinton during the recent campaign and also helped him prepare to debate President Bush.

The film, which will make its nationwide debut on ''The Magical World of Disney'' on Sunday, Jan. 17, at 7 p.m. EST, stars Morris Chestnut and Ossie Davis. It was filmed entirely on location in Little Rock.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

46TH STORY of Focus printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1987 U.P.I.

October 23, 1987, Friday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 595 words

HEADLINE: 'Little Rock Nine' return to Central High

BYLINE: By JAMES MERRIWEATHER

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

BODY:

The nine black students who bucked overwhelming odds to desegregate Little Rock Central High School in 1957 returned to the school as a group Friday with joy and sadness.

'We are joyous that we made it, sad that we had to make it,' said Melba Patillo Beals, 44, now a journalist at San Francisco.

The 'Little Rock Nine' returned to Central as guests of the board of directors of the NAACP, which chose to hold its national meeting at Little Rock to mark the 30th anniversary of the desegregation crisis at Central. Daisy Bates, an NAACP leader who served as counselor to the students, also was honored.

'We did not come to open old wounds,' Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP executive director, told about 200 people gathered in the Central High library for a news conference. 'But rather we come to celebrate and commemorate an event that changed the course of the nation and made it better.'

Gov. Bill Clinton said he was 'honored beyond words' to play host for the tribute to the students, who entered the school only after President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched federal troops to escort them past an angry mob and into the halls of Central.

Clinton, who hosted the Nine at the governor's mansion on Wednesday, said he was 11 years old when the crisis commanded worldwide attention.

'Much to my chagrin, it became the only thing most people knew about my beloved state,' he said. 'But with the passage of time and the emergence of other issues, other leaders and other problems ... thank God it's no longer the only thing they know.'

Blacks now account for 57 percent of the 2,020 students enrolled at the school.

Gov. Orval E. Faubus in 1957 shocked the world by ringing Central with National Guard troops to keep the students out in defiance of a federal court order and prompted a constitutional confrontation that Eisenhower eventually won with the federal troops.

United Press International October 23, 1987, Friday, AM cycle

FOCUS

One of the students, Terrence Roberts, 44, of Pasadena, Calif., injected a note of bitterness. He characterized as 'miniscule, fractional' the progress of black people since 1957.

'Often people will look at us and say, 'All you guys succeeded, you've done very well,' Roberts said. 'I laugh at that. Think what we could have done.

'As a black person living in this country, I find that I have very little time for celebration. There's simply too much to do in terms of righting the wrongs that continue.'

Beals said the students moved slowly Friday as they walked into the school, but added they 'could not have moved that slowly and lived in 1957.'

'The bottom line for us is that every single morning of our lives for nine months we got up, put on our saddle shoes and went to war,' she said.

'And hear me, that did not feel good. It didn't feel good then and it doesn't feel good to look back on it now. But after we walked up the stairs this morning, we felt like it was just another step toward the prize -- equality for everybody, no matter what your color.'

Ernest Green, 45, the first black Central graduate who now is an investment banker at Washington, said members of the group are often asked if they would subject their children to a similar situation.

Green, who served as an assistant Labor secretary during the Carter administration, didn't answer the question directly. He did say, however, that the group would respond 'with a resounding single voice that we did not regret any moment we spent pursuing what we think is not only our dream but the American dream.'

'Your support makes us all feel that what we did was worth it.'

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Terry,

Here are the articles you
requested on the
upcoming event.

— Abigail

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1997 Arkansas Democrat-Gazette
Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

April 22, 1997, Tuesday

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 7B

LENGTH: 793 words

HEADLINE: Remember, reconcile A civil rights theme for 1997

BYLINE: John Brummett

BODY:

You may have heard the phrase "year of reconciliation." Little Rock civic leaders have uttered it and Gov. Mike Huckabee made it one of the points of his long-ago opening address to the Legislature.

It refers to this being the 40th anniversary of the desegregation standoff at Little Rock Central High School, one of the epic events in American civil rights history, and to special efforts to remember the event on the occasion of the anniversary and to memorialize it for posterity.

In those regards I wish to report on a local campaign as well as a conveniently coincidental National Public Radio series to be unveiled this morning on KUAR-FM, 89.1, the NPR station in Little Rock.

First, the local campaign: A group of city leaders led by Rett Tucker, the immediate past president of the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce whose late father, Everett Tucker, was a leading moderate on the integration issue in 1957, held a reception Saturday evening at the River Market. The purpose was to raise money to open a visitors center and museum in the old service station across the street from Central High.

Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine and the student engulfed by an angry crowd as she walked toward Central that fateful morning in September 1957, attended. In a symbolic show of bipartisanship that seemed almost odd, all four of the state's delegates to the U.S. House of Representatives, two Democrats and two Republicans, attended as honorary hosts. Rep. Vic Snyder got together the group including fellow Democrat Marion Berry and Republicans Asa Hutchinson and Jay Dickey.

Long-range goals are to restore and memorialize the school itself as a national park, national monument or national historic site. The immediate goal is to assure that the visitors center will be ready for formal opening on September 25, the date of the federal troops' protecting the entry of the nine black students in 1957.

Plans, or hopes, are to reassemble all nine students for a ceremony in which they would walk into Central as the current governor, Huckabee, and a former governor, President Bill Clinton, hold open the door for them. Huckabee, as you can imagine, champs at the bit to participate in such symbolism. Clinton, who surely champs as well, cannot be confirmed for attendance because his schedule

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, April 22, 1997

is not set so far in advance.

Meantime, the aforementioned radio series -- "Will the Circle Be Unbroken?" -- begins at 9 a.m. today on KUAR and later this spring on NPR affiliates in Jonesboro and Fayetteville.

Produced by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based civil rights group, the 26-part, 13-hour series, an oral history taking advantage of the Southern tradition of story-telling, presents new interviews and rare archival radio tape to explore great moments in the civil rights movement from 1940-70 in five Southern capitals: Little Rock, Jackson, Montgomery, Atlanta and Columbia.

Naturally, the Little Rock segment centers on the '57 crisis at Central High School, but is not exclusively about that international incident. In an especially poignant segment, Ozell Sutton tells of growing up in the 1940s and 1950s as a plantation laborer near Gould in Southeast Arkansas and how his widowed mother argued about the size of her indebtedness to a white man who in the late 1960s came to the office of then-Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller seeking a favor and was referred to a leading governor's aide -- Ozell Sutton.

Early reviews of the series have been laudatory. The chief criticism has been the paucity of interviews with segregationists, many of whom refused to be interviewed either because of distrust of the production or the unpopularity of their views.

KUAR will present the program on successive Tuesdays in 13 one-hour parts beginning at 9 a.m. each Tuesday, airing two half-hour segments at a time. Beginning May 5, it will begin airing the program in similar sequence at 9 p.m. on Mondays for listeners not able to hear the program on Tuesday mornings.

Daisy Bates, a hero of Little Rock, will be quoted in the opening half-hour segment, but the detailed emphasis on Little Rock will not begin until the fourth installment on KUAR.

The series, which will be highlighted by the popular music of the era, will include interviews with 50 Arkansans or former Arkansans, among them Jim Johnson, Harry Ashmore, Brownie Ledbetter, Wiley Branton Sr., John Walker, Bill Becker, Henry Woods, George Howard, Brooks Hays, Elizabeth Huckaby and three of the original nine black students -- Eckford, Ernest Green and Melba Patillo Beal.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 25, 1997

75TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

March 11, 1994, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; SPECIAL REPORT; Pg. A6

LENGTH: 708 words

HEADLINE: Central High still a symbol for many

BYLINE: THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DATELINE: LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

BODY:

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. - The event that haunts Little Rock, 37 years after the fact, is what is locally called "the trouble at Central High."

The "trouble" was desegregation enforced by the U.S. Army, after the U.S. courts ordered the Little Rock Board of Education to admit nine black children - the "Little Rock Nine" - to Central High School.

A famous tabloid headline of the day said it all: "Arkansas at War With U.S." Many Arkansans displayed the headline as a source of state pride.

President Eisenhower dispatched two battalions of the 101st Airborne Division from Fort Campbell, Ky., to Little Rock to enforce the federal order.

The order was enforced, but it set off a decade of tension, anger, occasional minor violence and resentment that is not fully dissolved even today.

The opposition to President Clinton in Arkansas in general, and Little Rock in particular, is concentrated in the white working class, which insists still that they were, in the words of one of the graying children of that day, "thrown to the wolves by the so-called downtown establishment" that is the source of Mr. Clinton's strength.

What angered the working classes was that the elites had built a second high school in Little Rock, Hall High, in the affluent neighborhoods and designated Central to be desegregated.

Central High - still called Little Rock High School by older residents - had long been a source of community pride. Its graduating classes, often running to 700 or more, annually won hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of scholarships, its bands and glee clubs won regional and national awards, and its football teams played schools throughout the South and often finished the season undefeated. One of the most popular tourist postcards in the first decades after the school was opened in 1927 was a view of the school under the legend "The South's Most Beautiful High School."

As opposition to desegregation mounted in Little Rock in the summer of 1957, school officials offered transfers to the new high school to the children of the prominent protesting white parents. The offers were declined, and the battle was joined. The city voted, by a margin of 3-to-1, to close both white and

The Washington Times, March 11, 1994

black high schools for the 1958-59 school year to avoid the court order.

On the eve of the opening of schools in September 1959, explosions ripped through several offices, including those of the board of education, the fire chief who had ordered fire hoses turned on white protesters and prominent downtown lawyers who had worked to encourage the community to comply with the federal orders.

Blacks were not targeted; white anger was directed at the white establishment. Several white businessmen were tried and convicted for the bombings, fueling new white anger. Several months later, a black man was convicted on charges that he had conspired to bomb the home of one of the Little Rock Nine to inflame black public opinion and implicated the child's father.

Many white residents scoffed that the white establishment had set up the black man's arrest to ameliorate white anger aroused by the first trial. The Arkansas Supreme Court reversed the conviction. The opinion was written by Justice Jim Johnson, a fiercely partisan segregationist popular among the white working-class parents. Now retired, he is a sharp critic of Mr. Clinton.

Today, most white parents have deserted the public schools; the whites still in the public schools are mostly from the working-class neighborhoods. The race issue no longer haunts the state's politics, though racial tension is evident here as in many other cities.

The elites have organized their own schools in the Heights, and some of the country clubs have black members. The Country Club of Little Rock, where the Clintons held an honorary membership, took in its first black member during the 1992 campaign. It was locally noted that President Clinton promptly gave him a job that took him out of town.

"Just when we've lived down Central High," says a Little Rock businessman, "Bill Clinton and his friends downtown are bringing greater disgrace on the state."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Army paratroopers guard members of the Little Rock Nine leaving Central High School in September 1957.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 11, 1994

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1997 Arkansas Democrat-Gazette
Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

July 08, 1997, Tuesday

SECTION: NEW; Pg. 1B

LENGTH: 1062 words

HEADLINE: It's costly, but Central High shaping up

BYLINE: LINDA S. CAILLOUET, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

In less than three months, President Clinton and Gov. Mike Huckabee hope to hold open Central High's doors for members of the Little Rock Nine, the students who desegregated the school 40 years ago.

School officials are joining with city business and elected leaders to spruce up the building last year designated one of the country's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

They will have to make do on a budget far less than the \$ 6 million quoted by a San Antonio consultant hired in 1995.

Officials say the cash-strapped district cannot afford major repairs, but visitors will see new landscaping on the front lawn and fresh paint inside.

"Major repairs and renovations are needed, but we don't have funding for that," said Suellen Vann, district spokesman. "The board has not approved any plans to make any major repairs."

Vann said the district is matching a \$ 10,000 grant by ServiceMaster, a janitorial service, to enhance landscaping. Also, a private group, with Huckabee's support and state funding, is scurrying to turn the old gas station across the street from the school into a visitors' center and museum.

The city is providing crews to repair sidewalks and clean up curbside trash and a commission to coordinate anniversary events.

Little Rock City Director Joan Adcock, a former Central High student, is soliciting donors to adopt one or more of the 42 houses facing the school to spiff up the tattered, weather-worn facades.

The five-story, neo-Gothic, revival-style school was completed in 1927 at a cost of \$ 1.5 million. That year it was cited by the National Association of Architects as America's most beautiful high school.

John Riggs, Little Rock School Board president, said crews will work inside the school all summer, but the improvements will be cosmetic, including painting or repairing light fixtures.

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, July 08, 1997

"We're also looking at painting or sandblasting [Quigley Stadium]," Riggs said.

The San Antonio consultant ranked the building's condition as worst among the district's five high schools. 3DInternational said problems include poor maintenance, especially in the mechanical system; inadequate restrooms; classroom sizes rated poor to fair; and outdated science facilities.

Overall, 3DInternational recommended \$ 80 million in repairs and improvements districtwide, Vann said.

"We've got 50 schools. We don't have a \$ 6 million problem; we have an \$ 80 million problem," she said.

Riggs said there likely are but two ways the landmark will receive the needed repairs -- with grants or local taxes.

"The only logical avenue is a bond issue," Riggs said. "Probably in the next year or two, the board will refer a bond issue to the voters and specify what repairs are needed."

Little Rock Mayor Jim Dailey proposed in early 1996 that Central High be named a state park. Huckabee in February said he hoped the site could become a national park and receive federal funding.

While Central waits, the Central High Visitor Center and museum across the street takes shape.

"It's under construction, on schedule and will open Saturday, Sept. 20," said Rett Tucker, president of Central High Museum Inc.

Throughout opening week, the center will host signing ceremonies featuring civil rights leader Daisy Bates; photographer Wil Counts; Roy Reed, biographer of former Gov. Orval Faubus; and Ernest Green and Melba Patillo Beals, two of the original black students who integrated Central. The center and museum will be open 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Mondays through Saturdays, 1 to 4 p.m. Sundays.

The long-vacant Mobil gas station on the southeast corner of 14th and Park will double in size with a new 2,000-square-foot addition. Half will house a permanent exhibit space and a gift shop, the other half administration offices and public restrooms, Tucker said.

The project is more than 50 percent complete.

"The carpet is not down, the walls are not painted and the plumbing is not in yet, but once everything is done and the dust stops flying, we'll put the exhibits in place," Tucker said.

"There will be more historical documents than anything else," he said. "We're not collecting 1927 football helmets right now."

Displays will feature old photos, letters and newspaper articles. Exhibits, created by Quatrefoil Associates Inc. of Silver Spring, Md., will include a chronology of the school's history leading up to the crisis with emphasis on the 1957-58 and 1958-59 school years. The final portion of the exhibit will focus

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, July 08, 1997

on 1960 to present.

Two videos, one showing period footage of newspaper coverage during 1957 and 1958, the other including interviews with people involved in the event, will be shown. Images of newspaper front pages will appear on a large screen "so you can see the headlines and gain an impression on the news coverage involved," Tucker said.

Background music will be by Elvis Presley, the Platters and Buddy Holly.

Tucker said the museum's interior won't feel like a gas station, but he thinks people driving by will try to pull in for gas.

"From the outside it will look like a brand new gas station from 1957."

Mobil Oil Co. and its archives department are providing replica period gas pumps and a red Pegasus Mobil sign.

The project is being funded with individual, private and corporate donations totaling \$ 750,000. In the spring legislative session, the state contributed \$ 75,000.

The city plans to spend about \$ 30,000 on curb and sidewalk repair.

No city money may be spent on the private property surrounding the high school, so Adcock began the adopt-a-house program. She believes businesses and residents working together will strengthen race relations.

"We can't just have a picture-taking at Central High and not have a change of heart," Adcock said. "We need to really believe we've really changed in the last 40 years."

Dailey hopes the next two months will serve as a springboard for the long-term revitalization of the neighborhood surrounding the school, and as an example of what can be done in other neighborhoods.

Tucker agreed, saying, "We don't want to fix Central up for a couple of days and then forget about it for another 10 years until the next anniversary."

GRAPHIC: Photos by CHRIS JOHNSON, Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

Little Rock School District employee Walter Hyde washes the walls at Central High, where city and school officials are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the schools historic desegregation in September. The school district said it cannot afford to make any major repairs to the building.

