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1. fax	To Terry Edmonds from Robin Bachman (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Sacramento Bee

July 7, 1996, STATE FINAL

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. A9

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HEADLINE: NAACP GATHERS, LOOKS TO STRENGTHEN ITS COMEBACK

BYLINE: Bee News Services

DATELINE: CHARLOTTE, N.C.

BODY:

Under new leadership and with fewer financial problems, the NAACP opened its 87th annual convention Saturday with a pledge to tackle new threats to the empowerment of African Americans.

"It is clearly time to bring a new sense of compassion and a new sense of understanding to our nation," NAACP President Kweisi Mfume said at a news conference. "Few organizations are more ready, willing and able to help create that new climate than the NAACP."

He said the group, which last year suffered from a lack of leadership, internal strife and a multimillion-dollar debt, has been renewed by the need to fight the "national scourge of intolerance and insensitivity." The most prominent examples of that scourge, he said, have been fires at churches across the country, including several here in North Carolina.

A session on Wednesday will focus on the church fires, the same day that President Clinton is expected to visit.

The unanswered question is whether the 500,000-member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People can quickly rebuild and redirect itself into a force that the middle class and the young will follow.

It's a tough challenge because the convention, which runs through Thursday, probably will include explosive, internal debates about trimming the organization's unwieldy 64-member board and consolidating some of its 2,200 local branches.

"The NAACP has to come out of the convention with a plan that will make a difference in the quality of life of families and communities," said NAACP member Ron Brown, a political scientist at Wayne State University in Detroit. "If they get some changes on the local level, it will work its way up. That was the beauty of the civil rights movement -- it was a struggle for local empowerment."

At the same time, the NAACP leadership is not willing to walk away from the group's legacy as the force behind national affirmative action, voting rights

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and desegregation laws.

"I pledge that if I have to give my life, this organization will reclaim its rightful place as the voice of African Americans and others in society who believe people are created equal and ought to be treated that way," Mfume said when he was sworn in as president and chief executive officer in February.

Mfume, who resigned as a five-term Maryland congressman to head the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, has good news to share with members when he speaks to them on Monday.

The organization's debt has been reduced by more than half since Mfume came aboard in February -- from \$ 3.2 million to about \$ 1.5 million as of May, he said. Figures expected this week are likely to show the debt at slightly less than \$ 1 million, he added.

The unanimous selection of Mfume, 47, who overcame a troubled youth to eventually lead the Congressional Black Caucus, was portrayed by the board as a sign of renewal. He was the choice of board Chairwoman Myrlie Evers-Williams, whose narrow election in 1994 led to a board shake-up and spending cuts.

Mfume, laid low by spinal problems for the past two months, will speak to the membership for the first time Monday night.

Both Mfume and Evers-Williams have spoken optimistically about the future of the organization.

Some NAACP members shared the leadership's sentiments.

"Everything seems to be moving in a positive direction," said David Staples, president of the West Volusia branch of the organization in Florida. "It's a slow process, but I think it's working effectively."

GRAPHIC: Associated Press photograph (ran State Final only)
NAACP President Kweisi Mfume, left, shares a light moment Saturday with Myrlie Evers-Williams, chairwoman of the organization's board of directors, in Charlotte, N.C. The NAACP's 87th annual convention runs through Thursday.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 13, 1995

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT NAACP ANNUAL ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you, thank you. I was privileged in the past to attend an NAACP convention. I was privileged to attend regional and state meetings, and I see some of my friends from Arkansas and from that region here. And I have always told everyone that the organ at an NAACP convention makes it better than any gathering you'll find anywhere in the country. (Applause.)

Because, in a sense, it is a revival, isn't it? And it needs to be a revival, doesn't it? You've already heard from two exceptional leaders. I want to thank my friend, my doctor, the nation's doctor -- (applause) -- and to say to Dr. Foster that we saw, in the last few months, a real profile in courage. (Applause.) And we saw an extreme minority defeat the will of the majority.

But you didn't lose, and as you go forth with your message and continue to prescribe for all of us, more and more Americans will realize what they lost because of your defeat. (Applause.) But I know you will not desert this patient. America needs your healing hands and mind, and we are grateful for your involvement. I want to thank Merilee (phonetic) not only for that gracious introduction -- I don't know what you would have said if you hadn't been winging it; that was incredible -- (laughter) -- but I also want to congratulate all of you; congratulate your board and the membership of this organization for your wise selection of Merilee as your board chairman. (Applause.)

She is, as you know so well, a woman of extraordinary talent and integrity. As a young black woman who works in the White House said to me, she is a real shero. (Applause.) And we need, today more than ever, sheroes and heroes for all of us. And I am grateful for your leadership. I was thinking, as I listened to Dr. Foster and to Merilee, that wonderful line from Dr. Howard Thurman, who many of you know of: this is our season to reclaim our hopes.

And it is our season. It is often when night looks darkest, it is often before the fever breaks that one senses the gathering momentum for change; when one feels that resurrection of hope in the midst of despair and apathy. But it can only come to light if we nurture it; if we claim it as our own. This organization, for 86 years, has stood for hope in a lot tougher times than we live in now. (Applause.)

Yet sometimes it takes adversaries and opposition to bring

out the best in us, doesn't it? Sometimes we all get a little tired. We all just kind of want to go tend our own gardens. We all just want to turn our backs on all those problems that we've worked our way out of and been able to get beyond. But then all of a sudden we realize that we are all part of this country together. There is no "them" in America, there is only us, and we have to be part of solving our problems. (Applause.)

I want to express the regrets of my husband, the President. He has, as you may have read in the paper, been dealing with the budget on a minute-by-minute basis, trying to determine what is going to come out of these deliberations; and sending very strong signals as he did the day before yesterday -- that what was done to the budget with respect to human services and employment and education was unacceptable and would be vetoed if it came to his desk. (Applause.)

He also took on the enormous responsibility, which he believed was right, to bring to an end, once and for all, with the hope that God's blessings will rain down upon all who suffered the Viet Nam War, and put it behind us as a nation, so that we can move forward. (Applause.) And then yesterday, he gave a speech that he has been giving in bits and pieces, but put altogether -- the religious freedom speech.

It is one of the most important statements of his presidency, because we have to prevent the kind of extremist, alarmist rhetoric that is too often used to inflame people, rather than inform them. (Applause.) And we have to, as the President said yesterday, recognize the legitimate right of people to exercise religion both privately and publicly in America. And we have to instruct those in authority, particularly in our schools, what is appropriate and what is not.

The President was tired of being pulled aside by people at church or when he went to visit somewhere, saying, you know what happened in my school -- some children were trying to say grace at lunch and they were told they couldn't; or do you know what happened in a school that a friend of mine teaches in -- a young man who was reading the Bible in the cafeteria or in the library was told he couldn't. What nonsense. That is not what the First Amendment is about.

And what the President said loudly and clearly yesterday is, we don't need a Constitutional amendment; we just need to reinject some good common sense so that we let our people practice their religion. (Applause.) And today the President is in Washington, holding a long-scheduled meeting with President Soglo of Benin, West Africa. Benin, as many of you who follow events in Africa know, is making a successful transition to democracy.

And this meeting highlights American support of this leader and his efforts to move toward democracy; and underscores the relationship between our two countries in trying to promote peace in Liberia and democracy in Nigeria. Africa is an important part of the President's concerns in the world. He hosted the first ever White House Conference on Africa. And he and the Vice President actively participated.

It is very important for the United States to remain engaged

in that great continent. And the President is in the White House today, working on that. (Applause.) So although he was not able to attend, I am delighted that I got to. (Applause.) I never consider myself a replacement for my husband, but I do know that there isn't anyone who can replace me, with respect to my admiration for this organization and what it has stood for. So it is I who feel privileged to be part of this anniversary annual convention. (Applause.)

You know, as Dr. Foster said, when one re-reads modern American history, the role that the NAACP will stand right up there at the top of the important efforts that made America freer and more just. You have been America's vigilant, peaceful warrior for racial justice. Even though we still have a long way to go, I shudder to think where we would be today without the brilliant legal and political and moral leadership of the NAACP. (Applause.)

I am delighted to see with us today Dr. Benjamin Hooks and Mrs. Hooks. (Applause.) The leadership of this organization has made it possible for this nation continually to face its problems. You have been steadfast in holding our feet to the fire, the fire of reality, the fire of truth. You have made it possible for this nation to advance, with respect to racial relations. And for that, whether they know it or not, every American owes a debt of gratitude to the NAACP. (Applause.)

But now we have to go forward, don't we? Now we have to think through, what is the strategy as we move toward a new century. We meet here at a time of unprecedented challenge. When historians look back on this era, they will see a time of great change and transition. Whether one calls it the end of the post-World War II era, the end of the post-Industrial Age, we know that we are going through rather significant changes here at home and around the world.

We see the effects of the new global economy, in which jobs and capital and technology and ideas move across borders at lightening speeds. Yes, that holds out extraordinary promise. But it also holds out great question, and for many, threats and anxiety. Because this new economy puts tremendous pressures on our families, our communities, our values. People worry that they will not be able to give the same opportunities they enjoyed to their children.

They worry because they see it every day, that they will lose a job and not find one that pays anywhere near what they were making before. They know that families every day are being downsized out of the middle class. They know that families every day are losing benefits to health care, to pensions, to other necessities of life. And at the same time, they worry about their schools; about their streets.

Now, there is a great debate raging in Washington about the proper role of government as we approach this millennium. There are those who argue strongly that all of our problems in America are personal and cultural. Now, at a level, that is true, isn't it? I mean, if every person in America woke up tomorrow and did absolutely nothing wrong, we would be living in the afterlife, but it would make a big difference in how people behaved, wouldn't it?

(Laughter.)

You hear it all the time. You know if you turn on C-SPAN, you hear it, don't you? These pointed fingers, these admonitions that people just have to act right and that's all that we need to change America. And because those people who promote that point of view think it is only a personal issue, they don't believe government has any role to play. In fact, as my husband often says, these are the people who believe government would mess up a one-car parade. (Laughter.) And anything you can do, just move it out of the way.

Now, on the other hand, there are still the voices of those who say that government is the only answer to our problems -- you know, that the government has to solve everything. If you don't study in school and you barely graduate, the government should still give you a job. If you don't show up to work on time, you don't put in a full day's work, the government should prevent you from being fired. The government should do everything for you.

Now, that view absolves us of personal responsibility. And the people in this auditorium did not get here today believing somebody else was going to take care of all your problems, did you? (Applause.) So as is with most debates that are emotionally charged and filled with more heat than light, this debate is not very helpful. But it's what we hear all the time; it's what the news covers. If you're not into a confrontation, if you're not calling somebody a name, if you're not defaming people's character, well, then you don't get on the news.

If you don't have an extremist answer that you can give in eight or 10 seconds, nobody wants you. So that's what the American people have been fed over and over again. And everybody has a bad experience with government. I mean, you've gone and gotten your driver's license renewed, haven't you? (Laughter.) I mean, we know that it doesn't work perfectly. There's no human institution that does. And yet those of us who have lived long enough and seen what happens to people in their lives, no matter how hard they're trying and how good a life they're leading know that personal and cultural is not all there is, either.

So how do we bring that together? How do we create a third way, a third leg to this debate, that really is where most people live their lives? It's how they make decisions. Well, that's what the President has been trying to do, and it is not easy. It's complicated. I mean, when you have a problem and you say to everybody, this answer and this answer, on both sides are inadequate; we need to come up with something different. Well, then you get accused of not being able to take a strong stand and stick with it, don't you?

Because you're looking for both common ground, but also common sense. And so when you look at some of the policies that the President has been following, what he's been looking for is a way to use government -- not to give people a hand out, but to give them a helping hand; to give them the chance to have opportunities in their own lives; but in return, to ask for responsibility. That is the way we lead our own personal lives. That's the way you try to raise your children. That's the way you try to manage your business or your family.

So the President has, on many fronts, moved to try to create that new consensus, what he calls a New Covenant. His economic policies, for example, have both allowed us to reward working families and maintain investments that will help working Americans. The biggest difference between the President's approach to a balanced budget and the alternative is not that he will take 10 years and they will take seven -- although that's significant. It is that he is trying to use government as a way of helping and supporting people.

So what does he want to invest in? He wants to invest in education and training so that people get good jobs and are able to compete in the global economy. (Applause.) He wants to create opportunities for people who don't start off on a level playing field. That's why he wants to increase Head Start and childhood immunizations and programs that will help a lot of our poorest children. (Applause.) That's why he created empowerment zones to revitalize the inner city and create jobs.

Because we know that if we don't rebuild our cities, we're going to leave too many people behind in this global economy, as we move toward the next century. It's also why, as a Democrat, he said these Republicans have been talking about crime; they talk it to death -- let's pass a bill, let's get more police on the street, let's get the guns off the street. That was a very tough effort that is finally beginning to take effect.

We've been watching these crime statistics. It makes a difference if there are 100,000 more police on the streets, especially if they are community police officers, working with the community to try to prevent crime before it happens in a neighborhood. (Applause.) And I've got to say, anybody who says that this President won't stand up to anybody, where have they been? What is the NRA doing to us if it isn't because he has stood up to them not once, but twice?

No sitting President has ever taken them on. Why? Because they are so powerful. Why did the Democrats lose the House of

Representatives, in addition to what Dr. Foster said? Because not enough people with a stake in the future voted, but also because a lot of those who voted, voted for the Brady Bill, they voted for the assault weapons ban and they were punished. And the people who should have been there standing shoulder to shoulder to get the Uzis out of our high schools and the Tech-9s out of our housing projects, they stayed home. (Applause.)

We can win on these issues. A majority of Americans believe as we do. They want to invest in education and training for better jobs. They want to invest in our children. They want safer streets that doesn't come by letting people run amuck, but instead keeping them under authority properly. And they don't want to spend billions of dollars sending every third young man to prison. They want to spend it on things like drug treatment and recreation, to give young people something to say yes to.

But the majority will not be heard, just as the majority was beaten when it voted for Dr. Foster. The majority that does not vote will lose every single time to an organized minority. (Applause.) Now, what's at stake? You know better than I. Much of what we believe as a nation is at stake. The President's policies are working. They have resulted in an additional 7 million new jobs, just since he was inaugurated.

The unemployment rate for African Americans is below 10 percent, in single digits, for the first time since the Viet Nam War. We are finally putting young men and women back to work. And he's done this not by just talking about making government more efficient, but actually doing it. So we thank the NAACP because you have stood shoulder and shoulder during a lot of these tough fights. I know Merilee was elected chair by only one vote. That's the margin for this President. That's what passes things like deficit reduction and tax relief and crime control. (Applause.)

So please, know that you have already made a difference, but we have so much more to do. As we move forward, it is imperative that the NAACP stay strong. It is imperative that you stand with those who, as Dr. Foster said, stand with you; but that you also inform yourselves and your neighbors and your friends about what it is that this administration is trying to do, because it is a different way. Let me give you just one more example, and it's from foreign policy.

Now, there are many -- in fact, the majority of Americans at the time -- who thought that the President should do nothing about Haiti. Haiti was just down there somewhere, lots of poor people -- let them just stew in their own juices. And if the President had chosen to ignore Haiti, the majority of Americans who don't understand how important it is to restore democracy everywhere, including in our own backyard -- those folks would have been happy because they wouldn't have had to worry about Haiti.

Or if the President had invaded, you know, with all the flags flying, raising the excitement, having the people on t.v., you know, whispering into the microphone as the planes flew over and the missiles landed, and hundreds and maybe thousands of Haitians, and certainly some Americans, were killed, people could have understood that. That fit into one of the old categories.

So what did the President do? He basically invaded without firing a shot. He restored democracy. He gave people's dignity back to them. And nobody can say that we have not fulfilled our responsibilities. But it doesn't fit into the easy eight-second sound bite on t.v. It takes too long to explain coercive diplomacy. It takes too long to explain that this was the first military operation in American history under a single command, and it went off without a hitch. (Applause.)

Nobody understands when things happen differently that break old categories. But that's what you're going to have to do, isn't it? You're going to have to build on the past, take the strength and the values that have made you an absolutely imperative part of American history, but think differently; move differently; be strategic; get back in those streets, knock on those doors, pull people out of their houses, talk to them about what's at stake. (Applause.)

And you have a President who will stand with you, whose commitment to affirmative action and equal opportunity is strong and unwavering. (Applause.) When you look at what is at stake in this debate over affirmative action, it is clear, as the President has said, affirmative action is still needed to remedy discrimination and to create a more inclusive society that truly provides equal opportunity; and that to be effective, affirmative action must be done the right way.

So we have to move forward, but we have to move forward knowing what has happened in the past, thinking new, thinking creatively, in order to reach the same objective. The President recognizes that the Supreme Court raised the hurdle, but they did not make it insurmountable, in setting a new legal standard for judging affirmative action. And he has wisely cautioned people on both sides of the affirmative action debate not to use the court's ruling as a reason to abandon our national commitment to inclusion and opportunity.

While the Constitutional test is now tougher than it was, it does not mean the end of affirmative action. We know that from the experience of state and local governments, which have operated under tougher standards for some years now, it can still be done. And for those who say we want a color blind society, if they are using the term to mean that we want opportunity, where we have a level playing field, where everyone has the chance to compete fairly, then I guess that's what we want.

But do we have it now? No, we don't. Do we want to work for it? Yes, we do. And is affirmative action still part of the work and strategy we must follow? Yes, it is. So if we look at what has happened so far with affirmative action, we need to not only carefully describe what we will do and can do, we have to enlist people in understanding that and implementing it from the grass roots level to the federal government.

But you know, affirmative action starts with affirmative thinking. (Applause.) And that means that every one of us has to think harder and express our thoughts about what we will do to end the scourge of racism, not turn a blind eye, not claim to have a color blind eye, but to actively think through and express what we

will personally do. Now, I believe that if, starting tomorrow, every single adult in America counted to 10 or bit their tongue before they said something stereotypical, before they made a racial slur, before they made a disparaging comment, we would change the atmosphere in which this country now operates.

Now, is that simple? Yes, it is. Is it self-evident? Yes, it is. But until we all start thinking and being more committed to a truly open society where we do judge people by the content of their character, then all the programs in the world will not guarantee that level playing field. So we have a double burden. We have to explain, defend, and institute affirmative action that will continue to work. But we also individually have to start engaging in affirmative thinking.

You can pick up the paper any day, and you can see people, particularly young people, who have already been poisoned by racism, who are already being religiously or ethnically biased. That is one of the great tragedies, and we have to do all that we can to try to eliminate it. Recently, the President also expressed his disappointment at the Supreme Court decision in the Georgia congressional redistricting case.

He described that decision as a setback in the struggle to ensure that all Americans participate fully in the electoral process, one that threatens to undermine the promise of the Voting Rights Act. This President and this administration remain firmly committed to the full enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. (Applause.) But you have to be our partners.

You know, before we came out here, Merilee and Alexis Herman, the assistant to the President who is here with me, were talking about how they remember when they first got their NAACP membership cards as young girls. Alexis said that in order to get her membership card, she also had to get a library card. But as a young girl, she got to carry both around; she felt really important. And she knew, as Merilee did, because Merilee said she carried that card plus her first receipt from the poll tax, until they yellowed with age.

They knew what the struggle was about. And they were able to articulate it based on personal experience. As Merilee poignantly told this convention, now is the time to go forward, not backward; to remember our martyrs and take strength from their (GAP IN TAPE)

If we don't raise our children right, nothing else we do counts for very much. And we need to intensify our efforts on behalf of our children. We need a reaffirmation among all Americans of our long-held belief that every single child has the right and responsibility to rise as far as his or her God-given talents and determination can take them. (Applause.) That is the principle we should be inculcating in our children.

My minister recently gave a sermon in which he related the story of Leviticus, you remember, about the ancient Israelites who annually, ever year, placed all their sins and miseries on the head of a goat, and then sent that goat out into the wilderness, thinking that that would purge them of all that had happened that previous year. When the goat reached the wilderness, the tribe

felt cleansed of all problems, all evils, all sins.

That is an apt parable for what is happening in America today, because in today's society, the goat, or the scapegoat, is poor children and their parents. Somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to a wilderness of greater poverty and hopelessness. Well, you know that that won't work. You know that every child in this country is linked to every other one. My husband and I can do all we can, and we do, to make sure our daughter has every opportunity.

We'll give her the best education she can get. We'll take care of her. But I know that she could walk down the street some day, on the way to or from school, and be a victim of a drive-by shooting because of other children who were neglected and denied their God-given rights to feel like a full and decent human being. (Applause.) But you know, just like Dr. Foster, some of what we have to say about this is not easy to hear.

Parents and families are the primary responsibility. They have to take the lead. (Applause.) Parents, every one of us, have to be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to create conditions within families that enable children to flourish. Young boys and girls need to postpone having sex, and certainly having children, until they are mature and responsible enough to understand their decisions. (Applause.)

Parents with children should think a lot longer and harder about divorce, and put their children's needs and interests first. (Applause.) And child support, as the President has made clear, has to be part of what it means to be a responsible parent. But you know, child support is not only financial. Child support is emotional; child support is intellectual; child support is spiritual. And I want to say a special word of thanks to my old friend, C. Delores Tucker, for speaking truth to power when it comes to what is being fed and sold to our children. (Applause.)

So I come back to where I started. Yes, we have personal responsibility. Yes, we have to clean up our culture. Yes, we should be talking about and transmitting the values that we were raised with. Most of us in this room were raised differently than we are raising our children and our grandchildren. (Applause.) We wouldn't have allowed a person to walk in the door and say some of the things we let the t.v. say for hours and hours every single day. (Applause.)

Fight for this ^{V-chip} ~~video~~* that the President is championing. Make every parent have the right and responsibility to use that remote control, not to turn over their children to it as a babysitter, but to block out the violence and sex that destroys and desensitizes the minds of our children. (Applause.) But just as we can list all that parents and families and individuals must do, all that personally, and culturally and morally we are called upon to do, there are also political and economic problems that we must address together.

You can work, as many of you have, from dawn to midnight every single day. You can work those fingers to the bone. You can do the very best job you know how to do, and then be afraid to let your child walk outside the door because of what waits out there. You can show up for work on time, do a full day's work for 35 years and be given a pink slip and not even a thank you. (Applause.) You know that you can go to school and do the best you can.

I'll never forget, Reverend Gaylord may remember this, because it's the kind of thing that used to happen to me all the time in Arkansas. I'll never forget standing in the living room of the Arkansas governor's mansion when the President and I had invited every young person who was the valedictorian or salutatorian of every high school to come with their parents to be honored. Because we wanted to honor academics as well as athletics. (Applause.) And we stood there for six hours, we shook every hand.

And there was one handsome young black man who came through, and his mother was so proud. And I said to him, I said, well, now, what are you going to do next year? He said, well, I want to be a doctor. And I said, that's wonderful; I said, so where are you going to go to college. And he looked a little embarrassed and he said, well, ma'am, he said, I finished high school, I took every course my high school offered; I did well, I was on the honor roll, made valedictorian; and then I started applying for college and they said the school I went to wasn't good enough for me to be able to compete with the kids from Central High and the big high schools in Arkansas.

Now there was a young man and his family who had played by the rules. It was society that had failed them. (Applause.) And so part of what we have to do is quite blame-placing, quit finger-pointing. There is enough accountability to go around for what's wrong with our children in this country. (Applause.) And you know, you can't roll up your sleeves if you're wringing your hands. (Laughter.) And it's time we roll up our sleeves and we get to work to solve the problems in our communities, our families, and our nation. (Applause.)

And finally, let me just be a bit more personal and return to the subject of faith. Because we can't do any of this alone, can we? We have to work with each other, and we have to know that we're working on behalf of a higher power and eternal values that will guide us if we stray from the path. There's a book that I keep in my office that many of the people who work for me consult from time to time, written by Susan Taylor, the editor of Essence magazine. (Applause.)

It's called, "In the Spirit." And this is a young woman, young by my standards. They get younger every year. (Laughter.) I just can't tell -- if you ever want to make my day, if you ever have a chance to introduce me, just introduce me as a young woman. (Laughter and applause.) So this young woman, this extraordinary young woman, Susan Taylor, she writes, "The most revolutionary thing we can do is to have faith, to hold a positive vision of what we want for ourselves and for our children, and to put energy behind that vision to make it a reality."

Let us keep our expectations and our vision high. If the NAACP does that; if you work through all of the difficult issues you're confronting internally, to emerge even stronger; if you take your message to people who really need to hear it, because you know, this is like preaching to the choir, us talking to each other. But if you have a vision and you have high expectations, people will respond. They will know that you speak the truth.

And if we do that, then together, we will once again inspire that season of hope that will lead to the kind of country we deserve to have and to leave to the children we love. Thank you for what you've done. Thank you for what you're doing. And thank you and God bless you for what you will do for the United States of America. (Applause.)

* * * * *

FINAL

Secretary of Labor Alexis M. Herman

Statement at Swearing in Ceremony

Labor Department

May 9, 1997

Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for those generous words, for being a great Vice President, and for being my friend and supporter.

And thank you, Joe, for reminding us how the Labor Department helps so many working Americans, change their lives, forever, and for the better.

Joseph Brown is my cousin. I have known him since birth. He has told you how the Job Corps helped him learn a trade, and find his way. I have seen him grow into a productive worker, a husband and father, and a source of strength for our family. He has helped us understand that our lives are a gift from God. What we do with them is our gift back.