Clement Onisha removes old tiles from the roof of the old service station that will be the Central High School Visitors Center in Little Rock. The building is across the street from the school.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

TERRY, Re. LR event:

Don't know if

SLIP would feel comfortable
mentioning it, but there is

a need for the President

to assure the black community

that he, indeed, had them in

mind when he decided to

do this event. They are saying
it's a political & PR thing

For SLIP and the white

community. Don't know if something
could be said in the speech.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	To James T. Edmonds re: Draft CBC remarks (partial, handwritten note) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 10990

FOLDER TITLE:

Central High [2]

2006-0462-F
ry689

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Pen
Ship →

William Faulkner →
birthday 9/25 -
hated racism ... get quote

Record Type: Record

To: James T. Edmonds/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Draft CBC remarks -- please review and comment ASAP. I also sent this to Mlynor. [REDACTED]

Pay tribute to white people
who stood up for LRG.

Good speech Terry. You may want to also say that we will remain vigilant to insure that low income and minority students are not relegated to a tracking system that keeps them in the least important classes with no meaning. Also, you should say let the party begin when you close.. I like the way you remind the audience of what has happened under this President to benefit our people. You could also stick in the First White House conference on Africa.

PEN
SHIP - RUTHERFORD:

Remember to recognize the parents
of the Little Rock Nine -

See Eleanor Roosevelt quote in
intro to Daisy Bates' book

"To give you child for a
cause is ever harder
than to give yourself."

Pen Terry -

Get the names of the
parents from Ship @

(b)(6)

[001]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. note	Handwritten note (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 10990

FOLDER TITLE:

Central High [2]

2006-0462-F
ry689

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Sylvia Mathews - OK 1m

[002]

6-8:30-

7:30 P.m. - 12:30 P.m.

(b)(6)

Ship Rutherford - Central High

Speech -

- ① Sept 25th is 100th birthday of William Faulkner of Miss. took Courageous stands for civil rights 500+600 1897 - New Albany, Miss Biographer - Faulkner, a Biography by Joseph Blotner -

Students
school

- ② 1957 - 3 major politicians - Gov. Pres. + Mayor instrumental in decision making - conclude 40 years ago in this city 3 major political leaders - decision making - LK Nine POTUS - GOV - Mayor today. On this 40th ann. - Pres. ^{Rep. Tenn.} Gov. + Mayor proudly will open the doors of Central High to let 9 walk on the steps -

Gov
Walter
Franklin
Judy
at
Event

Mayor Little Rock Nine - at bottom of steps - get special introduction

Speakers
Arkansas
Girls State

Gov - 1st Lady - Ernie Green - Mayor intro Pres. Fatima McKindra - 1st AA woman ever elected Pres of Student body - Gov of Ark Girls State Roosevelt Thompson - 1st AA male elected President of school body - Rhodes Scholar - worked for Gov. Clinton - Rosie Roosevelt Thompson Auditorium -

- ③ National Gov. Assoc. model school when he was gov.

(b)(6)

Act: Southwestern Bell has
wired the classrooms @ Central
High School -- SEE draft language

Racial makeup - 2000 students
about 57% black & 2% white -
~~seems no~~ significant racial problems -
Academic Standing - ~~best~~ leading academic
high school - Recognized for excellence
Arkansas - crowning jewel - ~~fake~~ -
Walter's Center -

Daisy Bates - NAACP -
Dale Charles - Current State President
Thurgood Marshall - Mrs. Marshall
Wiley Branton - was attorney for NAACP -
legal defense fund - son Wiley Branton Jr.
is a judge + on committee (will be there)
Thank parents & families of LK 9 -
Mrs. Bates husband - LK Bates -

Daisy Bates book - The Long Shadow of Little Rock
2 new books - biography of Fauskus by
Ray Reed -
Breaking the Silence - Story of group of
white women - wanted men to do more to
promote integration - formed secret group -

Sara Murphy - ^{SKIP FAX} 501-376 6085
10AM - Principal Rudolph
into Mayor Jim Daley - m/c
student - ^{televised} national dist.
1. Survivors of 57 - 45
2. Changes - Students of 97
3. Shaped his life - ^{Emilio Green} McCarty's children grad.
10AM - Thurs 9/25 - Fatima McKendha - ^{Student body}
expecting - 6500 people POTUS
^{standards}

8 A.M. - Central High
Visitors Center
where tanks were

Airport - dedicating photo of

C.H.S. - Fatima there

Elizabeth Eckford at 10

11:45 - Lunch Rhett Tudor for Chair

2 white ministers Rev. Vick Noyes

married Clinton - Henry Hurdman

from Missa - progressives

2 - Daisy Bates

School - Walk through

Event tour

DRAFT 8/18/97

CENTRAL HIGH ARTICLE FOR CRISIS MAGAZINE (NAACP)

I was only 11 years old when the nation's attention was riveted by the scene of nine black children being escorted by armed troops on their first day of school at Little Rock's Central High School. The integration of Central High was a national drama for many, but it had a profound personal impact on me.

I was concerned about the racial separation between blacks and whites that was taken for granted by so many of my neighbors and friends. When I was a very young boy in Hope, Arkansas, I spent time in my grandfather's grocery store. Many of his customers were poor and black, but he treated everyone, black or white, with the utmost dignity and respect. I often played with black children (one of them wrote about it recently in a Toledo newspaper, more than forty years later). My grandfather tried to explain to me why it was that a young black boy I played with couldn't go to school with me, or why the streets in the black neighborhood were not paved like the streets in the white part of town. He and my grandmother didn't like it.

When the Little Rock crisis developed, they favored integration of our schools and couldn't understand why most people were afraid to do what to them was clearly the right thing. My grandparents were not well educated or well off and I don't know how they came to break from the conventional white opposition to racial equality, but I'm so grateful to them for what they taught me. Perhaps because of that, and my own experiences with black children, I felt somehow personally connected to those nine brave boys and girls as they marched through a mob right up to the front steps of Central High. Three years earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court had handed down its landmark ruling in *Brown v. The Board of Education*, which stipulated that

“separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” The Court ordered the integration of public schools -- but it would take more than a court ruling to change the insidious legacy of slavery and Jim Crow. The persistence of racial animosity plagued the South for many years after *Brown* and a massive resistance movement emerged among those opposed to integrated schools. Arkansas became enmeshed in this conflict when the governor and other state officials steadfastly resisted federally mandated integration.

During the autumn of 1957, tensions between segregationists and integrationists came to a head in what became “The Crisis at Central High.” The local school board in Little Rock had devised a plan to integrate Central High. Nine black students volunteered to break the color barrier. These courageous students were my friend Ernest Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Terrence Roberts, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Carlotta Walls Lavier, Jefferson Thomas, Minnijean Brown Trickey, Thelma Mothershed Wair and Melba Beals. In what has become an unforgettable episode in our nation’s history, Governor Orval Farbus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine black teenagers from entering the doors of Central High. In response, President Dwight Eisenhower took control of the National Guard and also sent in over 1,000 paratroopers to protect the students. This historic set of events in 1957 marked the first time school integration efforts were enforced under the auspices of the federal government.

With the help of the NAACP, led by a remarkable woman named Daisy Bates, the Little Rock Nine, as they were called, refused to accept the second-class education that segregation afforded to black students. They took their seats at Central High.

Their first year at the school was marked by daily barrages of racial venom. But they fought back, not with ugly words and hate, but with the dignity instilled in them by strong

parents and strong faith. That is what got them through.

One of my proudest moments as Governor of Arkansas came on October 23, 1987, when Ernie Green and the Little Rock Nine returned, 30 years later to Central High. Despite the difficulties they experienced in Little Rock, they had gone on to successful professional careers.

The experience at Central High was a microcosm of the South, when freedom and equality were undermined by the forces of division and hate. The integration of Central High was a testament to the moral force of our values and our Constitution. Today, Central High is a symbol of the new American commitment to academic excellence and racial equity. It has an integrated student body, an integrated faculty and a reputation that any school, anywhere, would be proud of. Still, we continue to grapple with the legacy of segregation even as we mark the 40th anniversary of the integration of Central High.

After a generation of progress forged in integrating our nation's public schools, dramatic reductions in the number of minority students both seeking and enrolling in higher educational institutions in California and Texas raise a troubling question. Are we moving toward a resegregation of public higher education on the theory that affirmative efforts to establish a diverse student body are unfair to white students with good grades and test scores who don't get in? I believe the right kind of affirmative action has strengthened higher education and promoted equal opportunity, with little evidence that qualified white students cannot gain admission to good schools. We have the finest higher education system in the world. There is room for excellence and opportunity for all.

This September, I am returning to Little Rock and Central High to help commemorate the 40th anniversary of the epic struggle of those nine black children who forever changed the face

of a Little Rock school and the face of American education. Every American owes them a deep debt of gratitude. They taught us a valuable lesson. Segregation not only deprived African Americans of the right to attend public educational institutions in Arkansas, but it also deprived white students of the opportunity to benefit from the diversity upon which our country has thrived.

It is inconceivable that I could ever have become President of the United States had it not been for the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and voting rights decisions that affirmed the right of African Americans to participate fully in the democratic process. The relationships that I subsequently developed with African Americans in my state enabled me to become the Governor of Arkansas, and ultimately the President of the United States. The political benefits that *Brown* and other decisions have conferred upon me, however, pale by comparison to the moral benefits that our democracy has accrued because of these momentous decisions. Our progress in advancing the ideals of equal opportunity, fundamental fairness, and integration is the byproduct, indeed, the legacy of *Brown*, Central High, and other milestones of the civil rights era.

As we prepare to enter a new century and a new millennium, we must redouble our efforts to insure that the promise of equal opportunity is preserved. We would do well to heed the words of one of the Little Rock Nine, Melba Pattillo Beals, who tells her story of those dark days in her book, *Warriors Don't Cry*. Melba writes, "If my Central High School experience taught me one lesson, it is that we are not separate. The effort to separate ourselves whether by race, creed, color, religion, or status is as costly to the separator as to those who would be separated....The task that remains is to cope with our interdependence -- to see ourselves reflected in every other human being and to respect and honor our differences." It is my great

hope that America will keep striving to live up to those words.

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72

Call
Robin
re.
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THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF MODERN QUOTATIONS

Edited by
TONY AUGARDE

Oxford New York
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1991

Gorton, the Prime Minister, had cost him his job in the reshuffled Government announced earlier this week. At first Mr Erwin said he was dropped because of a 'political manoeuvre'. Later, when asked to explain what this meant, he said: 'It wiggles, it's shapely, and its name is Ainsley Gotto.'

The Times 14 Nov. 1969

Howard Estabrook and Harry Behn

- 1 Excuse me while I slip into something more comfortable.

Hell's Angels (1930 film), words spoken by Jean Harlow

Gavin Ewart 1916-

- 2 Miss Twye was soaping her breasts in the bath
When she heard behind her a meaning laugh
And to her amazement she discovered
A wicked man in the bathroom cupboard.

Poems and Songs (1939) 'Miss Twye'

William Norman Ewer 1885-1976

- 3 I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Five Souls and Other Verses (1917) 'Five Souls'

- 4 How odd
Of God
To choose
The Jews.

In *Week-End Book* (1924) p. 117 (for the reply, see Cecil Browne)

Clifton Fadiman 1904-

- 5 Provided it be well and truly made there is really for the confirmed turophile no such thing as a *bad* cheese. A cheese may disappoint. It may be dull, it may be naive, it may be oversophisticated. Yet it remains cheese, milk's leap toward immortality.

Any Number Can Play (1957) p. 105

- 6 On November 17 . . . I encountered the mama of dada [Gertrude Stein] again (something called *Portraits and Prayers*) and as usual withdrew worsted.

Party of One (1955) p. 90

Eleanor Farjeon 1881-1965

- 7 Morning has broken
Like the first morning,
Blackbird has spoken
Like the first bird.
Praise for the singing!
Praise for the morning!
Praise for them, springing
Fresh from the Lord!

Children's Bells (1957) 'A Morning Song (for the First Day of Spring)'

- 8 King's Cross!
What shall we do?
His Purple Robe
Is rent in two!

Out of his Crown
He's torn the gems!
He's thrown his Sceptre
Into the Thames!
The Court is shaking
In its shoe—
King's Cross!
What shall we do?
Leave him alone
For a minute or two.

Nursery Rhymes of London Town (1916) 'King's Cross'

King Farouk of Egypt 1920-1965

- 9 The whole world is in revolt. Soon there will be only five Kings left—the King of England, the King of Spades, the King of Clubs, the King of Hearts and the King of Diamonds.

Said to Lord Boyd-Orr at a conference in Cairo, 1948, in *Lord Boyd-Orr As I Recall* (1966) ch. 21

William Faulkner 1897-1962

- 10 The long summer.
The Hamlet (1940), title of bk. 3. Cf. Irving Ravetch and Harriet Frank
- 11 The writer's only responsibility is to his art. He will be completely ruthless if he is a good one. He has a dream. It anguishes him so much he must get rid of it. He has no peace until then. Everything goes by the board: honor, pride, decency, security, happiness, all, to get the book written. If a writer has to rob his mother, he will not hesitate; the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* is worth any number of old ladies.
In *Paris Review* Spring 1956, p. 30
- 12 He [the writer] must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid and, teaching himself that, forget it forever, leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed—love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice.
Nobel Prize speech, 1950, in *Les Prix Nobel en 1950* (1951) p. 71
- 13 I believe man will not merely endure, he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he, alone among creatures, has an inexhaustible voice but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance.
Nobel Prize speech, 1950, in *Les Prix Nobel en 1950* (1951) p. 71
- 14 There is no such thing . . . as bad whiskey. Some whiskeys just happen to be better than others. But a man shouldn't fool with booze until he's fifty; then he's a damn fool if he doesn't.
In James M. Webb and A. Wigfall Green *William Faulkner of Oxford* (1965) p. 110

George Fearon 1901-1972

- 15 In my capacity as Press Representative for the English Stage Company I had read John Osborne's play [*Look Back in Anger*]. When I met the author I ventured to prophesy that his generation would praise his play

while mine would, in general, dislike him jokingly that Sloane Square might be a bloody battleground. 'If this happens you would become known as the / In fact, we decided then and there it was to be known as that.'

Daily Telegraph 2 Oct. 1957

James Fenton 1949-

- 1 It is not what they built. It is what down.
It is not the houses. It is the spaces houses.
It is not the streets that exist. It is no longer exist.
German Requiem (1981) p. 1

Edna Ferber 1887-1968

- 2 Mother knows best.
Title of story (1927)
- 3 Being an old maid is like death by a delightful sensation after you cease
In R. E. Drennan *Wit's End* (1973)

Kathleen Ferrier 1912-1953

- 4 Enid and I visited her just before the war by her with smiling affection. She gently sent us away by murmuring 'eine kleine Pause.' Those were the heard her utter.
Gerald Moore *Am I Too Loud?* (1962)

Eric Field

- 5 Towards the end of July 1914, I received a call from Colonel Strachey, the A. He swore me to secrecy, told me that I was imminent and that the moment I had to start advertising at once. I worked out a draft schedule and advertisement headed 'Your King you' with the inevitable Coat of Arms.
Advertising (1959) ch. 2

Dorothy Fields 1905-1974

- 6 The minute you walked in the room I could see you were a man of distinction. A real big spender. Good looking, so refined, Say, wouldn't you like to know my mind?
So let me get right to the point. I don't pop my cork for every guy. Hey! big spender, spend a little time.
Big Spender (1966 song; music by . . .)
- 7 A fine romance with no kisses. A fine romance, my friend, this is. We should be like a couple of horses. But you're as cold as yesterday's . . .
A Fine Romance (1936 song; music by . . .)

Ref.
PN6081
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W4

The Harper Book of AMERICAN QUOTATIONS

Gorton Carruth and Eugene Ehrlich

A Hudson Group Book



1817

Harper & Row, Publishers, New York
Cambridge, Philadelphia, San Francisco
London, Mexico City, São Paulo, Singapore, Sydney

in the end, get

freedom and Order,

se of freedom of
o want to speak
or and discover
f detecting error
free discussion,
m.

se to walk while
lead him over a
l as facts.

and Conduct,

or to be free you
nor, regardless of
, and that some-

a speech in

arts, the actions,
daily earned and
om its life-giving

speech to the
n, 1944.

ship, his equality
nd act as he sees
he trespass not
doner will fight.

1945, quoted in
ges *We Face*,

lands;
ace.

untaries,"
y, October,

- 22 We grant no dukedoms to the few,
We hold like rights and shall;
Equal on Sunday in the pew,
On Monday in the mall.
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail?