And I want to thank: the other members of my family who are here today; my champions in the Senate; so many of my friends who are here from the House of Representatives; my colleagues and friends in the Cabinet; Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles and my friends from the White House; the great champion of working Americans, John Sweeney, Richard Trumka and the other leaders who are here from the American labor movement; and so many other distinguished Americans from every walk of life.

Today, I feel that I'm among family -- in more ways than one.

There are so many mentors, friends, and colleagues here today. But let me single out one special person. Ray Marshall, thank you for being here today and for standing with me, in so many ways and for so many years.

It seems like yesterday -- but it was 20 years ago -- that Ray Marshall asked me to come to work here at the Labor Department, as director of the Women's Bureau, with the mission of opening the doors of opportunity for women who work outside the home.

The values we embraced -- economic growth, personal responsibility, equal opportunity, and social justice -- are as valid as ever. The issues we addressed -- from helping displaced homemakers enter the workforce to helping welfare recipients find training and jobs -- are as urgent as ever. And the work we undertook, is even more important than ever.

Let me also say a special word to the career employees of the Labor Department. Lord knows, you didn't come here for the glory, or the money, but you came because you want to do your part, to make America work for working Americans.

And -- to the outstanding team that my friend and predecessor Bob Reich assembled, especially Cynthia Metzler who kept this department running -- we are going to build on the remarkable record that you accomplished.

For everything you all have done, for everything you do, and, most of all, for everything we are going to do together, I thank you.

Let me tell you all: It's great to be back home!

I am fortunate to have found the best job in America -- and I have spent virtually a lifetime preparing for it.

My mission in this job, and my mandate from the President and Vice President, is simple -- and it is central to the agenda of this administration:

- o I want to improve the lives of America's working families. I want to be sure that every American has the education, the training, and the skills that she -- or he -- needs to succeed.
- o I want all Americans to enjoy a rising standard of living, with the opportunity to build an even better life for their children. And I want to make sure that every American will have the rights and respect, the safety and security, they deserve on the job.

These commitments are at the core of my being. They are intrinsic to who I am, what I believe, and why I am here today.

I grew up in the middle of this century, in the southern part of this country, in the midst of a nonviolent revolution in human dignity. I was raised by a single mother who rose from an eternity of odd jobs, to complete her college education, and fulfill her life's dream of becoming a teacher.

My father beat the odds by becoming a pioneer in business and politics at a time when there were few opportunities for African-Americans in the South. Although my parents lived apart, I learned the lessons of a lifetime from both.

At home, in school, and at church, I learned that, after family and faith, the most sacred thing in our lives is the work we do. For my parents, their work not only supported our extended family but asserted their dignity, that society too often denied. For all of us, our work affirms our humanity, and allows us to make our own unique contribution to the world.

As a younger woman, my first full-time job was with Catholic charities in my hometown of Mobile, Alabama. I helped young men from the housing projects find apprenticeships and jobs in the Shipyards in nearby Pascagoula, Mississippi.

Over the years, I had the opportunity to expand my efforts, helping minority women in cities throughout the South and the nation find white-collar and blue-collar jobs. Running my own business, I helped corporations hire, train and keep good workers.

So I can say today, with pride: The work of the Labor Department is the purpose and the passion of my life.

As Secretary of Labor, I will have five great goals:

- o First, to equip every working American with the skills to find and hold good jobs, with rising incomes throughout their lives -- because our companies, and our country need the most skilled workers in the world.
- o Second, to help people move from welfare to work -- because a paycheck is the passport to dignity.

- o Third, to assure that working Americans are economically secure when they retire -- because they have earned it with a lifetime of labor.
- o Fourth, to guarantee every working American a safe and healthy workplace, with equal opportunity for all -- because, as the President says, we do not have a person to waste.
- o And, fifth, to help working women and men balance work and family -- because, if our country is to succeed, then we all must succeed, in our homes, as well as on our jobs.

I intend to be a Secretary of Labor for the new American workforce, and the next American century. That means building partnerships among the business community, the labor movement, every level of government, and community, charitable, and professional organizations of all kinds.

And it means working in a spirit of bipartisanship, with Members of Congress and with public officials from both parties. I have worked with business -- large and small -- and with unions all my life, and I appreciate their importance to a free society and a vibrant economy.

I grew up in a port city and in the shadow of a shipyard and under the tutelage of A. Philip Randolph, and I understand the importance of the labor movement for working Americans. I respect -- and will protect -- the rights of working Americans to organize and bargain with their employers.

I also built my own small business so I understand what it means to compete and to meet a payroll.

In my first week on this job, I've become more hopeful than ever for American business and American workers, the American economy, and the American community.

The unemployment rate is the lowest in 23 years. The Administration and the leadership of both Houses of Congress have reached agreement on a plan that will balance the budget and make new investments in education and training.

On my first day at the Department of Labor, the President dedicated a memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who revived this country's economy and renewed this nation's spirit. A portrait of FDR's Secretary of Labor -- Frances Perkins -- will hold an honored place in my office as long as I hold her job.

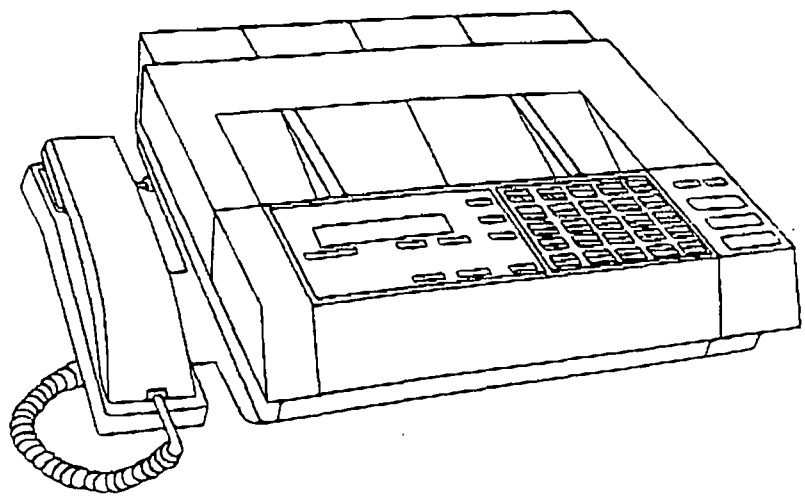
Frances Perkins once said: "We can look forward confidently, if we all work together, to the time when there will be increased profits for industry, with workers receiving fair wages and having better working conditions, and with wage-earners not haunted by fear of job insecurity and old-age want. All this will be a continuing satisfaction for employers paying living wages, for workers receiving them, and for American common sense, vision, ingenuity, cooperation, and native courage."

Together, we can fulfill Frances Perkins' vision -- a vision that I know I share with the President and Vice President -- of an America where every working person, can share in the gains of a growing economy.

God bless all of you and God bless the work of the Department of Labor.



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DRAFT

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
88TH ANNUAL NATIONAL NAACP CONVENTION
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
JULY 17, 1997**

Acknowledgments: Myrlie Evers-Williams; Kweisi Mfume; I also want to congratulate Admiral Kramek, Commandant of the Coast Guard for being awarded the NAACP Meritorious Award last night.

Today, I want to talk about the work that we must do together to prepare our people for the vast opportunities and challenges of the 21st century, including the need to make sure all our children have access to the best schools and best education in the world. But before I begin, I ask that we remember that it was one year ago today that 230 people -- many of them school children -- lost their lives in the crash of TWA Flight 800. We are continuing the hard work of finding the cause of this tragedy. But we know that the families and friends of those who lost their lives continue to struggle with their grief and healing. I ask that we pause in a moment of silence to remember the victims, to pray for the survivors and to ask for God's help as we continue our search for answers...

I always look forward to attending this convention. For 88 years now, the NAACP has been running a courageous marathon for equality and social justice. Americans of goodwill who are determined that we achieve our common goal of building a more perfect union, continue to look to you for inspiration.

One of those whom you have inspired is Bill Lann Lee, my nominee to become the first Chinese-American Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. Bill Lee has devoted his life to social justice -- spending most of his career as a civil rights lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. I want to thank President Mfume and the NAACP for your strong support of his candidacy. We all know he will do an outstanding job.

Last month, in San Diego, when I called our nation to begin a serious examination of the lingering problems and looming possibilities of our growing racial and ethnic diversity, I was inspired in large measure by the example of the NAACP and one of your founders, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. In 1903, Dr. DuBois predicted that the problem of the 20th century in America would be the problem of the color line. But he dedicated his life to working against that ominous prediction. And in 1909, in a tiny apartment room in New York City, he and a small group of black and white citizens looked racial injustice squarely in the eye and determined to organize a "large and powerful body of citizens" to combat it.

The NAACP has become that large and powerful body -- the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization. You began by posing a serious question -- a question that still confronts us: "How far," you asked...[has our nation] gone in assuring to each and every citizen, irrespective of color, the equality of opportunity and equality before the law, which underlie our

American institutions and are guaranteed by the Constitution?" To answer that question, the founders of this great American institution issued a mighty call to "all the believers in democracy." You were the first to call this nation "to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

The echoes of the NAACP's original call are still ringing in the hearts of many Americans. Just a few days ago in Washington, the great scholar, John Hope Franklin convened the first meeting of our Advisory Board on racial reconciliation. I am pleased that Judith Winston has agreed to leave her post as general counsel at the Department of Education, to serve as the board's executive director. She too has stood on the front lines for many years as a soldier for justice. The goal of the advisory board, my goal and your goal is the same -- to help us find a way to make our vibrant and growing diversity, not the great problem, but the great promise of the 21st century. With you at our side, I know we will make great strides in this renewed national effort to build One America. Nothing is more vital to our future and nothing else we do will matter unless we are successful in coming together across all our differences.

With the NAACP's constant leadership, we have come a long way. Through sit-ins and marches, lobbying and legal action, the NAACP has been in the forefront of the greatest non-violent social revolution the world has ever seen. And during the past four-and-a-half years, I have worked hard to strengthen the civil rights protections we all agree are essential to moving this nation forward: From our commitment to mend, not end affirmative action to our determination to vigorously enforce our civil rights laws to our insistence that Congress give us the resources to deal with the current backlog of discrimination claims. We know that a strong commitment to civil rights is not about protecting one group of Americans at the expense of another. Civil rights guarantees are America's great promise of inclusion and fairness and they lift up all our citizens.

In the 21st century, America will face an explosion of diversity. Today, the state of Hawaii has no majority racial or ethnic group. Within the next three years, the same will be true of California. Already five of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. We know what we are going to look like in the next century. The great question facing us is what are we going to be like? We know that we are a stronger, more secure and healthier nation when we unite around our shared values and work together to solve our common problems. Just look at what we have accomplished together during the past four-and-a-half years.

Our economy is once again the strongest in the world. Unemployment is the lowest it has been since 1973; 12.5 million new jobs; the largest decline in income inequality since the 1960s; typical family income for African Americans has increased by \$3,000 since 1992; home mortgage lending to African Americans has increased 70 percent since 1993; a 77 percent cut in the deficit. We have cut the deficit and invested in our people and more Americans than ever are reaping the benefits. We are also building a more cohesive society. Last year, we had the largest decline in crime in 36 years. Murders dropped an astounding 11 percent. And we have seen a stunning drop

in our welfare rolls.

I know many of you did not support my signing of the welfare reform bill. But, remember we fought hard to make sure there was a guarantee of nutrition and health care and child care for our children. And we made sure states would have the maximum amount of money to assist the truly needy. So far, it's working. There are 3 million fewer people on welfare than the day I took office -- and 1.2 million fewer since I signed welfare reform into law. This is the largest decrease in the welfare rolls in history, giving us the lowest percentage of our population on welfare since 1970. We have begun to break the cycle of dependency and elevate our values of work, family and responsibility. But, we still have more to do.

We must continue to work together to help welfare recipients get to the new jobs, which are often outside their neighborhoods. That is why Transportation Secretary Slater and I recently proposed legislation providing \$600 million to help states and local communities devise transportation strategies to move people from welfare to work. And that is why I have enlisted the business community in our Welfare-to-Work partnership that will ensure they do their part in hiring welfare recipients and recruiting others to do the same.

Equal opportunity, equal access to good jobs, racial reconciliation and a renewed commitment to personal responsibility are important to our efforts to prepare our people and our nation for the 21st century. But, today I want to talk about perhaps the greatest challenge we face as we enter the new millennium. The challenge of making sure all our children have access to the best schools and the best education in the world. If we set high standards, expect our children to reach them, and give them the tools and support they need to do so, I know that all our children, no matter where they live, can achieve.

Every child in America has the right to a quality education. Today, more than ever we know that knowledge is power. New technologies and the globalization of communications and our economy require that we acquire new skills and make a renewed commitment to life-long learning. But we all know that too many of our schools, especially in our urban areas are failing. There is a disturbing gap in achievement and attainment between low income students and the more advantaged, between black and white.

This is due in large part to the wide disparity of burdens between urban and suburban schools. Unlike the suburban experience, too many children in our urban schools carry more than their books to school. They carry poverty and the effects of growing up in single parent homes. They carry unmet medical needs. They carry the burden of crime and drugs in their neighborhoods. Many more immigrants attend our urban schools, bringing with them language and cultural adjustment problems. And due to size, complexity, extreme infrastructure problems and the great need for professional development and other priorities, it costs more to run an urban school than a suburban school.

But, while more money is acutely needed in our urban schools, the real problem is the tyranny of low expectations. We know that African American, Latino and other minority students

can achieve at the highest levels if they are taught at the highest levels. But too often in America, students from minority and low income families are likely to attend schools with low expectations for student performance, meager cash resources, under prepared teachers and watered down curriculum. **And 43 years after Brown v. Board of Education, most African American and Latino students attend predominantly minority schools. Let us be clear about this: The NAACP has never wavered from its commitment to a fully integrated society, and neither should the rest of America. We may argue about how to get there, but we should continue to stand together in our determination to end segregation -- in our housing, in our workplaces, and in our schools. As the great Thurgood Marshall once said, "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together."**

Despite the dire conditions of many urban schools, some urban schools are succeeding. Every city can point to schools where committed teachers and staff manage to inspire and equip students with the knowledge and skills they need to achieve at the highest levels. These schools show us that given proper support, all children can learn despite the extra hardships they may carry with them to school. We must spread these successes and challenge more of our children to reach for the stars.

That is why Secretary Riley and I have worked so hard to raise academic standards; to give every student the benefit of high expectations and a challenging curriculum. We fought to pass Goals 2000 and overhaul Title 1 so that every child from the poorest inner city school to the most isolated rural school to the richest suburban school would be taught to the same expectation.

That is why we are fighting right now for national standards in reading and math and tests to measure progress. But make no mistake, standards and tests are essential, but alone they are insufficient. As a nation, we must give students and schools the tools they need to reach high standards. And we must do this for all our children. We must leave no one behind. Education is largely a state and local responsibility, but it must be a national priority. That means all of us must do our part -- parents, community groups, state and local government and the federal government to give our children the world-class education they need and deserve.

Students in distressed urban and rural schools need special help, and my Administration has been working to give it to them. We will keep working to get Congress to pass a School Construction Initiative to help local communities renovate and repair schools that need it, and to build new schools if necessary. Students can't learn in buildings that are falling down, in disrepair or seriously overcrowded. Congress balked at including this in the budget agreement, but we will continue to fight for it.

Our children also have a right to go to schools that are safe and drug free. Fear must not be a part of the daily routine of our children. No child should be afraid to walk to school or walk the halls. And it is simply unacceptable that we have children falling behind in learning because of disruption in the classroom. That is why we have fought hard to keep weapons and drugs out of

our schools. And it is why we have supported parents and communities who want to make school uniform and truancy programs a part of their efforts to improve school safety.

We are also committed to making sure students in poor and urban and isolated rural schools have access to the same information that students in the wealthiest communities have. That is why we are working so hard to connect every classroom and library to the Information Superhighway by the year 2000; to make it affordable, and to provide well-trained teachers who can help our students navigate this exciting new world of learning.

But we know that no child will be able to make use of this technology if he or she has not mastered the basics. That is why we are mobilizing one million tutors to make sure that by year one of the next century, every 8-year-old, wherever he or she lives and whatever their native language is, can read independently by the 3rd grade.

But we must do more, especially for urban and poor rural communities where the barriers to achievement are the greatest. Our nation faces a significant teacher recruitment challenge. Over the next decade, we will need to hire over 2 million teachers because of increasing teacher retirements and an enrollment boom that will bring more students than ever before into our classrooms -- a total of 54 million students by the year 2006. A large percentage of these teachers will be needed in our central cities where the challenge of attracting and retaining qualified teachers is the greatest.

As a first step to meeting this challenge, I am announcing today a new initiative to help recruit and prepare a diverse group of teachers to teach in urban and rural communities. We will offer scholarship incentives for people who will commit to teach for at least three years in high poverty communities, with special emphasis on recruiting minorities into teaching. Our proposal also includes funds to strengthen teacher preparation programs, so that those who go into teaching will be better prepared to teach students served by urban and poor rural schools.

This is a downpayment on what must be greater efforts by all of us to improve the quality of education available to students in our urban and poor rural schools. We can draw strength from the lesson of the NAACP's constant push for educational excellence.

This September marks the 40th anniversary of the integration of Little Rock's Central High. I was only 11 years old when the nation's attention was riveted by the scene of 9 black children being escorted by national guardsmen on their first day of school. I also remember that when others refused to stand up for those black children, the NAACP, led by a woman named Daisy Bates, stood with them and walked with them every step of the way. Today, we must again join hands and walk with our children into a new era of excellence in education. This is a job for every American. And I know we can count on the NAACP to lead the way.

Thank you and God bless you all.

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Integration Forever?

A new generation of African Americans questions the bedrock beliefs of an aging N.A.A.C.P.

By JAMES S. KUNEN

AFRICAN AMERICANS HAVE BEEN DEBATING the merits of separatism vs. integration for a hundred years, since W.E.B. Du Bois took Booker T. Washington to task for saying that the races could best work together apart, like the fingers on a hand. The argument flares and dampens but never dies. So what's surprising is not that it's flaring up again but that it's flaring up in the N.A.A.C.P., where integration has been the defining principle since the organization was founded by blacks and whites in 1909.

For the N.A.A.C.P. to revise its stance on integration is as likely as, say, the Sierra Club's changing its position on wilderness preservation. But the minority of N.A.A.C.P. members who believe that integration is undesirable or—in cities led by black elected officials—unnecessary will be casting a longer shadow than usual as the organization meets for its annual convention in Pittsburgh this week. N.A.A.C.P. elders prefer to see the airing of these ideas as a therapeutic exercise. "What we're trying to do is give these people respect, let them voice out their frustration, and then we state our position and move on," says Melvin ("Skip") Alston, president of the N.A.A.C.P.'s North Carolina state conference.

But these dissenting voices in the N.A.A.C.P. reflect a growing view in the broader African-American community that resources poured into desegregation might be better spent on improving the predominantly nonwhite schools most black children attend. In the past few years, black school officials from Seattle, Washington, to the suburbs of Washington, D.C., have called for the end of—or simply ended—busing. That's because a new generation of African Americans sees the whole enterprise of desegregation coming to nothing as whites move to suburbs that the courts have put beyond the reach of busing orders. Only a third of black students now go to majority-white schools—a higher degree of segregation than

existed 26 years ago, when the Supreme Court first upheld mandatory busing. In these circumstances, the N.A.A.C.P.'s insistence on school integration appears antiquated to many young blacks—a situation that an organization with a median age approaching 50 can ill afford.

So when the New York Times reported that N.A.A.C.P. chairman Myrlie Evers-



TIMES CHANGE: School desegregation is yesterday's news to N.A.A.C.P. rebel Jenkins

Williams expected the delegates to consider modifying the organization's position on integration, the news of an impending controversy became self-fulfilling. Evers-Williams, widow of the murdered civil rights leader Medgar Evers, maintains she was misquoted. "Any advocacy organization must be open to discussion," she says. "But I see no changes coming about. It is an organization that still believes in integration."

But apostate members like Kenneth W. Jenkins would welcome any attention to their position that the N.A.A.C.P. should concentrate on schools in black neighborhoods. Jenkins was formally removed from the presidency of the Yonkers, N.Y., branch by the national N.A.A.C.P.'s directors last year because he

had proclaimed that "busing may have outlived its usefulness." In Yonkers segregated schools have been eliminated. But that outcome came years into litigation by the U.S. Department of Justice and the N.A.A.C.P., which has cost the city about \$37 million in legal expenses. And today black and Hispanic students still test two grade levels below their white schoolmates.

Jenkins has suggested that Yonkers and the N.A.A.C.P. put the battle behind them, sit down as partners and try to figure out how to improve public education for everybody. "This thing is not working," he says. "The idea is not to make bus companies rich. The idea is to enrich the educational opportunity of every kid going to public school. I support integration, but I

don't think integration is the goal. The goal is quality education." Jenkins, 36, acknowledges that his perspective comes in part from not having lived through the battles that followed the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. "The people who were there ... saw kids having to get marched into a school building by the National Guard. They saw a Governor standing in the front door. They felt things that I can't comprehend."

If murmured support for separate-but-equal education is growing more audible within the N.A.A.C.P., it may be because so little progress has been made since those historic days. Says Ted Shaw, associate director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund: "You're beating your head up against the wall until it's bloody. At some point you have to ask, 'Should I continue to beat up against this wall?' To ask that question is not a terrible thing."



LEADER Evers-Williams wants to hold the line.

CHRIS BROWN—SABA

NALAH FEARNY—SABA

The Honorable Alexis M. Herman
U.S. Secretary of Labor
Remarks at Conference on Restoring Broadly Shared Prosperity
The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Washington, D.C.
May 23, 1997

Thank you, Secretary Marshall, for your very gracious introduction and for your friendship, support, trust and encouragement over many, many years.

I am very pleased to be here today with all of you . . . and with two great leaders of American labor and American business, John Sweeney and Thomas Usher. The conversation that we are conducting today among leaders from labor, government and academia, is a perfect example of the partnership I want to promote to improve the lives of working Americans.

I want to express my very deep appreciation to my friend and my mentor, Ray Marshall who is the guiding spirit behind this conference, just as he has been a guiding spirit behind my career. It seems like yesterday -- but it was indeed 26 years ago -- that I first met this unpretentious man with an unshakable commitment to working Americans.

After I left college, I began working with Catholic Charities, helping unemployed young men from the housing projects, find work as skilled apprentices at Ingall's Shipbuilding in Pascagoula, Mississippi. My work attracted Ray's attention and he brought me to Atlanta, to direct a project to help African-American women break into the white-collar workforce. We worked with corporate executives to identify, recruit, train, and find jobs for talented young people.

Whenever I'm feeling too full of myself, I remember my first interview with the Southern Organizations Regional Council, which sponsored the project.

After my interview, I had left my handbag in the meeting room. So I went back and overheard some of the folks who had interviewed me buzzing among themselves. "Leave it to Ray Marshall," one of them said, "to send a *child* for such an important job." Mortified me at the time, though I did get the job -- statement so characteristic of Ray, optimistic in his approach, focused on the future and always willing to give someone an opportunity to succeed.

My first three weeks as your Labor Secretary have been heartening and I dare say that day 23 has been more heartening than the 113 to get here.

On my very first day, the President and I were able to announce that unemployment is down to 4.9 percent -- the lowest rate in two decades.

In the past four-and-a-half years, we have enjoyed many successes in the United States. Our economy has added 12 million new jobs. We raised the minimum wage.

We increased tax credits for the working poor, and we've made pensions more portable.

But we must do more to achieve "a broadly shared prosperity." This afternoon, I want to talk about the work, we all must do.

The world and the workplace are changing, and we've got to make these changes work for working Americans. Technology is transforming business and jobs at a breathtaking clip. New products, new services, and new ways, of working are constantly being introduced, and old ways are being abandoned.

Our economy is part of an ultra competitive . . . and often unforgiving . . . global marketplace. We are competing with economies around the world--including some whose living standards are much lower than our own, and others, whose standards of education and training are substantially higher.

Meanwhile, our population and our workforce are aging as the baby boom generation passes into middle age and nears retirement. No doubt this will put pressure on Social Security, Medicare, and the social safety net. It also means that the baby boomers will work longer and retire later than previous generations. That's going to require more flexible work arrangements.

While non-Hispanic whites will continue to make up a majority of the labor force, most of the new entrants will be minorities. Workers with high skills in math, science and English will be in high demand. Low-skilled workers will find their wages declining. And all working people, will need to keep their skills current, with the pace of change.

The Labor Department must do more than administer the programs Congress assigns -- we must address the challenges our economy creates. We must be a strong and articulate advocate for the needs of all American workers and their families. And we must be the architects along with employers, labor and other organizations to ensure a fair and dignified future for all American workers and their families.

In my testimony before the Senate before my confirmation -- and in almost every speech I've given and practically every conversation I've had since then -- I have presented my goals for the Department:

First, we must equip every working American with the skills to find and hold good jobs with rising incomes throughout their lives.

We must keep faith with the social compact that built our prosperity: If working Americans learn new skills and work hard at their jobs, they will enjoy a better life for themselves, and a better chance for their children.

To keep that promise, we've got to reform and revamp our workplaces, and our systems of education and training. In the new economy, the workers who succeed are going to be those who are able to improve their skills throughout their careers.

That is why the President has kept working to consolidate and modernize job training programs . . . so that workers can easily find the training and development skills they need.

Last week, the House overwhelmingly approved bipartisan legislation that meets the President's goals of consolidating programs and empowering workers, while ensuring quality standards in all federally supported programs. I will be meeting soon with members of the Senate, and I am hopeful we'll continue our progress.

We must do more.

For many years, the Skills Standards Board, an unprecedented partnership including business and labor, has worked diligently. Now, it is ready to deliver a blueprint for the basic skills that every working American needs to be more productive and better paid.

I hope to be the Secretary of Labor who uses these standards to expand opportunity for working Americans. With these standards, business can specify the knowledge, skills, and abilities a worker needs to get and keep a job. And, with these standards, workers can make sound decisions about training --and demonstrate their skills to employers.

My second goal is to help people move from welfare to work.

I understand with all my heart that fulfilling work and a decent paycheck are the two most direct paths to human dignity.

At home, in school, and at church, I learned at a very young age that -- after family and faith -- the most sacred thing in our lives is the work that we do. For my parents, their work was the way not only to support their family but to assert the dignity that society too often denied. For all of us, our work is the way to affirm our humanity and make our own unique contribution to the world.

That is why so much of my life's work has been devoted to helping people move from the welfare rolls to the payrolls. Just this week, I joined the President and 100 leading CEO's at the White House to announce their companies' efforts to create private-sector jobs for thousands of welfare recipients.

We're going to ask more companies to help. We're going to need the help of leaders in our religious communities, charitable institutions and the foundations to help build pathways from welfare to work.

And the labor movement has a part to play: continuing its historic mission of offering training, providing representation, bringing working people together, and lifting the working poor into the middle class.

As I shared with you in my opening, I stood in the parking lots of housing projects recruiting workers for jobs at the shipyards. Many of these workers had no skills and some had never held steady jobs. But -- with the help of Catholic Charities, the labor movement, and the business community --these workers had the chance for high-skill, good-paying jobs with dignity and opportunity.

We need that same kind of commitment and partnership going forward --

Third, I want to assure that working Americans are secure when -- as Walter Reuther used to say -- they are "too old to work and too young to die."

Our Department's responsibility to working Americans does not end when they retire. And our responsibility to retirees is more urgent than ever.

Fortunately, retirement systems are more secure -- and expanding more rapidly -- than ever before. Our mission is to keep things moving in that direction. First, we will continue to educate workers about their savings and retirement needs. Second, we must continue to enforce the laws vigorously, so that employers will understand that they tamper with retirement funds, at their own peril.

Last week, Attorney General Janet Reno and I announced a series of criminal indictments and civil cases against 71 employers who embezzled, stole or tampered with 90 million dollars of their workers' retirement savings.

Most companies treat their workers' savings with respect and care. But those who don't must face the full force of the law. These retirement funds are a sacred trust, and this Department will protect that trust with all the energy and effort we can muster.

Fourth, we will guarantee every working American a safe and healthy workplace, with the rights and respect they deserve and with equal opportunity for all. As the President says, we do not have a person to waste.

When I took the oath of office, I accepted a solemn responsibility that has always been at the core of my commitments -- to uphold our nation's labor and civil rights laws.

A. Philip Randolph was a mentor and a role-model to me, so I understand that labor rights and civil rights are essential.

I respect -- and I will protect -- the rights of working Americans to organize and bargain with their employers.

I will continue the fight that my friend and predecessor, Bob Reich, waged against sweatshops. And I will do everything I can to assure that working Americans need not risk their lives to earn their livelihoods. We will continue to promote international standards that protect child labor but consider this that right here in America, in 1997, on Monday of this week, OSHA announced an historic settlement with an employer in New England who had a 20-year record of violating safety, health, and wage standards. When OSHA investigators visited the work site last year, they found atrocious violations of health and safety standards. Often, a dozen workers were living in a 10-by-60 foot trailer. They had no running water to wash themselves, or their blood-stained work clothes.

One worker lost three fingers in a piece of machinery, and was not given proper medical treatment for more than eight hours.

This company will pay a \$2 million fine. Within a year, an inspector will revisit the plant. If conditions have not improved, an additional \$1.8 million will be paid to OSHA. This settlement creates a deterrent and puts the burden of compliance where it belongs--on companies that violate standards of safety, and not on the taxpayers.

We are ready to work with every business in this country to make every workplace safe and healthy and our new efforts to work more closely with employers to boost cooperation and compliance are paying off. But we also stand ready to enforce the law vigorously when employers violate standards of job safety and common decency.

My fifth and final goal is to help working people balance work and family because Americans must be able to succeed at home as well as on the job.

That is why I am proud the President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act into law, and that is why we will continue to do everything we can to help working Americans make use of it.

And there is one other issue where I hope business and labor will be able to bridge their differences. Many people here today are concerned about proposed legislation in Congress that would provide workers with comp time instead of overtime. I understand your concerns. Every year, tens of thousands of workers are denied the overtime pay they have earned with long hours and hard work. Our Department will continue vigorous and vigilant enforcement of the laws that protect every hourly worker's right to be paid time-and-a-half for working more than 40 hours a week. You have my word on that.

Let me be perfectly clear, working people are squeezed for time as well as money. Our challenge is to find a way to expand their opportunities for comp time, and let me repeat without risking the employees right to overtime pay.

The President wants a comp time bill that gives employees real choice, protects them from potential employer abuse, and preserves workers' paychecks. We want to work with the Senate to pass a bipartisan bill that gives America's workers the comp time they need and deserve, a bill the President can and will sign.

As Secretary of Labor, it is my honor and my obligation to work for an America where every woman and man can find useful work with rising wages. An America that offers opportunity for our youngest people and security for older people. An America where work is honored and justice is done.

Together, we can make sure that our vision of an America that works for working people, will not be a dream deferred.

Thank you again for the work that you do and thank you again Ray Marshall and all of you for allowing me to be here today.

FINAL

The Honorable Alexis M. Herman
U.S. Secretary of Labor
Remarks to the U.S. Conference of Mayors
San Francisco, California
June 24, 1997

Thank you, Mayor Richard Daley for that very gracious introduction. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank you publicly for your fine leadership of the City of Chicago and of this organization. I want to thank you -- and your entire family -- for everything that you have done to make this country great and strong.

I also want to acknowledge Mayor Norm Rice, who heads the Mayor's Task Force on Welfare Reform. Mayor, I value your integrity, your intellect, your deep commitment . . . and mostly, your friendship. I also want to give an early welcome to the next leader of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Paul Helmke of Fort Wayne.

And to Tom Cochran, the Executive Director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors: Thank you for your fine work and friendship. Tom and I have worked closely together over many years . . . and I look forward to doing much more with him and the nation's Mayors in my new role as Labor Secretary.

It is a pleasure to be here in one of America's great cities with one of America's great Mayors: Willie Brown. When I think of Willie, I think of a story I know about the legendary Huey Long. The master of ceremonies at an event was stumbling through an introduction of him and the audience was getting restless.

So Huey Long interrupted, and said, "Just tell them I'm sui generis" -- or, for those of you who didn't learn Latin in Catholic school, one of a kind.

Well, Willie Brown is sui generis -- and we're all lucky to know him and work with him.

I grew up a long way from here but in another port city -- the town of Mobile, Alabama. And it seems to me that, for all of you, whether you hail from San Francisco, from Mobile, or from any of our nation's great cities, serving as a Mayor is mostly an act of faith.

It is an act of faith that the people in our urban communities will find a way to reach across the differences that divide them and become -- as the President urges us to be -- proud participants in "one America."

It is also an act of faith when Mayors -- men and women from rural and urban areas -- come together to forge consensus, form partnerships and make progress together.

My faith in the potential of our nation . . . in our cities . . . in each of us . . . is rooted in my formative experience in public service.

After I left college, I began working with Catholic Charities, helping unemployed young men from the housing projects in my hometown of Mobile find work as skilled apprentices in the shipyards in nearby Pascagoula, Mississippi.

I will never forget these young men. Their hearts -- and their hands -- were aching for the dignity of useful work. And as we offered them education, training, and information about jobs, many of them seized the opportunities placed before them.

In that experience -- and in many miraculous transformations we have all seen in our own lives and work -- there is a lesson for all of us.

As the President says: *When we offer opportunity for all -- and demand responsibility from all -- we can build a new American community for all.*

That is what you are trying to do every day as mayors. And that is what I am trying to do everyday as the nation's 23rd Secretary of Labor.

But challenges remain. We must make municipal governments and municipal economies -- many of which were forged in the Industrial Age -- respond to the challenges of the Information Age.

And we must continue to rise to the challenge of ensuring that all of our cities remain not just centers of our population . . . but centers of our civilization.

For everything you are doing to keep that faith and meet those challenges, I honor you.

After I took the oath of office, I set five goals for our department. I hope these can also be the basis for a productive partnership with our nation's mayors. My goals are:

First, to equip every working American with the skills to find and hold good jobs with rising incomes throughout their lives.

Second, to guarantee every working American a safe and healthy workplace, with equal opportunity for all.

Third, to help working people balance work and family because Americans must be able to succeed at home as well as on the job.

Fourth, to assure that working Americans are secure when -- as Walter Reuther used to say -- they are "too old to work and too young to die." Protecting pensions and expanding coverage for American workers is a top priority for me.

And fifth, and finally, to help people move from welfare to work -- and that is what I want to discuss with you this morning.

President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and our entire administration are deeply committed to helping people move from welfare to work. We already have an impressive record of achievement to build on. In the first four years of this administration, more than 860,000 people have already moved from the welfare rolls to payrolls.

But we are not even close to where we want . . . where we need . . . to be. In order to meet our goal of moving an additional one million people off welfare over the next four years, we must continue to push the administration's aggressive and comprehensive plan.

The economic recovery -- which is manifesting itself in paychecks as well as in stock prices -- is a good start. And, as you know, over the past four-and-a-half years, our economy has added more than 12 million new jobs.

On my very first day as Labor Secretary, I had the pleasure to announce that the nation's unemployment rate hit its lowest mark in 23 years. Later that afternoon, the President said to me: *Well Alexis, what are you going to do for an encore?* The good news continues for the American economy, for American workers, and for American cities . . . with unemployment down by one-third in the top 50 cities.

And, over the past year... with your help, working people's real wages are finally showing a lasting and long-overdue increase . . . and we are finally helping to slow income inequality.

We increased tax credits for low-wage workers. We raised the minimum wage. We want to establish the principle that, if you work 40 hours a week -- and, especially if you have children at home -- you need no longer live and labor in poverty.

There is much more that we must do -- as our President indicated yesterday -- if we are to have broadly shared prosperity.

We understand that we must spread the spirit of opportunity to every community in this country -- from our inner cities to our rural areas.

Through our empowerment zones, our enterprise communities, and other targeted investments, we are working with our nation's mayors to bring business and jobs back to places where it is too often true that, as the sociologist William Julius Wilson has written, "work has disappeared."

That is why I am proud that the Bipartisan Budget agreement includes the investments that will help all Americans find new opportunities for education, for training, and for work.

We are making sure that work does not disappear by adding an additional 250 million dollars to the President's budget and in the Bi-partisan agreement to provide employment training and job opportunities to disadvantaged, out-of-school youth.

We will be able to offer retraining for over 600,000 laid-off workers.

We will be able to increase adult training by 19 percent, so we can serve an additional 40,000 disadvantaged men and women -- many of whom are welfare recipients.

We will be able to continue School-to-Work at the same levels -- so that students in all 50 states and in all your cities will be able to prepare today for jobs tomorrow.

We will be able to serve almost 70,000 young people in the Job Corps, because funding rises 7 percent. Now let me take a few moments to talk -- from very personal experience -- about the benefits of our Job Corps program. I have seen -- through the eyes of a family member, my cousin Joe -- that Job Corps can turn a young person's life around. When Joe spoke at my swearing-in ceremony two months ago, he reminded the Vice President, a packed auditorium of Labor Department employees . . . and his cousin, the new Labor Secretary, that to him . . . and to countless others, Job Corps was so much more than just another government program -- it was a life saver. I want to take this opportunity to remind all of you Mayors that you have thousands of cousin Joes in your cities -- and Job Corps can and will make a difference in their lives.

I am also proud that we -- and, really, you -- will be able to offer nearly 637,000 disadvantaged young people summer jobs -- and year-round programs as well.

All this is important. But we have one important challenge remaining -- to help people move off welfare . . . and on to a job.

For welfare reform to succeed, there must be enough jobs for welfare recipients.

We are committed to help people gain the skills and information to help them get real jobs in the private sector -- and keep those jobs. And we believe that work must pay for any person struggling to get off welfare.

I want to work with you to help our cities -- and our society -- meet this challenge. This effort should be designed and implemented at the local level -- because you know how to make it work. And it should be linked with our department's proven job training and employment system -- because experience has taught us all how to make it work for working Americans.

That is why when the President announced the Welfare to Work initiative, he indicated it would be a 3-year, \$3 billion effort.

And we will fight to make sure that this money goes to the people who need it the most . . . and that you have the control and flexibility to make sure that happens. The President's initiative provides resources to your cities -- in partnership with the Labor Department, the workforce development system, and Private Industry Councils. The effort is coordinated with HUD and HHS.

The goal is not only to create good jobs for people who are hardest to place, but to provide needed services for retention and advancement.

The President -- with your help -- fought hard to get this program into the Bipartisan Budget Agreement.

As we speak, the House and Senate are negotiating and renegotiating the shape of the program as each house prepares to vote on the Budget this week.

The Bipartisan Bill reported from the House Ways and Means Committee most closely follows the President's principles. Funds flow through the Labor Department in two ways: a formula targeted to cities on the basis of need and competitive grants targeted to the cities with the poorest populations. The proposal utilizes the employment and training system, which is directed by you and other local elected officials who have the relationships with your local business community.

The resolution you will consider this morning, and the letter that Mayor Helmke and more than 200 Mayors sent to the Senate yesterday endorses this approach. The details change moment by moment . . . but one thing is clear: your participation is critical.

Moving people from welfare to work is at your door step. I am not unaware that this can be both a burden and a blessing. Your success stories are a powerful tool in winning the battle on Capitol Hill -- and more important, in helping people move into the workforce.

The past few days, I have been meeting with Mayors and learning about the creative programs that are under way. It is clear to me that cities are back!

The proof is in Mayor Rice's Seattle Jobs Initiative, Mayor Morial's "work revival," Mayor Archer's "Detroit Works," and your incoming president, Mayor Helmke's commitment of moving Fort Wayne's youth from school to work. These are just a few of the models of innovation that must be shared and replicated in cities across our great nation. I want to work with all of you throughout the legislative process to maximize our opportunities and our partnership for the future.

Moving one million people from welfare to work in four years will not be easy . . . but I know that it is doable . . . our challenges are not insurmountable if we keep the faith . . . together.

I was raised in the belief that, next to family and faith, the most important thing in our lives was the work that we do.

Work affirms our faith in humanity . . . and gives us the opportunity to make our own unique contribution to our community, our country and our world.

So let me close by thanking you for all that you have done . . . and all that you will do in the future to give every American the ability . . . and the opportunity . . . to a life blessed with the amazing dignity of work.

Thank you. And God bless each and every one of you and the fine work that you do.

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bGore Highlights Administration Tax Cuts That Help Students Afford

To: National Desk

Contact: Office of the Vice President, 202-456-7035

PITTSBURGH, July 8 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Vice President Gore today released a state-by-state analysis which shows that 12.6 million students would benefit from the Clinton/Gore Administration Hope Scholarship and Tuition Tax Credit -- 7 million more than the Congressional versions.

``While adhering to the budget agreement, our proposal provides a substantial tax cut for virtually any investment in postsecondary education and training,'' said the Vice President. ``Compared to the Congressional plans, our tax credits would help more types and ages of students, including older students seeking the education they need to succeed in the workplace. Our plan aims to lessen the financial stresses associated with going to college for students across the nation.''

The Vice President released the state-by-state analysis at a forum with higher education students at the University of Pittsburgh. For example, the analysis showed that nearly 545,000

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students in Pennsylvania would benefit from the Administration's tax package, about 303,000 more than under the House and Senate versions of the tax cuts agreed to in the balanced budget agreement. Discussing the need for expanded higher education assistance with the Vice President were undergraduates, graduate students and adults returning to higher education or going to school for the first time to enhance their job marketability.

Stanley Ikenberry, President of the American Council on Education and a supporter of the Administration's education tax proposal, accompanied the Vice President to Pittsburgh. Ikenberry's council represents 1,600 colleges and 200 higher education organizations and associations.

The Administration plan would cover: part-time students seeking to improve or acquire job skills; students beyond their first two years of undergraduate study; and graduate students. The Congressional plans do not provide comparable education benefits for students after their first two years of higher education, including adults returning to school, graduate students and 3rd- and 4th-year undergraduates. Under the Congressional plans, 5.6 million students would benefit as compared to 12.6 million who would benefit under the Clinton/Gore Administration proposal.

Key elements in the Administration plan include:

Press RETURN to continue, GOLD MENU for options or EXIT to cancel

But, while more money is acutely needed in our urban schools, the real problem is the tyranny of low expectations. We know that African American, Latino and other minority students can achieve at the highest levels if they are taught at the highest levels. But too often in America, students from minority and low income families are likely to attend schools with low expectations for student performance, meager cash resources, under prepared teachers and watered down curriculum. And 43 years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, most African American and Latino students attend predominantly minority schools. We must make sure that all schools in our society meet the highest standards. But we must also recognize the essential truth of what the NAACP fought for in 1954 and fights for today. Separate but equal can never be truly equal. America must never retreat from our goal of a fully integrated society. We may argue about how to get there, but we should continue to stand together in our determination to end segregation -- in our housing, in our workplaces, and in our schools. As the great Thurgood Marshall once said, "Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 20, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND CONGRESSMAN KWEISI MFUME
AT THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY FOR
THE HONORABLE KWEISI MFUME AS
PRESIDENT AND CEO OF THE NAACP

Great Hall
Department of Justice

12:38 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Myrlie Evers-Williams, for your introduction, for your remarks, and most importantly, for your willingness to take on what appears to be a thankless and could well have been a no-win situation in seizing the helm of the NAACP and helping to bring it to this moment of great celebration and unity. The entire nation is in your debt and we thank you. (Applause.)

To the distinguished members of Congress, the Mayors who are here, the clergy, members of the administration; to the young people who have performed, and the family of Congressman Mfume. Kweisi told me today before we came out that this is a celebration of rebirth and renewal. And the Vice President and I were standing there amidst his -- four of his five strapping young sons; the other is in school or he would be here, showing that he still has his priorities in order -- (laughter). He said, this is going to be a celebration of rebirth and renewal. And so I have given this over to the young people -- and to Roger Wilkins. (Laughter.)

And I must say, as I heard Jaimie speak, and as I heard Jason speak for the Arkansas contingent here, and as I heard Ayinde speak -- by the way, I memorized that poem and I never spoke it half that well. (Laughter.) And then I heard the Morgan State Choir sing, I thought this really is about rebirth and renewal and energy and youth. And I kept cutting my speech shorter and shorter. (Laughter.)

I just want to make a couple of brief points. This country does still need the NAACP. Oh, we are here in the Justice Department today because of what the NAACP has meant to us. When I was the age of these young people here, I can remember what it was like, still, to have

a church burned in your home state, to have people intimidated away from pursuing their legal rights.

We are here because of what the NAACP has meant to America. To me and to Al Gore, growing up as white southerners in the South -- we love the NAACP. It made us believe that something good was going to come at the end of the civil rights struggle. It made us believe that we could all live together and grow together. But we know today in this age of incredible possibility for our country, when we have the African American unemployment rate in single digits for the first time in 20 years, 100,000 new African American owned businesses -- we know still that more than half our people are working harder just to keep up.

We know still that, as we glory in these young people being in college, that the college-going rate is going up, but the college-going rate among young people who come from the poorest fifth of our families has leveled off and going down because of the costs. And we know we must never go back to the days of the black church bombings, the other terrible acts of racial terrorism.

And so I want to say, too, we need the NAACP today not only because there are still economic problems and elementary social divisions. We have to do everything we can to see that we determine in this Justice Department who created these recent crimes and all of us stand together against any kind of return to that. (Applause.)

Let me say that as I look across this crowd and I see so many people -- I don't want to call names, but I want to say just one thing about our public life. I see Reverend Jackson and Mrs. King and Dexter and Congressman and Secretary Kemp standing there, sitting there. One of the men who wanted to replace me in the presidential election this year had to undergo the agony of having leaflets passed out against his Asian American wife. That is wrong. We still need the NAACP, and no party can tolerate that sort of thing. And none of our people should. We're all the same in this country and we still haven't learned that yet.

If you look at where we are and where we're going, we can never create opportunity for all Americans who are willing to assume the responsibility to seize it unless we determine to go into the future together. That's what the NAACP must remind us of. That is the great lesson of America, and unfortunately, not every American has learned it yet. And until we all learn it and live by it, we will need to NAACP.

Let me also say that when Kweisi called me to tell me that he was going to take this job, in the words of the old country song, I didn't know whether to kill myself or go bowling. (Laughter and applause.) I had become almost emotionally dependent upon him being in the Congress -- (laughter) -- supporting me when I needed it, reprimanding me when I needed it, whether I knew it or not. (Laughter.) I never have much time for television, but whenever I channel-surfed and saw him doing his talk show on television, I always stopped and marveled at how well he related to all those different kinds of people.

He is a uniquely gifted man, with a personal history that shimmers with the promise of America and the possibility of personal renewal and the virtue of never giving up on yourself

or your family or your common possibility.

I can't help but say that in the continuing struggle we have to rescue our young people, when you see these young people, you know there is nothing that they cannot do. And when you see so many others we are losing -- when the crime rate goes down in America, the juvenile violence rate goes up; when drug use goes down in America and drug use among juveniles goes up -- you ask yourself, there's got to be something wrong here when not all of our children don't do this and don't have these opportunities and don't shimmer with their own energy and integrity and possibility. That's what Kweisi Mfume will help to bring to America through the NAACP. (Applause.)

Because he is a Congressman from Maryland and we have so many of his colleagues here, I think we must also say that a lot our hearts were broken when those eight young Job Corps trainees from Maryland perished in the train crash just a few days ago. Like most of you, I sat there, a helpless citizen, watching it on television, thinking about all of the promise of those children. But let me remind you that they were given a chance, and we should remember them and honor them by determining to give every child who needs a chance the chance they were given. And that is why we need the NAACP and why we need Kweisi Mfume to lead it. We should honor that. (Applause.)

Let me finally say that his constituents have given him the greatest recommendation possible for this job in what is going on in the effort to succeed him. (Laughter.) You can tell how good a person is by whether others want to do what he once did, or she once did. We had a mayor in my home town once spend his entire term offering to fix parking tickets in nongrammatical ways. And when he left office, it took us months to find anyone to run. (Laughter.)

When he announced he was leaving 32 people showed up. (Laughter.) It's almost impossible to sort out the election process. It's a great tribute to the standard of public service set by this Congressman. I am laughing about it; I am dead serious -- 28 Democrats and four Republicans showed up because they know it means something to represent the American people in the United States Congress because of the way he represented the people of his district. (Applause.)

So I say to you, my fellow Americans, as someone who is in the personal debt of the NAACP, and as your President, we need the NAACP. I thank every person here who worked here with Myrlie to bring it back together to this point, to shed the old baggage and to go forward with a clear mind and a free heart. And I thank my good friend Congressman Mfume for his willingness to lay down his political career for even higher public service.

It is a wise choice. It will give us a better future. And we are all here to celebrate as I ask the Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals, Judge Harry Edwards, to come forward and administer the oath to the new President and CEO of the NAACP.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

(The oath is administered.) (Applause.)

CONGRESSMAN MFUME: God is good -- all the time.

President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Attorney General Reno, Chairwoman Myrlie Evers-Williams, Honorable elected officials, and in particular, Senator Mikulski, Senator Sarbanes, Congressman Cardin and Mayor Schmoke. Distinguished members of the clergy, members of the NAACP board, ladies and gentlemen. It is a high honor and a distinct privilege to stand before you this morning as President and CEO of the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization.

Mr. President, it is particularly pleasing, as was noted, that both you and Vice President Gore have made time in your busy schedules to join us. Our friendship over the years has been one of mutual respect and mutual admiration, and a shared commitment for equal opportunity and equal justice under the law for all Americans, regardless of race, creed, religion or ethnicity.

I'm going to ask if you would indulge me that we again salute our Vice President, who, as was introduced earlier but who I'd like to also indicate, deserves a special salutation because of his friendship as well. Vice President Gore. (Applause.)

To Myrlie Evers-Williams, I stand here and happily salute you for your dedication and for your courage as my chairwoman, my leader and my friend. You are indeed a Renaissance woman, and ours is a team for the future. (Applause.)

To my family members who are gathered here today, and in particular, to my sons, thank you for allowing me to be of service to other people. When I think of the many days and the many nights that we didn't have enough time to sit down longer and share a meal together, or watch a good movie, or go and deal with a home assignment, because I was out at a meeting, or speaking at an event, or working at the office, I realize even more how much a sacrifice each and every one of you made in sharing your Dad with everyone else.