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Boston," *May-Day and Other Pieces*, 1867.

- 23 Systems political or religious or racial or national—will not just respect us because we practice freedom, they will fear us because we do.

WILLIAM FAULKNER, in *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1956.

- 24 We cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom, on a caste system of equality like military rank. We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it.

Ibid.

- 25 Economic arrangements play a dual role in the promotion of a free society. On the one hand, freedom in economic arrangements is itself a component of freedom broadly understood, so economic freedom is an end in itself. In the second place, economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom.

MILTON FRIEDMAN, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962.

- 26 Freedom is a tenable objective only for responsible individuals.

MILTON FRIEDMAN AND ROSE FRIEDMAN, *Free to Choose*, 1979.

- 27 A society that puts equality . . . ahead of freedom will end up with neither equality nor freedom.

Ibid.

- 28 Before every free conscience in America is subpoenaed, please speak up!

JUDY GARLAND, c.1947, quoted in Anne Edwards, *Judy Garland*, 1975.

- 29 I hold a jail more roomy in the expression of my judgment and convictions than would be the whole

world if I were to submit to repression and be denied the right to express myself.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, 1925.

- 30 The freedom of speech and the freedom of the press have not been granted to the people in order that they may say the things which please, and which are based upon accepted thought, but the right to say the things which displease, the right to say the things which may convey the new and yet unexpected thoughts, the right to say things, even though they do a wrong.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, reply before being sentenced for contempt of court in the Bucks Stove case, 1908, from *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, 1925.

- 31 There have existed, in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men—the lovers of freedom and the devoted advocates of power.

ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE, in a speech in the U.S. Senate, January 21, 1830.

- 32 The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., in a Supreme Court opinion, *Schenck v. United States*, 1919.

- 33 When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

Ibid.

- 34 If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., in a Supreme Court opinion, *United States v. Schwimmer*, 1928.

- 35 Free speech does not live many hours after free industry and free commerce die.

HERBERT HOOVER, in a speech in New York City, October 22, 1928.

THE MORROW
BOOK OF
QUOTATIONS
IN
AMERICAN
HISTORY

Joseph R. Conlin

WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.
New York

loyalty to the white race, to the
 of Protestantism, which has
 ism ever since the days of
 e condensed into the Klan slo-
 nacy!"

wyer, diplomat

, reaching the Rock, first fell
 he aborigines.

ician and orator

their image; the graven brass
 numblest sod of Independent
 rops of the morning to gild it,
 or conquerers can boast. The
 endence is their epitaph.

Adams and Thomas Jefferson, July

ocial scientist

f America is to live in America
 the immigrant does not live in
 point of view of nationality, in
 me other foreign country.

Lucius Fairchild (1831–1896): *Governor of Wisconsin and
 commander of the Grand Army of the Republic*

May God palsy the hand that wrote that order. May God palsy
 the brain that conceived it, and may God palsy the tongue that dic-
 tated it.

(Upon hearing that President Cleveland had ordered captured Con-
 federate battle flags returned to southern states, 1887)

Jerry Falwell (1933–): *Fundamentalist preacher and
 political organizer*

They should be registered and we'll stamp it on their foreheads.

(On Communists, interview, *Penthouse* magazine, February 1981)

James A. Farley (1888–1976): *Democratic Party politician,
 postmaster-general under Franklin D. Roosevelt*

As Maine goes, so goes Vermont.

(Quip to reporters when Maine voted Republican in 1936; Franklin D.
 Roosevelt carried every state except Maine and Vermont.)

David Farragut (1801–1870): *Naval commander*

Damn the torpedoes! Captain Drayton, go ahead!

(Battle of Mobile Bay, 5 August 1864)

James T. Farrell (1904–1979): *Novelist*

America is so vast that almost everything said about it is likely to
 be true, and the opposite is probably equally true.

(Introduction to Mencken, *Prejudices*, 1958)

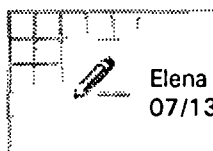
William Faulkner (1897–1962): *Novelist*

If you could just be a nigger one Saturday night, you wouldn't
 want to be a white man again as long as you live.

(Attributed)

To live anywhere in the world today and be against equality be-
 cause of race or color, is like living in Alaska and being against snow.

(*Essays*, 1965)



Elena Kagan
07/13/97 07:09:22 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP, James T. Edmonds/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: a good quote

from Thurgood Marshall: "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together."

Asia, a growing trouble spot for the Kennedy administration, was not yet the preoccupation that it would soon become for these boys. The looming danger, the Federalists declared, was "the Communistic threat." Clinton's Nationalist party agreed, adding that the Communists must be stopped wherever they attempt to impose their will through force because "appeasement leads to aggression."

The most contentious issue was civil rights. Voices rose as both parties debated planks in their platforms and the full Boys Nation senate deliberated over S-1. The argument was played out during one of the pivotal years in the American civil rights saga. Months earlier, Governor George Corley Wallace of Alabama, who had taken office promising "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," stood in front of the schoolhouse door as federal marshals enrolled the first black students at the University of Alabama. And one month after the boys left Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr., would stand before a massive throng at the Lincoln Memorial and deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech.

Race was still largely viewed as a North-South issue, but the lines were not so clear at Boys Nation. Three of the leading civil-rights proponents were southern youths—the two boys from Louisiana, Fred Kammer of New Orleans and Alston Johnson of Shreveport, and Bill Clinton of Arkansas—all of whom were questioning their southern heritage of racial separation and inequality. Clinton could not be called a civil rights activist. He had not publicly protested the patterns of racism he grew up with in Hot Springs, where the schools, swimming pools, clubs, and motels had been segregated, where "Dixie" was the high school fight song until his junior year, and where the local Lions club recruited members of the high school choir to appear in blackface for the annual minstrel show. But long before Clinton reached Washington that summer he had rejected the legacy of racism. His mother would later remember how frustrated he seemed as a boy of eleven watching Governor Faubus defy federal orders during the integration of Little Rock Central High School in 1957.

Most of the boys were not that far along. Orson L. (Pete) Johnson of Alabama came to Washington determined to push through a resolution heralding the constitutional primacy of states' rights, the rhetorical banner behind which southern states protected their segregated policies. It passed 48 to 46. Johnson and his Boys Nation sidekick, Tommy Lawhorne of Georgia, tried to mold the southern senators into a voting bloc. One morning at breakfast they confronted Clinton. Johnson thought he had Clinton cornered. He told the Arkansan that he "didn't need to be voting for these civil rights resolutions." The argument got emotional, but Clinton would not budge.

With both parties divided on the issue, civil rights advocates came out

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grew up with in Hot
and motels had been
song until his junior
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show. But long before
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trated he seemed as a
ral orders during the
7.

L. (Pete) Johnson of
through a resolution
the rhetorical banner
uted policies. It passed
Tommy Lawhorne of
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thought he had Clinton
to be voting for these
al, but Clinton would
ts advocates came out

of the Boys Nation session with a modest victory. The bill establishing the urban affairs department and a public accommodations law was defeated. Both party platforms declared that education, not government enforcement, offered the surest means of eliminating racism. The Federalists, dominated by a group of northern conservatives who held segregation and government activism in equal disfavor, stated: "Ideals cannot be forced upon a person by sheer physical force. The thought of this turns many against such an ideal; prejudice and hate must be removed from the hearts and minds of people where it really exists." Clinton's Nationalists took a slightly more determined position. "Racial discrimination is a cancerous disease and must be eliminated," they declared. "But legislation alone cannot change the minds and hearts of men. Education is the primary tool which we must employ... it must begin in the home, in the church and in the schools."

On Monday morning, the boys ventured to Capitol Hill to visit the Supreme Court and the Library of Congress. Many of them were invited to lunch with the U.S. senators from their state. The Senate Dining Room was quite a sight: hordes of boys in white knit shirts hobnobbing with white men in summer suits. The Arkansas luncheon quartet consisted of Bill Clinton and Larry Taunton at the sides of Democratic senators John L. McClellan and J. William Fulbright. Taunton, with his mellifluous radio voice and self-assured style, had considered himself his roommate's equal until that day. His mind swirled with possible questions to ask the older men. They seemed so wise and dignified. What could he say? He knew that Senator Fulbright was intensely interested in U.S. foreign policy. Taunton combed through his mind for some interesting way to catch Fulbright's attention, but could not draw the senator from his conversation with Clinton. He noticed an "instant affinity between Senator Fulbright and Bill," who seemed "so at ease with the situation." Clinton had already studied Fulbright's life and career, and considered the intellectual Arkansan his first political role model. That day, Clinton would say later, he thought he was "the cat's meow. Fulbright I admired no end. ... He had a real impact on my wanting to be a citizen of the world."

First, though, Clinton wanted to be vice president of Boys Nation. He offered himself as a candidate that night at the Nationalist Party Convention with an odd boast, noting that he came from Arkansas, the state with the governor who now had the longest continuous string in office in the country. There he was showcasing Orval Faubus, the very symbol of old-school Arkansas racial politics that he disdained. By Clinton's normal standards, everything about his vice-presidential campaign was a bit halfhearted. It was a race that he would refrain from mentioning later in life. John E. Mills of New York was the Nationalist Party recording secretary, who

(see p. 11)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

August 24, 1994

INTERVIEW OF
THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY BY AMERICAN HERITAGE MAGAZINE

The Oval Office

11:05 A.M. EDT

Q It's a great honor, a really great honor to have this interview with both of you, and particularly at a time when things are very busy and people want to go on vacation and so forth. So I greatly appreciate it, and, of course, this will be for the 40th anniversary issue of American Heritage Magazine.

And in talking with the editors there and thinking about this article, we wanted to sort of look at the larger forces of history that may have influenced both of you; that may nourish both of you now; that may provide support; and that in some sense provide also a sense of comfort and a sense of direction that you have in seeing that other Presidents and First Ladies have gone through difficult times, that there have been other moments in history when presidents have wanted to initiate great improvement, great change for the country and have had sometimes difficulty in doing that, but have forged ahead with the long view for the good of the country and not a short view.

So I'm thinking particularly this week, the first question I might ask you is, have you looked at other Presidents' legislation, Presidents who have had difficulty sometimes getting it through Congress, Presidents like Woodrow Wilson, for example, who had a particular dream with the League of Nations? And have you drawn some comfort and inspiration from that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and of course, if you look at what -- Wilson didn't actually live to see his dream fulfilled because we mismanaged our affairs, the United States and the world did after

World War I. But after World War II, we did have the United Nations. And for all of its limitations and all of its problems, it's played a major role, I think, in making the world a more peaceful and more humane place. Sometimes you can be too far ahead of your time.

I think the period in modern American history most comparable to this is probably the period right after World War II, because at the end of any era, people are called upon to sort of look to the future. And yet there's a tendency to look inward, to relax, to just be thankful that the old order is gone away without thinking about what the new world must look like.

At the end of World War I, we made the wrong choice. You know, we wound up with all kinds of problems, not only the Depression and World War II and all of that, but just a lot of -- we gave in to some of our darker impulses. So at the end of World War I we had the first big Red Scare, we had the first big -- the Ku Klux Klan was doing well.

And at the end of World War II, Truman took a terrible beating and didn't get everything done he tried to do. He never did pass health care, for example, for all Americans. But he did lay the foundations for economic recovery at home and for a more -- a commitment to more racial equality and for the institutions which led to the recovery of Europe and Japan and the system which permitted us to win the Cold War ultimately.

But when you're challenging people to make changes, changes that have a long-term future benefit against entrenched forces, you have to expect to be stoutly opposed, often misunderstood and sometimes defeated. You just have to accept that. That's part of history. And you have to govern in the times in which you live and deal with it the best you can.

Q And do you ever look to Truman and what Truman went through as inspiration to try and go --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, because I'm from Arkansas and Truman was from Missouri, and because a lot of the political people of my youth were big Truman supporters -- you know our state voted for him in 1948 when a lot of the South abandoned him -- I've always had an awareness of Truman's legacy. And he's always been one of my four or five favorite presidents.

But I think that I must say, I was never so aware of the similarities in our situation until I actually became President, and I realized that the sort of deep ambivalence the American people have now -- wanting us to take charge and move forward into the future and still be easily diverted because of their deep-seated suspicions and

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concerns about government and whether there's anybody in Washington who can do anything right.

Q And one sees, I suppose, that history does in a sense repeat itself when you look at the 1920s and the Red Scare, and the rise in the Ku Klux Klan and look back to the more turn-of-the-century, Victorian, McKinley's America, you go through that. Is there a way to redirect history? Or do you think there are just general cycles? There's a theory that the American people go through general historical cycles in their response to change.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, they do, but leaders and people can make a difference; and not just the President, but the other institutions, great institutions of society. What kind of leaders are in Congress? What do they do and say? What is the role of the American press? What does it do and say? Does it feed on the fears and cynicisms of the American people? Or does it basically proceed in a challenging mode to do better?

If you look throughout the history of the country, you see that a lot of the major actors in the American scene have played different roles at different times. And history proceeds in cycles to some extent, but also every time is different and the outcome is not foreordained. I mean, it really does make a difference who's there and what they do.

Q In mentioning Wilson earlier, thinking about his fight for the League of Nations. Of course, he had suffered a stroke when the vote came up in the Senate and was a little bit more removed from the situation. He absolutely would not accept any compromises whatsoever. His wife, Senator Hitchcock, Democratic leadership came to him and tried to accept some even minor compromise, and he wouldn't. And, of course, his dream essentially went down the drain.

And many people feel, of course, the events leading up to World War II might not have happened had there been a League of Nations in place. Do you think -- I'm not asking you to fill those shoes of Woodrow Wilson, but do you think an example like that, that inflexibility -- have you looked ever back to Presidents like Wilson or others who have remained so inflexible that nothing of theirs was passed, none of their initiatives?

THE PRESIDENT: The trick is to be firm on your principles and direction and to be flexible in dealing with people who have the power to either help you further that direction or derail it. I mean, it's interesting, compromise is very often given a bad name in popular circles today. And yet our system was set up to mandate compromise in ways that most governmental democracies aren't.

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I mean, we don't have a parliamentary system, for example. So the president is not guaranteed, even -- no matter how much a majority his party has in Congress, because there is no parliamentary system, that is, where the President is the leader of the party in Congress. And if they want to stay in the party and have positions, then they have to vote party line -- there's always got to be compromise.

I was reading the other day a biography of George Washington. I never knew this -- I guess he came to the presidency with the greatest amount of leverage, personal leverage and prestige of anybody in history -- and the Congress, the Senate rejected one of his Cabinet nominees, which is something I didn't know. I just read this biography that said that. But the point is there is an honorable way to work through compromises.

You also have to know when not to do it, when more harm than good would be done by giving in to the objective you're seeking then you can't do it. Or sometimes you just don't have to do it because you've got the votes and you can prevail, so you can go for the very best from your point of view. But the whole essence of democracy is that people are given limited power, others have power, you have to work together to get something done. And the idea is that nobody is the sole repository of complete wisdom.

And, you know, we just went through this interesting exercise in the House with the crime bill where the Republicans -- the moderate Republicans -- were willing to steer a path where they moved away from some of their more strident leaders who didn't want them to do anything to compromise on the crime bill. And they brought some of the Democrats with them, and they said, well, look, let's see how we can make this better from our point of view.

And ironically, a lot of the changes that they were advocating were the same things that I had advocated when the bill went through the first time. It came out better. So I don't think anyone looked on that set of compromises as dishonorable. It furthered all the basic objectives of the crime bill and more people felt that they had had a say in it and that it came out better. So in the world we're living in, in sort of instantaneous news coverage, snap judgments, everybody is looking for the angle, sometimes principle compromise is more difficult because the minute you begin serious negotiations, there's this sort of the sky is falling effect that sometimes takes over the reporting of it to imply that something dishonorable is going on.

So one of the great challenges of a President in this time -- this sort of instantaneous, drenching media age -- is to lay

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out the path for the country, say what the objectives are, hold firm to them and be very strong about them, and still be flexible enough to actually make progress and get something done. But in our Constitution, compromise is written in as a virtue, not a vice.

Q When you both look back on your early years, you look back on your educations as very young people, and then later as high school and college and law students, are there moments in history that particularly fascinated you? Are there individuals, men or women in American history who perhaps in some way were inspirations to you?