Donald, Kevin, Keith, Michael, and Ronald, who is taking an examination at this hour, you all are the love of my life. (Applause.) You are the reason that it has all been worthwhile. And if God chose to give me nothing else in life, the five of you represent a gift for which I will be forever grateful. (Applause.)

Before I begin my formal remarks, allow me, if you would, to thank two personal friends. One is the gentleman who entered my life pretty much after I was orphaned and motherless and, in many respects, fatherless, who took me in and treated me as if I was his own child, who let me eat from his table, who found me employment, who told me always to look straight ahead and never to look back. He has come here from Miami, Florida -- and, Jim Sears, would you please stand for just a moment. (Applause.)

The other person is a personal friend who also joined us this morning. Earl Graves is the publisher of Black Enterprise Magazine, and a fellow Morgan alumnus and, in many

respects, the big brother than I never had. His help and his wise counsel throughout the process leading to the acceptance of this new position, in many respects, has made today possible. And, Earl, would you please stand for just a moment as well. (Applause.)

My thanks to all of you who gathered here for this ceremony, and those who have meant so much over the years, those of you who are white and Hispanic and Asian and Jew and Native American, those of you who have come from the North and the East and the South and the West to the Justice Department, know that we have chosen this place carefully.

We are here today because there was a time in our nation's history when the descendants of Africa were not allowed into the Justice Department, when we had to learn as too many others often knew that justice deferred was justice denied. And we come here also because, as an organization of people believing in the possibility of man, we will continue to insist on equal justice and equal treatment under the law for all of America's citizens.

The NAACP is at a crucial point in its history. In fact, and perhaps, it is at the most critical point. The focus for rebuilding this organization must be on developing new and effective ways of involving young people. It must focus on voter empowerment, which has as its components voter registration, voter education and then voter participation. It must focus in these new days anew on educational excellence and individual responsibility. And it must create an infrastructure for economic and social parity for all of America's people.

And so there is much work to be done and, indeed, the time for such work is now. The NAACP will reclaim its voice as the rightful place of African Americans and others who believe in the power and the premise that all people are, in fact, created equal. We will accomplish this by reinvigorating the age-old concept of coalition building, where people work together for the common good and values become the centerpiece of our lives.

The task ahead is significant. The extreme, ultra-conservative policies of the far right wing in our nation are draconian, they are punitive and they are backward. They are policies that punish the elderly, restrict the poor and deny opportunity to our children. Those policies must be countered with effective and realistic responses that reflect our need as a society for inclusion and for tolerance.

Similarly, policies borne out of the guilt or the misdirected compassion of the ultra left that seek as their sole objective the maintenance of the poor are equally punitive and just as backward. If we have learned nothing else over the last 30 years it is, in fact, that the poor must not be maintained, they must be transformed. (Applause.)

Part of that transformation must also lie in the importance that we place on individual talent, individual achievement and individual responsibility -- and also, the importance that we place on families. As President of the NAACP I commit to you that racism and sexism and anti-Semitism will not be allowed to enjoy a comfortable and quiet acceptance. Bigotry, whether black or white, will be deemed as unacceptable and indefensible. The damaging divisions brought on xenophobia will not be allowed to color our thinking about those who come to our shores in search of a better life. Discrimination and intolerance of other Americans because of

their religion or orientation will not find comfort. Fear, which often finds its incubator in our refusal to stand up for what is right, will forever be challenged by a new NAACP, reunited and reinvigorated, standing at the threshold of change. (Applause.)

Clearly, the job before us will not be easy. There are new obstacles, and new problems that in their existence create new diversions. Red-lining in black and Hispanic communities that deny hard-working people the right to buy a home because they are judged not by their credit record, but because of their zip code, cannot be allowed to continue. Child abuse, drug abuse, which run rampant too often in too many communities, must be confronted. Access to capital and credit, the greatest imperative to minority economic business development, must be talked about and thought about on a national level so that we make national change. Despair and cynicism in the eyes of young people because they feel they are not included and their ideas don't count can't be allowed to take hold.

The time is also now for this organization, understanding then new obstacles and the new diversions, to right itself on a course that will ensure its future. So the time is now to restore the financial, spiritual and political health of this historic American institution. Financially, we need your help and we need your support. Dollars are needed immediately to help us end the red ink and to become soluble again. Today I am asking at this podium and from this juncture that all who care about the need for an NAACP that will bring people together and heal the divisions in our society to take out new membership or to renew and old membership. And for those who can do more, I ask that you donate to us in whatever amount you can. But make no mistake about it: I have said, and I will continue to say, there will be change. It will be swift, it will be focused and it will be constructive.

Efficiency and fiscal integrity within our organization will not be a concept. It will be, as Mrs. Evers-Williams has noted, a way of life, a reality. The time is now also for a new generation to step forward and to join the NAACP. While maturity and experience are valued, we must also learn to cherish youth. (Applause.) I have said and will reiterate today that it is the development of such youth which will continue to be my overwhelming priority. The development and reinvigoration of our branches and our college chapters will be among my highest priorities. Failing to develop roles and responsibilities for our young people will certainly ensure our failure later on.

Our branches, throughout this country 2,200 strong, are the lifeblood of this organization. When times got tough and friends got few, they never lost the faith. They continue to work in their communities and in their churches, to carry forth the historic mission of the NAACP. They continue to find us new members, and they challenge all of us to find new hope.

Those branches are important, but how they operate is even more important. So I say to all of you who are working across this country in NAACP branches, understand your own reality. Many of our branches are on the threshold of generational change. You must not resist it. You must embrace it. (Applause.) Just as others of a previous generation once embraced us, we must make room for the young. We must allow for new blood and for new ideas to become a part of our development. Young people in our communities want to be involved, but they want to be involved in real and meaningful ways.

So I challenge you then in our branches across this nation to go out and to find them, to recruit their energies and their talents, to give them real roles and real responsibilities, and at the end of the day, to hold them accountable as you should and as you must. It is out of dedicated actions such as that that we ensure our collective relevancy as an organization.

The NAACP has a proud history, filled with major accomplishments, as you heard, that have changed America forever. The lives of citizens who are black and white and Asian and Hispanic and Latino and Native American have been made better because of it. And yet our country still, in many respects, is in desperate need. The choice many of us face today is whether to stand by and to watch in the comfort of our own circumstance, or to step forward and dare to get involved.

In his renowned chronology of the NAACP, looking at just the period of 1909 to 1920, Charles Kellogg began his historical work with this observation -- and I quote. He said "In the first decade of the 20th century, few voices were raised in defense of the Negro and of his rights as a citizen of the United States. Reactionary attitudes about race had been strengthened. And by 1909, the civil rights gain during Reconstruction had been severely limited. The prevailing attitudes toward the Negro were reflected," he said, "in the sensational press, in the hate literature, in the periodicals of the intellectuals in court decisions reinterpreting the 14th and 15th Amendment," and he said, "in the legislature."

Eighty-seven years later, in the last decade of the same century, few voices are again being raised in defense of African Americans and their rights as citizens of the United States. Reactionary attitudes about race, regrettably, continue to be strengthened. Civil rights gained during the second Reconstruction have also been severely limited. And the prevailing attitudes toward minorities are still reflected in the sensational press, in the hate literature and in the periodicals of the intellectuals, as well as in the decisions of the courts.

Only a strong, revitalized and focused NAACP can accept then the realities that were present in the first decade and readjust to the challenges still present in the last decade of this century. And so, then, it is in the interest of all people that we succeed in creating a new hope, a new opportunity, a new dignity, a new horizon, a new chance for each and every American.

I ask that all who care about what's fair and decent in this nation join me under this banner to begin that journey for change. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

1:15 P.M. EST

July 9, 1996

APPEARANCE BEFORE THE NAACP CONVENTION

DATE: Wednesday, July 10, 1996
TIME: 1:30 pm
LOCATION: Charlotte Convention Center
Charlotte, NC

FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

To give remarks at the NAACP Annual Convention. This is an opportunity to expand on the President's commitment to national unity and civil rights.

II. BACKGROUND

The NAACP was founded in 1909 and is the oldest civil rights organizations in the nation. It has over 2,200 branches, covering all 50 states. The organization is chaired by Mrs. Myrlie Evers, the wife of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers. She was elected in the spring of 1995 by one vote. Former Congressman Kwesi Mfume is the organization's president. He was elected to the post in a surprise move in February 1996. You participated in his swearing in ceremony at the Justice Department's Great Hall on February 20, 1996. Together, these two leaders have restored credibility to an organization that had fallen on bad times because of controversy surrounding its past leadership.

The NAACP has been big supporters of your administration on numerous policy and legislative issues. The organization assisted us on several of your sensitive nominations including Dr. Henry Foster and Bill Gould, your NLRB Chair. They are very supportive of your efforts to stem the church fires and have publicly applauded you for the way that you have handled the matter. Your appearance at their convention will present you with an excellent opportunity to expand on your national unity remarks. It will also allow you to express your support for voting rights and other policy initiatives aimed at the poor and disenfranchised. Jesse Jackson and Bob Dole addressed the group on Tuesday.

The First lady gave a rousing speech before the organization at last year's convention in Minneapolis. She gave an upbeat unifying message that underscored your commitment to affirmative action and health care. She challenged the NAACP to launch an unprecedented campaign to register African American voters and urged the organization to rally voter turnout in record numbers this fall.

While the NAACP continues to support you on key issues, they are adamant about you holding the line on affirmative action. Additionally, the organization remain very interested in your views and priorities concerning welfare reform and health care.

III. PARTICIPANTS

7,000 People, including NAACP members, business leaders, and political leaders at the local, state and federal levels.

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

V. PRESS

Open Press

VI. REMARKS

Speech Writing

Rev. Hill -

adds letter ratings -- S, V, L, D and FV -- for sexual content, violence, coarse language, mature dialog and fantasy violence.

I applaud the industry and parents/groups who have worked so hard to reach common ground. As with any new system, we should now give this solution -- together with the V-chip -- a chance to work.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

For Immediate Release

~~September 25, 1996~~

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE ~~PITTSBURGH AREA~~

Robert Morris College
~~Coraopolis, Pennsylvania~~

11:30 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. Thank you, Secretary Rubin. First let me start with first things first -- thank all of you for showing up and thank you for your enthusiasm and your warm welcome. It's good to be back in Western Pennsylvania. (Applause.) Thank you.

Thank you, Secretary Rubin, for your great leadership on economic policy and for your remarks here today. Thank you, Congressman Frank Mascara, for representing the people of Western Pennsylvania so well and for being what we need more of in Washington -- a genuine gentleman and an honest public servant who really cares about the people here. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Thank you, Tony Gliozzo, for your fine remarks. I wish you well. I'd let you be President if you'd let me be 22 again. (Laughter and applause.) I'd take my chances. (Laughter.) I was talking to Tony about his studies here at Robert Morris, his career ambitions. Every time I have a chance to meet with young people in America it reenforces my faith about our future, and I thank you for being up here with us today.

I'm delighted to be joined by Pittsburgh Mayor Tom Murphy, and Allegheny County Commissioner Mike Dawida. Thank you both for being here. (Applause.) And there are a lot of others here -- I don't want to get into a name-calling contest even in a positive way, but I want to thank my good friend, the former mayor of Pittsburgh, Sophie Maslaw (phonetic), for being here. (Applause.) And George Becker, the President of the United Steelworkers, thank you, George, for being here. Ron DiNicola is here. I thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

And Dr. Nicholson, thank you for welcoming us to Robert Morris, sir. We're delighted

to be here.

I never had a bad day in Western Pennsylvania. I always love coming here. (Applause.) But I know that for many people this is a sad day in the Pittsburgh area because Jim Leyland is managing his last home game for the Pirates today. And after 11 years and three division championships, a man who worked hard and never tried to grab the credit, and built a quiet reputation as one of the best people in baseball, let me just say I admire him and I wish him the best. And I know all of you do, too. (Applause.)

As has already been said by Tony, Robert Morris was one of the most important financiers of our American Revolution. He was the first budget balancer, also. He actually resigned from the Continental Congress in 1778 because he thought they were printing too much worthless money. And because of his own economic achievements, he was really one of the founders of the remarkable American economy, which has sustained us and because the envy of the world over 220 years.

All of you here who are students and teachers and who work in other ways at Robert Morris are carrying on that spirit by studying business and working hard to prepare yourselves for the remarkable opportunities of the 21st century.

Today I want to talk to you for a few minutes about the subject that Secretary Rubin mentioned -- how we can provide greater opportunities for Americans to save, to increase investment growth and personal security. And I want to do it in the context of how we can build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong American economy that every person who is willing to work hard has a fair chance to participate in and to benefit from.

Four years ago, just before the presidential election, I came to Pittsburgh -- just about four days before the election -- and said that I had entered that campaign because --and I'd like to quote -- "I didn't want my daughter to grow up to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than her parents; because I knew we could do better with more opportunity and more responsibility and a stronger American community." Well, today I'm here to tell you that I'm not worried about that anymore because America is on the right track and our children are going to do better. (Applause.)

Four years ago our economy was stalled, new job growth was the slowest since the Depression, wages had been stagnant for half the work force for nearly two decades. Our working people were becoming more divided economically. The deficit was at an all-time high; the debt had been quadrupled. Cynicism was rising. Our people were working harder and harder just to keep up. I was determined to give us a new direction.

We put in place the comprehensive economic strategy that Secretary Rubin discussed. It was, quite simply, cut the deficit, open more markets to American goods and services and investment; invest in education; invest in new technologies and research; protect the environment

in a way that grows the economy and creates the opportunities of tomorrow. And do it in a way that keeps the American people coming together, not drifting apart.

Now, we are moving in the right direction. Unemployment has been cut by a third -- it's the lowest it's been in 7.5 years. The combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and mortgages are the lowest in 28 years. Our economy has produced 10.5 million new jobs, about 200,000 of them -- just under 200,000 here in Pennsylvania. Our auto industry leads the world again, producing and selling more cars than Japanese automakers for the first time since the 1970s. Something I'm proud of. (Applause.)

In each of the last three years -- we don't have the '96 figures yet, but in '93, '94, and '95, we set new records in the exports of American products, and new records in the formation of new small businesses. Now eight million businesses are owned by women in America, an all-time high. (Applause.)

Homeownership is at a 15-year high. And in the industries that will dominate the new century, from semiconductors to airlines, America is leading the way. Of the new jobs created in the last 3.5 years, more than half of them are in high-wage industries. That also breaks a pattern of the recent past -- more of our new jobs are good jobs. And after falling for a decade, real hourly wages, the thing that shows up in the paycheck of the average worker -- those wages are finally starting to rise again.

In addition to that, inflation in health care costs is finally coming down, nearer the rate of inflation of the economy as a whole. Last year it was just under four percent, a 23-year low. This year in the first six months, it's running at about two percent per year and could actually finish below the overall rate of inflation for the first time in anyone's memory.

So I say to you the country is moving in the right direction. But Pittsburgh, America's industrial heartland, are also rebuilding. Over the past four years, the unemployment rate has dropped by a third, to five percent -- slightly under the national average. Today, 2,400 high-tech companies employ over 90,000 people in the Pittsburgh. Thousands more manufacturing companies use high-tech and employee creativity to make old products in new ways. With specialty steel, biotech computer software, and environment technologies, Pittsburgh will be at the heart of America's 21st century economy. (Applause.)

Now, it pleases me greatly to see our country and this community and this area moving on the right track to the 21st century with confidence and conviction. But there is more to do, and we must press forward. We can do better, and we must, if we want to give all Americans who are willing to work for it the chance to benefit from economic opportunity -- and if we want to grow faster so that living standards can keep rising again after being stagnant for nearly 20 years for too many of our fellow Americans.

What else can we do? Well, let's take first things first. You heard what Secretary Rubin

said. More than ever before, the private sector is the engine of economic growth. I am very proud that 93 percent of the new jobs created in America in the last four years have been in the private sector. That is the highest percentage in a very long time. I am proud of that. (Applause.)

We have -- we've downsized the government by about 250,000. It's the smallest it's been now since John Kennedy was President. As a percentage of the civilian work force, your federal government is the smallest it's been since 1933 when Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office. We have not done this with big government programs, we've done it with targeted, strategic policies working with the private sector to grow this economy. And we have to continue.

You heard what Secretary Rubin said about the conditions of growth. When we cut the deficit by 60 percent -- and I might add, this will be the first time that an administration has cut the deficit in all four years of its term since John Tyler was President of the United States in the 1840s, before the Civil War. (Applause.)

For all of you here who have been so supportive of me, I have to tell you, the bad news is John Tyler was not reelected. (Laughter.) But it was still a good thing that he did. And it's too bad it took 150 years to do it again. I'm determined to keep going until we balance the budget and do it in the right way. (Applause.)

Now, I want to take just a minute to talk about this because I have to tell you, back in Washington, where political consultants tell politicians what will or won't sell out in the country, every political consultant says, don't talk about balancing the budget, it only works when the economy is bad; when people think the economy is good, balancing the budget is boring, nobody wants to hear about it.

But you have to understand, the economy is better because we cut the deficit, which meant the government borrowed less, which meant you could borrow more at lower interest rates. And we have to keep trying to balance the budget so that we can keep interest rates down on home mortgages, car loans, credit card payments and, most importantly, on business loans so business can afford to invest, to create new jobs, to create greater productivity, to strengthen the pay, the security, the incomes and the future of their workers and their families. That is what is at issue here.

We now would have a balanced budget for the last two years -- indeed, we would have a surplus today if it weren't for the interest we are paying on only the debt run up in the 12 years before I took office. We had a radical departure from America's history of fiscal responsibility in those 12 years. And we quadrupled the national debt. My senior Senator from Arkansas, where I'm from, Dale Bumpers, said, well, you can understand that, you can have a good time on \$200 billion worth of hot checks. (Laughter.) But sooner or later the bills come due.

And the bills came due to us in higher interest rates, slower growth, stagnant wages. And

we paid and we paid and we paid. So by bringing the deficit down in a dramatic and sustained way, we were able to get interest rates down, which put money directly back in the pockets of ordinary Americans and enabled us to grow more rapidly and grow together more. That's why I say we have to finish the job, because we want to keep the interest rates down and we want to have growth without inflation.

But we have to do it in the right way. We actually have some fundamental responsibilities as a nation that we can best meet together. That's the government's role and our partnership. Yes, we have to make sure that we extend the life of Medicaid trust fund -- I agree with that and I have proposed savings to achieve that. But we should not break up Medicare, turn it into a second-class system, treat the oldest, the poorest and the most ill of our senior citizens in an unfair way. The Medicare program has the lowest administrative costs of any insurance program, health insurance program, in the United States, public or private. It works well and we should not destroy it. (Applause.)

We should not, in my view, endanger the national commitment we made 30 years ago to provide health care not only to poor, but largely to middle class families through the Medicaid program -- helping seniors into nursing homes, helping poor pregnant women and poor little children and, among the most important things, helping families who have family members with disabilities to keep working and care for their family member with disabilities so that they could go together and maintain a middle class lifestyle. (Applause.) I believe that would be a mistake, and it's not necessary to balance the budget.

I also don't think we should sacrifice our future. We shouldn't cut our investments in education, in environmental protection, in research and technology. We need more investments in research and technology. (Applause.) But we can balance the budget and still continue to invest an appropriate amount there.

We can also balance the budget and have a tax cut, but it has to be one that is paid for line by line and dime by dime. We heard before -- that's how we got into this mess -- we heard before that we would grow our way into paying for a tax cut that no one thought we could grow our way into paying for. Now, the tax cut that I have proposed is a targeted tax cut for families that need it, for child rearing, for education, for health care costs, for home buying and for selling a home without having to pay taxes on the gain from the sale. (Applause.)

A \$500-per-child tax credit, individual retirement accounts you can withdraw from without penalty for education, health costs and first-time home buying, a capital gains exemption for \$500,000 on the gain of a sale of a home -- and that goes with what we have already done, which is to double the earned income tax credit for lower-income working people. It's worth about \$1,000 in lower taxes today than would have been the case in 1993 for a family of four with an income of \$28,000 a year or less. It was a big tax cut for about 15 million American families.

We made a hundred percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut

if they invest more money in their business by taking the expensing provision from \$10,000 to \$25,000 a year. We made the self-employed people who buy their own health insurance eligible for a tax cut by taking the premium deductibility from 30, we're moving it up to 80 percent of the cost of their premiums. (Applause.) And we had a small business capital gains investment; if you invest in a new or growing small business and hold the investment for five years, you only owe half the normal tax rate.

So these things together, every one of them is paid for in the context of a balanced budget. And I will say again, I believe it is imperative -- we dare not go back to telling people we can give them something that cannot be paid for. It may be popular, but it isn't the right thing to do. We ought to have those things that we know we can pay for in the context of keeping the interest rates down.

That's the big difference in me and my opponent and those who support the \$550-billion across-the-board big tax cut with no idea how it's going to be paid for. I can tell you how it will have to be paid for. Ask the Congressman, don't take my word for it. Ask the Secretary of the Treasury. It will be paid for in two ways. One is, we'll have even bigger cuts in Medicaid, Medicare, education and the environment than the ones I vetoed; and it still won't be enough to pay for it so the deficit will go up anyway, and that means interest rates will go up.

Last year, a Republican economist put out a paper I agree with -- I agree with. Just last year they said if we did not have a plan to move toward a balanced budget that was credible in the financial markets it would add two percent to the interest rates of every American family and every American business. That's what they said; not me. So you can go home and figure it out. How would it affect you if your credit card payment, your home mortgage payment, your car payment went up two percent? Even worse, how would it affect this area after we have worked so hard to finally come out of the devastation of the collapse of the old economy here and to build a new economy if all business loans were two percent more expensive.

What would that do to the creation of new jobs? What would it do to Mr. Becker's steel worker members attempting to maintain their lifestyle, their wages, their health care benefits, their retirement, to be productive in a hotly-contested global economy for steel? We cannot do that. We dare not do that.

So I ask you again to say, let's balance the budget. That's the first thing. Let's do it in a way that maintains our common obligations, and let's have a tax cut, but only let's have a tax cut we can pay for that will grow the economy and support strong families, targeted to child-rearing, to education, to the essentials of family life, including health care costs and home-buying. That will make America stronger, it will grow the economy faster, and keep us moving in the right direction. (Applause.)

Let me just mention two other things. We have to continue to work to open more markets to America's products and services. Exports have surged by one-third in the last three years to

a record level, but this is now the most productive economy in the world, and there are still too many markets that are closed to us, while we have the most open market in the world. We have made over 200 separate trade agreements, 21 with Japan.

If you think those things don't matter, let me just give you one statistic. In the 21 areas where we have actually made trade agreements with Japan, our exports have gone up by 85 percent in three years. We need more of that. We have to open these markets around the world to the work being done here in Western Pennsylvania by our people. (Applause.)

The third thing we have to do -- I want to emphasize it again is, we have to continue to stay on the cutting edge of change. You should support an investment of an appropriate amount of your tax dollars in research and technology, because that is the key to our future. And I just -- (applause) -- let me give you some examples that I think you can all identify with.

The Human Genome Project at the National Institutes of Health, also being supported in universities all across America, will one day in the not-too-distant future enable every set of parents that has a little baby to get a map of the genetic structure of their child. So if their child has a predisposition to a certain kind of illness or a certain kind of problem, or even to heart disease or stroke in the early 40s, they will be able to plan that child's life, that child's upbringing to minimize the possibility of the child developing that illness or that predisposition, to organize the diet plan, the exercise plan, the medical treatment that would enable untold numbers of people to have far more full lives than would have been the case before. It will also create huge numbers of new, fascinating high-wage jobs that have not even been invented yet for people like the young people who go to Robert Morris.

Example number two, closer to the present day. Medical research, funding new medicines and a dramatic speeding-up of the approval of the drug process at the FDA have led to a more than doubling of the life expectancy of people with HIV in only four years, more than doubling the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in just four years. (Applause.)

Example three. A lot of you heard Christopher Reeve speak at the Democratic Convention -- (applause) -- and he talked about more research. He said we need more research. Just a few days before he spoke, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with a severed spine had movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants. This had never been done before. We are moving in the right direction. (Applause.) That can change the future of America.

I'll just give you one last example, because it always knocks people out. We just signed a joint project with IBM and the federal government to produce a supercomputer in the next couple of years that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. (Applause.)

I say it to make this point: every time an election comes around, somebody will say, well, this is all your money. It is all your money, but you can't invest in that kind of supercomputer

by yourself, and even businesses, individually, can't afford to do that. These are things societies must do together in common, making common commitments. And it's good for you that we're doing this. It will open up new frontiers of health and quality of life, it will open new frontiers of human knowledge, and we will be thrilled by what we learn.

We're sending this robotic mission to Mars, two of them, by the end of the year. I can tell you that our space program, every single year, is reaping untold benefits and what we are learning about the technology to deal with our environmental problems here on Earth and what we're learning from the weightlessness of human bodies about how to deal with health care challenges. So this is an important part of our economic strategy for the future.

We also have to give families a way of dealing with all of these changes. You know, people's job security is different than it used to be. And since more and more people are being employed by small businesses and the pension plans are changing -- more of them, from defined benefits into the future to specific contribution requirements -- and since more and more people are, in the last 10 years have been employed in businesses where they didn't have guaranteed health plans, if you think about what it takes to succeed at home and succeed at work, we need to create a work environment where working people who are productive have access to affordable health care and access to a good retirement program, and they can carry those things with them when they move from job to job if they have to move from job to job, and they need the ability to get educated for a lifetime. That is also very important.