And I ask that more in the sense of those that were long past because I'd also like to ask you both about the historical forces in your own lives that helped to change your perspective and perhaps serve as inspiration.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, when I grew up in the South in the beginning of the civil rights movement, all Southerners were still obsessed with the Civil War. I mean, really, it was amazing. People talked about it.

I remember when I first ran for office and I was in the mountains of north Arkansas, which was the dividing line in the war in the west between the North and the South. A lot of the hill people in the South became Republicans because they supported Abraham Lincoln, they opposed secession, and they either opposed slavery or didn't care about it. It wasn't part of their life.

And there were families up there that literally had family books -- I mean poor people or people of modest incomes that had family books that traced their genealogy back to the Civil War and they knew who fought for the North, who fought for the South. So I grew up in a time when people were thinking a lot about the whole issue of race because civil rights had come in, but still obsessed historically with the Civil War or the War Between the States as the diehards always called it in the South.

So I had always, I think, even from childhood, captured by the figure of Lincoln; not only the historic significance of what he did, but what kind of person he was and how he was able, under enormous pressure and frequent ridicule, to hold on to the simple idea that the Union had to be preserved; and then how he was able to move the country to the point where he could break his most famous campaign promise, which was not to free the slaves, and instead issue the Emancipation Proclamation, which obviously set in motion the processes which later led to the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. He was, from the time of my early childhood, I was always just captivated with what he did, how he did it, what kind of person he

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was.

Q Did you read a lot of biographies of him? Did you ever visit his home and either his birthplace in Kentucky?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I never did that. But I read a lot of books as a child about him. And I was also -- I liked Jefferson a lot when I was a child because I felt -- in fact, another thing that Southerners were often obsessed with was the poverty of the South at the end of the Second World War and the whole idea that the only way out of it individually and collectively was to dramatically increase the level of education. And since Jefferson had founded the University of Virginia and had advocated basically free public education, that was something that, when I was very young, captivated me. So he had a big hold on my imagination from my childhood, and I read a lot of books about him.

But they were the two historic figures in American life that had the biggest influence on my childhood.

Q Mrs. Clinton?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I grew up on Illinois, the land of Lincoln, and spent enormous amounts of time as a child studying Illinois and American history, reading biographies that were age-appropriate of Lincoln, making field trips to Springfield and other places that had some association with Lincoln.

We had very significant celebrations of Lincoln's birthday all during the time I was a child. So Lincoln had a very big place in my historic imagination. And I had no idea of any of the things that ever happened in the South. I mean, it was just an open and shut case that Abraham Lincoln was by far the greatest President because he had saved the Union and he came from Illinois.

And I remember so clearly one time traveling with my family -- a trip to Florida when I was probably nine, I think. And we got to Vincennes, Indiana, which is very southern Indiana and checked into a little motel that had a little tiny t.v. And we turned it on, and for the first time saw a t.v. series called "The Gray Ghost," which was about a Confederate soldier. And I was just astonished that anybody would have a television series in which the hero was a Confederate soldier. So my whole experience was so focused on Lincoln as a savior of the Union. And then as we traveled further south, I remember being in Alabama and stopping at gas stations where they sold Confederate flags and things like this. And this was in the middle, late 1950s.

So I always had just such a strong personal feeling

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about Lincoln. But I also felt the same way to a lesser extent about Washington. And again, it was somebody who had a very large part in our imaginations because of the way the schools treated Washington. I mean, every year I was in school, we had skits about Washington's lives; we wrote little books about Washington; we celebrated Washington's birthday. Both of those two presidential birthdays were how we spent February. And both of them had a very strong appeal, as the father of the country and the savior of the country, to me as a little girl.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, it's interesting, I confess that I think I underappreciated Washington until I became President.

Q Really?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I did, I did. And I read Gary Wills' book on Washington and a book called "Patriarch," by, I think, a man named Smith --

Q Richard Norton Smith.

THE PRESIDENT: Richard Norton Smith, who's at the Hoover --

Q Yes, he was a director of Hoover Library.

THE PRESIDENT: In Iowa.

Q? Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: I read that book not very long ago. And Wills is a person I greatly admire, and I'm very -- and he's written a book called "Leaders" now -- "Certain Trumpets" -- something like that. And then he wrote that book "Cincinnatus" (phonetic) on Washington, which I have read.

I see now in a fundamental way that what Washington did, and what he refused to do, in seeking a third term and giving up power and overseeing orderly transition, and how he kind of kept things together, really, he was very important to this country. But I don't think as a child I appreciated him.

Hillary mentioned about seeing the t.v. series. The flip side was true in our case. I mean, if you were a Southerner growing up, you had to be a big admirer of Robert E. Lee, and you had to know a lot about Robert E. Lee. I mean, you just did, you know? And all of his qualities were something that -- he was really sort of still a folk figure in the South, all during the 50s and early 60s.

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And it was interesting because I remember I was in a minority among young whites. I was in all public school integration. I thought Martin Luther King was great, even when I was a kid, very young. But to me, it was all part of the natural flow of history. I mean, I never thought whether there was a contradiction between admiring Robert E. Lee and admiring Abraham Lincoln, if you see what I mean.

Q Right. It was just the march of time.

THE PRESIDENT: I'll tell you one little story to give you and idea of what she said.

Like I said, in the mountains of north Arkansas, we had five of our little counties tried to secede from Arkansas when Arkansas voted to secede from the Union. The people were split right down the middle. And I remember in 1975, maybe, or '76, something like that, I was up in one of these beautiful little mountain towns giving the high school commencement address on a gorgeous June night, and the Ozark mountains were breathtaking. The sky was clear and I was exhorting these kids to overcome adversity, and I was telling them about all the terrible things Lincoln had been through in his life. And after it was over, all the guys who ran the county for me, all these great hill country guys took me out and we were looking at the mountains. And they said, that was a very good speech, and you can give it down in Little Rock any time, but don't you ever come up here and brag on that Republican President again; if he'd been that good a President, we would have never had the Civil War. (Laughter.)

So these people were still replaying it in their minds over 100 years later.

Q That was very much part of the heritage, of the culture. It's interesting to hear you both also speak about, in school, Robert E. Lee, Lincoln, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, the pageants in February, which I remember; I was born in '59.

But education -- a lot of American history has sort of shifted in recent year, maybe, I think, to more of a balance, where we've looked at social history, we've looked at the history of the everyday American. And perhaps in some time, in some way debunked or taken down a notch or two, the heroes that we had -- those of us who grew up with a sense of people to emulate or people to admire, individuals, for doing things.

Do you think there's been too much, in terms of history being recently recorded -- say in the last 10, 15 years -- there are less heroes?

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MRS. CLINTON: I do. And I think it's a great loss for everyone, but particularly for children. It is just easier as a child to relate to individuals than it is social movements or historical trends or even large groups of people who remain ordinary and faceless in the experience that you have with them.

I think it's been important in the last few years that we have pulled out other heroes. I mean, I think it is important that people know about Sojourner Truth and not just the white men that were available as heroes when we were much younger.

But I think it's a shame that we lose sight of the heroic qualities of those people who have made major impacts on our history; and that we don't use them more as examples and symbols for children.

I mean, I remember when I read the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, and I discovered things about Franklin's personal life that, at the age of 14, I was shocked by. And I remember going to see my English teacher and saying, I just can't believe it. I felt like I had been disillusioned about Benjamin Franklin. And I'll never forget him saying, but why would you be disillusioned? He was a great man; he wasn't a statue somewhere. He was a great man, and men have faults as well as virtues; and the real challenge is to see people in their humanity but then admire them even more because of what they were able to accomplish historically.

And that was one of those little lessons that you go through as a person who cares about history and keeps encountering new information about people as you go through life.

But I would like to see something of a return to the emphasis on individuals, with a broader range of individuals; with children being able to see a much more diverse and representative grouping of Americans who made their contributions, but recognizing that there are certain people who stand above the others because of their role in American history, and giving those people the attention again that I think they are due.

And even in mythology -- I mean, it may not be true that George Washington cut down a cherry tree and said then he couldn't tell a lie. But there's a lesson in that, and that lesson is one of the ways you convey values to children. And you do it in the context of a historic figure, who is on his own great, and you use it as a teaching example. And I think that a lot of that has been lost.

THE PRESIDENT: In terms of what happens to people in the present or recent past -- whether they're always being taken down

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-- historically, that changes from time to time. I mean, Jefferson was treated in an outrageous and vicious way when he was President. Roosevelt had a reasonably rough time, but not too bad. I noticed there was a journalist that wrote an article in the New Republic, I think she's about 80 years old, but she covered the Roosevelts. She said that Franklin and Eleanor would not have done so well if they would have had to deal with all the stuff that's present today. And she was speculating about whether they could have served the country as they did.

When I was a child -- we talked about -- you asked me to talk about -- when I was a child, my grandfather who raised me until I was four, and was a great figure in my life until he died when I was quite young -- he just loved Roosevelt because he symbolized to him that the government of the United States cared about ordinary people like him and would try to help them.

It was only kind of in the last 20 or 30 years that we've gotten these sort of extreme views of government really, I think, where neither of which is very helpful. One is that government is evil and incompetent and always messes up. Well, the National Institute of Health, the National Park Services, the Social Security, Medicare are evidence that that's not necessarily true, right?

Q Exactly.

THE PRESIDENT: And then the other view is that government can solve all people's problems. Well, if you look at the breakdown of the social fabric in America in the last 30 years, it's obvious that no government program can fix all that.

But the idea that the government was somehow the partner of the American people and its servant and that its role would change throughout time was sort of reached its apotheosis under Roosevelt and the people -- when the unemployment rate in the country was 25 percent and per capita income in a lot of the places in the South was one-half the national average. My grandfather was a person -- I don't guess he -- until he just got too sick to do it -- he never did take vacations. He worked 40, 50, 60, 70 sometimes more hours a week when I knew him, even when he already had a grandchild, I saw him work a lot.

But maybe it was mythology, but it was a positive thing that he thought that his President and his country cared about him and his small existence in a small town in Arkansas when he was slaving away doing the best he could for his family. There's a very important linkage, and it's something that we need to be able to reestablish today to some extent, under conditions where it is far

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more difficult to do.

Q Well, I want to ask both of you, following that -- I want to ask you about the Roosevelts, but following with your grandfather's experience and feelings about Roosevelt -- about both of your own experiences as young people in meeting historic figures and how that may have changed the course, at the very least inspired and directed the course of your lives and careers.

Of course, we know the great clip -- the picture of you right here in the Rose Garden, meeting President Kennedy. I was wondering if you could talk a little bit about that day and what you were feeling and coming here from Arkansas to the White House and on the White House lawn and meeting John F. Kennedy. And what did you feel inside of you as you were leaving the gate? What did you tell yourself?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know what I told myself when I was leaving the gate. I just -- there were a hundred of us here and we were having a big time. But I remember very distinctly where I was standing out there and what I did, because the fellow we elected president of Boys Nation gave him -- they did what they always do -- they gave him a t-shirt and something else, and he gave his little talk. And then he just came down in the crowd and he started shaking hands and I was afraid he would just shake one or two hands and quit. And I was at the head of the alphabet anyway, and I was bigger than anybody around me so I just made sure I was there so I got to shake hands with him.

Because, to me, he represented the country's sort of caring about my generation. You know, he was a very future-oriented person. He said he would get the country moving again. I had the feeling that we were going to have a good future because he was seeking all these new frontiers. And he gave us a sense of possibility that we could deal with things. And he finally began to deal with the civil rights issue in the somewhat more open way than President Eisenhower had. Although President Eisenhower sent the troops to integrate Little Rock Central High School, which I strongly supported. I thought it was a good thing. I was what, 11 or something at the time. And I was in a decided minority in high school but I thought it was good.

And Eisenhower was a very important person for his time because we went through all this unsettling stuff. And he settled the country down, and he gave the people a fairly high level of confidence, and he was willing to let some things happen. And so I think that history will judge him pretty kindly.

But I think when Kennedy came in, even though he won by

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the narrowest of victories, showing how -- if you look at it -- showing the fear that the American people have of change. We basically -- we always say we want it; we're for it in general, but we're against it in particular very often.

But to me, I thought it was great. I mean, I saw him up there, he just was happy and loose and relaxed. And he seemed interested in these kids, and he seemed to relate well to young people. And it made a big impression on people my age that the Kennedy administration, that the President and the people that were working for him were trying to throw us into the future in a positive way.

Q Your mother said, though, when you came back home after that experience, she knew that you were going to go into some form of public service. She could just tell.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what I decided -- actually it was before I came up here, I remember very clearly. I was a junior in high school and had been interested in being a physician. I had been interested in being a musician and a couple of other things. And I just made a decision that I would try to go into public service because I thought I'd be good at it and I thought it would be interesting. I thought it would be something that I'd never have to worry about getting up and going to work every day because it would always be something different. I was interested in people and human nature and the dimensions of the problems.

And I must say, that was one -- a lot of times what you think when you're a kid is wrong, but that was one insight I had when I was 16 I was right about. I mean that it is a fascinating life in its diversity and challenge. It can be a pain from time to time, but it's still fascinating.

Q Mrs. Clinton, I know that as a youth you had met Martin Luther King. And then I know that in 1968 during the Democratic Convention in Chicago, you went down with a friend to look at some of the protests.

I also think about the fact -- I just realized this the other day -- you're the first presidential couple born after that long period of time when so many people just knew Roosevelt as their President; but that Mrs. Roosevelt lived, of course, until 1962. And I know you were active in school government and so forth. I don't know if she was a particular interest or inspiration at that point, but how about that meeting Martin Luther King -- similar to the President's experience in meeting President Kennedy?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I came from a very different point

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of view. I came from a very Republican family that was not particularly fond of the Roosevelts and not particularly fond of the Kennedys, really were strong supporters of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon.

And so the feelings I had about the 1960 election were ones of great disappointment because all of the excitement about change that seemed to sweep the country, at least where I grew up, were viewed as quite threatening -- which gives me some insight as to how people feel today when they view much of what this President is trying to do, because I came from the kind of family that was very skeptical about government doing anything right and about the specifics of change as the President was just talking about.

But starting when I was in high school, I had a series of experiences that at least began to pose different world views as possible ideas for me to consider. And my involvement with my church, which led to my going to a speech that Martin Luther King gave, was one of those real eye-opening experiences. And I was very impressed by him.

I mean, I was very intellectually resistant in many respects to what you could view as the Kennedy administration's agenda. But I was very sympathetic and supportive of civil rights. I mean, I can remember watching and having my mother explain what happened when President Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock. I mean, I thought it was just ridiculous that people wouldn't go to school with different kinds of children.

And so I saw what Dr. King was doing as something that went beyond politics. I mean, it shouldn't be Republican or Democrat or conservative or Republican; it was just the right thing to do -- much of that because of my strong feelings about Lincoln and my family's feelings about what being a Republican really meant. So that was an important part of my sense of political identity as it began to develop.

But in 1964, I was a very strong supporter of Barry Goldwater. Again, because I liked what I saw as his real conservatism. I mean, I really did come from a background that was highly suspicious of government, but also very supportive of the individual and individual responsibility; and Goldwater seemed to stand for that. And I got to meet Barry Goldwater. I went to a rally and met him and enjoyed just being introduced to him. That's all that occurred.

But I also remember in 1965 being as impressed as I think I've ever been by a presidential speech when President Johnson gave his speech on the Voting Rights Act. I thought that was one of

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the most extraordinary public statements I had ever seen a President give; and from that time on became very supportive of a lot of the goals of the Johnson administration domestically, even though over time I became very concerned about the Vietnam War and very much opposed to the Vietnam War.

So there was a lot going on in that time period that came from many different directions, which is why I always resist political labeling, because I think we are all much more complex in our political thoughts than the easy categories described.

Q When we also talk about Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt as you mentioned before, Mr. President, thinking about the Roosevelts and some of the things they went through. Now, of course, that was a very unique situation -- the Great Depression, World War II, he was physically incapacitated with polio, he ran for 12 years, communications was so different -- but there was a great whirlwind of change with the New Deal and much resistance to it as well. In some of the battles that you've been through in the last year and a half -- congressional battles and some of the criticism -- do you ever look back at the Roosevelts? And do you ever take inspiration from them as they worked together on the New Deal?

Of course, Mrs. Roosevelt took certain components of the New Deal that were central to the Roosevelt domestic agenda, and the President oversaw the whole picture, and in some ways perhaps parallels the way you have both worked together for change.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think there are parallels. I think the difference is obviously that people knew they were in more desperate straits back then. People want changes made now, but they're less willing for the government to do so much, which I think is a good thing. That is, after all, what I ran on -- sort of trying to find a way to strike a new balance between the government and the private sector, not just to have the government solve these problems.

But I think that in terms of the dimensions of the change we're trying to effect and the fact that we have a good working relationship -- and a lot of other Presidents did, too, by the way: Bess Truman was very influential, and Mrs. Wilson was actually virtually running the country when Woodrow Wilson was impaired. But we've been more upfront about our relationship and our partnership than anybody, I think, since Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. So I do, I take that to heart.

The only thing that I find frustrating today is that several surveys have shown of recent political history that last year we had a greater success in pushing changes through Congress than any President since the end of World War II except for Eisenhower in '53,

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who had a more limited agenda, and Johnson in '65, who had a more supportive Congress. And the American people don't know that.

That's the new element in this, the new element and challenge in public life today is that the President has to try to reach the American people through an environment, a reporting, a press environment that is more negative and more editorial, and sometimes less accurate. I mean, those aren't my conclusions; those are conclusions that have been repeatedly drawn by independent students of this who don't have an axe to grind.

That is what makes it so hard because when you're doing what people hired you to do, and when you're making changes and they still don't know it, and you're not sure you have a way to make sure they find out, that is a troubling thing. And I'd say that's the biggest new challenge of governing, and it really rewards those who don't want to change. Basically this kind of environment is good for the status quo because there's no premium, there's no penalty to be paid for irresponsibility. You just say, well, you don't like this, you don't like that, you don't like the other thing. And people are so skeptical and they don't know what's going on that they're prepared, they're predisposed to believe whatever bad thing they hear. So that makes it even more difficult. So I think in that sense, the environment is more challenging.

But there are times in the past when it has been so. Jefferson faced a very hostile environment in a narrower sense. And Truman in a totally different way did. So these are -- that's why there's no historical period or characters that are exactly parallel.

Q And you also have a press -- I being a freelance member of it -- who is not always particularly well-informed in history and very frequently make statements that are inaccurate.

MRS. CLINTON: That's one of the things that has been very interesting to me is, particularly with respect to the Roosevelts. I had always admired the accomplishments of Mrs. Roosevelt, and I had remembered her from her days at the United Nations and particularly the 1960 convention with the role that she played there.

So I always knew that she was a remarkable and accomplished person. But until I really began reading a lot about her and by her, I did not fully grasp what she was up against, both in terms of her individual obstacles that had to be overcome in order to establish her own identity as a partner in political change, but also the institutional obstacles that she confronted. And the more that I have read about and by her, the greater my admiration has grown because she truly was not only the first of her kind, but

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probably one of a kind in the way she approached her responsibilities after her husband was stricken with polio; and how she worked so hard to overcome all kinds of personal restraints such as her shyness and her lack of public speaking and all of those efforts that she put into making herself an effective spokesperson for what she believed; and then facing the ridicule on a personal level as well as a policy level as to what she believed and how she pursued her beliefs and the role she played and on and on. I have just been so admiring.

And years ago, I was asked to join the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, which I did. And I've never had a chance personally to visit Hyde Park or Valk Hill (phonetic), but I was able to keep up to date with a lot of the publications.

And what we are still finding out about how Mrs. Roosevelt influenced what went on, and how she stood up against her critics, I think should be much more broadly known. And you have done a good job in trying to set the historical record straight, both about Mrs. Roosevelt and others who have been here.

Q It must also be very frustrating when -- (GAP IN TAPE) -- and you sometimes see an expression you've used sometimes -- lightning rod -- when you see images or caricatures that are wholly inaccurate.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh yes, I watch the news sometimes or read a paper and I think -- they'd say something about me, and I say, well, I wouldn't be for that guy either. (Laughter.) You know what I mean? You feel like you're sort of a cardboard cutout, a cartoon character. But it's part of the challenge of the time in which we live. It's just -- it requires a whole different set of strategies for trying to get through it.

Q Let me ask you, are there any particular objects, any particular portraits in the White House, any particular rooms that have come to mean something particularly special or important to both of you?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, there's so many. One of the best parts about living here is feeling that every day you encounter another piece of American history. And when we first came, we just searched every nook and cranny to find memorabilia and portraits and other things that we could put on display, and learned a lot about how the house had been used in the past and how the house had been really modified over time to fill its many functions. I mean, it is a museum. It is the house of the head of state. It is a public building. And it is a residence. There are so many aspects.

And we have a lot of the artwork now that was formerly

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in storage on display in the White House. And we are in the process of making sure we have somewhere depicted in the West Wing or in the house every President and First Lady that's ever lived here, so that we have some kind of memory of their presence.

And when the President's office was done up on the second floor of the Residence, which is the Treaty Room, we paid special attention to making sure we could get back into that room a lot of the pieces of art and furniture and other memorabilia that meant something to the house. And then he particularly enjoys looking at all that is there and knowing the history of it and understanding where it came from and what it depicts.

THE PRESIDENT: The picture of Lincoln which you -- you've seen it -- that's in the Lincoln Bedroom, with his military advisers planning the peace, which was done not long before he was killed. And they're on a ship and they're there with an admiral and with, as I remember, General Grant and maybe General Sheridan or Sherman -- maybe it's Sherman -- and the admiral, and there's a rainbow in the background. And it was such a clear -- Lincoln had a very clear idea of what he wanted to do to heal the country after the war.

And when he died and then when President Johnson came in and he was weakened, and the reconstruction took a far more draconian turn, I've often thought that that was a sort of an unexplored tragedy in American history because I think it hardened attitudes in the South and made it more difficult for us to work through the issues of race; and also kind of ratified the economic backwardness of the place for a long time.

And a lot of that stuff is just still being played out today, sadly enough, in southern politics -- still being played out. But anyway, that picture's very good.

There's a picture in here in my dining room that I brought down from the Lincoln Bedroom so I could see it every day, because I don't go back to the Lincoln room everyday, called "Waiting for the Hour." And it's a bunch of slaves sitting in a dark room five minutes before midnight before the effective date of the Emancipation Proclamation, which arguably the most important document ever signed in the White House.

And just seeing that every day reminds me of the enormous importance of the presidency and trying to get it right at whatever point in history you happen to serve. Those two pictures really mean a lot to me.

Q Are there particular Presidents and First Ladies --

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a question I would ask to both of you -- are there particular Presidents and First Ladies whom you both admire or find particular inspiration from? I know you mentioned Lincoln and Truman. I was wondering, Mrs. Clinton, if there were both Presidents and First Ladies that you sort of emulated or took hope from.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, there's so many of them. I mean, there are aspects of personalities of so many, as well as their accomplishments that I find very important and supportive. I have become a great admirer of both Roosevelts, much to the dismay of my father. (Laughter.) And I've become a great admirer of both Trumans. And we were particularly pleased to have Margaret Truman Daniels visit us and spend time with us, which I had found a great joy. I am a great admirer of the Kennedys. And my friendship and time with Jackie Kennedy Onassis was one of the most extraordinary opportunities of my life. I am a great admirer of President Johnson's domestic accomplishments. And I think Mrs. Johnson is one of the most effective women who has ever lived here.

I admire greatly Betty Ford's personal bravery and outspokenness on women's issues and particularly the ERA and breast cancer when it was not at all easy. I think that both President and Mrs. Carter made a great contribution to a lot of the difficult issues that confronted the country. And I think that Mrs. Carter's work on behalf of mental health and President Carter's continuing example after he left the White House is a great legacy.

I really appreciated a lot of the struggles that confronted Nancy Reagan when she was attempting to define herself and not be defined and try to live her life and support her husband as she thought was best for her. And I always enjoyed being around both President and Mrs. Bush, whom we had some acquaintance with because of her husband's time as governor. And I've always found them very easy to talk to and very gracious and hospitable.

And I think that you can look at the people that I have personally met, or at least have had some acquaintance with as a more grown-up person, and see admirable characteristics in them. And I must say that I only met President Nixon once -- when he came to the White House to speak with the President about Russia prior to the meeting with Yeltsin. And he came to the second floor where my daughter and I were waiting to greet him, and he had prepared what he was going to say to both of us. So when he met Chelsea, he immediately began talking about her school, which is a school both of his daughters attended, and his memories of that school and his time there.

And when he met me, he immediately talked about health care, and said you are attempting to now do what I tried to do,

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because President Nixon had proposed a national health care plan. And I was very impressed by his intellectual capacity and his discipline in the way he had prepared just to say hello to us.

So although I have grave political disagreements with many of the people who have been here, I think you do not get to this position without a lot of admirable personal characteristics that oftentimes get either overlooked or overshadowed by the pressures of the time. And it's very important, and I must say one of the great things I admire about my husband is his humility in the face of this responsibility and his willingness to understand that even though you are elected President, you are really a servant leader. And that is sometimes misunderstood because people are more comfortable with authoritarian symbols, if you will. But I think we are all better served if, despite whatever impressive credentials and strong personal characteristics a person brings to the position of the presidency, that they also bring a real dose of humility as well, because these problems are for any time ones that demand often answers that are not easy and certainly not easily explained except by some historical perspective.

THE PRESIDENT: I've got to go pass the crime bill.
(Laughter.)

Q Well, thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

Q I really appreciate this.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you for all your hard work at trying to make history relevant to people.

THE PRESIDENT: We would be so much better off -- you said a very perceptive thing. If the people -- I find that the reporters who tend to be the most, from my perspective, most effective and tend to be the most fair in balance are those that have the deepest historical sense.

Q They have a greater sense, too, of what it is you both are going through and trying to accomplish. I told my -- I said, it's not just change, it's improvement.

MRS. CLINTON: That's a good way of putting it.

THE PRESIDENT: Good line.

Q Thank you very much.

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THE PRESIDENT: Good-bye.

END

12:00 P.M. EDT

MORE

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Comments:

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

ASG Associated Student Government

U of A Freedom Riders

Schedule of Events

The following is a short description of the University of Arkansas "Freedom Riders" project we are sponsoring in conjunction with the activities of the Little Rock Central High School 40th Anniversary Commission:

The Associated Student Government and the Black Students Association at the University of Arkansas (Fayetteville) are coordinating an effort to enable UA students to participate in the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the integration of Little Rock Central High School. 200 students will ride buses to Little Rock on 25 September to attend the main program at Central High. In order to build a stronger emotional and educational link with the events of the US civil rights movement, these students will call themselves the "University of Arkansas Freedom Riders," in honor of their predecessors who worked to integrate buses in the south during the early 1960's.

The project is sponsored by Greyhound Bus Lines, Inc., a main target of the original "Freedom Riders," which will donate four buses for the trip to Little Rock. Greyhound officials will arrive in Fayetteville, along with the buses, on 22 September to participate in a press conference with student leaders and UA administrative officials. This date is significant because it marks the 36th anniversary of the decision by the Interstate Commerce Commission to abolish segregation on national bus carriers. So in a sense, this effort will help Greyhound close an unpleasant chapter in its past as Central High attempts to do the same.

Throughout the week, various programs will be held in conjunction with the "Freedom Riders" initiative. A movie about the experiences of one of the original "Little Rock Nine," entitled *The Ernest Green Story*, will be viewed on Tuesday night. On the night before the trip, the "Freedom Riders" will be exposed to a training seminar conducted by Dr. Bernard Lafayette, Jr., an authority on nonviolent social change who helped lead the original "Freedom Riders."

The actual trip begins at 5:30 a.m. in Fayetteville on 25 September. Students will attend the Central High ceremony, and tour the new Central High museum. Then, they will enjoy a luncheon at the State Capitol in Little Rock, where they will hear from Judge Wiley Branton, Jr. and Phyllis Brown. Other events are tentatively scheduled, and the organizers do not expect to return to Fayetteville until 7 p.m.. The University of Arkansas is providing letters asking professors to excuse from class any student who participates in the Freedom Ride.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS FREEDOM

RIDERS

Schedule of Events

Tuesday, September 16

Roundtable Discussion: "Little Rock Central and the Media" (TBA)

Featuring notable speakers involved with the 1957 Central High events and its media coverage.

Contact: Hoyt Purvis, Director of the Fulbright Institute of International Relations (501-575-2006)

Monday, September 22

"Freedom Riders" Press Conference (3 p.m., Old Main)

Featuring students, faculty, staff and administrative officials, along with representatives from Greyhound Bus Lines, Inc. Official introduction of project; commemoration of 36th anniversary of Interstate Commerce Commission desegregation ruling.

Contact: Harriet Jansma, Director, University Relations (501-575-5555) or Sharita Patterson (501-575-2556)

Reception (3:30 p.m., UA Multicultural Center)

Press conference participants and the general public are invited to a reception featuring an exhibit about the Central High integration.

Contact: Lyle Gohn, UA Vice-Chancellor, Student Services (501-575-5007)

Tuesday, September 23

Screening of The Ernest Green Story (7 p.m., Theatre, Arkansas Union)

The general public is invited to view a film about the experiences of a member of the Little Rock Nine.

Contact: Ryan Allen, Pres., University Programs (501-575-5255)

Wednesday, September 24

"Freedom Riders" Training (6 p.m., Giffels Auditorium, Old Main)

The "University of Arkansas Freedom Riders" will participate in a program to educate them about the civil rights movement, featuring a keynote address by Dr. Bernard Lafayette, Jr. Dr. Lafayette is

U of A Freedom Riders

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an authority on the strategy of nonviolent social change, who worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and helped lead the original Freedom Rides in 1961.

Contacts: Kevin Dedner, Pres., Black Students Association. (501-575-3346) or Warwick Sabin, Pres., Associated Student Govt. (501-575-5206)

Thursday, September 25**Departure (5 a.m., Old Main)****Central High School Integration Ceremony (10 a.m., Central High)**

President Bill Clinton, Governor Mike Huckabee, Mayor Jim Dailey and the Little Rock Nine will take part in a program commemorating the 40th anniversary of the court-ordered entrance of the students into Central High under the protection of federal troops.

Contact: Rett Tucker, Co-Chair, Little Rock Central High 40th Anniversary Commission (501-376-8005)

Central High School Museum Tour (12 p.m.)**Luncheon (2 p.m., Dunbar Community Center)**

new info to be returned

Featuring addresses by Judge Wiley Branton and Phyllis Brown. Branton is the son of Wiley Branton, Sr., a member of the NAACP legal defense team for the Little Rock Nine. Brown is the sister of Minnie Jean Tricky, a member of the Little Rock Nine.

Contact: Evangeline Parker and Tracy Steele, Arkansas Martin Luther King Jr. Commission (501-324-9333)

Return (7 p.m., Old Main)**ASG Home Page**



U.S. News



Segregation, Now

Forty years after the forced integration of Little Rock's Central High School, honors classes separate black students from white

[Click here for extra info and Web links](#)

BY JULIAN E. BARNES

Nearly every student who has taken honors trigonometry at Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., does an impression of the teacher, Billy Watson. For his, senior Tom Hearon opens his eyes wide, raises the pitch of his voice, and squawks out Watson's favorite phrase: "Trig will save your life." Watson, an energetic 54-year-old African-American, is one of those passionate teachers who both challenge and inspire students. "Make your algebra work for you," Watson exhorts, pushing one pupil. Nearly all the students in this class will go on to calculus next year, and after that, to selective out-of-state colleges.

Across the hall, in Kent Moore's non-honors geometry class, the pace is slower. Several of the students are not paying attention; some even lay their heads down on their desks as the teacher talks. Moore, a thin black man with a big voice, takes half the period to get through one example. As he finishes re-explaining the formula to find the midpoint of a line segment, a concept he introduced the week before, he senses he has lost some of the students. "Talk to me now. If you don't understand, ask. I am going to try to reach you," he says. A student points to the formula Moore has just explained and asks what it is. "You are not with us," Moore says. "That's the formula to find the midpoint of the line. . . . Get on board, buddy, and stay with us." Few of the students in Moore's class will go on to elite colleges.

Besides the pace, discipline, and enthusiasm of the students, there is another difference between the two classes. Of Moore's 29 students, 20 are black. Of Watson's 20 honors students, only two are black. The same is true throughout the building: While Central High as a whole is integrated, the individual classes are not. Honors classes are dominated by whites, regular classes by blacks.