We just passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill in Washington which makes 25 million Americans more eligible for health care by saying that you can't be denied health insurance anymore when you move from job to job, or just because somebody in your family has been sick; that's what insurance is for in the first place. That's a huge improvement. (Applause.)

This week, Congress is passing legislation to guarantee at least 48 hours in the hospital for new mothers and their babies -- big issue. (Applause.) Our balanced budget plan contains a provision paid for in the balanced budget to help people keep their health insurance for six months when they're between jobs. That could help up to 700,000 kids a year -- five million Americans are changing jobs, all the time, at any given time. It's an important issue. (Applause.)

Next week, actually Tuesday, to be precise, 10 millions of hard-working Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage law goes into effect. (Applause.) But something -- something that isn't quite as well known is that we also, in that bill, passed most of the pension provisions that were sought by the White House Conference on Small Business and the American small business community which will make it much easier for small businesses and self-employed people to take out pensions and for small businesses to take out pension plans for themselves and their employees, and then for people to move them seamlessly when they move from job to job. Secretary Rubin's done a lot of work on that. That's a big deal for people who work in small business and who need it; it's very, very important. (Applause.)

One last thing that I've not succeeded in passing in four years, but I'm going to keep banging away at it until someday I find a Congress that likes the idea as much as I do -- we have today in America a wonderful network of training. We have good vocational schools, we have good specialty schools, we have a world-class network of community colleges, we have good general universities, we have great colleges like Robert Morris that specialize in certain things. This is an incredible thing we have, this resource. (Applause.)

And when people need it, they're smart enough to figure out what they need, I believe; that's the reason that's the reason these institutions are open. If nobody had enough sense to come to them, they would shut down, right? I mean, by definition, our people -- they figure out what's best for them.

Well, over time, we have developed 70 or more separate specific federal job training programs that were all passed for the best motives. They all really had a good purpose. But now, they're just different programs and different categories. And for four years, I have been trying, and I'm going to keep trying, to get Congress to get rid of all of these separate categories of programs and create a simple G.I. bill for America's workers, and say to people, if you lose your job and you need new training to get a new job and a better one, or if you're grossly underemployed and you're eligible because you're underemployed and you're earning very low wages to go back and get federal job training help, we'll just send you a certificate, it will be your skills grant. It will be your G.I. bill that says you get \$2,500, take it where you want to take it. Take it to Robert Morris, take it to the community college, take it to the vocational school. You decide. It will help you. (Applause.)

So these are the things that I believe we need to do to help. Just one other thing I think is very important, and I know I'm preaching to the saved here because you're all here. (Applause.) But we have got to raise the skill level of the American work force generally. It means higher standards in our schools, it means more access to computer technology, it means a lot of things. But it certainly means making access to college universal in America. Everybody who wants to go and is willing to work ought to be able to go. (Applause.)

And let me say, my proposals on that include the Direct Loan Program we've already put in which lowers the costs of college loans and says you can pay them back as a percentage of your income. (Applause.) The AmeriCorps program, which has given 50,000 young people a way to pay for college by serving in their communities. But we want to do three things, three more things that will make a big difference.

Number one, say that families with joint incomes of up to \$100,000 can save in an IRA, withdraw from a tax-free if the money goes to a college education for their kids. Number two -- (applause) -- make at least a community college education as universal by the year 2000 as a high school diploma is today by simply saying -- this requires no program -- all we have to say is, if you want to go to get two more years of college, we will let you deduct, dollar for dollar off your tax bill, the cost of a typical community college tuition -- up to \$1,500 a year, strict reduction off

your tax bill for the costs of going back for the first two years. And I think that is important. (Applause.)

And, finally, something that would help virtually every family represented at Robert Morris College here. I believe that the cost of any education after high school, the tuition costs, up to \$10,000 a year, ought to be tax deductible -- any education. (Applause.)

Now, that -- all of that is paid for in our balanced budget plan. It would make America stronger. It would make America stronger and it would help individual families. We also need, I think, to do more to give families more options to save for their other purposes, and that's what I wanted to talk to you about in some specific detail today.

Today, America's families have a wide choice of opportunities to save, but we want to give them one more that will give them greater investment security. I'm grateful today that inflation is low. Inflation has been under three percent for three years in a row for the first time since the 1960s, and I am grateful for that. (Applause.) But I also remember well the 1970s and the early '80s when inflation was high.

Last spring we announced that we would work to issue a new kind of security to protect investors from inflation, to encourage long-term savings. We asked for public response to this idea, we got it, and it was overwhelmingly positive. So today, we announced a new way to save -- an inflation protection bond. It will allow middle-class families to protect their savings from inflation no matter what. These bonds will first be issued on January 15th. They will be available in denominations as low as \$1,000, the value of the principal will increase as necessary over the years to keep up with inflation, and they will pay interest on the principal adjusted for inflation. Not a penny of value will ever be lost to anyone who buys them because of inflation at whatever rate inflation occurs.

For investors who choose these bonds, there will not be paper gains, there will be real gains, and this is a real incentive for families to save for their own future and for their children's. (Applause.) I'm thinking about this a lot now because of my own situation, because our daughter is going off to college next year. We started saving for that a long time ago. If you want to save now for a newborn baby's college education, you can do it and know that no matter what happens to inflation over the next 18 years, it will not erode your investment. You will be able to make that savings good in your child's life. (Applause.)

If you want to start saving for a home, these bonds will enable you to start saving now without worrying about inflation. If you want to save for retirement or if you're already retired, the bonds will guarantee a lifetime of savings as solid as the word of the Treasury. Inflation protection bonds can be a solid rock upon which families build their futures and their dreams.

We also want to do two other things to help families save. Within a year, the Treasury Department will issue inflation-protected savings bonds, things that young people can buy, bonds

in denominations as small as \$50 that employers will be able to offer through their payroll deduction plans. And we want to make it even easier to save for training and education after high school.

Today, the interest payments on savings bonds for many families are exempt if the money is used to pay for college. In the minimum wage legislation I signed, we expanded the number of families that can get that break, and today I want to ask Congress to do more. They should be available to pay not only for college education, but for vocational education, and while you have to be 24 years old to get this break today, parents of any age should be able to start as soon as they want to save for their children. We should encourage savings by all Americans and get rid of all the impediments to it. We're going to have to save more as individuals, as families, and as a nation. If we want to invest more and be more productive in the future, these actions today will help us to achieve that goal.

I thank you, Secretary Rubin, for what you've done to achieve that. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, all of these actions are part of a strategy that I've called "building a bridge to the 21st century," big enough, strong enough, wide enough for everybody to walk across. I believe very strongly that our best days are still ahead, I believe that the young people in this audience today will have more chances to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential than any generation of Americans ever has if we will meet the challenges, deal with the problems, and protect our traditional values that have kept America around here for 220 years.

These young people are going to be doing work that has not been invented yet; some of them will be doing things that have not been imagined yet. But it will still be America, it will be wonderful, and it will be better than ever if we do the right things today.

Thank you. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SAN DIEGO COMMENCEMENT

Rimac Field
University of California at San Diego
San Diego, California

10:47 A.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the first thing I would like to say is that Coleen spoke so well -- (laughter) -- and she said everything I meant to say -- (laughter) that I could do us all a great favor by simply associating myself with her remarks and sitting down. (Applause.)

I would also like to thank Dr. Anagnostopoulos for reminding us of the infamous capacity of faculty members to be contrary with one another. (Laughter.) Until he said it, I hadn't realized that probably 90 percent of the Congress once were on university faculties. (Laughter.)

Let me say to Chancellor Dynes and President Atkinson, to the distinguished regents and faculty members, to the students and their families and friends who are here today, I'm honored to be joined by a number of people who reflect the kind of America that Coleen Sabatini called for: Senator Barbara Boxer and Senator Dan Akaka from Hawaii; your Congressman, Bob Filner; Congresswoman Maxine Waters, the Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus; Congresswoman Patsy Mink; Congressman Jim Clyburn; Congressman John Lewis, a great hero of the civil rights movement; Congresswoman Juanita Millender-McDonald; Congressman Carlos Romero-Barcelo from Puerto Rico; your Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis; the Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater; of Labor, Alexis Herman; of Veterans Affairs, Jesse Brown; of Education, Dick Riley; our distinguished Ambassador to the United Nations Bill Richardson; our distinguished Administrator of the Small Business Administration, Aida Alvarez, the first American of Puerto Rican descent ever to be in a Presidential Cabinet.

I would like to ask them all to stand along with the members of the White House staff who are here, including Thurgood Marshall Jr. whose father has a college named for him at this

great university. Would you please stand? (Applause.)

And I can't help but noting that there's another person here that deserves some special recognition -- the University of California at San Diego Class of 1977 -- a Filipino-American woman that became the youngest Captain of the Navy and my personal physician, Dr. Connie Mariano. Where is she? (Applause.)

I want to thank you for offering our nation a shining example of excellence rooted in the many backgrounds that make up this great land. You have blazed new paths in science and technology, explored the new horizons of the Pacific Rim and Latin America. This is a great university for the 21st century.

Today we celebrate your achievements at a truly golden moment for America. The Cold War is over and freedom is now ascendant around the globe, with more than half of the people in this old world living under governments of their own choosing for the very first time.

Our economy is the healthiest in a generation and the strongest in the world. Our culture, our science, our technology promise unimagined advances and exciting new careers. Our social problems, from crime to poverty, are finally bending to our efforts.

Of course, there are still challenges for you out there. Beyond our borders, we must battle terrorism, organized crime and drug trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the prospect of new diseases and environmental disaster.

Here at home, we must ensure that every child has the chance you have had to develop your God-given capacities. We cannot wait for them to get in trouble to notice them.

We must continue to fight the scourge of gangs and crime and drugs. We must prepare for the retirement of the baby boom generation so that we can reduce that child poverty rate that Coleen talked about. We must harness the forces of science and technology for the public good, the entire American public.

But I believe the greatest challenge we face, among all those that Coleen talked about, is also our greatest opportunity. Of all the questions of discrimination and prejudice that still exist in our society, the most perplexing one is the oldest, and in some ways today, the newest: the problem of race. Can we fulfill the promise of America by embracing all our citizens of all races, not just at a university where people have the benefit of enlightened teachers and the time to think and grow and get to know each other within the daily life of every American community. In short, can we become one America in the 21st century?

I know, and I've said before, that money cannot buy this goal, power cannot compel it, technology cannot create it. This is something that can come only from the human spirit -- the spirit we saw when the choir of many races sang as a gospel choir.

Today, the state of Hawaii, which has a Senator and a Congresswoman present here, has no majority racial or ethnic group. It is a wonderful place of exuberance and friendship and patriotism. Within the next three years, here in California no single race or ethnic group will make up a majority of the state's population. Already, five of our largest school districts draw students from over 100 different racial and ethnic groups. At this campus, 12 Nobel prize winners have taught or studied from nine different countries. A half-century from now, when your own grandchildren are in college, there will be no majority race in America.

Now, we know what we will look like, but what will we be like? Can we be one America respecting, even celebrating, our differences, but embracing even more what we have in common? Can we define what it means to be an American, not just in terms of the hyphen showing our ethnic origins but in terms of our primary allegiance to the values America stands for and values we really live by. Our hearts long to answer yes, but our history reminds us that it will be hard. The ideals that bind us together are as old as our nation, but so are the forces that pull us apart. Our founders sought to form a more perfect union; the humility and hope of that phrase is the story of America and it is our mission today.

Consider this: We were born with a Declaration of Independence which asserted that we were all created equal and a Constitution that enshrined slavery. We fought a bloody civil war to abolish slavery and preserve the union, but we remained a house divided and unequal by law for another century. We advanced across the continent in the name of freedom, yet in so doing we pushed Native Americans off their land, often crushing their culture and their livelihood. Our Statue of Liberty welcomes poor, tired, huddled masses of immigrants to our borders, but each new wave has felt the sting of discrimination.

In World War II, Japanese Americans fought valiantly for freedom in Europe, taking great casualties, while at home their families were herded into internment camps. The famed Tuskegee Airmen lost none of the bombers they guarded during the war, but their African American heritage cost them a lot of rights when they came back home in peace.

Though minorities have more opportunities than ever today, we still see evidence of bigotry -- from the desecration of houses of worship, whether they be churches, synagogues or mosques, to demeaning talk in corporate suites. There is still much work to be done by you, members of the class of 1997. But those who say we cannot transform the problem of prejudice into the promise of unity forget how far we have come, and I cannot believe they have ever seen a crowd like you. (Applause.)

When I look at you, it is almost impossible for me even to remember my own life. I grew up in the high drama of the Cold War, in the patriotic South. Black and white southerners alike wore our nation's uniform in defense of freedom against communism. They fought and died together, from Korea to Vietnam. But back home, I went to segregated schools, swam in segregated public pools, sat in all-white sections at the movies, and traveled through small towns

in my state that still marked restrooms and water fountains "white" and "colored."

By the grace of God I had a grandfather with just a grade school education but the heart of a true American, who taught me that it was wrong. And by the grace of God, there were brave African Americans like Congressman John Lewis, who risked their lives time and time again to make it right. And there were white Americans like Congressman Bob Filner, a freedom rider on the bus with John Lewis, in the long, noble struggle for civil rights, who knew that it was a struggle to free white people, too.

To be sure, there is old, unfinished business between black and white Americans, but the classic American dilemma has now become many dilemmas of race and ethnicity. We see it in the tension between black and Hispanic customers and their Korean or Arab grocers; in a resurgent anti-Semitism even on some college campuses; in a hostility toward new immigrants from Asia to the Middle East to the former communist countries to Latin America and the Caribbean --even those whose hard work and strong families have brought them success in the American Way.

We see a disturbing tendency to wrongly attribute to entire groups, including the white majority, the objectionable conduct of a few members. If a black American commits a crime, condemn the act -- but remember that most African Americans are hard-working, law-abiding citizens. If a Latino gang member deals drugs, condemn the act -- but remember the vast majority of Hispanics are responsible citizens who also deplore the scourge of drugs in our life. If white teenagers beat a young African American boy almost to death just because of his race, for God's sakes condemn the act -- but remember the overwhelming majority of white people will find it just as hateful. If an Asian merchant discriminates against her customers of another minority group, call her on it -- but remember, too, that many, many Asians have borne the burden of prejudice and do not want anyone else to feel it.

Remember too, in spite of the persistence of prejudice, we are more integrated than ever. More of us share neighborhoods and work and school and social activities, religious life, even love and marriage across racial lines than ever before. More of us enjoy each other's company and distinctive cultures than ever before. And more than ever, we understand the benefits of our racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity in a global society, where networks of commerce and communications draw us closer and bring rich rewards to those who truly understand life beyond their nation's borders.

With just a twentieth of the world's population, but a fifth of the world's income, we in America simply have to sell to the other 95 percent of the world's consumers just to maintain our standard of living. Because we are drawn from every culture on earth, we are uniquely positioned to do it. Beyond commerce, the diverse backgrounds and talents of our citizens can help America to light the globe, showing nations deeply divided by race, religion and tribe that there is a better way.

Finally, as you have shown us today, our diversity will enrich our lives in non-material ways -- deepening our understanding of human nature and human differences, making our communities more exciting, more enjoyable, more meaningful. That is why I have come here today to ask the American people to join me in a great national effort to perfect the promise of America for this new time as we seek to build our more perfect union.

Now, when there is more cause for hope than fear, when we are not driven to it by some emergency or social cataclysm, now is the time we should learn together, talk together and act together to build one America. (Applause.)

Let me say that I know that for many white Americans, this conversation may seem to exclude them or threaten them. That must not be so. I believe white Americans have just as much to gain as anybody else from being a part of this endeavor -- much to gain from an America where we finally take responsibility for all our children so that they, at last, can be judged as Martin Luther King hoped, "Not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." (Applause.)

What is it that we must do? For four and a half years now, I have worked to prepare America for the 21st century with a strategy of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community of all our citizens. To succeed in each of these areas, we must deal with the realities and the perceptions affecting all racial groups in America.

First, we must continue to expand opportunity. Full participation in our strong and growing economy is the best antidote to envy, despair and racism. We must press forward to move millions more from poverty and welfare to work; to bring the spark of enterprise to inner cities; to redouble our efforts to reach those rural communities prosperity has passed by. And most important of all, we simply must give our young people the finest education in the world.

There are no children who, because of their ethnic or racial background, who cannot meet the highest academic standards if we set them and measure our students against them, if we give them well-trained teachers and well-equipped classrooms, and if we continue to support reasoned reforms to achieve excellence, like the charter school movement. (Applause.)

At a time when college education means stability, a good job, a passport to the middle class, we must open the doors of college to all Americans and we must make at least two years of college as universal at the dawn of the next century as a high school diploma is today.

In our efforts to extend economic and educational opportunity to all our citizens, we must consider the role of affirmative action. I know affirmative action has not been perfect in America -- that's why two years ago we began an effort to fix the things that are wrong with it -- but when used in the right way, it has worked. (Applause.)

It has given us a whole generation of professionals in fields that used to be exclusive

clubs -- where people like me got the benefit of 100 percent affirmative action. There are now more women-owned businesses than ever before. There are more African American, Latino and Asian American lawyers and judges, scientists and engineers, accountants and executives than ever before.

But the best example of successful affirmative action is our military. Our armed forces are diverse from top to bottom -- perhaps the most integrated institution in our society and certainly the most integrated military in the world. And, more important, no one questions that they are the best in the world. So much for the argument that excellence and diversity do not go hand in hand. (Applause.)

There are those who argue that scores on standardized tests should be the sole measure of qualification for admissions to colleges and universities. But many would not apply the same standard to the children of alumni or those with athletic ability. (Applause.)

I believe a student body that reflects the excellence and the diversity of the people we will live and work with has independent educational value. Look around this crowd today. Don't you think you have learned a lot more than you would have if everybody sitting around you looked just like you? I think you have. (Applause.)

And beyond the educational value to you, it has a public interest because you will learn to live and work in the world you will live in better. When young people sit side by side with people of many different backgrounds, they do learn something that they can take out into the world. And they will be more effective citizens.

Many affirmative action students excel. They work hard, they achieve, they go out and serve the communities that need them for their expertise and role model. If you close the door on them, we will weaken our greatest universities and it will be more difficult to build the society we need in the 21st century. (Applause.)

Let me say, I know that the people of California voted to repeal affirmative action without any ill motive. The vast majority of them simply did it with a conviction that discrimination and isolation are no longer barriers to achievement. But consider the results. Minority enrollments in law school and other graduate programs are plummeting for the first time in decades. Assuming the same will likely happen in undergraduate education. We must not re-segregate higher education or leave it to the private universities to do the public's work. (Applause.)

At the very time when we need to do a better job of living and learning together, we should not stop trying to equalize economic opportunity. To those who oppose affirmative action, I ask you to come up with an alternative. I would embrace it if I could find a better way. And to those of us who still support it, I say we should continue to stand for it, we should reach out to those who disagree or are uncertain and talk about the practical impact of these issues, and

we should never be thought unwilling to work with those who disagree with us to find new ways to lift people up and bring people together. (Applause.)

Beyond opportunity, we must demand responsibility from every American. Our strength as a society depends upon both -- upon people taking responsibility for themselves and their families, teaching their children good values, working hard and obeying the law, and giving back to those around us. The new economy offers fewer guarantees, more risks, and more rewards. It calls upon all of us to take even greater responsibility for our education than ever before.

In the current economic boom, only one racial or ethnic group in America has actually experienced a decline in income -- Hispanic Americans. One big reason is that Hispanic high school drop-out rates are well above -- indeed, far above -- those of whites and blacks. Some of the drop-outs actually reflect a strong commitment to work. We admire the legendary willingness to take the hard job at long hours for low pay. In the old economy, that was a responsible thing to do. But in the new economy, where education is the key, responsibility means staying in school. (Applause.)

No responsibility is more fundamental than obeying the law. It is not racist to insist that every American do so. The fight against crime and drugs is a fight for the freedom of all our people, including those -- perhaps especially those -- minorities living in our poorest neighborhoods. But respect for the law must run both ways. The shocking difference in perceptions of the fairness of our criminal justice system grows out of the real experiences that too many minorities have had with law enforcement officers. Part of the answer is to have all our citizens respect the law, but the basic rule must be that the law must respect all our citizens. (Applause.)

And that applies, too, to the enforcement of our civil rights laws. For example, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has a huge backlog of cases with discrimination claims -- though we have reduced it by 25 percent over the last four years. We can do no much better without more resources. It is imperative that Congress -- especially those members who say they're for civil rights but against affirmative action -- at least give us the money necessary to enforce the law of the land and do it soon. (Applause.)

Our third imperative is perhaps the most difficult of all. We must build one American community based on respect for one another and our shared values. We must begin with a candid conversation on the state of race relations today and the implications of Americans of so many different races living and working together as we approach a new century. We must be honest with each other. We have talked at each other and about each other for a long time. It's high time we all began talking with each other.

Over the coming year I want to lead the American people in a great and unprecedented conversation about race. In community efforts from Lima, Ohio, to Billings, Montana, in remarkable experiments in cross-racial communications like the uniquely named ERACISM, I

have seen what Americans can do if they let down their guards and reach out their hands.

I have asked one of America's greatest scholars, Dr. John Hope Franklin, to chair an advisory panel of seven distinguished Americans to help me in this endeavor. He will be joined by former Governors Thomas Kean of New Jersey and William Winter of Mississippi, both great champions of civil rights; by Linda Chavez-Thompson, the Executive Vice President of the AFL-CIO; by Reverend Suzan Johnson Cook, a minister from the Bronx and former White House Fellow; by Angela Oh, an attorney and Los Angeles community leader; and Robert Thompson, the CEO of Nissan U.S.A. -- distinguished leaders, leaders in their community.

I want this panel to help educate Americans about the facts surrounding issues of race, to promote a dialogue in every community of the land to confront and work through these issues, to recruit and encourage leadership at all levels to help breach racial divides, and to find, develop and recommend how to implement concrete solutions to our problems -- solutions that will involve all of us in government, business, communities, and as individual citizens.

I will make periodic reports to the American people about our findings and what actions we all have to take to move America forward. This board will seek out and listen to Americans from all races and all walks of life. They are performing a great citizen service, but in the cause of building one America all citizens must serve.

As I said at the President's Summit on Service in Philadelphia, in our new era such acts of service are basic acts of citizenship. Government must play its role, but much of the work must be done by the American people as citizen service. The very effort will strengthen us and bring us closer together.

In short, I want America to capture the feel and the spirit that you have given to all of us today. I'd like to ask the board to stand and be recognized. I want you to look at them, and I want you to feel free to talk to them over the next year or so. Dr. Franklin and members of the board. (Applause.)

Honest dialogue will not be easy at first. We'll all have to get past defensiveness and fear and political correctness and other barriers to honesty. Emotions may be rubbed raw, but we must begin.

What do I really hope we will achieve as a country? If we do nothing more than talk, it will be interesting but it won't be enough. If we do nothing more than propose disconnected acts of policy, it would be helpful, but it won't be enough.

But if ten years from now people can look back and see that this year of honest dialogue and concerted action helped to lift the heavy burden of race from our children's future, we will have given a precious gift to America.

I ask you all to remember just for a moment, as we have come through the difficult trial on the Oklahoma City bombing, remember that terrible day when we saw and wept for Americans and forgot for a moment that there were a lot of them from different races than we are.

Remember the many faces and races of the Americans who did not sleep and put their lives at risk to engage in the rescue, the helping and the healing. Remember how you have seen things like that in the natural disasters here in California. That is the face of the real America. That is the face I have seen over and over again. That is the America, somehow, some way we have to make real in daily American life. (Applause.)

Members of the graduating class, you will have a greater opportunity to live your dreams than any generation in our history, if we can make of our many different strands, one America -- a nation at peace with itself bound together by shared values and aspirations and opportunities and real respect for our differences.

I am a Scotch-Irish Southern Baptist, and I'm proud of it. But my life has been immeasurably enriched by the power of the Torah, the beauty of the Koran, the piercing wisdom of the religions of East and South Asia -- all embraced by my fellow Americans. I have felt indescribable joy and peace in black and Pentecostal churches. I have come to love the intensity and selflessness of my Hispanic fellow Americans toward la familia. As a Southerner, I grew up on country music and county fairs and I still like them. (Laughter.) But I have also reveled in the festivals and the food, the music and the art and the culture of Native Americans and Americans from every region in the world.

In each land I have visited as your President, I have felt more at home because some of their people have found a home in America. For two centuries, wave upon wave of immigrants have come to our shores to build a new life drawn by the promise of freedom and a fair chance. Whatever else they found, even bigotry and violence, most of them never gave up on America. Even African American, the first of whom we brought here in chains, never gave up on America.

It is up to you to prove that their abiding faith was well-placed. Living in islands of isolation -- some splendid and some sordid -- is not the American way. Basing our self-esteem on the ability to look down on others is not the American way. Being satisfied if we have what we want and heedless of others who don't even have what they need and deserve is not the American way. We have torn down the barriers in our laws. Now we must break down the barriers in our lives, our minds and our hearts.