Pivotal moment. This pattern is repeated in integrated schools throughout

the country, but nowhere else is the irony so stark. Next week, President Clinton will return to Little Rock to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the integration of Central High, one of the pivotal moments in the history of civil rights. In 1957, Little Rock became the site of the first major battle over desegregation after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. Gov. Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to block nine black children from entering the school. On Sept. 24, 1957, President Dwight Eisenhower ordered the Army to Little Rock to ensure that the black children could attend.

In some ways, Central High stands as a model of desegregation's success. The once all-white student body is now 58 percent black and 39 percent white. The school produces many of the state's brightest students, black and white, and sends them on to the nation's best universities. Over the past decade, of Arkansas's 32 black National Merit semifinalists, 15 have come from Central High.

But beneath the surface, Central High reveals a more troubling modern reality: Many schools that appear integrated from the outside are highly segregated within. "You can see the difference between my class and Mr. Watson's," Moore says. "Forty years after integration have we achieved anything? Or are we still in '57?" Within Little Rock, the flow of whites into honors classes is the subject of intense, private conversation: Is it the result of deliberate racial segregation? Or a sign of poor academic preparation of incoming black students? While there is some truth to both explanations, the more important factor may be the different attitudes of parents toward what kind of education will help their kids get ahead.

The success of integration at Central High can be seen in Fatima McKindra, the 17-year-old black student-body president. McKindra is enrolled in five Advanced Placement classes, including her second year of calculus. Her teachers want her to apply to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but McKindra is considering historically black Spelman College in Atlanta—in part because at Central she has mostly had white teachers and classes.

McKindra believes Central has educated her well, but she thinks those in the regular classes are not so fortunate. "The students need to be challenged," she says. "They're not."

The racial makeup of classrooms reinforces self-segregation in other parts of school life. Most black students walk or take the bus to school and enter through the school's front doors. Most white students drive cars and come in a side door near the parking lot. Most black students eat lunch inside, near the hot lunch line, while white students eat outside, near the concession stand. And even though most Central High students generally say they have friends of different races, they acknowledge that for the most part they hang out with friends from their neighborhood, their junior high, or their classes.

The tendency for social self-segregation is a natural habit, but one that is supposed to be weakened by integrated classes. Why classrooms at Central, and at other schools around the nation, aren't very integrated is a matter of some dispute. Some black leaders believe that white parents consciously use honors classes to keep their children separated from blacks. John Walker, an attorney representing black schoolchildren in Little Rock since 1965, says the honors system not only separates children but labels the white elite "gifted" while implicitly suggesting the majority of blacks are stupid. "If you tell children they are smart, and give them support," argues Walker, "that becomes prophecy. But this discourages blacks who are put predominately in dummy classes."

In some cases, however, it is black parents themselves who steer their children away from honors classes or don't fight to keep them enrolled. Some consider the classes racist. Last year, Marisha Hewett's honors English teacher asked her to drop the class after two weeks of school, according to Marisha's mother, Essie Hewett, who claims the teacher was motivated by race. (The teacher responds that participation in honors courses is based only on academic performance.) This year Marisha transferred to a different high school. "Basically your honors classes are Caucasian and you have teachers who are unfair. This is an opportunity for them to continue their racism," Hewett claims. "I never even considered enrolling her in honors again."

It is true that most honors courses are taught by whites. Of Central High's 32 honors and Advanced Placement classes (the most rigorous of its honors courses) only five are taught by blacks. Some black teachers ask to teach regular classes because they want to teach black students. But others, like Moore, believe that greater numbers of black students might take honors classes if they had more black teachers as role models in those classes.

Black students say there is also peer pressure not to take honors classes. "You get called names: 'Oh, you are a little white girl.' 'You are an Oreo cookie,'" says Tanya Corbin, a 17-year-old senior at Central.

Many students see their grades drop when they first enter honors classes, leading some black parents to pull their kids out and put them back in regular classes. "It's hard to keep them. They are the first casualties," says Phyllis Caruth, who teaches AP statistics. Often the black students have poor test-taking skills and score poorly on the first exams. "If I can keep them in there I can fix that," she says. "But I have to keep them."

All the kids are above average. By contrast, many white students whose grades fall are kept in honors classes, against the school's recommendation, because their parents insist on it, notes Central High counselor Lynda Phillips-Johnson. "Just because these classes are mostly white doesn't mean these whites are qualified," she says. "It is a political system. If you are a parent and want your student in honors English, [the

student is] there." Caruth says that this may help explain the number of honors classes taught at Central. There are now 92 honors sections taught for a school of 1,781 students. Walker says the proliferation of these honors classes proves this is a form of segregation rather than the natural result of a merit-based system. "How can 50 percent or more of white children be 'gifted'?" he asks.

Others argue that the system is susceptible to pressure from parents of either race. Ann Brown, who monitors the Little Rock School District for the federal courts, says socioeconomic factors keep black students in nonhonors classes. "I have not seen any systematic effort to keep children out of classes," says Brown, whose husband teaches AP European history—the most feared and respected course at Central. In Little Rock, she notes, black parents tend to be poorer and have less education themselves; hence they are unaware of the educational benefits that flow from honors classes. Just as important, many are unaware they can pressure administrators into admitting their children to honors classes.

But some students and teachers believe the school district bears some responsibility for not pushing black students into honors classes in earlier grades. The Little Rock School District starts identifying gifted children as early as kindergarten and begins separating them from regular classes, at least part of the week, in third grade. Applicants are judged on academic and creativity tests as well as recommendations. "If you want to be in Advanced Placement classes in the 12th grade then you need to start in the fourth grade," says Caruth.

What's mysterious, though, is that there are more minorities in the gifted programs in the earlier grades. At Woodruff Elementary, for example, the school is 70 percent black and about 50 percent of the students in the gifted and talented program are black. And at Dunbar Magnet Junior High School, one of the primary feeders for Central, 55 percent of the school and 37 percent of gifted and talented classes are black.

Yet by the time they get to Central High School, the blacks have moved into regular classes. Last year, only 13 percent of students were black in Central's Advanced Placement classes.

Central High counselors say this is because junior high schools, which help rising 10th graders pick their classes, steer black children to less rigorous courses. Other officials say it is simply the black students' choice. But a black school administrator, who requested anonymity, charged that Central High emphasizes test scores for black children but allows white students to enroll in honors classes on teacher recommendations alone. "We are still dealing with institutional racism," this administrator says. Guidance Department Chairman Sam Blair denies such charges. While he says that the number of blacks enrolled in honors classes is a national problem, he maintains that Central does a good job of identifying those black students who can achieve in Central's most rigorous classes.

This month the U.S. Department of Education is beginning discussions with civil-rights advocates about expanding its examination of the racial divide in honors classes. In most integrated schools, ability grouping creates a racial divide between honors and regular classes, experts say. In Louisville, Ky., the schools are 30 percent black but the honors classes are only 10 percent black. In one Cleveland suburb, 50 percent of the district is black, but AP classes are only 10 percent black. In South Carolina's schools, blacks make up 43 percent of the students but only 13 percent of the students in gifted classes.

There is much debate about the educational merits of ability grouping. Some educators argue that children of different skills can be taught together and there is no need for separate honors courses. But supporters of ability grouping say it's the only way to ensure that talented students are challenged. "When you have a wide disparity in abilities, it is criminal not to allow bright students to go into a deeper level than the average students," says Boston College psychology Prof. Ellen Winner. Central High's leaders argue that it is because of the honors classes that students win high academic honors and attend the nation's most selective colleges. And, they say, without the honors classes, whites would leave. Central's programs have attracted the children of the city's white elite, from the daughter of Gov. Mike Huckabee to the son of the former Chamber of Commerce president. This in turn builds support for the public schools in Little Rock.

For Walker, the civil-rights lawyer, this method for bringing about integration undermines its very purpose. Rather than diversity's showing the equality of races, he says, white students come to think blacks are in slow classes and whites in fast classes. And for that reason, Walker says, he is not terribly concerned about luring white children to the public schools. Although he has fought for desegregation for three decades, today he simply wants the schools to give the black children he represents the best education possible—even if that means the schools lose white children and Central High once again becomes a single-race school.

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Arkansas Democrat Gazette/STEPHEN B. THORNTON

Central High School's Fatima McKindra often dresses in business attire to fulfill her role as student council president despite having to lug a heavy load of books down the halls to keep up her 3.976 grade point average.

Girl president in Central spotlight

Student leader to introduce Clinton on 40th anniversary of integration

BY CHRIS REINOLDS
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Fatima McKindra, an unassuming schoolgirl with an easy laugh, is preparing a speech to introduce the president of the United States.

She carries a backpack at school but dresses in business suits almost every day. She longs for a chance to wear jeans again.

She has been interviewed by major television networks and newspapers so many times that she has learned to speak in sound bites.

Forty years after its desegregation, McKindra, 17, is the first black student council president

at what has become a majority-black Central High School. The nearly 1,600 Central students elected her last spring.

The Little Rock School District and the city of Little Rock are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the Central High integration crisis. National and international media have visited the school and interviewed McKindra and other students and faculty this month.

Friday, McKindra missed another class to talk with reporters and prepare for Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater's visit today. Slater is in town for the Southeastern Association of

Highway and Transportation Officials conference.

McKindra is taking all this attention and hard work in stride.

"I like this work because I like to talk," McKindra said. "It's a lot of hard work and takes a lot of dedication, but it's also a lot of fun."

Her teachers help her with makeup work so she doesn't fall behind and damage her 3.976 grade point average.

While McKindra knows that being a black student body president during the anniversary is significant, she is also concerned with developing her leadership

See CENTRAL Page 5A

Central

• Continued from Page 1A

skills. She is a member of the National Honor Society, Beta Club, Latin Club, Black Culture Society, Accept No Boundaries, Student Council, Martin Luther King Commission and is a National Merit semifinalist.

"It's an extraordinary young person that has that much confidence and is as intelligent as she is," Principal Rudolph Howard said.

"She's just a natural. [The media] come at her from all angles, and she visualizes the question and has it thought out. She's really amazing to watch."

Mark Meadows, student council sponsor and science-technology teacher, agrees.

"She's been interviewed more in the last week, probably, than Chelsea Clinton," Meadows said. "And they're not asking softball questions. She is a rare kid who not only sees the big picture, but all the parts of the picture."

McKindra said her parents have encouraged her to learn the history of Central High's integration. She lives near Daisy Bates, the mentor of the Little Rock Nine, the students who desegregated the formerly all-white school. She has read Bates' book. McKindra has briefly met two of the Little Rock Nine — Ernest Green and Elizabeth Eckford.

"I am just in awe of them," she said. "I'd like to know if they'd do it again if they had it to do over. And what do they feel our responsibility is, this generation, to keeping the legacy alive, to continue what they started?"

McKindra said a part of her wants to believe she could have done what the nine black students did 40 years ago.

"Now I don't think I could do it because I'm a very active person and a sensitive person," McKindra said.

"I don't know if I could have stood that."

McKindra has grown up in a different era.

"They grew up in oppression, so they had to learn how to control

those urges. They had to show a lot of strength and a lot of courage to do what they did."

McKindra was scared at first to attend the inner-city high school. She lives five minutes from Central but originally was assigned to J.A. Fair High School. She left

"She's been interviewed more in the last week, probably, than Chelsea Clinton. And they're not asking softball questions. She is a rare kid who not only sees the big picture, but all the parts of the picture."

— Mark Meadows, Central teacher and student council sponsor

Fair after four days. She was far away from friends and didn't find the classes as challenging as those she took at Mann Magnet Junior High.

"I came here because it was the first place I could get into the fastest," McKindra said candidly. "I was scared to come here. I heard the Central stereotypes that it's rough here and that the school's too big."

"I just didn't realize what kind of educational opportunities were here. I've had a wonderful experience here."

The anniversary events have occupied McKindra's time, but she is

looking toward her future. She wants to get into a good college and eventually attend medical school to be a surgeon.

"I really like helping people, and I like cutting stuff up," McKindra said excitedly.

McKindra comes from an education family. Her father, Freeman McKindra, is a senior program officer for the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation and her mother, Wilma Jean, is a psychological examiner.

She has two younger brothers, one who plays football for Central. Her father helps her compose speeches, including the one for Clinton's visit later this month.

She said she's not nervous about introducing the president.

"Ask me in another week, though," she said with a chuckle.

She's more concerned about what will happen when the observance ends.

"I don't want this to be something that is just a one-day thing, and no one thinks about it again," she said. "I really want for this to be an event that changes people's hearts, at least makes people look at how they treat people."

The school district has come far in its desegregation efforts since 1957 but still needs to work toward equality for all students, McKindra said.

"My hope is that one day we won't have all these needs for magnet schools and incentive schools," she said. "That every child will be given the same opportunity and get the same quality education. That will break down the remaining racial barriers 'cause once you have that education, no one can take that away from you."

"All The World Is Watching Us": Little Rock and the '57 Crisis

Little Rock became world-famous in 1957 as a landmark battleground in the struggle for civil rights.

In September of that year, the state resisted the admission of black students to all-white Central High School. The ensuing crisis tested a president, a governor, the nation's highest court and federal troops, along with nine brave black students and all the other citizens of Arkansas.

Central stands today as a concrete symbol of the Constitution's guarantee of equal rights under the law. This is a place to learn about a pivotal time in history. A place to learn about how far we've come. A place to learn about how far we have to go.

In 1927 the Dedication Program for Central High explained the words carved on the front of the school building. No one would have suspected both the irony and importance of these ideals thirty years later.

Where AMBITION is fired--
Where PERSONALITY is developed--
Where OPPORTUNITY is presented--
Where PREPARATION in the solution of life's problems is begun.

(Tribute Panel to Nine)

"I had long dreamed of entering Central High. I could not have imagined what that privilege could cost me."

Melba Pattillo Beals

1776-1896

All Men Are Created Equal?

Sixty years after Thomas Jefferson's ringing declaration of equality in the Declaration of Independence, Arkansas joined the Union in 1836 as a slave state. As it was throughout America, all men in Arkansas were not created equal. A debate over the expansion of slavery and the nature of the relationship between state governments and the federal government divided the United States, finally erupting in Civil War in 1861. The United States of America fought to preserve the union and abolish the spread of slavery. The Confederate States of America fought to defend state's rights, protect all property, and abolish their ties to an unsympathetic federal government.

The Union won the war. During Reconstruction, the 14th amendment to the Constitution guaranteed *all* citizens equality of rights under the law. Black people were denied the rights of citizenship by social attitudes in the South. Racial segregation kept

black people from entering society, and southern state legislatures gradually made the social practices law. By 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that separate facilities based on race were constitutional as long as the facilities were equal.

PANEL WITH PREAMBLE TO CONSTITUTION IN BACKGROUND;
13TH, 14TH & 15TH AMENDMENTS (SECTION 1) IN FOREGROUND

AMENDMENT XIII

(Ratified 1865.) Section 1. **Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude**, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, **shall exist within the United States**, nor any place subject to their jurisdiction.

AMENDMENT XIV

(Ratified 1868.) Section 1. **All persons born or naturalized in the United States**, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, **are citizens of the United States...** No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; **nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.**

AMENDMENT XV

(Ratified 1870.) Section 1. **The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.**

1897-1954

Can Separate be Equal?

Dunbar students often had to pass Little Rock Senior High on their way to school, one graduate remembers that he and his friends called the school "Little Rock White High School."

Paul Laurence Dunbar High School / Little Rock Senior High School

\$400,000	COST	\$1,500,000
Rosenwald Fund and Rockefeller General Education Fund	FUNDING	Little Rock School Board
1,600	STUDENT CAPACITY	3,000

"Hand-me-downs" from L.R.H.S.	TEXTBOOKS	Purchased New
5,000	LIBRARY BOOKS	11,000
200,000	SQUARE FOOTAGE	600,000
34	CLASSROOMS	100
No Gymnasium and no practice fields	ATHLETIC FACILITIES	Gymnasium & Stadium
\$344/mo.	PRINCIPAL SALARIES	\$500/mo.
Junior High, High School, Junior College	LEVELS OF INSTRUCTION	High School, Junior College

Throughout most of the South, "Jim Crow" laws promoted racial prejudice and segregation, which affected society on many different levels. Segregation was more apparent in public education. *Plessy v. Ferguson* demanded that if separate, facilities must be equal. In reality this rarely occurred. Funding was barely enough for one system of education, let alone two; education for blacks suffered as a result.

During World War II African American servicemen such as Dunbar graduate and Tuskegee Airman "Woody" Crockett fought for democracy and civil rights around the world. But when they returned home racial conditions had not changed.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) launched an assault on the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the 1940s. In a series of cases, the Supreme Court began to erode the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling culminating with the *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954.

1954-Summer 1957 Struggle for Direction

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place...it is so ordered." United States Supreme Court, *Brown v. Board*.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional. In August, the NAACP petitioned the Little Rock School Board for immediate integration of the schools. In 1955, responding to further Supreme Court rulings, the School Board adopted Superintendent Virgil Blossom's plan of gradual

integration. It called for desegregation to begin at the high school level in September 1957. Lower grades would be gradually integrated over the following six years.

For many black students in Little Rock, the *Brown* ruling represented the hope that they finally could receive the same education as white students. After all, both the University of Arkansas Law and Medical Schools had admitted black students without major incident. Progress was slower in Little Rock's public schools.

Encouraged by the *Brown* decision, in January 1956 the parents of 27 black students attempted to register their children in white Little Rock Schools. They were denied the opportunity. The NAACP filed suit on behalf of the students. The appeals court sided with the school district but retained jurisdiction over the desegregation efforts.

Meanwhile, political resistance to integration began to stiffen. To stop what they perceived as the federally enforced integration of the public schools, the Arkansas Legislature passed four "segregation" bills in February of 1957 and Governor Orval Faubus signed them into law. These laws ended mandatory school attendance at integrated schools, allowed school boards to use school money to fight integration and required certain (pro-integration) individuals and organizations to register with the state.

"It looks more like the old run-around deception, than an honest and conscientious plan of the school board to integrate." Unidentified representative of the NAACP

Opponents of desegregation argued that the Supreme Court and the federal government lacked the authority to impose its decisions on the states. In Little Rock, groups such as the Capital Citizens' Council and the Mother's League of Central High School sought the support of Governor Faubus in halting school desegregation. A representative of the Mother's League went to court on August 27 to stop implementation of Superintendent Blossom's plan for gradual school desegregation. Federal Judge Ronald Davies ordered the school board to continue with its efforts toward integration and the schools prepared to open.

TIMELINE BEGINS

September 2 – Governor Orval Faubus orders the Arkansas National Guard to prohibit the nine black students from entering Central High School. In a televised speech, he stated he did so to prevent violence and declares Central off limits to blacks for their "safety". Faubus also warned Arkansans of "the possibility that this action could develop into a test of authority of the federal government to force its decisions on any unwilling people."

September 3 - The Mother's League holds a "sunrise service" at Central attended by members of the Citizens Council, disgruntled parents, students and pastors. The crowd

sang "Dixie", the Confederate battle flag was shown and members of the Mother's League praised Faubus's speech.

1957-1958

A Time of Courage and Fear

September 4 - Nine black students attempt to enter Central High School, but are turned away by the National Guard.

Press coverage of the day focuses on 15 year-old Elizabeth Eckford and draws the nation's attention to Little Rock. Separated from the other students because of a last minute change in plans she arrived at the school to face the Guardsmen alone. The other students went to a different entrance; all were denied entry. The National Guardsmen kept the students out for two weeks. **"I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob - someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me."** Elizabeth Eckford

September 5 - None of the "nine" try to attend school. The School Board asks Federal Judge Ronald Davies to temporarily suspend its integration plan.

"Nothing can come out of the situation the way it is now. Let the kids handle the situation. If the Negroes had come the first day, all there would have been were a few whistles and cat calls." Harper Thomason, Central High School Student

September 7 - Federal Judge Davies denies the School Board's request.

"The only assurance I can give you is that the federal constitution will be upheld by me by every legal means at my command." President Eisenhower in telegram to Governor Faubus

September 14 - Governor Faubus meets with President Eisenhower in Newport, R.I. to discuss preventing violence and desegregating Arkansas' public schools.

September 20 - Judge Davies rules Faubus has not used the troops to preserve law and order and orders them removed.

September 23 - As with the guard withdrawn, the Little Rock police tried to maintain order as the black students finally entered the school building. Television viewers nationwide watched as rioting broke out. The police lost control of the crowd and the students had to be smuggled out a side door. Negro photographer Alex Wilson becomes a victim of the mob.

"They've gone in...Oh, God, the niggers are in the school." Anonymous man in the mob in front of Central High School.

"That was the first time I'd ever gone to school with a Negro, and it didn't hurt a bit." Robin Woods, student at Central High

September 24 - President Eisenhower calls the rioting "**disgraceful**" and orders federal troops into Little Rock.

1200 members of the 101st Airborne Division, the "Screaming Eagles" of Fort Campbell, Kentucky, roll into Little Rock. The Arkansas National Guard is placed under federal orders.

"Any time it takes eleven thousand five hundred soldiers to assure nine Negro children their constitutional rights in a democratic society, I can't be happy." Mrs. Daisy Bates

"That was the first time I'd ever gone to school with a Negro, and it didn't hurt a bit." Robin Woods, student at Central High

September 25 – With armed protectors, the nine black children are escorted back into Central High School.

"After three full days inside Central, I know that integration is a much bigger word than I thought." Melba Pattillo Beals

"If parents would just go home and let us alone, we'll be all right...We just want them to leave us be. We can do it." Anonymous 16 year-old white female student at Central High

September 26 - Governor Faubus appears on television to address the people of Arkansas.

"We are now an occupied territory. Evidence of the naked force of the federal government is here apparent, in these, unsheathed bayonets in the backs of schoolgirls..." Governor Orval Faubus

October 1 - The 101st Airborne turns over most duties to the federalized Arkansas National Guard and discipline problems resurface at Central for the remainder of the school year.

"[The National Guardsmen were] lounging against the walls like cats in sunlight." Melba Pattillo Beals

November 14 - A white student strikes Jefferson Thomas hard enough to knock him down. Anxious to preserve the myth that things inside Central were fine, the story is not made public. The same day Gloria Ray reports that a white boy **"had spoken to her very rudely as they left homeroom, calling her a 'nigger,' [and] had pushed her as they left their place in assembly."** Two weeks later he bumped her, knocking her across the floor into lockers.

"We believe that what is happening in Little Rock... is a question of right against wrong, a question of respect against defiance of laws, a question of democracy against tyranny." Daisy Bates

December 12 - Downtown businesses begin to receive anonymous letters from segregationists warning of a massive boycott against their stores if they continue to advertise in the law-and-order *Arkansas Gazette* newspaper.

December 17 - After having chairs pushed in front of her while walking through the cafeteria Minnijean Brown spills chili on two white boys. Principal Jess Matthews suspends her until January 13.

"One nigger down and eight to go." chant of segregationist students following Brown's dismissal.

January 15 - White students increase their harassment of the nine. At lunch a boy dumps chili on Minnijean's shoulders; he was expelled.

February 6 - Minnijean Brown turns on a tormentor and calls her "white trash." The student responds by throwing her purse. At lunch a boy dumps soup on Minnijean and the other black students are harassed.

"I just can't take everything they throw at me without fighting back...." Minnijean Brown

February 17 - Minnijean Brown is expelled for the "white trash" incident. Sammie Dean Parker and Howard Cooper, both white students, are suspended for wearing cards which read, "One down...Eight to go." Billy Ferguson, another white student, is suspended for pushing Gloria Ray, a black student, down a flight of stairs.

February 21 - Minnijean Brown leaves Little Rock for school in New York. Sammie Dean Parker was reinstated.

April 25 - Gloria Ray is hit by a rock near the field house at Central.

May 1 - One of the nine's lockers is broken into; some of the male members of the nine are hit.

May 2 - A white boy from Springfield who talked to Ernest Green suffers telephone threats and vandalism to his car.

"This is what happens to nigger lovers." Sign on vandalized car of student who talked to Ernest Green.

May 5 - Harry Ashmore is awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials in the *Gazette* and the *Arkansas Gazette* is awarded a Pulitzer for the objectivity of its coverage of the Little Rock School Crisis.

May 9 - The locker shared by Elizabeth Eckford, Melba Pattillo and Thelma Mothershead is vandalized and their books and umbrellas are stolen.

May 20 - As tension mounts near the end of the school year at Central, the harassment of the past nine months increases.

May 25 - Ernest Green becomes the first black student to graduate from Central High School. After the ceremony, a young black girl is spit upon by Curtis E. Stover, who was subsequently arrested. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., attends the ceremony almost completely unnoticed.

"It's been an interesting year. I've had a course in human relations first hand."

Ernest Green

The View from Inside the School

Once the Little Rock Nine walked through Central's front door they fell off the media's radar screen and into no man's land. Their planned integration of Central had been carefully arranged by the School Board all the way from the schedule of classes they would take down to the physical facilities they could use, the extra-curricular activities in which they could participate, and the social functions they could attend. To avoid problems the Board limited the Nine to attending classes and hoped for the best.

At a September 25th student assembly the Student Government leaders pledged to obey the law and asked the student body to follow their example. Most students did. When segregationists called for a student strike to protest integration some weeks later not more than 30 out of the 2,000 students enrolled at Central complied. *The Tiger*, Central's student newspaper, received national attention for its coverage of the Crisis, especially one editorial that advocated that "each individual maintain a sensible, peaceful neutrality.... [and] accept the situation without demonstration no matter what personal views are entertained."

Despite the best efforts of these student leaders, a handful of students verbally and physically terrorized the Nine throughout the school year. This was an extremely difficult situation for the Nine. NAACP officials, as well as the Nine's parents, teachers and ministers had instructed them not to respond or report such attacks to avoid providing the school district with an excuse to pull them out of the school. These courageous young men and women persevered, however, and by the end of the 1957-58 school year had earned the title of Central High students.

1958-1959

The Lost Year

"...we're caught in the middle and we're the ones who have been hurt because of it."

Wendell Ross, President of the Central High Student Body

Getting the Schools Reopened

Because of the incidents of the prior school year, the Little Rock school board requested a delay in implementing the Blossom plan. On September 12, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the school board must continue with its desegregation plan.

"The Constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color...can neither be nullified openly and directly

by state legislators or state executives or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation..." U.S. Supreme Court

Meanwhile, pending a public vote on the issue of immediate integration of all grade levels, Gov. Faubus closed all four Little Rock high schools. Under Faubus's plan the vacant school buildings could be leased for private school use and remain segregated. Alarmed by the possibility of having no public high schools, the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools (WEC) formed in September.

"...here in Little Rock, we have been a little disappointed at the reticence and behavior of people in responsible places we thought were obedient to law... We reiterate, we never anticipated their speaking out in defense of Negro children, but we did think they would come to the defense of their own children, especially in the face of law and order." Arkansas State Press editorial

Over the next nine months the WEC and law-and-order moderates maneuvered to re-open the public high schools under the desegregation plans. The WEC ultimately succeeded in its campaign to elect three "moderate" candidates to the school board who favored keeping the public schools open. However, the Capital Citizens' Council succeeded in electing three segregationist members to the same board.

"Gov. Faubus is a valuable enemy. He has aided in many ways in clarifying the issue of segregation...Common sense will take over and Arkansas will rejoin the Union." Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary

The segregationist members of the school board targeted teachers who upheld the law for dismissal. Outraged students, alumni, and parents rose to defend their much-revered teachers from the "purge" and supported action to restructure the school board. On May 25th, voters recalled the three segregationist members and retained the three moderate members.

In June the federal court ruled the school closing laws illegal. The Little Rock high schools re-opened on August 12, 1959.

1960-present The Continuing Struggle

"At Central we haven't just studied history--we've lived it and been a part of it."
Blake Rutherford, Class of '96 student graduation speaker

September 1960 may have marked a new beginning for Little Rock's public schools, but hardly a perfect one. By the following year the number of black students attending mainly white schools had increased from 12 to 46, and half of those students were in junior high schools. While black students continued to enter formerly white

schools, progress was slow and the black community was impatient. Elementary schools, for instance, did not desegregate until 1968 and then only under court order.

As they had during the crisis in 1957, the courts became the enforcement method for desegregation. Perhaps the biggest change from 1957 was that Little Rock was no longer the sole battle ground of school desegregation; media coverage of school desegregation problems in Boston revealed that the rest of the United States was not immune to these problems.

Inside Central High School change came slowly. Sybil Jordan, the first three-year black graduate of Central High, experienced isolation rather than severe physical harassment. "...People went to the next level of hostility and that was no talking, no interaction."

Throughout the tumult of the crisis and the media exposure, Central continued to be a symbol of academic excellence. Central has a long tradition of providing the largest number of National Merit scholars in the state and also produced the state's first black Rhodes Scholar, Roosevelt Thompson.

MAGNOLIA OIL COMPANY

You are standing in a service station built for the Magnolia Petroleum Company of Texas in the 1920s. Called the "Southwest" model, this station in Little Rock was identical to the Houston, Texas station pictured in the photo on the right. Magnolia Oil owned stations in Texas and Arkansas.

The Magnolia Petroleum Company was one of many regional oil companies owned by Mobil Oil Corporation. Founded as Vacuum Oil Company of Rochester, New York by Matthew Ewing and Hirman Everest in 1866 the company became a subsidiary of John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Corporation of Ohio in 1879, and later a part of the Standard Oil Trust. In response to a 1911 Supreme Court decree against monopolies, the Standard Oil Group was broken into thirty-four companies. One of the successor companies, Standard Oil Company of New York (SOCONY), acquired full interest in the Magnolia Petroleum Company of Texas and some other regional oil companies before merging with the Vacuum Oil Company (another former member of the Standard Oil Group) in 1931.

As Socony-Vacuum the company led the way in pioneering lubricants and new energy sources. The name changed to Socony Mobil Oil Company in 1955, Mobil Oil Corporation in 1966 and Mobil Corporation in 1976.

In the late 1950s, this station featured Mobil and Magnolia signs to capitalize on regional and national brand identification. When Central High Museum, Inc. purchased this property to use as a Visitor Center, Mobil Foundation assisted in restoring the exterior of the station to its 1957 appearance. Mobil's Corporate Archives supplied the architects with the original specifications for the vintage signage, the paint scheme and the gas pumps.



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BACKGROUND

Little Rock Central High School ("Central") was built in 1927 and was the largest school in the nation until the late 1940's. The five story structure sits on 16.5 acres, providing educational facilities to more than 1,800 students and a faculty of 115, most with advanced degrees. Central is one of the largest high schools in the state of Arkansas and the only one located in Little Rock's inner city. Offering 13 advanced placement courses, the school has educated three generations of community leaders in Little Rock and served as an educational base for many "famous" Arkansans. In a survey conducted by the College Board-published magazine "*College Prep*", deans and directors of admission at 33 most selective colleges and universities in the nation cited Central as one of the top ten public high schools for providing "outstanding preparation for highly selective college admission." Over the past decade Central has produced approximately 10% of the state of Arkansas' National Merit Semi-finalists. A Central graduate was named a *Rhodes Scholar* in the 1980's and a *Presidential Scholar* was selected from each of three recent classes: 1991, 1992 and 1993.

In September 1957, Central High School became one of the most powerful symbols of the Civil Rights Movement as President Dwight D. Eisenhower ordered federal troops to protect and escort nine African American students into the school against the then State of Arkansas Governor Faubus' orders prohibiting the integration of the City of Little Rock's flagship school. As the site of the 1957 Integration Crisis, the Central High event has been ranked as one of the "Ten Most Important Events in African-American History."

The integration of Central High School demonstrated the right to equal educational opportunities. Central High School was indelibly etched into America's history of the struggle for racial equality and educational opportunities. Indeed, it symbolizes a defining moment in the history of all Americans. It was then and there that the efforts of nine black children to enter Central High School led to historic confrontation and, in its resolution, fulfillment of the Constitution's promise of equal rights under the law for all people.