More than 30 years ago, at the high tide of the civil rights movement, the Kerner Commission said we were becoming two Americas, one white, one black, separate and unequal. Today, we face a different choice: will we become not two, but many Americas, separate, unequal and isolated? Or will we draw strength from all our people and our ancient faith in the quality of human dignity, to become the world's first truly multi-racial democracy. That is the

unfinished work of our time, to lift the burden of race and redeem the promise of America.

Class of 1997, I grew up in the shadows of a divided America, but I have seen glimpses of one America. You have shown me one today. That is the America you must make. It begins with your dreams, so dream large, live your dreams, challenge your parents and teach your children well.

God bless you and good luck.

END

11:23 A.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Charlotte, North Carolina)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1996

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE 87TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NAACP

Charlotte Convention Center
Charlotte, North Carolina

12:30 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much. President Mfume, I hope you do get your four more years. (Laughter and applause.) And I hope I get to hang around to work with you. (Applause.)

Madam Chair, Bishop Graves, Hazel and other distinguished members -- (laughter.) Hey, she met me outside and kissed me. (Laughter.) Brother Williams, thank you for singing for us. Reverend Hooks, you're looking young and handsome, I'm glad to see. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, last year I know the First Lady came to visit with you, and she had a wonderful time. (Applause.) And she is completing a trip that she made on behalf of our country after the meeting of the G-7 industrial countries in France. She went to a lot of the nations that used to be part of the Soviet Empire that were once communist and are now free. And she's had a wonderful trip. Last night I talked to her; she was in Finland, and so far north the sun never really goes down at this time of year. So I knew she wouldn't be mad when I woke her up at two o'clock in the morning to talk. (Laughter.) And she asked me to give you her best.

I also want you to know what I did -- the last thing I did before I got on the helicopter at the White House to come here today was to meet with Mickey Kantor, our Secretary of Commerce, and Michael Brown, Ron Brown's son, and the delegation who are leaving today to finish the mission Ron Brown started in Bosnia and Croatia. (Applause.)

And I was especially proud that almost all the companies who lost executives on that terrible day sent replacements to go on this mission to finish the work of advancing the cause of peace. (Applause.) And I want to thank you, Mr. President, and all of you, for the tribute that

you gave to Secretary Brown yesterday.

I am honored to be here today because of what the NAACP has meant to America. As a young boy growing up in the segregated South, it was the NAACP that gave all of us hope that there could be a better day. (Applause.) I told Myrlie -- I don't think she quite believed it -- that in early 1974, when I started my political career, I actually purchased a membership at the Malaloo (phonetic) AME Church in Fort Smith, Arkansas. I came to a meeting one Sunday afternoon and bought myself a membership card. (Applause.) I hate to say that because I'll get a letter from Kweisi next week pointing out that I have not kept up my renewals over the last 20 years. (Laughter and applause.)

What a difference a year makes. Last year you announced your new leadership, a new sense of partnership, a new spirit of commitment to go into the 21st century. You elected Myrlie Evers as your chairman -- (applause) -- you elected this great former member of Congress -- that's right, give her a hand. (Applause.) You elected this great member of Congress as your new president and CEO, Kweisi Mfume. (Applause.) As you might imagine, given the way things are around here in Washington, I miss him more than ever. I was riding in with Congressman Mel Watt, from Charlotte today, from the airport and we were talking about -- where's Mel? He's here somewhere I think, Congressman Watt. (Applause.) And we were talking about what a great voice Kweisi was in the Congress. But I think we gained a greater leader in the struggle for equality and progress in America when he changed jobs. (Applause.)

I want to thank you for making your voice heard again, for economic justice, for the empowerment of all voters, for educational excellence for our children. And I want to thank you especially for your effort to bring young people back into this organization and into the spirit of citizenship in America. (Applause.) We need these young people -- after all, they have more tomorrows than yesterdays. (Laughter.) There are some days when I resent that, but it's true. (Laughter.)

And we can't remake our yesterdays, we can only make tomorrows. And we can't afford to have young people saying, well, oh, this doesn't matter. It doesn't matter whether I am involved in the NAACP. It doesn't matter whether I vote. It doesn't matter whether I'm in a community group to try to help save my peers from drugs and gangs and give them a bright future and a better life. It does matter. It matters. (Applause.)

And because of the dedication of Mr. Mfume to the young people of his congressional district and to the young men in his own family, he brought that conviction that he could inspire young people to his work here. And in a way, it may be the lasting legacy of this period of reform of the NAACP that you brought the young blood of America back into this organization, fighting for the future and working together. (Applause.) And I hope he will stay with us. I'm glad that us gray-haired people still have a role in it, however. (Laughter.)

My fellow Americans, our nation, as you all know, is at a crossroads. We are only four

years away now from a new century in a new millennium. Anytime you change the calendar in that way, people start to think in bigger ways. They start to imagine the great significance of the moment. But it happens to be true now, for we are undergoing a sweeping change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to the rest of the world.

We are leaving the Cold War that dominated most of our lives behind and moving into a new global village, if I can use my wife's term, with lots of opportunity and a lot of troubles -- some of them new and some of them very old. We are moving away from the Industrial Age into a new era dominated by information and technology, where more people will have more opportunities ever before, but unless they have the capacity to seize those opportunities, they'll be left behind faster than ever before. (Applause.)

So, when I sought this office, I did so because I wanted to get our country ready for the 21st century, because I thought there were three simple things that we had to do. One is to make sure we enter the next century with the American Dream alive for everybody who is willing to work for it, without regard to their race, their gender, their region or where they start out in life -- high, low or somewhere in the middle.

Secondly, I thought we had to find a way to resist these destructive winds that are blowing in so many other countries to divide people by race and religion and ethnicity and, instead, come together in a greater sense of community -- to bridge our divisions, respect our diversity, extol our shared values and make America stronger because of our diversity, not weaker because of it.

And the third thing I wanted to do is to make sure that in this new world our country continues to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. It matters in Haiti. It matters in South Africa. It matters in Northern Ireland. It matters in the Middle East. It matters in all these countries, but it matters to us here at home, when we can work with the Russians to reduce our nuclear arsenals; when we can work with other countries to stop the proliferation of dangerous weapons; when we can cooperate with other countries to prevent terrorist incidents before they occur -- it matters that America is a force for peace and freedom and prosperity. It matters to every single one of you.

My strategy to achieve that vision was remarkably simple. I thought we had to reassert the basic bargain in American citizenship -- more opportunity for everyone, and responsibility from all. And the understanding that that responsibility includes our common responsibility not just to make the most of our own lives and our family's lives, but to be good citizens for our communities and for our country.

At this time of decision, that's what I hope the discussion will be about in this election year. We've come a long way in the last four years, but we've got a long way to go. (Applause.) When I -- four years ago, when I became President, the economy was stagnant, we had the slowest job growth since the Great Depression, the deficit was spiraling, we had quadrupled our

national debt in only 12 years from what we'd done in the previous 200.

We put in place an economic plan designed to cut the deficit, expand trade for American products on free and fair terms, and invest more in the people of this country, wherever they lived and wherever they were starting out in life. And four years later, it's made a difference.

I said four years ago that if the Congress would adopt my plan I thought it would cut the deficit in half and produce 8 million jobs. Well, in three and a half years, we know it's cut the deficit by more than half and produced over 10 million jobs. That is a good beginning for the American people. (Applause.)

For much of the last four years the African American unemployment rate has been in single digits for the first time in 20 years. (Applause.) There are 100,000 new African American-owned businesses. After falling by \$2,000 in the previous four years, median income for African American families has increased by \$2,400, or 11 percent, in just the first two years of this administration. Average wages are going up now for the first time in a decade. Home ownership is the highest in 15 years -- there are 3.7 million new American home owners. The growth of home ownership among African Americans is higher than the national average. And one reason is we have a Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in Henry Cisneros that has worked to cut the closing costs on those homes by \$1,000 for first-time home buyers. (Applause.)

So we're moving in the right direction. But we have to keep working until all of our people can reap the rewards of this time for change, including those that have not been reached by the recovery, those that have been downsized in competition, those that are stuck in place because they don't have the education and the skills to move up. So we have to keep working on balancing this budget because that keeps the interest rates down, the investments coming, and takes the burden off these young people you're trying to get interested in their own future.

But we have to do it in a way that recognizes our obligations to each other, that keeps the community together. Yes, reform Medicare, but don't create a two-class system and make the oldest, the poorest and the sickest seniors more vulnerable. (Applause.) Yes, slow the inflation rate in Medicaid, but don't give up the guarantee that we have a national responsibility to take care of poor pregnant women, poor infant children, people with disabilities in families all over this country, and elderly people who have to go into nursing homes. I think that's our common responsibility. We don't have to give that up. (Applause.)

Neither should we reduce our commitment to excellence in education and to the environment in the name of balancing the budget, because that's not necessary to be done. We have to go on with the cause of health care reform. There's still too many people in this country that don't have health insurance or that lose it. That's what the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill is all about. It simply says you don't lose your health insurance if you lose your job, you're moving

from job to job, or if someone in your family has been sick. A simple little guarantee that could immediately benefit over 8 million Americans who are working in this country trying to support their kids and hold their families together. And I hope the Congress will pass it without delay. (Applause.)

I was very happy that yesterday the Senate voted to pass a 90-cent increase in the minimum wage, something we need very much. (Applause.) Ten million of our hardest-pressed workers will get a raise. And I urge Congress to go on and pass it now. It's passed the House and passed the Senate. Let's go on and pass it just as soon as possible. Get it on up here so I can sign that bill and we can give people a raise. (Applause.)

In addition to the minimum wage, there's some other provisions in that bill that I'm very proud of that have, to be fair, bipartisan support. One is -- and for all of you in small businesses, it will matter a lot -- we're going to increase the expensing provision of small businesses, their write-off capacity from \$17,500 to \$25,000 a year. That's important for a lot of you here in this room. (Applause.) It was only \$10,000 when I took office, and the small business community said it ought to be \$25,000. If that bill gets to my desk, it will be \$25,000. (Applause.)

The other thing that I think is very important is that this bill contains a package of pension reforms which will make it easier for people who work for small businesses and people who are self-employed, and especially for people who have to change jobs a lot -- people who are out there selling computer software or otherwise have to move from job to job -- to take out a pension, to keep it when they're unemployed and to keep it when they move from job to job without being interrupted. People ought to be able to save for their family and save for their own retirement even if they're working in little businesses, even if they're self-employed, even if they have to move across the country, even if they have to change jobs. That is in there with the minimum wage bill, too. (Applause.)

Four years ago we had a lot of rhetoric on crime, but not a lot of action, and the crime rate was at unbelievably high levels. But there was a quiet change going on in many of our communities, who recognized that we had to have more police on the street, trying to prevent crime, not just catch criminals; relating to people in the communities, working with the parents, working with the children. They recognized that in addition to tougher punishment for serious offenders, we needed more prevention programs for community activists who wanted to help save these kids.

And when I became President I asked the Congress to pass that kind of crime bill, and they did. And now we're putting 100,000 police back on the street. We're taking guns off the street with the assault weapons ban and the Brady Bill. We're increasing penalties for people who should be punished more, but also giving our young people something to say yes to.

Under the direction of General McCaffrey, who this week is chairing a conference in El Paso, Texas, on how to stop drugs at the border, we are targeting a drug strategy to help young

people. We cannot let another generation of our young people fall into the trap of drugs and gangs and crime. (Applause.)

We're working with communities all over this country with innovative strategies -- not telling people what to do, but saying, if you want to do this, we'll help you. School uniform policies in places like Long Beach, California, or Las Cruces, New Mexico. We're working on enforcing the truancy laws. Kids ought to be in school, not on the street during school hours, I think. (Applause.) And helping people do that. We're working on community-based curfews. And I'm holding up to this country especially the example of New Orleans, where they had a huge drop in juvenile crime not only because they imposed a curfew system, but because when they caught a young person out after curfew, instead of just punishing the person, they took these young people to a curfew center and said, tell me about your life, what's going on in your life, what are your problems, what can we do to help? It was a positive as well as a disciplinary move. (Applause.) And the juvenile crime rate is going down dramatically.

These things are working all across America. We set up a framework in Washington, but all we're really trying to do is help people at the community level come together and take responsibility for their own kids and their own future. And we are now seeing the fourth year in a row where the crime rate is going down. And that's something to be proud of. (Applause.)

Now, having said that, you'd be cheering from the rafters but for two things. Instead of polite applause, we'd get a roaring cheer, but there's two things that keep you from giving a roaring cheer. What are they? Number one, the crime rate's still too high. So what if it's lower, it's still way too high. And that means it's important. We dare not turn back on a strategy that's working. We've got to keep strengthening our community efforts -- putting more of these people out on the street who can be community police officers.

I won't be satisfied with this crime problem until we can meet this test -- we will never purge the country completely of crime because you can't -- at least the President doesn't have the power to alter human nature. The preachers here can call on a higher power, but I can't. So we'll always have some crime. What will be the test for you -- when you know that the crime rate is at a manageable, acceptable level in a civilized country? When you go home at night after a long day at work and you flip on the evening news, and the lead story is not a crime story, or if it is, you're surprised instead of deadened by it. You're really surprised. Then you will know that we got the crime rate going in the right direction for good. (Applause.)

The other thing that bothers people is that even though the crime rate's going down in the country as a whole, the rate of crime and violence by people under 18 is going up. We've still got too many innocent kids being killed in crossfires by drive-by shootings. We still have too many kids that are out there raising themselves in the streets, so they wind up in gangs, because everybody wants to be part of something. Most people can't just live wandering around as hermits all alone. So if you put people out there on the street and they have to raise themselves, they wind up in gangs because people don't want to be alone. There's not another compelling

alternative. We have to fill that gap. And we have to the things that are responsible, those of us who are responsible for the future. We cannot lose another generation to gangs and guns and drugs. We cannot waiver on it. (Applause.)

We cannot show weakness, and we dare not cater to special interest groups on this. We are determined to stand by the ban on 19 deadly assault weapons. It was the right thing to do. (Applause.) We are determined to stand by the Brady Bill's requirement of waiting periods.

Let me just tell you, I know when we passed the Brady Bill and when we passed the assault weapons ban in 1994 --and Mr. Mfume will tell you this -- we lost some members of Congress who actually lost their seats in Congress because they voted for these bills. People went into their districts, called voters on the telephone, sent them letters, ran ads saying these people are trying to take your guns away from you; they're trying to end your ability to go out in the country and hunt. That's what they said. And, you know, most people who work hard don't have time to keep up with what's going on every day. A lot of people didn't know, and they went right in and dutifully voted against these members of Congress. And some of them gave up their seats.

But you know what? It's been two years now -- two deer seasons -- (laughter) -- two ducks seasons, two turkey seasons, two quail seasons, two squirrel seasons -- (laughter) -- and everybody in this whole country that likes to do that is still shooting at those animals with the same gun they had before we passed the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban. (Applause.) Every single soul. So they didn't tell the truth.

But I'll tell you who doesn't have guns. Because of that Brady Bill, 60,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have not been able to get handguns and pull the trigger on innocent American citizens. We were right and they were wrong about that, and we've got to stand tough on it. (Applause.)

Now, this year, we've gone through a great debate about whether or not to repeal the assault weapons ban. I couldn't believe it. Just four months ago the House of Representatives actually voted to repeal the assault weapons ban. They want to take Uzis out there and shoot at the deer. (Laughter.) Wild turkey fly fast; you need lots of bullets -- (laughter.) I'm kind of laughing to keep from crying about this.

And let me say, there's now a lot of talk about you know where the major candidates will stand on this repeal of the assault weapons ban, who will push for it, and won't, and whatever. But I will say one thing that the Republican candidate for president has not said, and probably will not and cannot say. I will veto any attempt to repeal the assault weapons ban or the Brady Bill. I will veto it. (Applause.)

We should stand with law enforcement; we should stand with the victims of crime. You can't tell me it doesn't make any difference. I'll never forget a handsome young businessman

from northern California I met a couple of years ago when we were fighting this battle. He had a beautiful young daughter, but his beautiful young daughter no longer had her beautiful young mother, because the beautiful young mother just happened to be in a high-risk one day when a madman happened to walk in and cut loose with an assault weapon.

Now, people go crazy; these things happen. But if he'd had a revolver instead of an assault weapon, there wouldn't be so many people dead in that building. And this is important. This is an important issue.

So I ask you all to think about this and talk about this. And let me just tell you something that makes, again, Kweisi's attempt to bring all the young people in here so important. Just starting in grade school now, we have the largest group of young Americans more diverse than ever before in terms of their racial and ethnic backgrounds -- the largest group of young Americans entering our school system since the baby boomers entered right after World War II.

It was thought for a long time we would never have a group of youngsters that large again. This group is larger. They are more likely to be people of color. They are quite likely to come from families with difficult situations, or at least difficult economic situations. We must turn this problem of juvenile violence and gangs around before they reach their adolescent years if we don't want to reap the whirlwind of this. (Applause.)

One way we have to do it is with the right kind of welfare reform. Three-quarters of the people in America on welfare are already under welfare reform experiments because of the action our government has taken to encourage strategies to move people from welfare to work.

My criteria is simple. I don't mind being tough on requiring people to work, but we ought to want for people on welfare what we want for ourselves. What do we want? We want to succeed at home and at work. We want to be good parents and we want to be good from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. We want to feel good about ourselves when we come home from work, but we want to feel good about ourselves when we leave home with our kids behind. That is the simple test. So I say, tough on work, yes; tough on kids, no way. Be good to the kids. Invest in child care. (Applause.)

And we've had time enough now to see who is right. We have 1.3 million people less on the welfare rolls today than the day I took the oath of office as President of the United States. (Applause.) That's the way to move people from welfare to work -- support them with child care and then require those work requirements.

And the most important thing we can do is make a wholesale commitment to educational excellence and educational opportunity in this country. We have got to do more. People say we've done a lot on that in the last 15 years. Not nearly enough. We've expanded Head Start, but not enough. We've worked to shrink class sizes and help teachers be retrained. We've

worked to encourage states to set high standards and to give them the flexibility they need to meet the standards. We've worked to open the doors of college wider than ever, increasing the Pell grants, changing the student loan program so that people could borrow the money at lower costs with less hassle and then have the option to pay it back as a percentage of their income, so that no young person should ever drop out of school because of the burden of a student loan. (Applause.)

But we have to do more. I am determined to see every classroom and every library in every school in the United States of America hooked up to the Internet by the year 2000 so the poorest kids can get the richest education and have access to all the information that any student anywhere in the world had. (Applause.)

I believe that the best tax cut we could give the American people is a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition up to \$10,000 a year. (Applause.) I believe that we ought to make at least two years of college after high school just as universal as a high school education is today. (Applause.)

I think everybody out to have access to it. That's why I have proposed a \$1,500 refundable tax credit -- enough to pay the entire tuition cost at the typical community college in the United States, so that everybody of any age can at least go back and get two years of college, so they can do well in the world toward which we're going. (Applause.)

If you want to inspire young people of the future, you at least ought to be able to tell them -- you at least ought to be able to tell them -- you ought to be able to look them right in the eye and say, you will go to college if you do this. (Applause.) That's the least that we can do in Washington to help those of you who are out there in our neighborhoods help to rescue this generation of young people and give them something to say yes to and a bright future to embrace.

So these are the things that I think we ought to be focusing on. Things that help people make the most of their own lives -- not a guarantee, but an opportunity. Things that help build strong families. Things that help build strong communities. They'll build a strong country. And it's one thing to preach to people that they ought to be responsible -- and I'm for that -- but if they are responsible, they ought to be rewarded with opportunity. The two things should go together as a bargain. (Applause.)

Let me say one other thing. Now that the Cold War is over, we have, unfortunately, not a world free of danger, we've got a lot of security problems. You know it as well as I do. We just dealt with it with a terrible, terrible loss of our Air Force personnel in Saudi Arabia.

What is leading to all this terrorism around the world? What does it have in common, when the Hutus and the Tutsis just slaughter each other in Rwanda or Burundi? What does that have to do with people rioting in Northern Ireland? What does it have to do with the Bosnians, the Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs and what they did to each other for four years after living

together in peace for decades? What does it have to do with the continuing tensions in the Middle East?

Well, I think it has to do with human nature being vulnerable every day to taking the easy way of defining ourselves in terms of who we're not, instead of who we are; defining ourselves in terms of who we can look down on, instead of what we can look up to. What leads to an Oklahoma City bombing? What were those people thinking in that group in Arizona where our federal officials broke it up the other day before -- when they had that massive weapons cash and all those -- at least they have been charged with plans to blow up all kinds of federal facilities? What are they thinking about when they burn all those churches and synagogues -- or, in a few cases, mosques and Islamic centers? What are they thinking about?

I'm telling you, it's something endemic to human nature, something you have to teach your kids about all the time -- something we all have to fight. It's almost like, every day you wake up and the scales are going inside you -- you know, hope and fear, hatred and reconciliation. But there are people all over the world that look like they just can't exist unless they go out and kill somebody who is different from them -- or at least keep them at arm's length.

And nobody has ever perfectly solved this problem. There are no perfect answers because, again, it deals with the human spirit and the things that are endemic to human nature. But that's why I know that even though we desegregated our schools and threw racism out of public facilities and elected African Americans and Hispanics and Asian Americans to Congress, passed civil rights laws, this job is a never-ending job -- here and around the world. It's a never-ending job. (Applause.)

That's why, notwithstanding the political movement of the moment, after I studied it for several months, I thought we could and should make some changes in the affirmative action laws, but that we should mend them and not end them. I thought it would be a mistake to end them and walk away. (Applause.)

I think it's a mistake not to try to keep working for voting rights and greater impact of voting rights. And, notwithstanding the recent Supreme Court decisions which, of course, we will all honor, we still have to be on a mission of making sure that the Congress of the United States represents the American people in a fair way. (Applause.)

And it's why we have to keep standing against this rash of church burnings. You know, it's hard to think of anything an American could do that didn't kill a lot of people that would offend our sense of decency more than burning a house of worship. This whole country got started in part by people coming here so they could build their own churches and worship God in any way they pleased, and they wouldn't be oppressed here. That's how we got started. (Applause.)

In the darkest hours of our country, when we lived with the awful curse of slavery, and then later with the problems associated with the attempt to escape it, if it had not been for the African American church -- if it had not been for the African American church what would have happened? (Applause.) We might have plunged this country into an orgy of violence and killing, and lost tens of thousands more people, and hardened our hearts against one another in ways that it would have taken a century or more to overcome.

An attack on a house of worship, whether it's a big old Southern Baptist church, or a big old black Baptist church, or a tiny synagogue, or a Muslim mosque that only a few people ever frequent, is an attack on the whole idea of America. And it represents our problem in dealing with this curse of hatred based on race and religion and ethnicity that is sweeping the world and fueling so much of this terrorism.

I want to thank you for what you have done. The NAACP has worked with law enforcement and government and business and religious leaders to help us catch and prosecute people, and to help us rebuild, and to help us prevent these burnings. You know that my administration stands behind you. We created a national task force on these church burnings, headed, I might add, very ably by two of the finest African Americans in our administration -- Deval Patrick, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil rights; and Jim Johnson, the Assistant Secretary of Treasury for enforcement.

We've got over 200 FBI and ATF agents working to solve these crimes, going through the evidence, doing the investigations. And we're making arrests. In just the last three weeks, arrests have been made in connection with fires in Missouri, North and South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and Washington. (Applause.) And just this past Monday, while you were here, two members of the KKK were charged with the burning of the Mt. Zion AME church in Greeleyville, South Carolina, where I visited just last month. (Applause.)

This morning before I left the White House, I met with a bipartisan group of congressional leaders to thank them for quickly and unanimously passing bipartisan legislation to make it easier to prosecute arson attacks against houses of worship. (Applause.) Also, that legislation authorizes a \$10-million Department of Housing and Urban Development loan guarantee program to be used for church rebuilding -- to work with the money that's been raised by the National Council of Churches, the guarantees of volunteers that have been given by Habitat for Humanity and others.

But we must do more. Two weeks ago, I began to convene religious leaders and governors and others in the White House to talk about what else we can do. I asked the head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, James Lee Witt, who's used to working with local community groups when we have natural disasters, to work with the Justice and Treasury Departments, with the governors to frame a national prevention initiative. One of the big problems here in preventing these crimes is that you've got so many of these little churches that are out on country roads, and they're old wooden structures, and they don't even have a full-time

staff, so they can't afford to have full-time people there as night watchmen.

Keep in mind, so far there's no evidence of a national conspiracy. Most of these people are not armed when they sneak in in the middle of the night to do this. If you just had bright lights and somebody hanging around most of the time it wouldn't happen.

Last week I transferred \$6 million to local communities in 13 states across the South -- that's enough to pay for one new police officer in a county to drive around on these back roads to patrol the churches at night, or for lighting, or for whatever else they want to use it for to try to prevent, prevent the fires from occurring in the first place. (Applause.)

And tomorrow the Vice President is meeting with leaders of the insurance industry at the White House to build on their pledge to work in partnership with all of us to prevent these crimes, and to make sure that we can still get insurance for these churches. I've heard a lot about that from people, and it's important. (Applause.)

So we're going to do everything we can to stop these fires, to catch who is doing it, to rebuild. But I say again, this work we're doing here is dealing with a flaw in the human spirit that all of us have to fight always. We cannot -- we cannot -- let significant numbers of the American people turn into cowards, acting in the dark of night, on racial, ethnic or religious bigotry. We cannot do that. (Applause.) We cannot let people in this country develop terrorists cells to manifest their hatred of their own government in the greatest experiment in self-government in human history.