THE PARTNERSHIP TODAY

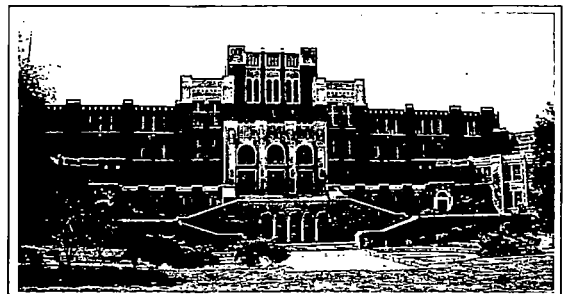
As a first step toward implementing a full public-private partnership for the restoration of this historic landmark, a Central High School Museum foundation has been established. Organized by the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, and supported by a grant from the Mobile Corporation, the museum and a visitor center will tell the story of Central High School and its integral role in America's Civil Rights Movement. Arkansas has long failed to recognize the significance of Central High, perhaps due to fear or embarrassment. The time has come to embrace the significance of Central High School — to create from it a living memorial to the pain that was endured, and the eventual triumph of the human spirit that was born of those events.

As a follow-up to the foundation, the City of Little Rock has established a nonprofit organization to manage public-private partnership proceeds. The nonprofit organization has a fundraising priority of \$8 million from the public and private sectors. Cities all around Little Rock — Dallas, Memphis, Atlanta, Birmingham, Selma — have received international recognition for turning sites of tumultuous historical events into positive, educational destinations. We believe it is time for Little Rock to do the same — by creating a museum and visitor center at Central High.

The effects of this project will rehabilitate and restore Central High School's infrastructure, preserve this monument to racial equality and lay the foundation for rebuilding the community at-large to compete effectively in the next century.

The city embraces the mission of Central High along with the staff and student body and is committed to restoration of this important landmark. We have a responsibility to leave a heritage for the young people of Little Rock — and future generations.

For additional information and opportunities to participate in Central High projects please call us at 501-371-4510.



ENERGY/ ENVIRONMENT

The need for environmental planning is greater today than in the past because of the differences in human values and in the increased awareness and expectations about the environment that many societies have today. The greater size and technological complexity of the modern city also contribute to the need for environmental planning.

We are conscious about the environment and are striving to implement programs that are environmentally sensitive. We are committed to evaluate the potential impacts that a proposed action, such as a new highway, rail system or airport, will have on the natural and built environments of our City.

The City has established a partnership with Rebuild America, a national energy conservation program, in an effort to provide economic growth, the creation of jobs, reduce operating costs and improve environmental quality for Little Rock. Central High has been identified as one of the areas in need of renovation and retrofitting to implement energy efficient programs that will conserve energy as well as protect the environment. Preservation of this landmark is important; it is a symbol of one of the most turbulent and culturally significant periods in American history. We believe preservation of this vital landmark plays an important role as we strive to compete in the global marketplace.

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation needs in the City are diverse and cross many boundaries. It is recognized that the relationship between transportation and land use is especially important. The environment, transportation systems and land use patterns all interact, with changes in one of these parts producing changes in other parts.

In an effort to strengthen urban transportation, an intermodal transportation system is being planned consisting of a light rail system connecting the Central High area with Historic Districts, the business district, and the River Market district. This mode of travel will enhance the City's ability to provide transportation and facilitate the movement of people between activities separated in space.

Signalization for the City's vehicular transportation can be improved by adding a Signal System Upgrade that would enable the City to maintain greater levels of system coordination and have the necessary system support from long-term traffic control system suppliers and developers. Coordination of joint projects with neighboring cities offer regional land use opportunities as well. One project in particular is the River Project-Broadway Bridge Linking that would relieve congestion and accidents. Another example of a regional project includes the construction of a facility proposed to house traffic engineering and operations staffs from the Arkansas State Highway and Transportation Department, the City of Little Rock and Pulaski County. This facility will allow for quick response times in handling traffic incidents on the major roadways throughout the metropolitan area.

Another critical transportation land use area for Little Rock is the unique Slackwater Harbor ("Harbor") facility at the Little Rock Port Authority ("Port"). The Harbor is surrounded by a 500-acre industrial land site with Port railroad service extending just inside the property. The particular cargos and industries which should be served at the Harbor area are heavy bulk cargos which are best handled by rail and water barge and are worst handled by truck and highway traffic. Development of an appropriate transportation system to handle increased capacity is an excellent example of the transportation efficiency at the core of ISTEA legislation.

EXPORT/ ECONOMIC

The emergence of new markets throughout South America, and the surge in demand for American goods in Europe presents the mid-continent of the United States a rich export opportunity. Manufacturing and transportation advantages developing in the U.S. mid-continental states, particularly Arkansas, can respond with the efficiency needed for the United States to be competitive in these opening markets. Furthermore, the capacity for growth in Arkansas, in terms of land and people, guarantees the long-range endurance needed to integrate the major economies of North and South America.

Central Arkansas is unique in this mid-continental development in providing deep-water port access to four major railroads (Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Burlington Northern and Santa Fe) through the Little Rock Port Authority ("Port"). Furthermore, for manufacturing investment, the Port is home to a 1,500 acre industrial park (already supporting 30 industries), its own short-line switching railroad, river terminal operation and foreign trade zone service. Forming the boundaries of the Port is an interstate highway, an International airport, a Slackwater Harbor ("Harbor") and the McClelland-Kerr Navigation System. The Harbor could easily be the centerpiece for connecting the major production of this mid-continental efficiency to the deep water ports of the United States Gulf Coast for export throughout the world.

In addition to the manufacturing productivity, transportation efficiency, and intermodal facilities at the Port, the City of Little Rock, and the region of central Arkansas, add an extra dimension vital to the ability of increasing American export competitiveness. Little Rock has developed a sense of vision and purpose that can sustain, fuel and support the optimal use of the infrastructure described above. A truly internationally competitive intermodal export center can be developed that could connect inland manufacturing productivity and heavy-cargo intermodal efficiency to deep-water ports. This could be supported by a labor force developed out of several distressed communities, including the Central High community, that in turn strengthens the local economy. The leadership of the City of Little Rock is committed to this vision.

INFRASTRUCTURE

“Infrastructure is a big word. But what I’m really talking about are better streets, better drainage and better sidewalks. I’m talking about investing in the foundation of this City that makes both commerce and quality of life possible. We must prepare for the 21st century.”

--Mayor Jim Dailey - State of the City Address - January 1, 1996--

To reinforce the importance of the City’s infrastructure, Mayor Jim Dailey appointed an Infrastructure Task Force and charged it with developing a blueprint for Little Rock’s future. The Task Force studied a variety of issues relating to the maintenance of the City’s capital assets and made recommendations that, upon implementation, will address the infrastructure needs of the City.

As the City embarks upon its comprehensive revitalization plan, Central High neighborhood needs will be addressed. The vision of the infrastructure group is to preserve the existence of the Central High area by developing public and private partnerships that maximize existing resources and maintain an aging but adequate infrastructure.

There are seven primary categories of infrastructure improvements that have been carefully inventoried and specific improvement projects have been identified. The categories include the following areas: parking system, sidewalks, government information system, bikeways, arterial roadways, local streets, storm drainage improvements and traffic signals.

Currently, the City must strengthen land use planning, while also embracing new technologies. Also, to ensure proper coordination of these efforts key, entities in the community will be involved in the long range planning effort.

HOUSING

Housing occupies a greater percentage of land in our urban areas than does any other use. The housing owner:renter ratio in the Central High area is 25:75. One of our goals is to reverse this ratio by improving infrastructure, sidewalks and developing affordable housing programs. Housing is not just a local issue. It plays a role in the national economy and is a component of national social policies. It is the City's desire to create a Strategic Development Master Plan which will serve as policy and provide guidance in the coordination of neighborhood public and private economic, housing and community development efforts through 1997 and into the next century for Little Rock.

Objectives of the plan would include the development of a comprehensive rehabilitation program which would incorporate a mixture of incentives, subsidies and disincentives designed to encourage ownership and discourage displacement, i.e., tax abatements and utility subsidies. Another strategy is to encourage the conversion of large single-family homes to multi-family as a way of increasing the overall density and reducing the unit cost of housing. This, along with other strategies, would help address the problem of deferred maintenance of older houses especially where the owners are elderly or absentee. There is a clear desire to see a mixture of developers involved in new construction: for-profit, not-for-profit and individual owners. We recognize the need to provide a sound investment for all developers. Specific strategies include a low-interest loan pool, restriction of multi-family units to scattered-site distribution, and the development of a comprehensive in-fill strategy.

The timing of this project is not coincidental, 1997 is an important year. Similar strategy formation processes are occurring in other cities, states and regions to deal with new challenges brought about by rapidly changing world, national, state and regional events. These economic and social events and the strategies being developed to deal with them, also have great potential to influence Little Rock's communities and quality of life.

LITTLE ROCK FUNDING PRIORITIES

Central High Neighborhood

1. Little Rock Central High School - Building Renovation Plan \$8,000,000

A renovation plan for historic, Little Rock Central High School has been completed. The plan includes preservation of the structure, building facades, internal systems, plazas and walkways. The final product will result in a modern resource center for education while providing opportunities for visitors to experience a piece of American history.

2. Pedestrian and Vehicle Transportation Plan \$6,000,000

This plan calls for evaluation of all residential, collector and arterial streets as well as a thorough engineering study. Alternative modes of transportation such as transit and bikeways will be designed and constructed to link key elements of the community to neighborhood commercial areas and downtown. The final element of the plan will be the evaluation of existing alleys, streets, public rights-of-way and other public lands to determine if they could be vacated and redesigned for more useful purposes.

3. Public Transit Connection \$47,000,000

Using Federal Transit Administration's planning guidelines, cost estimates have been developed for a rail line serving the Central High neighborhood, Museum, the Arkansas Children's Hospital, the State Capitol, corporate offices in the CBD, hotels, the River Market area and the newly designed River Cities Travel Center. About 2.5 miles of 2-way track would be laid to connect those important destinations. This service will have a connection to the Convention Center, area hotels and will be compatible for connection to any extension of rail to the Little Rock Regional Airport.

4. Public Safety Improvement Plan \$1,175,000

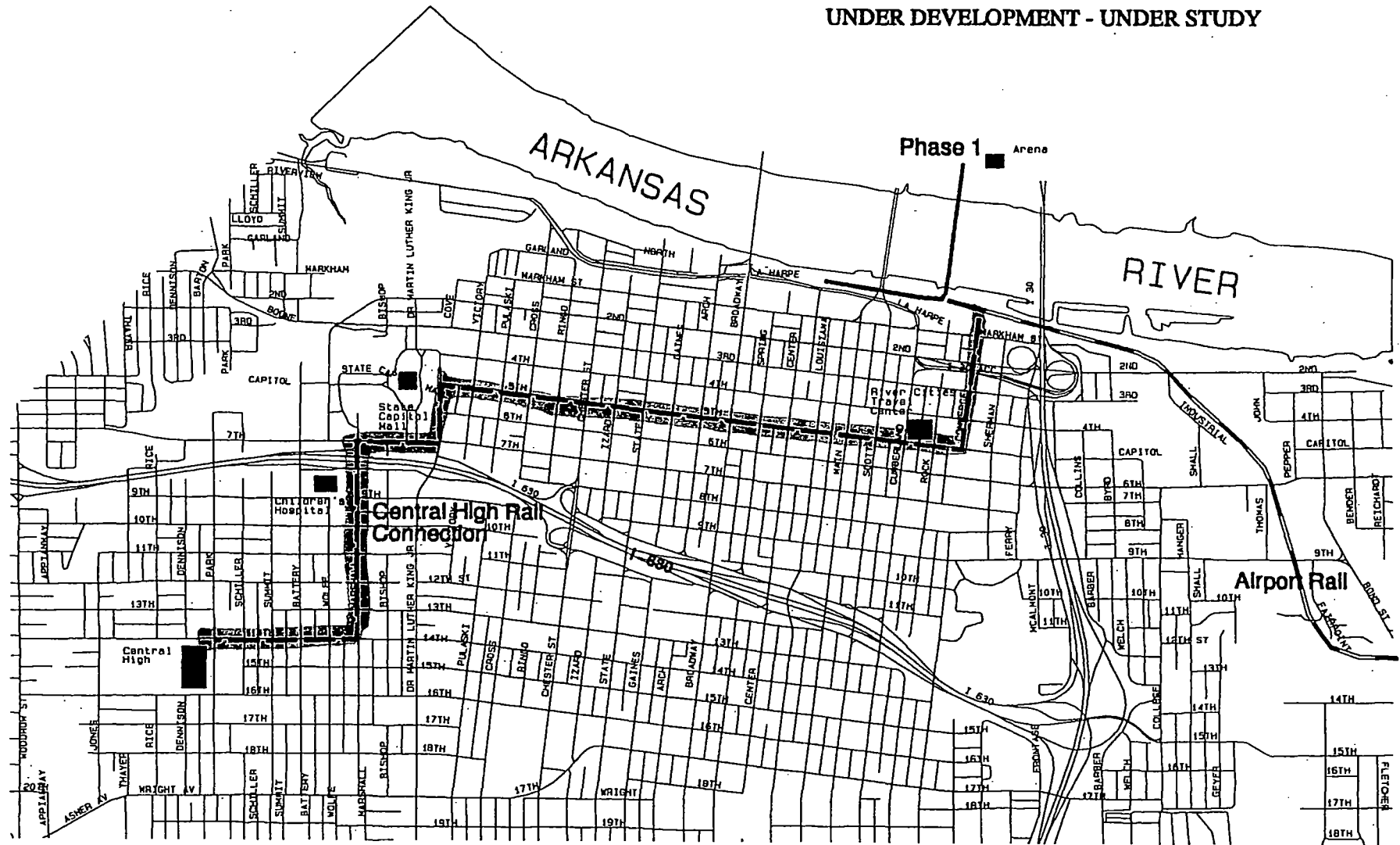
This plan will create a unique and extraordinary public safety package of services and technology. Each residence would be equipped with emergency public safety alert devices coupled with call devices located at strategic points on public streets. High-tech crime watch programs will include a trained, volunteer, citizen neighborhood patrol. Emergency Preparedness Teams will be established to work on emergency issues that may occur in the neighborhood including counseling services in the event of a neighborhood problem, injury or fire.

5. Neighborhood Economic Development Plan \$7,000,000

The economic development plan focuses on two primary issues: revitalization of neighborhood commercial areas and employment needs of residents. A community economic development team, working with the Chamber of Commerce, will complete a market analysis and implement actions to restore economic development activity in the area, with an emphasis on minority owned businesses. An incentive package including grants and loans for entrepreneurs will be developed to assist in the commercial development restoration. A Community Training and Job Center will be established to assess skills and implement a training and employment development plan for each person in the neighborhood.

RAIL/FIXED GUIDEWAY PROJECTS

UNDER DEVELOPMENT - UNDER STUDY



LITTLE ROCK

CENTRAL HIGH

Central High . .

*a global
marketplace
revitalization
model.*

revitalizing a community's economic base. The structural decay of Central High and the socioeconomic challenges facing Central and other Little Rock neighborhoods, threatens to imperil not only the quality of services such institutions offer, but also the future competitiveness of Little Rock and its citizens.

Using this historic school and the surrounding neighborhoods as the springboard, a comprehensive restoration effort has been initiated to develop a strong and diversified community that will address the housing, transportation, education, energy and environmental needs of Little Rock. This effort, in turn, will establish a foundation that creates and promotes economic opportunities for the City now and in the twenty-first century.

This urban design model, necessary to provide Little Rock with the ability to meet the economic challenges of the next century and compete in an interdependent world economy, includes improvements in: housing, infrastructure, education, export/business development, transportation, and energy/environment. With a growing high technology industry base, including a medical/bio-tech community and a well developed telecommunications infrastructure, Little Rock will seize the opportunities of the 21st century by implementing proposed initiatives.

These are important times for America's cities, as local communities are seeking innovative solutions to the challenges presented by greater urbanization and global competitiveness. Central to this effort are priorities to reverse economic decline and to promote healthy and vibrant neighborhoods that form the foundation of economically viable communities. In the search to develop policies that address its challenges, Little Rock's citizens have chosen to focus on neighborhood revitalization to leverage economic development and create growth opportunities for its citizens.

Little Rock is not alone in this effort. Many of the challenges faced are shared by other medium-sized cities throughout the U.S. Thus, implementing Little Rock's strategic priorities and achieving its goals will serve as a model for medium-sized cities to thrive and prosper in the next century.

An example in Little Rock of how this challenge will be met is Central High School. A landmark symbol of the Civil Rights Movement, Central High plays an important role in American History. In 1996, the National Historic Trust identified the threat to the historical significance of Central High School and the consequences for this school if the economic deterioration continued unchecked. Institutions like Central High School create a rationale for