If we are going to continue to be a force against terrorism and against hatred in the rest of the world, we have to continue to purge ourselves of it. (Applause.) That's why earlier this month I signed a proclamation designating July as the national month of unity for Americans. I asked religious leaders of all faiths and citizens from all walks of life to reach out to one another, to strengthen the ideals that light our way and keep this country strong.

We have not always lived up to our promise. We're people, we're human, we make mistakes, we're imperfect. But we have never stopped trying. And we have never stopped moving. And as we enter this great new century, we have got to say that we're going to stamp out the fires of hatred and bigotry. (Applause.) We have got to say we are going to find a way to reject intolerance and heal our divisions. We have got to find a way to say, as your president has said, this is the new day begun. (Applause.)

I just want to leave you with this thought. A couple of nights ago I met with a group of businesspeople to talk about a number of issues, and one of them said to me -- he said, Mr. President, I've been in business for over 30 years, I've built facilities in more than 25 nations; I have seen this world changed a lot. He said, there is no country in the world today in better shape for the next century than the United States. And he said, our diversity, the fact that we are all so different is an enormous asset in a global economy where information and ideas have to be

exchanged at a rapid rate and people have to understand each other and deal with each other. He said, that's why it's so important that we learn how to work together and be together, because if we do, there is no stopping this country. (Applause.)

I've said several times in the last few weeks --I'll just close with this -- it seems like my life as your President has been dominated by fires in the last couple of weeks -- arguably, for longer than that. But, I mean, literally. On the one hand there's the church fires, which are the symbol of everything that is wrong, that we want to reject when it occurs in our country. And on the other hand, there is the fire that burns in the Olympic flame that's making it's way to Atlanta.

And I'm sure every one of you has read as this flame has moved through your states of all these community heroes who are picked to carry the torch for a kilometer. Some of them were in wheelchairs and had to roll along. Some of them were very old and had to walk along. Some of them were great athletes and could fly along so fast the flame almost went out. But every one of them had one thing in common -- they were picked to carry that torch because they were, first and foremost, great citizens.

There was a 74-year-old woman in Nevada that had taken 100 kids in who had been abandoned, so she took them in. There was a man who came in in Washington, one of the torchbearers at the White House, probably about 60, African American man, who had devoted his life to rescuing the lives of children. And he walked up with 12 of his kids, and they were white, black, brown, and Asian Americans. He had given his life to them.

There was a Catholic nun who had devoted her whole life to fulfilling the Catholic social ministry in her community. There was the deaf president of Galludet University, our nation's deaf university, who is in his late 50s. And when he left what he was doing with us, he was going that week to run a 100-mile race. There was a young woman who played basketball at the University of Tennessee whose body was crushed in an accident and she thought her whole -- her life was nearly over, her athletic career was certainly over. But by sheer force of will, she got herself back into shape, resumed her basketball career, helped them win a national championship, and is one of the leaders on our basketball team.

All of these people shared one thing in common -- they're all different races, all different religions, all different backgrounds -- they lived their citizenship. They bridged the differences between us. They were looking for the future. They saw themselves in terms of who they were, not in terms of what they weren't. In terms of what they could become, not who they were supposed to hate. (Applause.) In terms of what kind of partnerships and teamwork they could build, not how they could be divided.

That is the mission that the NAACP will carry, with great success and energy and commitment and conviction, to the hearts and minds of these young people into the 21st century. That is the mission we must be on. And that is what I hope and pray we will be discussing in this

election season: How can we give to our children the kind of America they deserve to have.

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

END

1:21 P.M. EDT

Reviewed Affirmative Action programs. Ordered a comprehensive review of the government's affirmative action programs which concluded that affirmative action is still an effective and important tool to expand educational and economic opportunity to all Americans.

Opposed California Prop 209. Filed *amicus* briefs opposing California Proposition 209, which would prohibit state affirmative action programs.

Election fairness. Defended racially fair redistricting plans against claims that they were unconstitutional; prevented election day discrimination against minority voters and voter intimidation and harassment by monitoring polling place activities in a record number of states and counties.

Eliminated discriminatory "redlining" practices. Negotiated agreements with health care agencies to eliminate discriminatory "redlining" practices denying home health care services based on residential location.

Defended fairness. Filed more cases in the last four years to enforce fair housing laws than any other Administration (more than 500 cases). Desegregated a Vidor, Texas public housing complex; ordered a Mississippi bank to implement remedial lending plans for minority customers once denied loans by the bank.

Education

African-American advisory board. Established the President's Board of Advisors for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) to strengthen the capacity of historically black colleges and universities to provide quality education. Advised on ways to increase the private sector's role in these institutions.

Increased funding and grants for HBCUs. Increased funding for Historically Black Colleges by nearly \$250 million since FY92, an almost 25% increase. Increased Fulbright grant awards to HBCUs in FY96 by almost 50% over the amount reported in FY95.

Enrollment. A record percentage of African Americans were enrolled in post-secondary education in 1994 -- 35.6% of African American graduates.

AmeriCorps college support. Enabled 70,000 volunteers to earn money for college by serving their communities and their country in the AmeriCorps program, with African Americans comprising one-third of all participants. (National Service Act)

Children and Families

Increased Earned Income Tax Credit. Provided tax relief for 15 million working families by increasing the Earned Income Tax Credit to allow more families to qualify for tax rebates. In 1995, the EITC lifted over 810,000 African Americans, including almost 450,000 African American children, out of poverty.

Focused health efforts. Established the Office of the Minority Health Research and Alternative Medicine at the National Institutes of Health. Helped communities develop culturally-competent systems for care for children with serious emotional disturbances through the Comprehensive Mental Health Services for Children and Families program.

Fighting Crime

White House Conference on Hate Crimes. President Clinton announced the first White House Conference on Hate Crimes, which will examine laws and remedies that can make a difference in preventing hate crimes, highlight solutions that are working in communities across the country, and continue the frank and open dialogue needed to build One America.

Action against church burnings. Focused the nation's attention and resources to help stop the rash of church burnings across the country, prosecuted those responsible, and sped the rebuilding process.

Action against hate crimes. Filed 38 hate crime cases in FY96, involving 65 defendants.

Safe and Clean Environment

Environmental justice and redevelopment. Issued an Executive Order on Environmental Justice to ensure that low income citizens and minorities do not suffer a disproportionate burden of industrial pollution. Identified pilot projects to be undertaken across the country to redevelop contaminated sites in low-income communities, turn them into useable space, create jobs and enhance community development.

American Leadership

Democracy for Haiti. Restored democracy to Haiti and enabled the first transfer of power from one democratically elected president to another in Haitian history.

Democracy for South Africa. Assisted South Africa's transition to democracy by providing support for elections and development.

Focus on Africa. Hosted the first White House Conference on Africa in July 1994.

NOTIONAL SCHEDULE FOR PRESIDENT

DC - Pittsburgh - Chicago - DC

OPTION #1

- 8:00 am Proceed to the South Lawn
- 8:05 am Depart the White House via Marine One en route AAFB
[flight time: 10 minutes]
- 8:15 am Arrive AAFB
- 8:30 am Depart AAFB en route Pittsburgh, PA
[flight time: 55 minutes]
- 9:25 am Arrive Pittsburgh, PA
- 9:40 am Depart Pittsburgh International Airport en route David Lawrence
Convention Center
[approximate drive time: 30 minutes]
- 10:10 am Arrive David Lawrence Convention Center
- 10:15 am- REMARKS TO NAACP NATIONAL CONVENTION
11:00 am David Lawrence Convention Center
OPEN PRESS
- Note: Approximately 4,000 in attendance.
- 11:05 am- RECEIVING LINE WITH NAACP BOARD (65 Members)
11:30 am David Lawrence Convention Center
- 11:35 am- POSSIBLE BRIEFING/INTERVIEW
12:20 pm David Lawrence Convention Center
- 12:30 pm Depart David Lawrence Convention Center en route Pittsburgh
International Airport
[approximate drive time: 30 minutes]
- 1:00 pm Arrive Pittsburgh International Airport
- 1:15 pm ET Depart Pittsburgh, PA en route Chicago, IL
[flight time: 1 hour, 15 minutes]
[time change: - 1 hour]
- 1:30 pm CT Arrive Chicago, IL

1:45 pm Depart O'Hare International Airport en route event site
[approximate drive time: 30 minutes]

2:15 pm Arrive event site

2:20 pm- MEETING WITH MULTI-RACIAL GROUPS
3:35 pm Site Tba
POOL PRESS

3:45 pm Depart event site en route the Sheraton Hotel
[approximate drive time: 15 minutes]

4:00 pm Arrive the Sheraton Hotel

4:00 pm- DOWN TIME
6:15 pm Sheraton Hotel

6:20 pm Depart Sheraton Hotel en route the Hyatt Regency Hotel
[drive time: 5 minutes]

6:25 pm Arrive Hyatt Regency Hotel

6:30 pm- RECEIVING LINE WITH NABJ BOARD (12 Members)
6:40 pm Hyatt Regency Hotel
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

6:45 pm- REMARKS TO THE ASSOCIATION OF BLACK JOURNALISTS
7:35 pm NATIONAL CONVENTION
Chicago Hyatt Regency Hotel
OPEN PRESS

Note: Approximately 3,000 in attendance.
Note: Question and Answer session to follow remarks.

7:45 pm Depart Chicago Hyatt Regency Hotel en route O'Hare International Airport
[approximate drive time: 25 minutes]

8:10 pm Arrive O'Hare International Airport

8:25 pm Depart Chicago, IL en route AAFB
[flight time: 1 hour, 35 minutes]
[time change: + 1 hour]

11:00 pm Arrive AAFB

11:10 pm Depart AAFB en route White House
[flight time: 10 minutes]

11:20 pm Arrive White House

At N.A.A.C.P., Talk of a Shift On Integration

Separate But Equal' Wins New Support

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

WASHINGTON, June 22 — Facing continued white resistance to busing to achieve school desegregation, an increasingly conservative judiciary and now criticism from inside and outside its ranks, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is rethinking one of its fundamental principles: advocacy of public school integration.

The N.A.A.C.P. has always supported school integration as a way to improve educational opportunities for black students, but other black leaders have begun voicing doubts about that goal. They say the organization should focus more heavily on seeking the improvement of majority-black schools.

A change in the 88-year-old organization's position on school integration, should it occur, would come after years of criticism of the N.A.A.C.P. as being hidebound and lacking in appeal for younger blacks. Debating such a radical move would allow the organization to be seen as being on the cutting edge of new thinking in civil rights.

Officials of the organization have been in a quandary in recent years about members who oppose its traditional support for racially mixed schools, even ousting local chapter directors who expressed different views. Opposition to the N.A.A.C.P. policy has been growing at the same time that segregation in public schools has been on the rise.

Other dissenting voices have added pressure. More black parents are complaining that under school integration plans, it is their children who are most likely to be the ones bused out of their neighborhoods. And some black self-help advocates, like Justice Clarence Thomas and Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, have argued that it is demeaning to suggest that black students can achieve a quality education only in largely white schools.

At its national convention next month in Pittsburgh, the N.A.A.C.P. is expected to have a formal debate on its school-integration policy for the first time in more than a decade.

Myrtle Evers-Williams, the chairwoman of the N.A.A.C.P., said she not only expected the delegates to debate the merits of continuing to promote integration in public schools but also expected them to consider modifying the group's position through a resolution. But her personal position is still in support of inte-

grated schools.

"The N.A.A.C.P. has always believed in integration of the public schools," Ms. Evers-Williams said. "But a debate has been raging as to whether that's still the position we should take."

Whether the delegates decide to alter their backing of integration efforts, including busing, or simply vote to study the issue, Ms. Evers-Williams said the N.A.A.C.P. board would also take up the issue either at the convention or at its next board meeting in October.

Even the suggestion of a shift in position could further erode support for a policy that seems to be increasingly falling out of favor among blacks.

Michael Meyers, head of the New York Civil Rights Coalition, a centrist group that still supports integration, interpreted Ms. Evers-Williams's statements as a tacit approval of some change in direction.

"She is now sending a very clear and strong signal that she is ready to

let their policy go by the wayside," Mr. Meyers said.

The rethinking of its stance on integration comes at a time when the N.A.A.C.P. is struggling to find its voice again after several years of internal discord that led to the dismissal of its former executive director Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., and the replacement with Ms. Evers-Williams of its chairman, William F. Gibson. The group has also had to pay off a \$3.2 million debt that had hamstrung its legal and advocacy work.

Last week Ms. Evers-Williams brought together a multiracial panel of experts to advise her and other N.A.A.C.P. leaders on issues and strategies the organization might pursue.

"For the last two years, we have been focused on the survival of the N.A.A.C.P.," Ms. Evers-Williams said. "We're trying to make the organization strong so that we can turn to an action plan."

Efforts to reduce school busing are winning some black support. Earlier this year, the Board of Education in Guilford County, N.C., which includes

Greensboro, voted to redraw its district lines to minimize its large-scale busing program and preserve neighborhood schools. Among the groups advocating the end of large-scale busing in the county was a group of black ministers called the Pulpit Forum.

"Our biggest concern now is whether our schools will be equal," said Amos Quick, a black member of the 60-member citizens committee that will redraw the school boundaries, writing in The Greensboro News & Record last month. "Separate but truly equal would not be so bad."

In some ways, a shift in the N.A.A.C.P.'s policy would have more symbolic meaning than real impact. Under what was essentially a peace treaty between two groups that are often in competition, the N.A.A.C.P. generally filed school desegregation suits in the North in the 1960's and 1970's, while the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, once part of the N.A.A.C.P., brought such suits in the South.

more difficult and more expensive to win desegregation suits that resulted in busing between increasingly black inner-city districts and white suburbs, the general trend in northern metropolitan areas. With the increased costs of the lawsuits and the N.A.A.C.P.'s continued financial woes, the group has virtually stopped involving itself at the national level in school desegregation cases.

"The N.A.A.C.P. is a large organization, and there are many local chapters who are still fighting the re-segregation of schools that is going on," said Gary Orfield, a professor of education and social policy at Harvard. "But the national N.A.A.C.P. office has not been a major actor in this area for years."

Still, the symbolism of an N.A.A.C.P. retreat from its unstinting support of school integration would have significance. The Justice Department monitors more than 400 school desegregation programs — some court-ordered, some voluntary — and some observers say it would become more difficult to defend those programs, especially the so-called metropolitan plans, which involve busing between cities and suburbs — from attack.

"If the N.A.A.C.P. is saying that separate is no longer unequal," Mr. Meyers said, "that functionally reverses Brown v. Board of Education. If the N.A.A.C.P. is pulling back, then they are sending a strong signal to the courts and making it extremely difficult for there to be metropolitan remedies for segregation."

Support for school integration has been a defining principle of the N.A.A.C.P. almost since its inception. Indeed, it was litigation carried out by Thurgood Marshall, the late Supreme Court Justice who once headed the group's legal department, that eventually led to the landmark Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kan., decision in 1954. That decision outlawed legal segregation and overturned the doctrine set forth in the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case,

which the Court said that separate but equal treatment of blacks and whites did not violate the equal protection guarantee of the Constitution.

But in recent years, there has been growing disillusionment with busing and other efforts to achieve integration. Julian Bond, an N.A.A.C.P. board member who said he would oppose diminishing support for integrated schools, still empathized with those who are frustrated. "Generally among black Americans," Mr. Bond said, "there is a feeling that this has come to naught, that so much energy has been put into it without commensurate results and that white America has been so resistant that you're butting your head against the wall. I think it's a wrong attitude, but it's an understandable attitude."

The debate over integration has rolled the N.A.A.C.P. itself. Last year, the N.A.A.C.P. board dismissed Robert H. Robinson as president of its Bergen County branch in New Jersey for expressing the view that getting quality schools in black neighborhoods was more important than seeking integration. In October 1995, the group also ousted Kenneth W. Jenkins, president of the Yonkers branch, after he questioned the wisdom of the continued use of busing to achieve integration.

That type of ferment within the black community is clearly influencing the N.A.A.C.P. to review its position, several board members said.

"When you listen to the views of the community and listen to parents, they are telling us that things are not right," said Sandra McGary, chairwoman of the N.A.A.C.P. board's education committee.

Still, some board members say they fear that a less stalwart position would coincide with a worrisome trend of more segregation.

A report issued last month by researchers from Harvard and Indiana Universities found that racial segregation in the public schools had been increasing since 1980, especially as more white families had moved out of inner cities and into the suburbs and as Federal courts had stopped ordering integration plans that linked cities and suburbs.

The report's authors warned against giving in to that trend.

*Terry
FBI
Puhel*

Continued on Page A15

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7/4/97

To: John Hope Franklin
Minyon Moore
Sylvia Mathews
Elena Kagan

From: Christopher Edley, Jr.

Re: Agenda Ideas for Advisory Board on the President's Race Initiative

I'm told the bulk of the July 14th agenda will be devoted to organizational matters. It is unfortunate that these couldn't have been handled by conference call, given the difficulty and delay in assembling people, and the press of time. I write primarily to urge a certain set of substantive agenda items as well. In particular, I suggest a few items below that I believe will advance the thinking of the Advisory Board, the Administration, and others around the nation who are ready and able to share in this great undertaking. In each case, what I recommend is a preliminary Advisory Board discussion to shape the task and provide guidance for further work by the staff.

Outreach

I assume that this set of tasks, which several of us discussed informally during the trip to San Diego, will be covered under the rubric of "organizational issues." I only want to one thought: In addition to political and civic organizations and leaders, I hope that this will include consideration of how the Advisory Committee and White House staff might effectively coordinate their outreach to the policy community.

We also had some discussion about subcommittees holding regional meetings to hear presentations and collect information and advice. It would be useful to reach some consensus on how that might best be undertaken, in both logistical and substantive terms.

Defining and Identifying Effective Leadership

My strong conviction is that there is no more important task for the President's initiative than identifying the ingredients and examples of effective leadership on racial and ethnic justice. My own work leads me to believe that such leadership will most likely be in the form of work that connects communities across lines of class and color, probably in efforts that include honest dialogue but go beyond that to tackle important community problems.

Independent of my own hypotheses, however, the more basic premise is that effective leadership on race is both researchable and teachable: we can figure out what works,

and describe it in a way that others can learn and adapt to their own situations, with positive results.

The challenge for the President and the Advisory Board has four dimensions. *First*, we must develop evaluative criteria – and do so in a manner that confers legitimacy on those criteria. *Second*, we need a process that combines investigation and nominations to create a pool of leaders, projects and programs that may be examples of success and failure. *Third*, we need a mechanism to apply the criteria to the examples, documenting the stories and separating good publicity from good results. *Fourth*, we need a way to disseminate the findings.

For the July 14th meeting, I suggest the Advisory Board try to develop a tentative strategy with regard to the first three dimensions of this task, together with concrete instructions for the staff concerning timetable and next steps.

Hard Questions for Community Conversations

Based on the experience of the White House review of affirmative action, and perhaps drawn from my own disciplinary prejudices as a law professor, I think there is a great deal of promise for the “national conversation” on race in focusing on a limited set of hard questions or examples. Rather than law school hypotheticals, however, these can be questions that are on the minds of many thoughtful people, or situational problems modeled quite accurately after conflicts common in our lives. We have urged, and the President has charged, that Americans think deeply and honestly about the most vexing conflicts in perceptions and values. (My words, not his, I guess.) To do so, I recommend that the Advisory Committee frame a set of such discrete questions. If framed well, these will provoke learning, if not healing.

I would like the Board to suggest ten questions initially, and add more later. I’d like the President to mention some of these in his speeches the week of July 14th. I’d like them to become the focus for public discussion in the coming months, in countless forums. And I’d like people to learn how to identify ways of addressing these questions, distinguishing between foolish and wise, divisive and constructive. The Board and the President can lead that effort.

What are some possible questions? A quick list is appended.

Assembling Research Data on Race in America

I have recommended to White House staff an extensive effort to review literature and assemble authoritative data under four headings: *Demography*, *Disparities*, *Discrimination*, and *Race Relations*. Each of these then subdivides into subdivisions – easily the work of a career. Nevertheless, a preliminary outline of the task headings is should be ready by now, and certainly could be reviewed by the Advisory Board on July 14th to ensure that all of the information you would like compiled is in fact within the scope of work for this exercise. The President’s Council of Economic Advisors is coordinating this effort, under the direction of Member Alicia Munnell, a very distinguished economist. (She did seminal work on mortgage lending discrimination, by the way.)

There will be several areas in which the data are not authoritative because of important disagreements about methodology or purpose. For example, people disagree about

the soundness of econometric methods for inferring wage discrimination from underlying data on wage rates and human capital. In race relations, people disagree about whether surveys of self-reported social beliefs provide reliable information about prejudicial attitudes. The Advisory Board might want to consider how and whether efforts might be taken to engage the academic community in consensus-building efforts in selected areas of disagreement.

The National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council mechanism would be useful, but it needs a good lead time to get engaged. *That's why I raise it for immediate consideration.*

Evidence, Law and Arguments Concerning "Reverse Discrimination"

In the White House review of affirmative action we concluded based on available data that there is far more rhetoric than reality to the "reverse discrimination" problem. Nevertheless, a thorough consideration of the facts and values at stake will be taken by many to be a litmus test of the intellectual and moral integrity of the Board's work. For that reason, a discussion of how to pursue a reasoned analysis of this problem makes sense, sooner rather than later.

I recommend a multi-pronged effort, including a review of data, a consideration of the state of the law, and an assessment of some leading ethical statements on the subject, including development of balanced critiques intended to educate the public about the dangers of simplistic thinking in this area. (See Task 3, above.)

Evidence, Law and Arguments Concerning the "Rollback" of Affirmative Action

Another litmus test for the effort will be a candid assessment of the "Rollback" of affirmative action, starting with the developments in Texas and California. There are several subtasks, starting with an effort to track what is known about the numbers – the actual consequences, good and bad, of the new policies.

Another subtask involves an assessment of the policy, ethical, and legal claims made for and against the rollback. This will quickly require a dissection of the claims concerning merit, diversity, educational mission, and so forth. The Board should consider commissioning one or more analyses to provide a framework for discussing this subject.

A third subtask is to identify and assess the kinds of claims and arguments that are made by both sides in these contentious political decisions about rolling back affirmative action. Events in California and elsewhere might provide important case studies for the quality of discourse on race, with lessons for the future. The Board might commission such a study – a "content analysis" of the Proposition 209 campaign, for example – to identify the good, bad and ugly in public advocacy, journalism and campaign tactics.

Ultimately, it is important to distinguish between "mending" efforts and "rollback" efforts, and the Board should try to illuminate the distinction.

National Report Card on Race

The Board should consider making a concrete policy recommendation at the first meeting, albeit in tentative form. Specifically, something like: *The Federal*

government should develop and publish a periodic national report card on racial and ethnic justice, tracking trends in discrimination, disparities, demographics, and race relations. I suggest that any such recommendation be framed in tentative or provisional terms, with an invitation to the public and relevant agencies to comment on the idea.

There is already some movement in this direction within the bureaucracy. The Civil Rights Commission and HUD are among those contemplating expanded efforts to measure discrimination in an ongoing manner, and a proposal of this sort was included in the President's February budget submission to Congress. (I proposed to OMB that this item inserted, along with some modest enhancements in civil rights enforcement budgets.)

The premise is simple: Knowing the facts and creating an authoritative research data base should be unobjectionable to anyone concerned with racial and ethnic justice. Even those who vehemently oppose particular remedial or other measures, such as affirmative action, condemn discrimination. So, measuring it seems a reasonable undertaking. Moreover, in a climate of increasing interest in measuring program performance, tracking our progress in combating discrimination seems reasonable. (Cf., the Government Performance and Results Act [GPRA].)

Hard Questions

draft 1

Integration: Is racial integration an important goal? That is, to what extent, if at all, do we want to move toward a society in which racially identifiable communities and organizations are unusual? If integration is important, is it important only as a voluntary matter? Or should the goal be encouraged by public policies? When should it be required? Should we consider the “separatism” and “clan” behavior of some members of minority groups troubling in any way?

Street crime stereotypes: Studies indicate fear of crime linked to racial and ethnic difference. So, is it wrong to fear a group of teenagers of a different race approaching you on an otherwise deserted street late at night? Is it *unreasonable*?

Bilingualism: To what extent should we expect various public and private institutions to operate in languages other than English? Schools? Municipal offices? Restaurants? The gas company? The bank? For which institutions can non-English speakers reasonably insist that their language be used, or at least be an option?

Diversity: In what settings is it important to pursue racial and ethnic diversity? A police force in a diverse city? A college student body? The reporting staff of a newspaper? The loan officers in a bank? Supervisors in an auto parts plant?

Vision: How should we define racial and ethnic “justice”? How will we know when we have achieved it, and how can we measure our progress?

Values, history, community: How was it possible for so many avowedly religious individuals and institutions to condone and even advocate slavery and then segregation? How was it possible for entire communities to tolerate and even embrace racist violence and mob behavior? Are these pathologies permanently cured?

Census: How should we count ourselves? What are the appropriate racial and ethnic categories?

Discrimination and prejudice: How much discrimination and prejudice still exist? In what settings? How significantly do they undermine equal opportunity?

More than 2/3 of cities win battle of the budget

By David Judson
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — America's cities by and large are sharing in the nation's economic good times. More than two-thirds report improved fiscal health this year, a National League of Cities survey says.

"For the fifth year in a row, cities feel they are better able to provide services to the community," says Mark Schwartz, league president and a member of the Oklahoma City Council who presented the survey results Monday. "Most of our towns and cities have a lot of reason to celebrate."

The annual report, which included 338 cities, finds such once-hard-pressed cities as Detroit and Cleveland experiencing mini-booms in central city residential construction. It also finds smaller cities from Reno, Nev., to Delray Beach, Fla., reporting new fiscal breathing room enabled by such revenue novelties as burglar alarm taxes and ambulance fees.

But stubborn money problems remain in some cities and towns, particularly in parts of California and the Northeast where officials are largely constrained from increasing taxes.

Schwartz also issued a warning about changes to the economy wrought by technology. For example, he said, increasing use of the Internet for purchases by-passes local merchants and could devastate local sales-tax bases. "All of a sudden, hometown America is losing business."

On the immediate front, however, the report finds municipalities in generally fine shape. Stable local tax bases, careful budgeting and the overall vigor in the national economy were most often cited.

Those cities with problems tended to blame population loss, the cost of employee health benefits and federal or state mandates and restrictions on local budget authority.

Among specific findings:

► 68% of cities are better able this year to meet financial demands than in the past, and 55% are optimistic about the future.

► 56% of cities are increasing capital expenditures this year, and 55% say the growth rate of operating budgets will rise. The bulk of those increases were found to be toward local infrastructure programs such as streets.

► 36% are increasing their workforces, and 29% report increased levels of service, primarily in police protection.

► 32% report increases in taxes or fees, while 14% report reductions in local taxes.

Many legislatures in for big changes

Added obligations may spur longer sessions, larger staffs

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

A transfer of power from Washington to the states, fueled by Congress and reinforced by the Supreme Court, is forcing the nation's 7,424 state legislators to consider changing the way they govern.

Longer sessions, larger staffs and higher salaries are among the plans being implemented or considered to combat both the growing agenda and declining experience, caused in 20 states by term limits.

Congress expanded states' responsibilities this year by giving them control of welfare. Health care for the poor may come next. And the nation's highest court has given states the authority to decide issues

ranging from assisted suicide to penalties for sex crimes.

That adds to an already long list of issues that confront state lawmakers each year, such as education, crime and taxation.

"It's going to be a pretty long agenda by the time this is all over," says Gary Moncrief, political science professor at Boise State University in Idaho.

At the same time, legislatures are losing experience. Term limits passed by voters in 20 states began to take effect in two states last year. In Maine, 30 of 186 lawmakers couldn't seek re-election. In California, 22 of 120 couldn't run.

Next year, 237 legislators in



Hogue: 'It's going to be very difficult'

seven states will come under the same restriction, including 67 of 110 House members in Michigan and 50 of 100 in Arkansas. And the number will grow in future years, as term limits in more states take effect.

"It's going to be very difficult for the

members of the House to have enough experience to be able to deal with a lot of those complex issues that they're going to be seeing," says Arkansas House Speaker Bobby Hogue, whose legislature meets for two months every other year.

Critics of term limits say inexperienced legislators depend more on staff when making decisions and could be more vulnerable to lobbyists' influence.

Only 10 legislatures are considered full-time and profes-

sional, with large staffs and high salaries. Seventeen are "citizen legislatures," with short sessions, small staffs and low pay. The remaining 23 are somewhere in between. Seven meet only every other year.

"These people are going to have to turn somewhere for help," says Alan Rosenthal, professor of public policy at the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Solutions to the growing workload will be debated when members of the National Conference of State Legislatures meet in Philadelphia Aug. 6-9. Among possible solutions:

► Colorado voted this year to raise salaries from \$17,500 to \$30,000 in 1999. Increases also were considered in Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota and Washington.

► Oregon and Montana are among states considering a switch from biennial to annual legislative sessions.

► Many states are seeking to add staff, including lawmakers whose terms have run out.

This year may have been the calm before the storm. Congress sent only one major program, welfare, to the states, 43 of which already had received federal permission to run pilot welfare programs.

In addition, the economy was strong and welfare funds plentiful, so tough decisions on cutting aid could be postponed.

But the economy won't stay strong forever. And Congress likely will cede more responsibilities to the states, ranging from the operation of Medicaid programs to electric utility deregulation.

"The storm hasn't hit yet," says John Donahue, associate professor at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. "However hard it is now, it's going to get a hell of a lot harder in the not-too-distant future."

USA TODAY

TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1997

More of A-10 pilot's remains recovered

Search continues today for plane's munitions

By Patrick O'Driscoll
USA TODAY

EAGLE, Colo. — Treading carefully through a mountain minefield of rock, snow and unexploded munitions, Air Force mountaineers returned Monday to the scene of April's crash of a bomb-laden warplane.

Two specially trained "pararescue" climbers retrieved more of the body of the pilot, Capt. Craig Button, near the spot where his A-10 attack jet slammed into craggy Gold Dust Peak on April 2. Except for spotting a few ruptured 30mm cannon shells from the plane's Gatling gun, searchers found none of the four 500-pound bombs or other explosive devices that went down with the twin-engine craft.

The search was described as "very slow going." The site is a desolate, debris-strewn snowfield that resembles more a view from the Pathfinder mission on Mars than the scenic Colorado wilderness.

Today, armed with mine detectors and ordinary hand tools, the workers begin a grid-by-grid search for munitions that, if not removed, could pose deadly hazards to climbers and hikers in the remote Holy Cross Wilderness south of here. Air Force officials downplay the likelihood of any damaged explosives going off on their own. But they can't discount the danger if one of the area's frequent summer thunderstorms strikes any of the metal-encased munitions with a freak lightning bolt.

"This is a very difficult crash site," says Brig. Gen. Donald Streater, commander of the recovery operation. "It's some of the most formidable terrain I've ever seen (for) a crash site."

Streater says the four MK 82 bombs that went down with the warplane have 190 pounds of explosives each, with enough power to hurl deadly shrapnel for two-thirds of a mile. Weapons experts from Arizona's Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, where Button was based, say it would take extreme "outside influence" to set off a bomb. Perhaps the only way that could happen is if the crash exposed a bomb's contents to the elements, making them more sensitive.

So bomb retrieval will be conducted



By Ed Andreski, AP

"This is a very difficult crash site. It's some of the most formidable terrain I've ever seen (for) a crash site."

— Brig. Gen. Donald Streater,
commander of the
recovery operation

"slowly, deliberately, carefully," Streater says. "We may stick a flag in the ground and leave (a bomb) there for days" before trying to disarm and remove it.

Hikers and backpackers are barred indefinitely from a zone of 5 square miles.

Other explosives aboard the A-10:

▶ 30mm cannon ammunition (575 rounds). Dummy-headed rounds the size of a TV reporter's microphone; each contains 5 ounces of smokeless gunpowder. In theory, an unretrieved shell could be "fired" by a determined blow with a rock, or an unsuspecting hiker's ice ax.

▶ Decoy flares (60). A pilot fires off these 8-inch aluminum tubes of fast-burning, super-hot magnesium during combat to draw heat-seeking enemy missiles away from his plane.

▶ Chaff canisters (120). Like flares, a pilot shoots these tubes of metal-fiber clusters to confuse enemy radar. Each has a trigger with the charge of a .22-caliber bullet.

▶ Ejection-seat rocket. Like a spaceship blast-off, fast-burning solid fuel propels the pilot away in a midair emergency. Button did not eject, so the device may still be intact, somewhere on the mountain.

Streater says he has no information about the Air Force investigation into how and why Button's jet crashed. Speculation is that the 32-year-old pilot deliberately steered his craft 800 miles off course from southern Arizona, but why he would do that is still a mystery.

The main debris site is about 600 feet down a sheer rock slope from the impact site near the top of Gold Dust's 13,365-foot summit.

McVeigh begins appeals process

By Kevin Johnson
USA TODAY

Lawyers for Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh took the first step in the appeal process Monday. They requested a new trial on grounds that the jury that condemned their client was tainted by pretrial publicity.

The 178-page motion was filed in the Denver federal court where McVeigh was convicted and sentenced to death last month. In the document, his lawyers also object to the amount of emotional testimony by relatives of bombing victims and the judge's decision to exclude the full text of a Justice Department report critical of the FBI crime laboratory in Washington, D.C., where evidence in the case was handled.

"The jurors made their minds up even before the trial got started," defense attorney Robert Nigh said after filing the document in court. "And Tim McVeigh was denied a fair trial because of it."

Nigh was referring to news articles published just before jury selection that reported McVeigh had confessed to the April 19, 1995, attack on the Alfred P. Murrah building that killed 168 people.

Nigh said reports of a confession, contained in stories published by *The Dallas Morning News* and *Playboy* magazine, set off "a firestorm of media reports."

During jury selection, some of the seven men and five women chosen for the case acknowledged having heard or seen references to articles about McVeigh. But they had said they could disregard that information.

In the motion, McVeigh's lawyers said U.S. District Judge Richard Matsch failed to limit the amount of emotional testimony offered by about 40 relatives or friends of people who died in the blast.

During the trial, jurors wept openly at much of the testimony.

Prosecutors declined comment on the defense motion.

Matsch must rule on the motion for a new trial before he announces this month the date of McVeigh's execution. If the motion is denied, McVeigh's lawyers are expected to appeal to the 10th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver.

USA TODAY

TUESDAY, JULY 8, 1997

**ANN F.
WALKER**
07/16/97 09:51:58 AM



Record Type: Record

To: James T. Edmonds/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Bill Lee Insert

Can we include some of the following language in the NAACP remarks on Lee?

Inspired by both the example of his father, a veteran of the U.S. Army in World War II, and the legacy of great advocates like Thurgood Marshall, Bill Lee began his legal career at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in New York as associate counsel in 1974.

Born and raised in New York City, Lee's parents owned a small laundry. He credits his late father, who experienced bigotry despite his proud military service to his country, with providing the inspiration for a career in civil rights law.

Mr. Lee has spent his 23 year legal career ensuring equal opportunity for all people and working diligently against discrimination in all forms, including employment, housing, voting and education.

If the above could be added -- in addition to the minor edits I sent last night -- we would be much appreciative. Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

COPY

**ADDRESS THE 88TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

Date: July 17, 1997
Location: David L. Lawrence
Convention Center
Pittsburgh, PA
Time: 11:15 am
From: Maria Echaveste
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

This is an opportunity to galvanize support for your legislative and policy initiatives with members of the oldest civil rights organizations in the nation.

II. BACKGROUND

The NAACP was founded in 1909 and is the nation's largest and oldest continuing civil rights organization. For more than eight decades, the NAACP Annual Convention has been the largest civil rights gathering in the U.S. The organization is headed by Mrs. Myrlie Evers Williams, Chairman of the Board, and Kwesi Mfume, President. They are credited with rescuing the organization by eliminating its \$3.2 million debt and launching it on the road to recovery.

The Convention is the policy making body of the NAACP, and the resolutions it adopts serve as guides for its local chapters. This year's theme is "NAACP: And Still We Rise." The Convention offers you an opportunity to expand on your remarks on race and outline your initiatives on education. The Convention began on July 11 and its delegates have been discussing all the major issues facing the nation, including education, the census, sentencing guidelines, employment, jobs, training and legal redress. The youth members held a town meeting on "Stop the Violence-Start to Love".

Although there has been much written in the press about the discussion on busing to achieve integration, Mr. Mfume and other NAACP officials have downplayed the issue. They point out that it is one of many topics that the organization discusses at all of its annual conventions. Instead, their primary focus as it relates to education will be the location of new schools, insuring that

magnets are accessible to inner-city youth, and identifying gifted and talented education programs with which the NAACP can build partnerships. The NAACP is currently engaged in a "selective buying" campaign aimed at national hotel chains. They are trying to influence hotel hiring and advertising practices. Additionally, they have been the leading civil rights group to call for an independent investigation of the racially charged sexual misconduct cases in the military.

Several influential African Americans have received NAACP awards this year. Carl Rowan will be presented with the Spingarn Medal which is the highest honor awarded by the group. Retiring Southern Christian Leadership Conference President, Joseph Lowery, and boxing promoter Don King received the President's award. A tribute to Betty Shabazz was presented by Myrlie Evers-Williams and Coretta King on Tuesday.

The Convention was marred by news that noted Maryland NAACP President Hanley J. Norment was killed last week in an accident in Silver Spring, Md. The convention is also being held amidst a backdrop of tension between local blacks and the white establishment. The death of black motorist Johnny Gammage, who died during a struggle with several white policemen, exacerbated already high racial tensions in the city.

In addition, the Ku Klux Klan has planned a demonstration coinciding with your speech. C. Edward Foster, the leader of the group, said the demonstration was designed to highlight "environmental terrorism" at an industrial waste treatment plant in Westmoreland County which has been the target of complaints from residents. They also plan to protest what they view as the inequality of government responses to the recent flooding in Pitcairn. The KKK contends that in these cases, government relief would have been more effective had the residents been members of minority groups. Foster has notified the Pittsburgh police of his plans, and has said that his group has no plans of confronting you. Approximately 30-40 Klansmen are expected (see attachment).

III. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-Brief Participants

Sylvia Mathews

Ben Johnson

Minyon Moore

Maria Echaveste

Event Participants

NAACP Leadership and 3,500 Delegates

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE

- Upon arrival at Convention Center you are met by the following greeters:
Myrlie Evers-Williams, NAACP Board Chair
Kwesi Mfume, NAACP President-CEO
Bishop William Graves, Vice Chair, Board
Hazel Dukes, National Board Member
Leonard Springs, National Board Member
Thomas Turner, National Board Member

- You proceed to Hold with Myrlie Evers- Williams and Kwesi Mfume.

- Off-stage announcement of you, accompanied by Kwesi Mfume and Myrlie Evers-Williams.

- The Presiding official is Laura Blackburne, NAACP Trustee.

- *The Deryc Tines and Communion Choir* performs one song.

- Kwesi Mfume makes brief remarks and introduces you.

- You make remarks.

- Upon conclusion of your remarks, you work a ropeline and depart.

VI. REMARKS

Speech Writers

Pittsburgh
Post
Gazette
July 16, 1997

KKK to protest on day NAACP hears Clinton

The leader of a Ku Klux Klan faction says he will lead an unspecified number of his fellow Klansmen in a demonstration tomorrow designed to coincide with President Clinton's address to the national convention of the NAACP.

C. Edward Foster, the leader of the group, said its demonstration "in full regalia," was designed to highlight "environmental terrorism," at the 158-acre Mill Service Inc. facility in Yukon, Westmoreland County, which treats industrial wastes and which has been the target of complaints from residents.

SEE KLAN, PAGE A-6

Ran

KKK to rally

CLAN FROM PAGE A-1

Foster also said his group would denounce what he characterized as the inequity of government responses to the recent flooding in Pitcairn. He contended that in both cases, government agencies would have provided more effective relief if the residents had been members of minority groups.

Foster also organized April's Klan rally on the steps of the City-County Building on Grant Street, Downtown.

The Jefferson County resident said he had called Pittsburgh police Monday to tell them of his plans. Police officials said they could not legally stop the Klan from exercising its members' First Amendment rights but would not permit them to violate the law in any way. Police declined to discuss security plans related to the Klan.

They noted that the Secret Service is responsible for Clinton's protection and that city officers will do whatever agents deem necessary in that regard.

Foster said his group had no plans to confront Clinton.

"I already know we're not going to see the president," Foster said. "If he wants to come by our [demonstration], we'll give him our literature the same as anyone else."

Foster declined to say how many fellow Klansmen he expected at the demonstration, nor would he say exactly where they would appear. But he said he had already chosen a spot that he believed would be outside whatever security corridor the Secret Service might set up for the president's visit.

Foster said he would not reveal any more information because he did not want to be harassed by the Secret Service. He said he planned to call the police an hour before his arrival.

"I'm going to tell them, 'secure the area, I'm on the way,'" Foster said. "We'll call the media the same time we call the police department, one hour before the appearance."

The Secret Service does not comment on security arrangements involving the president.

Margaret McCormick Barron, the mayor's spokeswoman, said she did not expect the Klan activity to be comparable to the April rally at which police erected riot fences to separate Klan and anti-Klan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

600 Independence Avenue, SW
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FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Terry Edwards
FAX: 456-5709
FROM: Mike Smith

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW, INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 7

IF YOU DID NOT RECEIVE THE COMPLETE TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL
(202) 401-1000.

MESSAGE:

Hope this helps.
Call with any questions.
- Sarah
202-1728 of
401-1000

Statement by Terry Dozier
Special Advisor to the Secretary
U. S. Department of Education
before the House Committee on Education and the Workforce
Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, Training, and Lifelong Learning
July 15, 1997

I am pleased to appear before you to testify about the Department of Education's proposal for the reauthorization of Title V of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This reauthorization comes at a time when it is particularly important that we, as a Nation, do more to develop our teacher workforce. I care deeply about this issue. As a former National Teacher of the Year, I was invited to the Department to provide a teacher's perspective on the work that we do. I know first-hand the importance of good teaching and of providing teachers with high-quality preparation and support.

David Haselkorn, the President of Recruiting New Teachers, Inc., may have said it best: "Teaching is the essential profession that makes all other professions possible." The highest standards in the world, the best facilities, and the strongest accountability measures will do little good if we do not have talented, dedicated, and well-prepared teachers in every classroom.

As President Clinton emphasized in his *Call to Action for American Education in the 21st Century*, teachers must receive the education and support they need to help our children meet the challenges of the 21st century. Our Nation's goals in education will not be achieved without the development of an excellent teacher workforce. As a Nation, we face significant challenges in this regard.

One of our challenges is in teacher recruitment. If current trends continue, over the next decade we will need to hire more than 2 million teachers because of increasing teacher retirements and an enrollment boom that will bring more students than ever before into our classrooms -- a total of almost 55 million students by the year 2006. High-poverty urban and rural schools will experience the most severe teacher shortages. Of the 2 million teachers needed, approximately

15%, or 345,000, will be hired in central cities, in schools with large concentrations of low-income students. An additional 207,000 teachers will be needed in isolated, and often poor, rural areas.

In addition, a critical gap exists between the diversity of our nation's students and that of their teachers. While a third of America's students are minority, only 13% of their teachers are. That gap is growing and is most severe in urban and rural schools. Our nation's schools need a diverse and excellent teaching force that can bring distinctive life experiences and perspectives into the classroom, provide valuable role models for minority and non-minority students alike, enrich the curriculum, assessment, and school climate, and strengthen connections to parents and communities.

Teacher shortages will continue to be concentrated in our Nation's underserved communities. Students in high-poverty urban and rural schools -- the very students who need the best teachers -- often have teachers who are the least qualified. For example, 71% of physical science students and 33% of English students in high-poverty schools take classes with teachers who lack even a college minor in their field.

Quality of preparation is a key factor in teachers' ability to facilitate student learning. Unfortunately, many teachers report feeling unprepared for the challenges of today's classrooms. While we would never ask our doctors to perform surgery after only a few weeks of clinical experience, we often ask new teachers to enter classrooms after only a few weeks of in-classroom training. New teachers often lack the deep content knowledge and the knowledge of effective classroom practices that they need in order to help children learn. Many teacher preparation programs do not prepare teachers to use technology effectively in the classroom.

The need for effective teacher preparation in high-poverty settings is particularly great, given the complexity that poverty brings to the classroom. In urban school districts, rates of attrition can often reach fifty percent in the first five years of teaching, due in part to inadequate preparation and poor support -- a "sink or swim" approach toward new teachers. Teachers in high-poverty settings face many daunting challenges for which they need to be prepared, such as the diversity of their students, inclusion of students with learning and

physical disabilities, increasing numbers of students with limited English proficiency, and students in crisis because of their home situations.

Given these challenges, States, school districts, colleges and universities, and the Federal Government will have to work hard to achieve the President's goal of ensuring a talented, dedicated, and well-prepared teacher in every classroom. Title V of the Higher Education Act is one vehicle through which the Federal Government, for its part, can address teacher quality in America.

We began the development of our Title V proposal by examining teacher development across the continuum -- beginning with recruitment and preparation, including the first critical years of teaching which educators call the induction period, and continuing through on-going professional development. We considered two questions: Where, in this continuum, can the Federal Government and Title V appropriately play a role? And how can Title V, through a targeted Federal investment, make a significant impact on teacher development in America?

In answering these questions, we have decided to focus Title V on three critical areas. Unlike the current Title V, which authorizes an array of disconnected programs, our proposal will focus on recruiting new teachers, preparing them well, and supporting them during induction.

We chose this focus for several reasons. The Federal Government already makes a significant investment in on-going professional development for current teachers through programs such as the Eisenhower Professional Development programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Those programs, however, are not adequate to promote the reforms that are needed to develop our future teaching force. The Federal Government's current efforts simply are not sufficient to address the teacher recruitment, preparation, and induction challenges that we face. In those areas, there is a critical gap in the Federal commitment to teacher development. Those are the arenas in which Title V can make a difference.

Furthermore, we have a window opportunity now to make a difference in the

development of our teaching force. Our Nation will be preparing more teachers than ever before to teach in increasingly challenging classrooms. By addressing the development of those teachers, we have a unique opportunity to make a substantial impact through the reauthorization of Title V.

We are considering a proposal that addresses the communities with the greatest needs -- areas with high concentrations of low-income students. The proposal would encourage the recruitment of a diverse and excellent teaching force and support the highest-quality teacher preparation. Our proposal would also address induction, the first critical years when 30 percent of new teachers leave the field in part because of poor support.

Recruiting New Teachers

The Federal Government, by itself, cannot solve all of our Nation's recruitment challenges. It can, however, be a catalyst that stimulates the recruitment of teachers where they are most needed.

Therefore, we are considering a program whose objective is to increase the number of students, especially minority students, who complete high-quality teacher preparation programs and teach in high-poverty areas.

In developing our proposal, we are keeping in mind several guiding principles of effective recruitment programs. For example, it is important that institutions of higher education work in partnership with elementary and secondary school districts to determine the teaching needs of the districts. The partnership should then identify a pool of potential teachers fitting those needs, recruit individuals from this pool, and design high-quality preparation and induction programs tailored to those individuals. We believe that paraprofessionals are a particularly rich pool of potential teacher candidates and would encourage programs targeted to these individuals.

While financial support can help teacher candidates afford their education, support services are also important, especially for individuals such as paraprofessionals for whom scholarships alone are often not enough.

A recruitment program based on those principles and targeted to communities with large concentrations of low-income students can help the nation to address its critical recruitment challenges.

Teacher Preparation

It is not enough to recruit new teachers. We must also ensure that they are well-prepared. However, we face major challenges in teacher preparation. Let me paint a picture for you of the diversity of teacher preparation programs in this country. There are 1,025 institutions that prepare teachers. They range in size from one graduate per year at Wagner College in New York State, to 1,933 graduates per year at Eastern Michigan University -- our Nation's largest producer of teachers. In addition to this tremendous range in size, there is an equally large range in the quality of programs that prepare teachers.

Therefore, we face three critical needs in teacher preparation.

First, as a Nation, we must identify best practices in teacher education. There is no consensus in the nation about the best ways to prepare teachers. There is, however, little disagreement about what teachers need to know and be able to do in the classroom. Teachers must have in-depth content knowledge of the subject matter that they teach. They must understand how children learn and know the latest research on child development. Successful teachers must be able to use classroom management skills effectively. They must learn to work with diverse students and with parents. Teachers need to know a variety of approaches to working with students and then must be able to choose an appropriate strategy for different students and situations. Finally, prospective teachers need to be grounded in classroom practices that are based on the best available research, have records of demonstrated effectiveness in enabling students to achieve to high standards, and are replicable in diverse and challenging circumstances.

Even though we have all of this knowledge about what it takes to be an effective teacher, we do not have the research and evaluation of teacher preparation programs that would allow us to speak confidently about how best to prepare teachers. As a result, teacher

preparation programs vary widely in approach and quality. In order to identify best practices for teacher education, we are proposing to focus on programs that prepare teachers for the most challenging settings -- our schools with the highest concentration of low-income students. If we can identify, evaluate, and disseminate the most effective methods of preparing teachers for our most challenging classrooms, we know these practices will be adaptable for the preparation of teachers for any of our Nation's classrooms.

Second, when exemplary practices are demonstrated and identified, they must be disseminated and spread to other institutions. Too often in the past, excellent programs, once identified, have remained islands of excellence.

Third, because high-quality teacher preparation demands the strong involvement of elementary and secondary schools, school districts and institutions of higher education must work together as true partners in preparing teachers. Unfortunately, many elementary and secondary schools feel exploited in their relationships with institutions of higher education, because the schools are often asked to help train student teachers and to hire them, without being given sufficient resources or a voice in how these teachers are prepared.

Therefore, we are considering a targeted program to improve teacher preparation that would respond to these needs by identifying and spreading best practices in teacher education for high-poverty areas. It would encourage the evaluation of different approaches to teacher education and provide resources and technical assistance to those institutions committed to working collaboratively with elementary and secondary schools to improve their teacher preparation programs.

Conclusion

A limited Federal investment in teacher recruitment and preparation can make a substantial impact in the development of new teachers. I look forward to working with you to ensure that the reauthorized Title V is a focused and effective answer to our Nation's challenges in teaching.